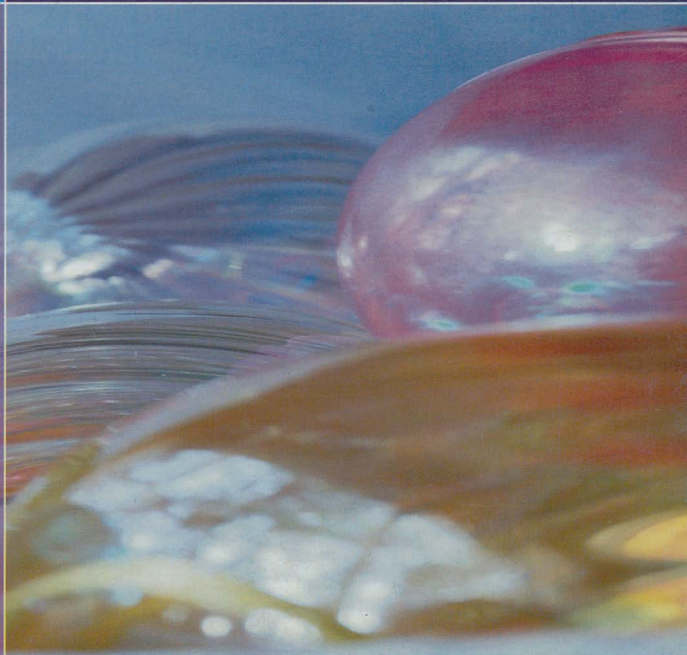




PRO EUROPA League

Diversity and Social Cohesion Equal Participation of Minorities in Europe:

The Role of Intercultural Education





Liga Pro Europa

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The Role of Intercultural Education

**Project Partners' Meeting Report
Bucharest, 15-18 February 2007**

Judit-Andrea KACSÓ (ed.)

Târgu-Mureș, 2007

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Editor: Judit-Andrea Kacsó
Program coordinator: Jagoda Paukovic

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Preface

This volume is in large part the product of contributions made at the Justitia et Pax/Cordaid Partners' Meeting held in Bucharest, between 15-18 February 2007 under the title "Diversity and Social Cohesion – Equal Participation of Minorities in Europe: The Role of Intercultural Education".

Integration and equal participation of minorities has been in the centre of Justitia et Pax and Cordaid initiatives and of their local partners projects, including the publisher of this book, Liga Pro Europa. Starting with the 2001 World Conference Against Racism held in Durban, South Africa, this project has evolved towards the setting up of a regional network of local organisations involved in promoting diversity and social cohesion through minorities' participation.

The Bucharest partners' meeting resulted in a valuable exchange of experience and networking capacity building. The volume's first part presents the meeting's background, objectives and partners. Part two concentrates on the presentation of the local cases. Contributions focus on the identity question in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Miralem Tursinovic, Emir Sejranic), the issue of Roma education in Bulgaria (Deyan Kolev, Theodora Krumova), the challenges of intercultural education in Georgia (Agit Mirzoiev), the intercultural dimension of education in The Netherlands (Michel Peters), and the advocacy for intercultural education in Romania (Judit-Andrea Kacsó). Part three comprises considerations on intercultural education from a Romanian governmental perspective (Attila Markó), theoretical concepts related to discourse analysis (Elly Rijnierse) and the relation between diversity and social cohesion according to the Council of Europe's approach (Jagoda Paukovic). Part four inventories the partners' common priorities for 2007. Part five lists the program of the Bucharest

meeting, biographies of the participants and the presentation of the partner organisations. The volume ends with a rich list of Annexes added by the editor to facilitate readers' access to international documents related to minority protection and intercultural dialogue.

The volume continues the series of reports supported by Justitia et Pax and Cordaid dedicated to the issue of the integration of minorities in Europe. It also continues the series of publications of the Liga Pro Europa focusing on minority issues.

This publication is meant to be a contribution of the participants of the Bucharest meeting to the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008), highlighting local experiences and expertise from non-governmental organizations based in Eastern and Western Europe, as well as in the West-Balkans and the Caucasus. It emphasizes the common concerns and achievements, pleading in favour of a transparent, coherent and efficient intercultural dialogue in Europe, based on minority integration, intercultural education and inclusive public policies. It also reflects the commitment of the partners to continue their common projects at regional and local level, as well as their willingness to co-operate with the European civil society, institutions and governments for the benefit of a future Europe respectful and proud of its diversity.

Smaranda Enache

Târgu-Mureș, Romania
October 2007

Introduction

Between February 15 and 18, 2007, Justitia et Pax and Cordaid organised a partners' meeting in Bucharest, Romania, in the framework of the project "Diversity and Social Cohesion – Equal Participation of Minorities in Europe: The Role of Intercultural Education".

The meeting was aimed at concluding the first stage of the project by centralizing and comparing local experiences in mapping minority policies, placing these experiences into a larger theoretical framework, and then devising common strategies so that the network's activity, in the second stage of the project, can have a greater impact both on national and international levels.

The meeting was a valuable opportunity for partner NGOs to share lessons learned and to engage in dialogue with government officials and experts.

Background of the partners' meeting

The Integration of Minorities in Europe Project was a lobby trajectory jointly developed by Justitia et Pax Netherlands and Cordaid following their participation with a group of local partners in the 2001 World Conference Against Racism held in Durban, South Africa. The project was aimed to transform the analysis of the problem of racism and discrimination into a concrete policy orientation and advocacy effort. The project involved the participation of local partner organizations and resulted in developing a methodological approach linking the local level experience with the international advocacy arena.

The project was implemented in two phases between April 2002 and April 2005. Phase 1 of the project focused on identifying a

common vision of minorities and to translate it into a lobby agenda directed towards European inter-governmental institutions as well as a concrete action to take advantage of the (at the time) consecutive OSCE, Council of Europe and the European Union's Chairmanship of The Netherlands. Phase 1 included activities such as: preparation of the Position Paper; expert meeting in The Hague (2002); preparation of the local partners' case studies; the 1st general conference "Effective Participation of 'Minorities' and the Role of Education" held in Budapest (February 2003).

Phase 2 had the objective to contribute to a common process of policy formulation, strategy development and a common practice of lobby aiming at equal participation and empowerment of minorities. Activities developed during Phase 2: local conferences focusing on education as vehicle for equal participation of minorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Georgia and The Netherlands; the 2nd general conference "Effective Participation of 'Minorities' and the Role of Education" held in Budapest in March 2005 bringing together local partners, EU experts and academics; dissemination of the results.

During the Evaluation Session held in The Hague in January 2006 the project's next steps were established. As a result of the joint consultation and planning workshop each local partner, building on lessons learned, has proposed a locally developed project consisting in the mapping of the current state of intercultural education in their respective countries, both in the formal and informal educational systems.

The new program's main goal is to contribute to the development of social cohesion with respect for diversity and, through peer participation in the exchange of knowledge, testing and production of effective instruments for achieving this. The program involves three tracks: local/national projects focusing on education as vehicle towards interculturalism and equal participation of minorities; collaborative learning activities; international linking.

The first partners' meeting was hosted in Tbilisi between 18-21 April 2006 by the Union 'Public Movement Multinational Georgia.

The second partners' meeting was hosted in Bucharest between 15-18 February 2007 by Liga Pro Europa.

Objectives

In her opening address to the participants, Jagoda Paukovic pointed out the added value of the new phase of the joint project seen as a participatory "assessment and learning process" which ideally involves all the program Partners in shared reflection on the key role of education in fostering social cohesion and respect for diversity.

The Bucharest partners' meeting brought together a combination of presentation and debate regarding the actual situation of intercultural education in the participating organisations' countries and a theoretical dimension about discourse analysis and social cohesion in a multicultural Europe.

The primary aims of the partners' meeting:

- to exchange experiences and achievements and to share results and findings of the local projects initiated by the partner organisations
- to plan the partners' 2007 priorities and common strategies and identify future collaborative projects

Participants

Partners from five countries (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Georgia, The Netherlands and Romania) gathered to discuss the situation of intercultural education of each specific country and try to find a common vision on promoting interculturalism and respect for diversity in public policies. Key speakers presented discourse analyses (Elly Rijnierse) and governmental policies regarding minority education (Attila Markó), completed with the vision of the Council of Europe on diversity and social cohesion (Jagoda Paukovic).

The following organisations involved in this project sent their representatives to Bucharest:

Amalipe, Center for Interethnic Dialogue (Bulgaria)
 Helsinki Citizens' Assembly (Bosnia and Herzegovina)
 The Union "Public Movement Multinational Georgia" (Georgia)
 Justitia et Pax (The Netherlands)
 Cordaid (The Netherlands)
 Liga Pro Europa (Romania).

Acknowledgements

Bringing together many knowledgeable persons committed to the ideas of equal participation of minorities in Europe and promoting intercultural education was a deeply satisfying experience.

Liga Pro Europa would like to thank primarily all the participants in the project and the partners' meeting for their interest and commitment to this process. We thank Arnold Stepanian for sharing with us his experience of organising the Tbilisi meeting.

Special thanks to the keynote speakers, Elly Rijnierse and Attila Markó for their response to participating in this meeting and for their substantial and useful presentation on topics of high interest from the participants. First and foremost thanks are due to Jagoda Paukovic for the overall coordination of the project and her useful remarks and clarifications regarding diversity and social cohesion in the vision of the Council of Europe. We owe particular gratitude to Michel Peters and Dimitris Grammatikas for their contribution to the debate involving comparison between the current situation of intercultural education in Western and Eastern Europe. We thank Doina Baci for her contribution to the editing of the text.

We are deeply grateful to Victor Scheffers and Anne Offermans for their support and interest for the project in its consecutive phases.

Last, but not least, we are particularly grateful to Justitia et Pax and Cordaid Netherlands for the financing of this project and of this publication.

2. Presentation of the Local Projects

2.1. The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Minorities and Social Cohesion – Equal Participation of Minorities

Miralem Tursinovic, Emir Sejranic

Introduction

The society of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the state of general social and cultural decomposition. While – on one side – the newly established economic elite is institutionalising its ideological position, mostly through the creation of 'national' politics and spreading it through the overall social practice (politics, media, systems of education, etc.), on the other side, economically marginalized parts of population (workers, farmers, students and youth) are mainly serving their purpose of legitimising the 'nationalism' through the system of elections in BiH, and for the purpose of consuming such types of culture (mass and popular culture) which, created in this manner, are only confirming the social reality.

Coming from such positions and social relations, questions of identity are being constructed and are seen through the prism of national interests. Positioned in such way, identities are global, corpus terms which discipline differences and prefer identical-being. Issues of minorities and minority rights therefore can not be seen, nor treated in the spirit of European standards of democracy. This is indicated through violation of all elementary rights, from the right to life, right to employment, all the way to the rights to language, education, health protection, etc.

All three national politics (ideologies) in BiH are equally intolerant towards respect for elementary human rights. Considering that those are 'positioned' within the global and exclusively national cultural circles, those – 'on their own' – unable all kinds of institutional and non-institutional co-operation and communication between the social groups.

The systems of education have to be adjusted to requirements of minority groups in order to have the subject of the modern society participate in free and democratic establishment. It was therefore emphasised through several discussions that the issues of identity and intercultural tolerance have to begin being seen in a wide anthropological context. Following this, rights of all marginalized social groups (national, economic, age, gender, religious, etc.) are jeopardised in the modern society / societies of BiH.

According to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina there are 3 constitutive nations (Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs). All people who do not belong to some of the three constitutive nations are called "others" (Roma, Jews, Slovenians, Hungarians, etc).

Bosnia and Herzegovina is constituted of two entities: Republic of Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. These entities were created as result of the war and adopted at the Dayton peace agreement. So, even we do have three constitutive nations according to the state constitution, the situation in each entity is different. However, in the Republic of Srpska the majority nation are Serbs and other two nations (Croats and Bosniaks) are treated as minorities. The situation is almost the same in the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Within this context we should also mention the problem of returnees and other minorities.

There is a lack of tolerance and mutual understanding of the culture, tradition, language and habits.

Project objectives

- starting with discussion of intercultural, tolerance, language, identity,

religions in 3 cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with youth (NGO activists, students etc.), professors, NGO activists, minorities, minority organisations, authority representatives of government, political parties etc.

- increasing the influence of NGOs, intellectuals, political parties and governmental representatives on protection of the minority rights,
- mapping a crucial problems of national minorities (freedom of their identities, language, culture) and creation the assumption for solving them,
- having an influence in self-reviving of the BiH society,
- creating of a possible proposals and conclusions that could lead to understandings the actions of increasing transparency in the public institutions,
- promoting the language issue and their differences as a richness but not the cause for the conflicts,
- giving a chance to the youth to directly get introduced with other cultures.

Implemented activities:

July 2006: Preparation and contacts with partners within the partner project "Diversity and Social Cohesion - Equal Participation of Minorities". Contacts with members (organizations and individuals) of Youth Network of Bosnia and Herzegovina with the aim to find possible local partners for successful distribution, filling out and collection of the questionnaires within this project.

On July 13th 2006, according to the agreement among partners made at the last meeting in Tbilisi (Georgia) we received from our Romanian partner a template of the questionnaire. Of course, this questionnaire was mostly reflecting the local situation in Romania, so we adjusted it to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina and printed in 2000 copies.

August 2006: during this month we identified partner organisations/ individuals for organising polling on the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The volunteers were members of Youth Network of Bosnia and Herzegovina which took an obligation to cover following BiH cities: *Zvornik, Tuzla, Gradacac, Banja Luka, Brod, Maglaj, Jelac,*

Derventa, Tesanj, Dobo, Teslic, Modrica, Sanski Most, Drvar, Prijedor, Zavidovici, Vlasenica, Donji Vakuf, Fojnica, Visoko, Novi Travnik, Trebinje, Zenica, Ugljevik, Visegrad, Busovaca, Sarajevo, Mostar, Gracanica, Jablanica, Konjic, Prozor-Rama.

Questionnaires have been distributed to partner organisations and gave them 20 days to finish with filling out and send them back to hCa office for further procedure. We need to emphasize that this month BiH citizens are using for annual leave (holidays), so we had some delay in distribution of questionnaires.

September: During this month we were receiving questionnaires from the field officers and starting to process them. We were also preparing for further activities. More exactly we had some contacts with partner NGOs and university staff (professors, intellectuals), representatives of national minorities, in Mostar, Banja Luka and Tuzla for preparing three debates in these cities. We have selected those cities due to national issue. More exactly in Mostar majority are Croats, in Tuzla majority are Bosniaks and in Banja Luka area majority are Serbs. In according to the Constitutions there are 3 constitutive nations (Serbs, Croat and Bosniak) and people who do not belong to any of those three nationalities are included in the category of "other".

October: During this month we were finishing with receiving back questionnaires from the field. In total we have received 2.153 questionnaires (that is 153 questionnaires more then we planned). We started with analyzing questionnaires. Also, we found local partner organizations for organizing public debates in the city of Mostar (Centres for Civic Initiatives) and Prijedor (NGO "Sanus").

November: During November we finished the questionnaire analyze (please check additional material, titled: "Questionnaire analysis". Together with the partner organizations we defined dates for three public debates in the cities of Tuzla, Prijedor and Mostar. Also, we engaged Mr. Aleksandar Zolja to be facilitator/moderator for all three public debates as we found him as formally well educated for this position as well as experienced with work on the field of minority issues.

December: On December 8th 2006 at the Tuzla Business Center "Pasaz" we organised a public presentation of the analysed results. By that occasion we printed out 250 hard copies of the analysis and distributed them to representatives of media, NGOs, representatives of minority groups, etc. This analysis was very appreciated by many other NGOs, so we were asked to send them electronic versions for further reflection and dissemination.

Together with local partners organisations hCa Tuzla defined list of introductory speakers and potential participants from all segments of public life in the cities of Tuzla, Prijedor and Mostar.

In the framework of the project "Diversity and Social Cohesion – Equal Participation of Minorities" we have organized three public debates as follows: December 16 (Tuzla), December 17 (Prijedor), December 19 (Mostar). On each debate there were around 25-30 representatives of public and cultural life of these cities, representatives of minority organizations, local authorities, medias, etc. All debates had interesting discussions about the condition of national minorities in BiH, and regarding the position and relations of constitutive people in some parts of BiH.

All materials from debates have been processed and submitted within report. We printed out 300 hard copies of this report and distributed to all participated at the debates as well as NGOs in BiH as well as to the relevant governmental and international institutions.

During this month we prepared and carried out our campaign within the project the "Diversity and Social Cohesion – Equal Participation of Minorities". The main aim of this campaign was pointing out minority issues in our country (emphasizing Roma as the largest minority in BiH). Within this campaign we printed out 3000 postcards and 5000 stickers as a New Year greeting card on Roma language and with picture of Roma person dressed as Santa Claus. We have sent postcards to representatives of the governmental institutions on all levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina (local, regional and national level) as well as to NGOs and international organisations or institutions in BiH and abroad, individuals, etc. Stickers were distributed to our partnership organizations (around 150 youth organisations - members of Youth Network of BiH) and they have posted them in their communities / towns, so our campaign covered almost the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Project results:

- we organised the polling and received back 2.153 questionnaires filled out by the citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina from cities as follows: Zvornik, Tuzla, Gradacac, Banjaluka, Brod, Maglaj, Jelac, Derventa, Tesanj, Doboj, Teslic, Modrica, Sanski M, Drvar, Prijedor, Zavidovici, Vlasenica, D.Vakuf, Fojnica, Visoko, Novi Travnik, Trebinje, Zenica, Ugljevik, Visegrad, Busovaca, Sarajevo, Mostar, Gracanica, Jablanica, Konjic, Prozor-Rama.

- we organised three public debates in Tuzla, Prijedor and Mostar where it was discussed of intercultural, tolerance, language, identity, religions (total number of participants was around 90 - participants were: youth activists, NGO representatives, representatives of majorities, professors, representatives of political parties and local government, representatives of international organisations – OSCE etc.)

- after the debates the participants created possible proposals and conclusions that could lead to understandings the actions of increasing transparency in the public institutions. They also indicate the crucial problem of national minorities and gave recommendations for solving them as follows:

- Insisting on integration of national minorities without assimilation
- Insisting on citizens Constitution;
- Insisting that national minorities become a constitutional category;
- Working on constitution of National minorities Assembly as part of BiH Parliament;
- Installing informal education educative elements that will develop consciousness about difference, tolerance and coexistence;
- Organise debate on this subject with politicians and NGOs;
- To work on integration of Roma on local level (like, building of Roma settlements; employment of Roma people in police structures; higher resources from Municipal budgets for projects which will be focused on protection and care of Roma people; initiating educative programs in schools about Roma culture and tradition, etc);
- during project campaign we distributed 2800 post cards and 3500 stickers as following:

- around 1800 post cards we sent by postcards to the representatives at all governmental levels in Bosnia and Herzegovina such as: municipal and Cantonal; Federation of BiH; Republic of

Srpska; Presidency of BiH; State Government officials etc. as well as representatives of minorities (individuals and associations); international and domestic NGOs in BiH and abroad etc.;

- with support of members of Youth Network of Bosnia and Herzegovina 1100 post cards and 3500 stickers to the citizens of BiH (on this way we covered almost the entire BiH);

- we involved youth (around 150 youth organisations- members of Youth Network of Bosnia and Herzegovina) in project activities. They participated and gave full contribution at debates but also gave a great support in carrying out project campaign in Bosnia and Herzegovina;

- due to this project we become recognised as NGO that successfully works on minority issues in BiH. So we became partner within the project "Strategic for Achieving Roma Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina (SARR)". This project is supported by the European Commission, the main project holder is European Dialogue London (United Kingdom) and we are the main implementing partner. Project started on December 1st 2006 and will last two years;

- Miralem Tursinović was appointed at the MHRR Steering Committee on the Roma National Action Plans (MHRR=Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees at the State Level).

Conclusions

All project activities went well and according to the plan. Polling and situation analyze have been performed with support of the members of Youth Networks of BiH and produced many positive comments. Still now we are receiving requests from some NGOs to send them this analyze.

We are very glad to confirm that we succeeded to gather all important and relevant experts at the public debates in Tuzla, Prijedor and Mostar. However, we have to point out the opinion made of the majority of participants who requested more similar and open discussion about such a crucial issues as well as a better involvement of the State authorities.

During the campaign we tried and succeeded to reach all segments of governmental authorities and presented them the issues related to minority (Roma) rights (it is well know that the political structures only care about the three constitutive nations in BiH while all those

who are not belonging to the constitutive nations are treated as "others").

We would like to emphasize that our activities, again, attracted a great public and media attention. After accomplishing project activities we got a better view on the situation in three pilot-areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which gave us directions for further activities in the future period.

Working on this project gave us the chance to become well recognized in the BiH society and abroad as an organization that successfully work on minority issues.

2.2. The Case of Bulgaria: Mapping the Terrain of Roma Education in Bulgaria

Deyan Kolev, Theodora Krumova

Background information:

Bulgaria is a country with numerous Roma population: between 400,000 and 800,000 persons, that constitutes around 10 percent of the entire population.¹ Roma are the most disadvantaged ethnic and social group in Bulgaria. According to independent surveys carried out by World Bank, UNDP and USAID "Roma are ten times more likely to be poor than ethnic Bulgarians." Their educational, health and living status is significantly lower than the ones of the majority population. Roma suffer from deep exclusion and marginalization, their public and media image is strongly negative. Roma women are often double discriminated: as women and as Roma.

Education is one of the spheres where Roma minority is extremely disadvantaged. The educational level of the Roma community is around 10 times worse than the one of the ethnic Bulgarians (according to the Census from 2001). Education is seen as the key for Roma integration by the Roma movement. The mostaching problems in the field of Roma education are: high drop-out rate of Roma students, high percentage of mentally normal Roma students who attend schools for mentally disabled children, lack of qualified education, lack of knowledge about Roma culture and traditions in the school curriculum.²

The project

The project was realized from May 2006 to February 2007 as part of the **"Equal Participation of Minorities in Europe" Project** financed by Cordaid and implemented together with Justita et Pax (the Netherlands), Liga Pro Europa (Romania), Helsinki Citizens Assambly (Bosnia and Herzegovina) and Public Movement Multinational Georgia (Georgia).

The **overall project objective** was to prepare the necessary conditions for realizing sustainable policy in the field of Roma education with respect for diversity, inter-culturalism and equal

participation of Minorities. The **project goals** were:

1. To collect data about the educational situation and the educational problems faced by Roma children all over Bulgaria. Special accent was put on the educational situation of Roma girls and on the educational discrepancy between Roma boys and girls;
2. To collect data about NGOs working in the field of education and their programs regarding Roma education;
3. To organize training of teachers and school principals about the educational problems of Roma children, ways for coping with these problems and ways for applying intercultural education in multicultural and monocultural environment;
4. To advocate for incorporation of essential points regarding Roma inclusion and intercultural education in the Operational Program "Human Resources Development"
5. To participate effectively in establishing strong network among local partners within the project "Diversity and Social Cohesion - Equal Participation of Minorities";

Activities: The following activities were implemented within the project:

1. ***Seminar with representatives of Regional Inspectorates of Education (RIE):*** Regional Inspectorates of Education are regional branches of the Ministry of Education and Science established in every district center. They perform important role for organizational and methodological control over all schools in their regions. That is why their support and cooperation often is crucial for the implementation of any educational activity.

In May 2006 the Center "Amalipe" organized a 3 days seminar with representatives of RIE. Experts responsible for Roma educational integration in 19 RIE took part in it. Representatives of Amalipe presented the project "Mapping the terrain of Roma education" and asked the support of Regional Inspectorates. Special accent was put on the survey of Roma presence per schools and grades, the way it could be organized and the role of RIE in it.

The seminar found an extremely useful cooperation between RIE and the project team. It also raised the capacity of RIE experts to work for Roma educational integration since they learned important things about Roma culture and inner-community division presented by Amalipe experts.

2. Survey for Roma presence in different schools all over Bulgaria: The research was done in cooperation with Open Society Institute – Sofia and the Ministry of Education and Science. There was clear division of responsibilities and sources of information used by the three partners in order to take into account all possible points of view

- Center "Amalipe" used municipal officials in 160 municipalities all over the country to collect the necessary information: the project team was helped logistically by the Ethnic and Demographic Issues Directorate (administrative unite within the Council of Ministers) and by the National Association of Municipalities in the Republic of Bulgaria (association of all municipalities in Bulgaria).

- MES used its RIE all over the country: the smooth and correct survey run was helped by Center "Amalipe" through a seminar with RIE experts (see Activity 1)

- OSI realized case studies in 3 districts using NGO activists

More than 1000 schools (out of 3000) all over the country were researched by Amalipe. Around 700 schools all over the country were examined by the Ministry of Education and Science. OSI investigated all schools in 3 regions.

3. Survey of all educational materials (textbooks and student-books) used in the primary grades about the presence/lack of intercultural knowledge: A broad survey about the presence of knowledge regarding minorities (history, music, culture) in textbooks and student-books in different main subjects (Literature, History, Arts, and so on) was carried out. More than 100 textbooks and student-books were examined. This covered in fact all manuals used in Bulgarian elementary schools.

4. Survey of the main actors (NGOs and institutions) working in the field of Roma education: It covered 4 main stakeholders – central institutions, municipal administrations, NGOs and teachers. The strategies and visions for Roma educational integration of three central institutions were examined in details: Ministry of Education and Science, Ethnic and Demographic Issues Directorate and Ministry of Labour and Social Policy. More than 160 municipalities were researched for the presence of points connected with Roma

educational integration within the municipal strategies for development and the existence of Municipal strategies for educational integration. The projects implemented by tens of NGOs were analyzed. Focus-groups with teachers were organized to reveal their vision and attitudes.

5. *Training of teachers and school principals in intercultural education:* In July and October 2006 two training seminars were organized. More than 80 teachers and school principals took part in them. During the seminars they were trained on:

- Roma folklore, culture and history;
- specific problems faced by Roma students and how to address these problems;
- intercultural education;
- how to apply the principles of intercultural education in their pedagogical work

The feedback received by the teachers and school principals was strongly positive. Almost all of them now teach Roma folklore classes and apply the principles of intercultural education in their work.

6. *Advocacy campaign for incorporation of points regarding Roma educational integration and intercultural education in the Operational Program "Human Resources Development"* - from May 2006 Center Amalipe started an advocacy campaign for including major issues related with Roma integration in the strategic documents regulating the EU Structural funds absorption in Bulgaria. In the following months 46 Roma NGOs and a number of Roma experts joined the campaign. Overcoming serious difficulties the campaign achieved almost all its goals and brought to establishing the majority of the necessary preconditions for directing significant resources from the Structural funds to Roma integration activities and to developing intercultural education in particular. The success of the campaign and its importance for the development of the civil society in Bulgaria in general has been acknowledged by the Bulgarian Minister of Finance Plamen Oresharski during the ceremony for signing the National Strategic Reference Framework, as well as in a special letter by Thomas Bender, head of unit "ESF, Monitoring of Corresponding National Policies I, Coordination

Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Netherlands, Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities DG.

Major findings: The project implementation led to discovering essential peculiarities of the field of Roma education

Distribution of Roma children in different schools and grades

The present stage of the school system in Bulgaria limits the opportunity for intercultural and interethnic contacts between Roma and non-Roma pupils because:

1. Roma children study mainly in ethnically separated schools: more than 480 schools have more than 70 % Roma children.
2. At least 70 schools could be called "segregated schools" since they are in towns and cities with more than one school.
3. The so-called "secondary segregation" is a disturbing wide-spread tendency: "Secondary segregation" is called the situation when Bulgarian parents moved their children from schools situated in ethnically mixed neighborhoods (or even in Bulgarian neighborhoods closed to the Roma *mahala*) in order to enroll them in schools with only Bulgarian students. The research discovered that near the half of the segregated schools are situated out of the Roma neighborhoods; initially they were mixed schools with Bulgarian and Roma students but Bulgarian parents moved their kids from them.
4. Village schools in entire districts are predominantly "Roma" that reflects the ethnic composition of the young people in the given rural areas. The opportunity for mixing children in these areas is sharply limited.

School curricula and school materials

Minorities are only nominally presented in the textbooks of the general (mainstream) subjects - Literature, History, Arts, and so on. Nevertheless, there is an ongoing process for incorporating such information in order to fulfill requirements set down by the Ministry of Education.

At the same time more than 200 schools use textbooks that present the folklore and culture of Roma prepared by Center "Amalipe" and published by the Ministry of Education. They are used in optional classes "Folklore of Ethnoi – Roma Folklore" studied in 232 schools all over the country.

Policies in the field of “Roma” education – state institutions

Present institutional policy in education experienced mainly by MES but also by the Ministry of Labor and Social Policies and by the Ethnic and Demographic Issues Directorate is unfavorable for intercultural education (ICE) but still leaves the opportunity for its development .

1. The philosophy is that intercultural education is not part of the modernizing Bulgarian educational system. The only possible space for ICE is as one of the tools for keeping Roma children at school: National Program for Development of School Education, Operational Program Human Resources Development.
2. The normative documents are ambivalent: the special Strategy for Educational Integration of Children and Students from the Ethnic Minorities envisages ICE unlike the mainstream documents.
3. There is special branch “Intercultural education” within the MES administration but it is institutionally isolated and passive at present.
4. At regional level: there is no expert in ICE in regional branches of MES.

Policies in the field of “Roma” education – NGOs

Intercultural Education (ICE) is not in the list of top-priorities for NGOs working in education and in Roma integration.

1. There is a crisis in the entire NGO sector that sharply limits the number of NGOs and the scope of their activities.
2. Roma NGOs financed by Roma Education Fund work for removal of Roma children from segregated city schools to mixed schools. Nevertheless, as a whole they do not develop initiatives in ICE.
3. For most of Roma and non-Roma NGOs working in the field of education ensuring access to school is the core of Roma educational integration.
4. “Roma Folklore in Bulgarian School” program initiated by Center “Amalipe” and supported by the MES appeared as the only big initiative in the field of ICE at present. It covered 232 school and more than 5000 students (Roma, Bulgarians, Turks) all over the country.

Policies in the field of “Roma” education – teachers

Teachers working with mixed groups of children are one of the major protagonists for ICE.

1. There are many "good practices" for using ICE by teachers. As a rule, they are developed without methodological support by RIE or other institutions.
2. At present there are attempts to develop programs for training teachers in ICE: experienced within two Phare projects. These programs are in their early stage and do not reach significant number of teachers.
3. There is no union of teachers working for ICE and no public tool for expression of their professional interests.
4. The opportunities for funding their initiatives were rather limited until the end of the project. Nevertheless, during 2007 several opportunities in this direction appeared: mainly through a program of MES for support of out-of-school activities (called "School – desirable territory of the student") and through two tenders within the Operational program "Human Resources Development".

The Operational Program "Human Resources Development" and Roma education

As a result of the advocacy campaign initiated by Center "Amalipe" important strategic documents contain the necessary preconditions for binding European funds resources with the process of Roma integration, for devoting significant financial resource and political and administrative engagement for activities directed to Roma integration and for the participation of the Roma community and the civil society in general in managing, implementing, and monitoring activities financed by the European funds. Human Resources Development Operational Program (HRD OP) has been of highest interest for the campaign since it dedicates significant financial resources (more than 1,2 milliard euro) for employment, education and social assistance. At present HRD OP contains practically all suggestions made by Center "Amalipe" and the other Roma organizations. This is the Program which contains measures and indicators for Roma integration in the most consistent way. Within the campaign the following has been achieved:

1. Roma are defined as specific target group in three priority axes of the Program related to employment, education, and social protection;
2. There are six operations where Roma are a specific target group which is the main target group of the operations: two in the field of

employment, one in education, two in social protection, and one in health care.

3. The Program contains a specific chapter "Areas of assistance with regard to the Roma community".

4. The Program contains qualitative and quantitative indicators for assessing the impact on the Roma community: the table of indicators is part of the chapter "Areas of assistance with regard to the Roma community".

5. NGOs are included as beneficiaries in all operations directed to Roma integration.

6. NGOs are included as possible leading beneficiaries in the "program extensions" which are being prepared now.

7. A number of concrete and accurate texts connected with the socio-economic and educational situation of the Roma community in Bulgaria are included in the Program.

8. A representative of the Roma organizations (Deyan Kolev) is included in the Monitoring Committee of HRD OP and participated in the preliminary meeting of the Committee on June 18, 2007.

9. First calls for proposals pronounced in July 2007 are closely connected with intercultural education (One of them is called "Establishing favorable multiethnic environment for practical implementation of intercultural education").³

Conclusions:

The project draws up four conclusions regarding the terrain for applying intercultural education (ICE) in Bulgaria:

1. The school system, educational policy of the state institutions and the weak NGO movement are not favorable for developing ICE.

2. At the same time the opportunity for its development is open: in some normative documents, school curricula and materials, NGO practices, Phare projects and especially in teachers' practice. As a result of an advocacy campaign led by Center "Amalipe" Operational Program "Human Resources Development" could dedicate significant amounts for intercultural education and Roma inclusion.

3. Four major things are necessary for developing ICE in Bulgaria now:

Developing proper programs for teacher's training in ICE

Methodological support for teachers who experience ICE

Funding teacher initiatives (including training of teachers and school principals how to fundraise).

Opening possibilities for funding ICE through European Structural Funds.

Notes:

1. Concerning Roma, the census data is always dubious. The official census of the population in 1992 estimated 313,000 Roma, and that in 2001 pointed **370.908**. See Dimitrina Petrova, "The Roma: Between a Myth and the Future," *Social research* 70, No. 1 (2003): 115. Nevertheless, a non-official secret census carried out for the needs of the Central Committee of Bulgarian Communist Party in 1989 counted **576.927** Gypsies. See Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, *Tziganite v Balgaria* (The Gypsies in Bulgaria), (Sofia: Klub'90, 1993), 93. Jean Pierre-Liègeous supposed around **700.000 to 800.000** Gypsies in Bulgaria at the beginning of the 1990s. See Jean Pierre-Liègeous, *Roma, Gypsies, Travellers*, (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1994), 34.) The same number was assumed by Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov. See Marushiakova, Popov, *Tziganite v Balgaria*, 94-95.

The main reason for this gap between official and real number of Roma is the declared non-Roma identity by many Roma who want to escape the social stigma, as well as the existence of Roma (Gypsy) communities that define themselves not as Roma. For example, around 250.000 Turkish speaking Roma define themselves as *Millet*, between 70.000 and 10.000 Romanian speaking Roma declare themselves as *Rudari*, etc.

2. Deyan Kolev, Theodora Krumova, Boyan Zahariev, Evaluation report about the implementation of Phare BG 0104.01., 10-13.

3. More information about the campaign and its results see at: *Campaign of Roma organizations created preconditions for directing Structural funds resources for Roma integration in Bulgaria*, available at: <http://geocities.com/amalipe2002>

2.3. The Case of Georgia: Mapping the Terrain of Intercultural Education in Georgia

Agit Mirzoev

Aim of the project

a) Defining and describing the level of intercultural and interethnic education in the groups which have a direct contact with education field, i.e. define education policy in Georgia, both in public and governmental sector;

b) Determining main tendencies and trends of intercultural education level and its influence on establishment of interethnic relations in the state;

c) Elaborating relevant recommendations.

The results of the project will create a basis for building a network with participation of partner organizations and creating a common policy on intercultural education in future.

The project envisaged conduction of research activities through deepened interviewing of focus-groups and documentation analysis. In 13 focus-groups conducted in Tbilisi, Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli participated: representatives of non-governmental organizations which work in the sphere of civic integration, civic education and human rights, including rights of ethnic minorities; teachers of Georgian- and non-Georgian-language schools in Tbilisi, Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti; representatives of the Ministry of Education and Science of Georgia and the Committee of the Parliament of Georgia on Education, Science and Culture, who directly define the government policy on education; representatives of central and local (Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe Javakheti) mass-media etc.

The topics of the focus-groups were quite diverse and covered following themes: ethnic identity, discrimination practices, school education for minorities, forms and perspectives for the civic integration of ethnic minorities, the role of the local government structures in interethnic relations in multiethnic regions; the role and ethics of mass media in extending and promoting the interethnic relations, civil integration and interethnic education etc.

The major aim of deepened interviews conducted in Tbilisi,

Samtskhe-Javakheti and Kvemo Kartli was to define the tendency – whether ignoring of intercultural education supports increasing of tension in interethnic relations, or whether it represents one of the preventing factors to social and public unity in the country.

The research process included also analysis of the documents. With this purpose we used: law on school education; Concept on civic integration, adopted by the Georgian Parliament; number of surveys, conducted by request of the Ministry of Education, among them on non-Georgian language schools; new textbooks, especially that of Georgian language for non-Georgian minorities; Education reform strategy (MoE); National goals for the secondary education (MoE); policy papers by the (MoE); publications by experts; etc.

By the end of February in the frames of above-mentioned project PMMG is going to conduct two conferences in Kvemo Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti with participation of representatives of regional and central NGOs working in the field of civic integration, civic education and human rights. Topic of the conferences will be "Examining-analysis of the activities implemented by NGOs of Georgia in the field of intercultural education and their results".

The result of the research conducted in the frames of the given project is quite interesting and rich. We think that it is important to introduce with it the public at large. With the given brochure we would like to present conclusions of the research conducted by PMMG.

Research Report

The report is based on qualitative research, conducted in 3 towns of Georgia –Tbilisi, the capital, Akhalkalaki, the center of Armenian-populated district and Marneuli, the center of the Azeri district. The research included: analyses of official documents and research papers; b. Interviews with the stakeholders of the field – representatives of governmental bodies, experts, non-governmental organizations; c. focus groups with Georgian, Armenian and Azeri teachers, parents and elites.

Objectives of the research were as following:

1. To identify problems, related to interethnic relationships in Georgia
2. To identify needs and constrains for intercultural and interethnic education

3. To identify factors influencing prospects of such education and intervention logics in this field.
4. To elaborate recommendations concerning specific forms of correspondent education including recommendations for regional dimension as well.

Background

Ethnic and language composition of Georgia

Georgia is a former Soviet republic, which acquired independence since 1991. Since 1993-1994, as a result of ethno-political conflicts on its territory, the Georgian authorities have lost control over two regions, bordering with Russia – Abkhazia and South Ossetia. All following data and research are focusing on the de-facto territory of Georgia, leaving apart problems of frozen conflicts and perspectives of their resolution.

The majority of the population of Georgia are ethnic Georgians, and the state language, according to the constitution, is Georgian (except Abkhazia). According to the 2002 census, there are 248.929 Armenians (5.7%), 67.671 Russians (1.5%), 284.761 Azeris (6.5%), 38.038 Ossetians (0.9%), 15.166 Greeks (0.3%), 7.039 Ukrainians (0.2%) and members of other ethnic minorities live in Georgia. There are two regions in Georgia, compactly populated with the national minorities – one, populated with Armenians, bordering Armenia, and other, populated with Azeri, bordering with Azerbaijan. In total, national minorities represent 16% of the whole population of the country¹. Georgia is a country of emigration; its population has decreased significantly since 1989, mostly due to the labor migration. Decrease in a number of ethnic minorities was more significant than the one of the Georgian majority. Still the country should be considered as a multiethnic one, where there is a long history and tradition of both ethnic diversity and ethnic conflicts.

Despite that Georgian language served as an official language in Georgia in Soviet times along with the Russian one, it was possible to be a resident of Georgia without knowing Georgian. Russian language was an integrative and superior to all languages, practiced on the territory of USSR. A big share of population was bi-lingual, and, sometimes, three-lingual, and Russian served as a lingua franca

for communication among various ethnic groups, populating Georgia. After the independence the territorial problems, that causes violent conflicts and separatist movements in the region, were closely linked to the struggles for language domination in a specific areas. While the Georgian majority shifted towards Georgian language, and created a Georgian language-based public environment, the separatist regions, bordering Russia, developed as more Russian – language based entities, well integrated in public space of bordering Russia. As to the other compactly populated regions with the Armenian and Azeri population, they are influenced by the neighboring correspondent countries and their media, still remaining quite separated in terms of their public spaces and languages from the rest of Georgia. These regions demonstrate very low levels of integration in overall public space of Georgia, first of all due to their language specificity. They are not well integrated in socio-economic space as well, as the majority is occupied with the agricultural production, selling their product locally, rather than on the rest of territory of Georgia.² Ethnic minorities, living in the capital, are much more dispersed. Despite that Russians constitute only a small minority group in Georgia, Russian language in the capital serves as a basis for specific sub-culture, in which are involved not only ethnic minorities, but also that Georgians, who have better command in Russian than in Georgian.

School education

There are various schools in Georgia in terms of the main language of instruction. While the majority of schools are Georgian, there are about 450 schools all over Georgia, where the main language of instruction is either different (Russian, Armenian, Azeri, Ossetian), or the school has sub-divisions for pupils with the different languages. Such schools, as a rule, do not provide sufficient knowledge of Georgian language for their pupils. This problem is especially difficult in compact regions, where population is not involved in day-to-day communication in Georgian, so that pupils are not motivated in studying Georgian, and the teachers often demonstrate low quality of Georgian language knowledge as well.

The Georgian schools themselves experience difficult problems of post-Soviet transformation. Because Georgians constituted minority

within the Russia-dominated USSR, in Soviet times Georgian schools were first of all oriented on a preservation of Georgian ethnic identity, culture and values. Becoming pupil of a Georgian school for other ethnicity was equivalent to the assimilation within the Georgian society. Those parents, who did not want such kind of assimilation for their children were choosing non-Georgian schools for their children.

Nowadays, when Georgia is an independent country, while Georgians constitute its majority population, the new challenge for school is to transform from the school of minority, bringing up ethnos, to the school of majority, producing demos. This transformation is only on the initial stage, and it is strongly supported by the new approaches by the Ministry of Education and Science (MES) and the World Bank project ("Project Ilia Chavchavadze").

The newly elaborated National Plan of Instruction is being introduced, step-by-step, in Georgian and non-Georgian schools. The plan was piloted in 2005 in I, VII and X grades of Georgian schools, in 2006 it is extended to the next grades of Georgian schools (II, VIII and XI) and simultaneously piloted in I, VII and X grades of non-Georgian schools. The textbooks, that were prepared in its frames are taught in Georgian schools, are translated in other languages for piloting. The new curriculum has many aspects that are less relevant for the scope of this research. What is most important, that it is directed on the development of wider worldview of pupils, placing Georgian culture and history in broader perspective of world civilization. Teaching of history becomes less dogmatic, civic education is emphasized, and religious education is presented as an information about the worlds major religions, rather than the Orthodox religious education. Georgian language and literature have to become less oriented on a learning of Georgian authors, but rather on developing communicative capacities of pupils. In general, strong accent on universal and individualist values is made.

A new law on secondary education, adopted in 2004, guarantees the rights of national minorities to be educated in their native language but at the same time contains provisions for the progressive widening of the circle of subjects that should be taught in Georgian. A definite period of time for this process is designated, with the ultimate aim of creating bilingual school. Non-Georgian schools now are equipped

with the new textbooks and methodologies of instruction of Georgian language. These books stress first of all Georgian language as a language of everyday life. They are based on new methodologies. One can hope, that the old problem, when pupils of non-Georgian schools had to learn by heart pieces of texts and poetry that made no sense for them and often were written in archaic Georgian language, is over. At the same time, the new textbooks of Georgian still have verbal and non-verbal agenda of Georgian identity, which they present to the non-Georgian population as a part of language education. The new plan of bilingual education for non-Georgian schools is under consideration in the ministry. The representatives of the MES revealed somehow critical attitudes towards the model of bilingual education, presented by CIMERA, but we could not identify, what was the reason of this criticism.

At the same time the new curriculum has almost nothing in terms of content concerning representation of ethnic minorities living in Georgia. The non-Georgian schools now will be left with only limited opportunity to include in their curriculum subjects, that are relevant to their cultural identity. Non-Georgian schools now have the responsibility to make their own decisions concerning specific subjects, such as Armenian history in Armenian schools, or Armenian music etc. This problem is still only starting, and as our focus-groups revealed, there is little idea in the regions concerning the possible future developments. Non-Georgian schools now complain, that they have to make all paper work in Georgian, and they are unprepared for this. There are not enough hours left in school curriculum for native language and culture, and there are fears concerning further "georgianization" of ethnic schools.

Legal and policy environment

Georgian legislation does not restrict rights of ethnic minorities. The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities was ratified recently with some reservations. The most important policy that is implemented by the government of Georgia towards ethnic minorities is a program of civic integration, main component of which is to teach minorities Georgian language, thus to facilitate their inclusion in the Georgian society. This is in the interests of the Georgian society first of all, as it is considered somehow a remedy

for preserving territorial integrity of Georgia, making isolated regions more involved in the state framework. However the draft concept on civic integration, elaborated by the Georgian parliament, has mostly declarative character and does not provide a clear vision of the society, which has to develop in the future. MES complained, that they are not provided with the clear policy document, on which they would base their activities. So the Ministry is free to elaborate its own approaches and visions, which in effect substitute for the political vision by Parliament. Analyzing the concept, the interviews with the officials of MES and other documents, we came to the conclusion, that the model of integration, that is dominant in MES policies and in governmental approaches can be best described by the term "silent liberalism", used by G. Nodia³. The idea is to develop a public space, based on the universal human and citizen identities, free from the ethnic manifestations. As to the ethnic identities, they may develop beyond this space, in private (group) communication, without discrimination. This is a way to avoid politization of identities.

This approach has its strong and a weak sides as well. It is based on a specific vision of post-Soviet transformation. According to this vision, the main challenge of the period is to move from the communism towards liberalism, and to remove universal state ideology with the universal recognition of human rights and freedoms. However this approach underestimates other important dimension of this transformation – globalization and post-modernization. We believe, that this dimension is equally important for understanding our societies. Both communist state and liberal democracy are products of the era of modernity. In the XXI century all societies are facing challenges of post-liberal development, witch is in many aspects similar to the post-communist development. Identities are becoming more and more important in this context, demanding public manifestation and recognition. Such traditional identities, as ethnicity and religion, are not losing their importance - on the contrary, they are becoming more and more important, acquiring at the same time new, non-traditional features. Not surprisingly, some of our minority respondents started to learn the culture and language of their ethnical origin, being already adult individuals. For them, ethnic identity is not something that they are doomed to share, but rather means of self-realization, that they consciously choose. The same can be

applied to the Georgian majority. Georgians became extremely religious in recent time, after the independence, while in Soviet times they did not practise confession massively and looked quite indifferent in mass to the issues of religion.

That's why it is not enough realistic to aim at the creation of a universal civic public space that would be free from ethnic biases and identities. At the best (for the Georgian majority) integration in this space will be based on a hidden agenda of assimilation, at the worst, the plan will be opposed by the reality. Not surprisingly, these are representatives of Georgian majorities, who first of all protest the new school curriculum, as they are afraid of losing their identity. From their perspective, the new approach is too globalistic, and the centuries-old aspiration of the small Georgian nation to preserve its identity is endangered. One can suppose, that Georgians will be more eager to accept equal manifestation of other identities within the Georgian public space, than to engage in globalization without proper manifestation of their own identity.

Anyway, these two visions cause sharp political tensions in Georgian society and should be dealt with caution.

Political tensions

The process of the dissolution of USSR in Georgia has been dominated with the increasing manifestation of Georgian identity and the search for independence. The starting period for this process was extremely nationalistic and dangerous for minorities. Georgians manifested themselves as "us", and other nationalities, leaving in Georgia –as "others". These passions calmed down gradually, but they are still causing much of ethnic distrust in Georgia. Minorities, unlike Georgians, had to make individual choices concerning their identities. They could choose one of the following: a. to migrate to the country of historic origin of identity; b. to assimilate with Georgians. c. to develop and strengthen their original ethnic identity and to call for human rights and equality within the multinational Georgian state. All three of these adaptive strategies were applied. Still the identity crises for minorities continue, and each individual from a new generation has to make his/her own decision concerning these three choices. Real inequality in terms of employment opportunities for those who are not proficient in Georgian and little opportunity to get

high education cause continuous migration of youth from Georgia. Political cleavages, related to the ethnic minorities are different in the capital and in the regions. Regions are stigmatised by the Georgian majority as separatist and potentially rebelling. The regions themselves are inclined to call for autonomy, to feel themselves discriminated and to be sensitive towards "Georgia for Georgians" demand. In the capital ethnic problems are not related to the territorial integrity of Georgia, but rather to the tensions between Georgia and Russia. Russian-speaking minorities are sometimes stigmatised as less patriotic and more inclined for collaboration with Russia. However tensions with neighboring countries do not correspond directly in stigma of correspondent ethnicities. Despite the pressure from Russia, Georgians are not inclined to see Russians negatively. On the contrast, Armenians are often considered as a threat for Georgian identity, as "hidden traitors". Negative stereotypes of Azeris or Kurds are mostly linked to their low social status. While Georgian Jews, who have an extremely ancient history of residence in Georgia, manage to appear in the Georgian public sphere as Georgian patriots. Despite that there are anti-Semites in the Georgian society, the public representation of Jews is positive.

The minorities themselves report repeating practice of ethnic discrimination, and tend to stress the human rights issues. In general, however, both sides tend to be very cautious in articulating the problems, to avoid further escalation of problems. Georgians are more inclined to hide problems, than minorities, who become more and more outspoken, as the situation in Georgia normalizes.

Media

The most significant media in Georgia is TV. Newspapers have low circulation, regional newspapers are almost absent. TV landscape is represented by two leading independent channels – Rustavi2, which is pro-governmental, Imedi – oppositional, several less significant channels and a Public broadcaster. The two leading channels and a public broadcaster recently started to use simultaneous translation in Armenian and Azeri languages, though of very low quality. The public broadcaster also has a news programs, provided in a minority languages on a weekly basis. Both the capital and the regions watch Russian channels, transmitted by cable and satellite TV. Regions

also watch channels of neighboring Armenia and Azerbaijan respectively.

Minorities are underrepresented on Georgian TV. They either appear in news programs, when tensions raise in the correspondent regions, in these cases they look as separatists; or they appear in soap operas or other programs as representatives of socially lower groups.

Intercultural or Interethnic? Different concepts and different meanings

Terms of reference for this research are oriented on the possibility of both forms of education – intercultural and interethnic. However these are different issues and the difference is important because it reflects different policies and strategies for education. In this chapter we will distinguish between multiculturalism and multithnicity, interethnicity and multiethnicity, conceptualize this distinction and consider the question – which model of education should be recommended for Georgia –or, may be, both.

The notion of intercultural education is originating from European social context. Interculturalism recently came to substitute for the multiculturalism, and the shift in terminology reflects the attempt to make culturally plural societies to be more integrated, communicative and engaged in sharing of cultures, values and learning from each other.⁴ In Guidelines on Traveller Education in Primary Schools (2002), intercultural education is defined as aiming to foster conditions conducive to pluralism in society; raise children's awareness of their own culture and attention them to the fact that there are other ways of behaving and other value systems; develop respect for life-styles different from their own so that children can understand and appreciate each other; foster a commitment to equality; enable children to make informed choices about, and take action on, issues of prejudice and discrimination; appreciate and value similarities and differences; enable all children to speak for themselves and articulate their cultures and histories."⁵ The approach is directed on making culturally plural societies to become more integrated on the base of two-way recognition of plural cultures.

Goals and aims of intercultural education are very general and universal, that makes them applicable to any society. Despite that,

this approach may have different outputs dependant on the social context in which it is applied. The Irish context, for example, from which the text is derived (and European context in general), provides the following pre-conditions for its success:

1. It is applied in a somehow post-conflict situation, on a basis of social consensus concerning the legitimacy of the existing state arrangement, territorial integrity and co-existence of different cultures within the existing constitutional framework. State is not questioned as such by cultural diversity.
2. It is applied in a country of immigration, where many new identities appear, also not questioning territorial integrity, history and tradition of the country.
3. It is applied in a structurally differentiated society, where identity is a matter of individual choice, rather than group belonging.

To compare with this, the Georgian social context provides different pre-requisites for cultural integration.

1. Georgia is in a process of state building, to which ethnic diversity still is a source of politically unresolved tensions, linked to the territorial integrity and independence of the state. There is a multiplicity of the levels of tensions, related to this problem, starting from the sharpest, related to Abkhazians, and finishing with the non-political one, related to Kurds.
2. Plurality of identities in Georgia has a long history and tradition. This plurality has been resolved by means of segmentation of the society, rather than by the integration. The identity segments of society used to exist in private, without adequate manifestation in political sphere, to avoid conflicts and tensions. Bulk of minorities, living in Georgia, are inhabitants of the country at least for several centuries.
3. Post-Soviet societies are in some sense non-structured and non-differentiated. All types of identities, such as ethnic, political, cultural, etc. tend to be closely linked to each other. Individuals tend to identify themselves with the state, state with the government and government with the nation. Symbolic manifestations of all these structural entities are overlapping and create finally one identity with many aspects.

School curriculum, based on ideals of non-discrimination, equality and plurality, should address the specific situation of Georgia. We

will use the concept of interethnicity, instead of interculturality, to address the situation. Also, we should distinguish between multiethnicity and interethnicity. The first implies non-discriminatory manifestation and co-existence of various ethnicities within the common state, but on a somehow segregated basis. The second implies not only group co-existence, but also group integration and formation of common plural culture in public space. If the first approach is applied, accent should be made on the equality of various cultures within the common state, and multiplicity of correspondent public spaces. This approach is more relevant to the possible resolution of conflicts with the correspondent territories having specific Abkhazian and Ossetian culture autonomy. Armenians in Akhalkalaki make the same claim, but this issue is more problematic in political sense. For the second approach accent should be made on the formation of integrative public space, in which every identity may manifest itself without discrimination. In practice such approach is more appropriate for the majority, because, even when minor cultures are manifesting themselves in public, it may lead to their "soft" assimilation without discrimination. It is more appropriate for those representatives of minorities, who would like to assimilate without discrimination.

The other argument can be also made in favor of interethnic, rather than multiethnic approach. The common feature of political culture in Georgia is that it tends to be strictly "majoritarian". "Majoritarian" in this context means, that the main source of legitimation for mutually bounding (political) decisions is rooted in a majority will. There is very little tradition of consensus building and recognition for all, rather than for majority. This political culture is typical for all ethnicities in Georgia, not only for Georgians. In effect, when some ethnicity lives compactly (not necessarily Georgians), they tend to dominate other ethnicities, which constitute the minority within the community (i.e. Georgians). In the regions this leads to a creation of a somehow "segmented" structure of society, with the relatively autonomous segments, in which individuals are either assimilated by majority, or marginalized by them. Though the interethnic approach may help to bring the "segments" closer to each other and so to avoid all types of domination.

In this research we concentrate on two ethnicities – Armenian and Azeri, and on the prospects of interethnicity in Georgia.

Character and forms of discrimination on the ethnic ground

As the research showed the ethnic relations are not regulated in Georgia and part of this problem finds its reflection in schools too. The representatives of ethnic minorities constantly refer to the existence of discriminatory practice against them. Georgians took hard such allegations and explained them as a result of a general social inequality existing in the society, or as inadequate behaviour of minorities.

The given research, by its very nature, aimed at determining not the scope of discriminatory practice, but its character and forms. Therefore, within the frame of the research, it was not possible to make conclusions on the scopes of such practice. In any case the data indicate the existence of a problem, which needs a target oriented educational policy.

The discriminatory practice, revealed in the course of the research, can be divided conditionally into two groups: psychological discrimination (labelling with negative stereotypes) and the discrimination at the labour market. Of course such differentiation is provided for the analytical purposes, while it's rather difficult to make distinction between them in a real life.

The discussions in the focus-groups have showed that there is a difference between minorities living in Tbilisi and in the regions. Psychological stigma is more painful for the non-Georgian population in Tbilisi. To certain extent this is quite obvious, as the minorities in the regions of compact settlement find themselves in mono-ethnic environment.

With regard of minorities living in Tbilisi we have to distinguish their experience on the basis of school education. The children in non-Georgian schools are in quite tolerant environment before they leave the school; after schooling they have to integrate themselves into the Georgian society, where they find certain problems. Minorities with education at Georgian schools are well integrated into Georgian society before leaving the school and consequently they are facing fewer problems in the future. This is evidence of problematic situation at both, Georgian and non-Georgian schools. On the one hand the Georgian schools fail to secure the education of citizens with enough degree of tolerance. On the other hand non-Georgian schools fail to secure the education of citizens ready to be integrated into the society; here first of all the problem of linguistic integration is emerged.

The nature of negative stereotypes existing in the society

Psychological discrimination of national minorities is linked with negative stereotypes and with negative stigma based on those stereotypes.

Stigmatization with social dimension

Stigmatization with social dimension means that there are stereotypes related to the **low social status of national minorities**. According to focus-group respondents of national minorities, stigmatization of non-Georgian population often takes place with reference to their low social status. Among Georgian population there are certain views reflecting such stereotypes, like that "all Azeris are vegetable-sellers, all Kurds are janitors, all Armenians are shoemakers". Disadvantage of national minorities in social dimension is reflected in their **low representation in the elite**.

According to national minorities the vertical mobility in Georgia is rather difficult for individuals with non-Georgian last names. Due to this very fact the people often have to deny their own national identity and make a choice of assimilation strategy (change the last name). With this respect they often refer to the attempt of stigmatization on the ground of national origin at the Georgian Parliament.

"I wanted to run TV show and my Georgian colleagues "as a joke" offered me to change two letters in my last name and become Eliava instead of Alieva".

Low score of representation in the elite has the effect of long-term social deprivation, as for the future generation of national minorities there are no role models, which achieved success in Georgia and which could be an indicator of certain prospective for them in this country.

Citizens of Azeri origin state that such discriminatory practice does not exist in Azerbaijan. Georgians in Baku occupy quite high positions in the political system and in the public life. But Georgians justify themselves pointing that there are no eminent Georgians in Yerevan.

Stigmatization though stereotyping on the ground of personal traits

As it is known the component of stereotyping on the ground of personal traits plays an important role in perception and categorization

of social groups. Previous researches show that there are ethnic stereotypes in Georgia, which label different ethnic groups with certain individual characters.⁶ These characters are both positive and negative, including with regard of Georgians. The discussion in focus-groups showed that if Georgians have some problems in relation with national minorities, they try to explain its existence through referring to the ethnic origin.

For instance, among Georgians there is a stereotype that Armenians are not reliable people. Such stereotype was found in the Georgian focus-group too:

"I've heard from business people: «you cannot trust Armenians»".

Stigmatization on the basis of historical past

The attitude of Georgians towards other nations can be the result of perception that they are "guests", i.e. they live in Georgia but do not represent the indigenous people. Ethnic minorities do not properly respect the tolerance always showed by Georgians.

In the memory of Georgians confrontation or historical experience of struggle for land posed by minorities are more vivid and they pay less attention to the positive experience of coexistence.

Negative historical memory of the Georgian population most often is negatively reflected in relations with Armenians. Media to some extent also exacerbates this problem:

"Georgians always reminded me some negative moments from the history of relation of our nations. Even journalists, taking an interview on absolutely different topic, never missed the opportunity to ask me about Bagramian Battalion. For some reason they never ask me about Kazariants' deeds".

Stigmatization on the religious ground

In Georgian consciousness Georgian identity and Orthodox identity often are intertwined. Religious identity seems even more salient, than the feeling of ethnic identity. Georgian respondents put stronger emphasis on the religious issues though the question regarded ethnic and not religious identity. Attitude towards non-Georgian in certain cases may be based on the religious difference, especially, if we take

into account that Georgian Muslims and Georgian Catholics, likewise the ethnic minorities, find no place in Georgian consciousness. Azeri participants of focus-groups referred to the negative emphasis on their religious affiliation, which could be a reason of distancing them.

"At the University a lecturer asked: "Are you Muslim?" and after my answer he looked at me like I were alien".

Stigmatizing through attaching inadequate identity

Azeris in Tbilisi, as well as in Kvemo Kartli find very painful when they are wrongly identified (as Tatars) by the Georgian population. As the respondents of focus groups referred, most often the subject of conflict between teenagers in Kvemo Kartli is that Azeris are being labelled as "Tatars".

"Somebody must explain these people that we are not Tatars. You Georgians also do not like when you are identified as any other nation, especially with certain degrading words?!"

By Tbilisi Azeris such type of stigmatizing of children and teenagers are the most discriminative and degrading practice, which, on its turn, is linked with the heaviest psychological trauma. It may be resulted in absolute isolation and alienation of children and denial of contacts with them.

"I had to withdraw my child from Children's Palace, because the Georgian children used to say to one another – "Don't sit next him, his is Tatar".

Stigmatization on the ground of linguistic difference

Linguistic difference may be even more important, rather than ethnic one. One of the Georgian respondents said: "I think that everybody who speaks Georgian, is Georgian by origin". As it appears Georgians are not loyal to those who have no command in Georgian.

Both, Georgian and non-Georgian respondents referred that Georgian children often make fun of those children and teenagers who speak their native language or with different pronunciation.

As Azeris, Armenians and Kurds, living in Tbilisi, declare that the perception of language difference as "negative exotic" is a result of intensification of internal migration processes.

For old Tbilisi dwellers ethnic diversity was a natural environment. Language and culture of non-Georgian population was an integral part of Tbilisi's life-style. Massive migration of population from Georgian provinces entailed frequent contacts between non-Georgian speaking Tbilisi dwellers and the population of mono-linguistic regions for which a person without command in Georgian is just a stranger.

"We tried not to speak our native language in the street and at the places of public gathering. Otherwise we always found ourselves in the centre of the attention. There were cases when we felt a hostile attitude. It was not so before".

Are there any negative stereotypes against Georgians among national minorities residing in Georgia?

Representatives of minority focus-groups identified no such stereotypes. Respondents denied the existence of any negative stereotypes on Georgians, however, the discriminative practice described by them creates the image of the enemy (at least latently) exercising the discrimination against them.

According to Georgian experts having experience in working in the regions with minority compact settlements, the xenophobic feelings among ethnic minorities are rather strong and mostly manifested in **distrust** to Georgians. Typical perception on Georgians can be illustrated as follows: *this is oppressor, who came to extort something and nothing good can be expected from him.*

Due to such attitude quite often the local population offers resistance to the projects implemented by Georgian NGOs in the regions and such projects require certain prior psychological work for "confidence-building".

Psychological dynamics of our focus-groups prove such observations. Mixed focus-groups, where we had Georgians and non-Georgians, were found as less productive. A group and mediator failed to establish effective communication: respondents of Armenian origin couldn't lead an open discussion on the problems of interethnic character because of the presence of Georgian respondents. It appears that there is a certain implicit "agreement" between Georgians and non-Georgians residing in the region, which puts taboo on the topic of interethnic relations.

Discrimination in the labour market

What is the view of the Armenians, Azeris and Kurds living in Tbilisi about discrimination of ethnic minorities in the labour market, so called professional discrimination?

The view of the group was divided into two parts:

A part of the respondents considers that there is no real discrimination in the labour market. In this sphere the other factors impede the operation of legal mechanisms. Namely, the role of nepotism is rather strong. At the labour market the social contacts are more important factors, than ethnic origin. However against this background the fact that the percentage of the national minorities in the elite is low can be found as indirect impediment to the vertical social mobility of national minorities.

There were different views too. In particular, some representatives of focus-groups attributed their failure in the labour market to the ethnic origin. By those respondents the Georgian employers give preference to Georgians even if the non-Georgian contestant is much more competitive.

With regard of regions with minority compact settlements the members of focus-group maintain that discrimination at the labour market is evident there, though the ground of this discrimination is a lack of knowledge of Georgian language, rather than the ethnic origin. Should be mentioned that less successful social groups were speaking about labour discrimination, while more successful individuals denied its existence. Such situation is also reflection of general psychological trend, when the success is attributed to the personal (internal) factors, and the failure – to the social (external) factors. In the given case such external factor as discrimination from the side of Georgians can be referred for explaining the personal failure. This is indirect indication to certain stigmatization of Georgians from the side of minorities.

In the regions of minority compact settlement the discrimination at the labour market is connected to the greater extent with the lack of knowledge of Georgian language rather than with ethnic origin.

Participants of focus-groups in Kvemo Kartli stated that the citizens of Azeris origin who could not process the documentation in Georgian, wouldn't be able to work at the public service. For instance, there

are no Azeris at the prosecutor's office in Marneuli. This situation lays the ground to distancing the local population from the state institutions, which may not be considered as encouraging factor to the integration processes. In reality Azeris and Armenians have no possibility to get high education due to the lack of knowledge of Georgian language.

Therefore one of the major factors of impediment for integration into the labour market is the lack of knowledge of the state language.

Ongoing school reform and problems and perspectives related to the learning of Georgian language through the eyes of national minorities

Ongoing school reforms across the country also include non-Georgian schools; the need of these reforms is acknowledged in the regions.

Participants of focus-groups in the regions with minority compact settlements positively assessed certain measures carried out in the course of reforms. Such assessment regards the improvement of material-technical base of schools, trainings of teachers and retraining programs, as well as new teaching methodologies.

Still the situation in the non-Georgian schools of the regions is vague with regard of changes of contents of curricula, programs and textbooks. They know nothing about this issue. Therefore it's early to start research about attitudes towards this question.

The most pressing problem for the population is Georgian language in which they have poor command and which becomes more and more important for integration within the society.

The study has shown that in the established situation it is of vital importance to learn Georgian language. Intensification of Georgian language in practice is evident and it requires special strategies of adaptation.

To the great extend the respondents blame schools for the lack of command in Georgian. During the schooling the Georgian language was taught improperly; they just memorized certain things without apprehending the essence and of course failed to apply such knowledge in a real life. Now they fail to help their children in doing the homework. Most probably that the TV serials broadcasted by Georgian TV channels have improved the knowledge of Georgian language more than language lessons at schools in the past.

It is also problematic that in the regions the motivation of learning Georgian language comes from the outside. Everyday life of population engaged in agriculture doesn't require the knowledge of language. Economic incentives are very weak, as it's rather difficult to get a job in Georgia. The prospective of employment is linked with migration processes to Russia. Due to such prospective many parents take their children in Russian schools. English also has become more popular: *"Before they wanted Russian, and now – English. They don't want to learn Georgian, as they think that in any case they will not be able to get a good job and a good position"* (Akha'kalaki). In Marneuli people mentioned about increased requirement of knowledge of Georgian language, because "if the shop assistance is Georgian and you ask something in Russian, you never get the answer. I've never got an answer".

Respondents of the focus-groups have stated that the population fails to follow the pace of intensive measures aimed at increasing the level of language knowledge thus breeding the alienation of local population from the state institutions, fear of losing the social niche (e.g. fear of unemployment) and feeling of unpromising future for the young generation.

"The state wants us to go to bed tonight and wake up tomorrow as absolutely different people. Such intensive pace of the language reform is found by the population as a pushing policy".

According to the respondents from Kvemo Kartli the changes in Kvemo-Javakheti have no such forced character. There is still possible to process the public documents in Armenian language. Accordingly such policy is found as unequal against the regions. However the school directors in Akhalkalaki mentioned that they had to translate Armenian documents into Georgian through the assistance of Georgian language teachers.

As far as we know now the non-Georgian schools are asked to provide documentation in Georgian that is an insuperable obstacle at the current stage for the majority of teachers. Most of Trustee Councils at the schools of Kvemo Kartli have already refused to meet this requirement.

As teachers state the attestation of teachers is planned to be carried

out in 2008, which reportedly should be in Georgian. This is an absolutely unrealistic task for teachers working at non-Georgian schools.

According to some of the respondents the regional entities of the Ministry of Education (Resource-Centres) spread the information that gradually each subject at non-Georgian schools will be taught in Georgian, which, as they state, leave the Azeri teachers without job. In Akhalkalaki they are more aware that education in Armenian language will be maintained but they don't know what will be the content of that education.

As the school directors reported, according to the pilot program provided by the Ministry of Education no single hour will be allocated for teaching Azeri language. Therefore they assess such program as a program of full assimilation of the Azeri population.

While checking at the Ministry this information it was found that the Ministry is not going to carry out pilot program for teaching Azeri language and that's why the hours were not determined. The Ministry offered to Azeri schools to determine the number of ours for teaching themselves.

Accordingly the fear of the population can be a result of lack of adequate information. As it appears there is a problem of communication between the ministry and non-Georgian schools in the regions, which also makes more pressing the fear and tension in the schooling system of the regions.

Having introduced the entrance examinations in the high schools only in Georgian, the potential entrants from the regions practically became the outsiders. One of the respondents said that 1200 pupils left the Azeri schools. 120 submitted the entrance documents and only 2 of them succeeded. The similar situation is in Akhalkalaki too. Although a few school-leavers entered to Akhaltsikhe University this year, they are facing significant difficulties in learning, as it is not easy for them to read Georgian text-books.

The representative of the Ministry of Education maintained that the state financed the special training courses for national minorities willing to take national exams, but the effect of such courses is still unknown, neither the perception of minorities about them.

The state implements certain programs in the regions with minority compact settlements. As the focus-groups declared, there were two-month or three-month courses, which may not be sufficient for learning and they had rather formal character.

The state financed grant-program and within the frame of this program Georgian teachers were sent to the regions with minority compact settlements. According to the view of Marneuli respondents effectiveness of this program is also low as the "missioners" (local population uses this name for participants of the program) do not know the local language. Moreover, their motivation is only to get the grant and go back to Tbilisi. It should be mentioned that the program was not assessed as a success by the Ministry either. However in Akhalkalaki still there are teachers who got a grant within this program and managed to learn Armenian language. These teachers say that they managed to be integrated within the local population. However one of the teachers considered that if the local population would be "more open" there wouldn't be any problem with regard of teaching the Georgian language. This remark indicates that teaching of Georgian language creates certain tension in this region. One of the respondents said that : *"if somebody constantly offers you candy insisting «eat, eat, eat...» you hardly like to eat even candy"*.

According to teachers of non-Georgian schools 18-month Georgian course is introduced at schools and they find this program more effective. Part of teachers managed to learn Georgian within this program and they can write and read in Georgian. However they consider unrealistic to pass attestation in Georgian language on the basis of such knowledge. The very fact that teachers also are learning English is very important incentive for school-children.

The attitude towards the measures for teaching Georgian language is not uniform either. Bilingual education is better accepted in the primary school. The lessons of drawing and handy-crafts are conducted in two languages, which indeed is very encouraging for learning Georgian.

It is intended to teach history and geography in upper classes in Georgian from 2009. According to participants of focus-groups such experiment is already in progress in a few schools. The results are found negative. Pupils who have no command in Georgian are taught history and geography in Georgian language. Therefore the children fail to learn either Georgian or history or geography.

The lack of relevant professionals will be a real impediment to the introduction of teaching the history and geography in Georgian language. The teachers participating in the program must know

Georgian, native language of local population and the relevant subject. Neither respondents, nor the Ministry knows how to solve this problem. At the current stage Azeri parents more often take their children to Georgian schools but the children are facing serious problems. As the study showed the major problem is that the children do not know Georgian at all before schooling. This situation requires special approach from the side of teachers, which, in its turn, bars the educational process and is met with aggression and dissatisfaction from the side of the Georgian parents. As a result of aforementioned the classes are divided by ethnic origin and children still find themselves not within Georgian environment posing the obstacles to the process of learning of Georgian language. The parents have to hire coach that is a heavy financial burden to their families.

The mixed pre-school educational establishments could be a good solution to overcome this problem.

Representatives of the Azeri community think that the most effective methods could be informal forms of communication between schools. For example, exchange programs, sport events, joint arrangements on aesthetic education, joint summer camps etc. Respondents having experience in such arrangements refer that the children gained more while being within the Georgian environment, rather than with long-term learning with coaches.

Daily interethnic communication, as it appears, is very important for both regions. Representatives of Akhalkalaki group referred that there were no problems with regard of ethnic relations, such problems are created "from the top", which is aggravated by media.

When it comes to intercultural education, the population of Kvemo Kartli puts the stress on the history. Respondents of the focus-groups consider that common history of Georgians and Azeris living in Georgia should be illustrated at history lessons, including participation of Azeri population in the wars led by Georgian kings.

"Georgians should see that throughout the centuries we lived in Georgia and historically we were the most committed allies".

Armenians from Tbilisi, like Azeris, also wished the history of Tbilisi Armenians to be reflected in the history of Georgia. Armenians from Akhalkalaki also hold that history text-books do not coincide with the

knowledge they have about the historical past. The story about genocide against Armenians is not described there etc. However for those Armenians the history of the Armenian nation is most important, and not the representation of Armenians living in Georgia.

Discussions on Kvemo Kartli region showed that it would be very difficult to write the history acceptable for both, Azeri and Armenian communities. The representative of the Ministry of Education also pointed out this problem. He said that Azeri population met with certain irritation the mentioning of Armenian last names (Kazariants, Aramians) in the text-book of Georgian language.

Problems and perspectives related to the interethnic relations through the eyes of Georgian majority

The interviews with the Georgian teachers and parents were aimed to determining the current practice, as well as revealing the reaction on introduction of elements of interethnic education in the Georgian schools.

The dynamic of conversation was as follows: from the beginning there was a positive description of the situation in Georgian schools, without problems in the classrooms; then the negative response was disclosed against introduction of pieces of Armenian and Azeri poetry; and at the end the acute claims were expressed against those minorities who had "no respect" of a good attitude. As it appears the ethnic stigma has a very strong political component – individuals living next to Georgians are perceived also according to their personal characteristics, which creates no serious problems, but the dwellers of the regions are bearers of identity of politically dangerous groups. The majority of respondents of focus-groups denies the existence of any kind of discriminative practice or stigmatization against national minorities. The major part of the respondents holds that there is no discrimination against national minorities in Georgia at all. If the representative of national minority is under certain discomfort at school, this could be result of his/her own "complex". Moreover, often Georgians are more oppressed, then the representatives of other nations – this is mostly referred by the Georgian refugees from Abkhazia.

The respondents also denied the "family" origin of ethnic stereotypes. As they have reported, in Georgian families the tolerance and positive attitude towards other nations are constantly underlined. Due to this

fact in primary classes there is no distinction among children on the ethnic basis. The problems emerge in upper grades, after the children are under the influence of media and hear about hostile feelings of other countries towards Georgia. For example, against the background of Russian-Georgian relations the teenagers have got a protest against learning the Russian literature. So, if the problem exists, it has a political background and not a personal one.

Respondents referring to the existence of certain forms of discrimination were found in minority. According to those respondents aggression is not demonstrated in open forms. The discomfort among non-Georgian children is found when they speak their native language or have a peculiar pronunciation. In addition, negative traits are mostly attributed to the ethnic origin. If a child has a problem in communication, his or her ethnic origin is underlined immediately. "If a child is a good one, his/her ethnic origin is not mentioned, but if a group doesn't like him, his negative traits are amplified and attributed to the ethnicity".

These respondents consider that Georgian society cannot decline responsibility for forming the negative stereotypes about other nations however these processes often take a latent character:

"If we often have to explain to our children that the children of other ethnic origins should not be turned down, it means that there is something that makes us explain".

Part of respondents considers that distancing of national minorities often takes social and not ethnic character, i.e. if a Georgian has no wish to communicate with the representative of ethnic minority most often the reason is that the latter belongs to a "lower" social class. There is no problem of communication between Georgian and non-Georgian citizens belonging to the same social layer. Unconditional recognition of the stereotype that the Georgian nation is the most tolerant one, is the impeding factor to conceive with criticism Georgians' attitude towards the national minorities. People with high-moral and culture never show their negative attitude to others even if there is a certain estrangement. Therefore, ethnic confrontation is found among backward Georgians. At the same time the focus-groups showed that perception of tolerance consists of negative connotations. Namely, "we do no harm to them", "they are not persecuted in Georgia", "nobody expresses aggression against them"

etc. The members of the focus-groups failed to find positive terms in describing the tolerance.

Some of respondents gave no recognition to the rights of national minorities that are established on the basis of historical experience.

"We respect them, but they should know that they are guests in Georgia and act accordingly".

To some extent such attitude is a demonstration of the thesis:

"The state of Georgia is the state of Georgians".

The members of the group find difficult to realize the essence of the process of integration of national minorities. Integration, to certain extent, is equated with assimilation. Of course, among others, this is a reason of the fact that the forms of living of national minorities in the State of Georgia are not in the top of the agenda of public-political discussions. It seems that with respect to national minorities there are two possibilities in the perception of the Georgian population: certain segregation:

"We – for ourselves, they- for themselves" or assimilation of minorities – "Georgianization".

There were extremely radical position among respondents, for instance, the terms reflecting the full religious assimilation.

"Yes, we live in Georgia and in Georgian schools the Orthodox religion should be taught and a child, who is not Georgian, should realize that he/she has to adopt Orthodox religion".

The focus-group revealed the stigmatization of the negative historical memory described above:

"I am from Abkhazia and the problem of Armenians is a pain for Georgians from Abkhazia. Jalall-ed- Din didn't do such harm to Georgians, as they did to Georgians in Abkhazia. Armenians greatly contributed to the Genocide of Georgians in Abkhazia".

The work in focus-groups proved the view that the regions with minority compact settlements by Georgian population are perceived as potential cradles of separatism. The majority of members of the focus-groups consider that "Georgianization" of those regions could be the most effective way for solving of this problem:

"If I had a power, I would find resources to settle the displaced people from Samachablo and Abkhazia in Samtskhe-Javakheti. This is "Georgianization", i.e. Armenians would be compactly settled in this region".

The discussion of multicultural education in the Georgian focus-group revealed the following trends:

Georgian population welcomes the possibility of expressing the culture, traditions and folklore of minority children at the primary school. In this case the representatives of national minorities may have the problems of their own. It is quite possible that a child has no intention to underline his or her ethnic difference. This is a very delicate issue and in any case it requires individual solution. Namely, according to the view of focus-group members, it is possible to have a prior negotiation with a child and his/her parent.

With respected of the introduction of the pieces of Armenian and Azeri literature in the upper grades it seems that this process will be met with certain resistance. If we analyze the reasons of resistance, they can be divided into two groups:

1. The principle of pragmatic reasonability

There is a dominant view in assessing the school reform that children are facing certain difficulties in the process of adaption and fail to learn even the material, which "is compulsory". Against this background the introduction of new information, which needs additional time and effort, may not be reasonable.

2. The fear of losing national identity

Under the ongoing reform it is intended to reduce a number of hours for Georgian literature. The parents think that introduction of pieces of Armenian and Azeri literature will be carried out at the expense of

hours assigned for Georgian literature. Against the background of cultural shock that is a result of the processes of approximation to Europe and of globalization, the fear to lose the national identity is especially strong among Georgians.

The discussions showed that if the pieces of Armenian and Azeri literature would be introduced as examples of world classical literature, it would be met with less opposition in Georgian schools. Moreover, the Georgian society intends that there will be counter-steps from the neighboring countries. Namely, it would be good if such processes are carried out simultaneously and they also provide some space for learning the pieces of Georgian literature.

Possible advantages of interethnic education

The study shows that there are problems in interethnic relations in Georgia, which require relevant educational policy. But the specific forms of such policy and its success depends on the readiness of the society to consider the tolerance as a norm of behaviour, and the discrimination – as deviation.

There are a few factors, which lay the ground to the optimistic perception. The results of the research confirm⁷ that the majority of population links the principal factor for regulation of interethnic and inter-religious relations with settlement of existing conflicts. A majority of the respondents maintains that ***“introduction of chapters in curricula of history, geography and literature about endowment of representatives of different ethnic groups to the spiritual and economic development of the country”*** will facilitate the problem-solving process. Also quite a great number of respondents support the idea that the guarantees for free development of ethnic groups should be established under the specific law. Below is a chart with answers to the question: “do you agree...” with the following affirmations:

Question	Yes	Partly	No	Find difficult to answer
1. "Georgia for Georgians"	42,4	24,5	32,5	0,6
2. Georgia is a homeland for all ethnic groups living here	62,6	29,4	7,5	0,5
3. Ethnic diversity makes the country more rich with respect of culture and more interesting	56,3	29,7	13,5	0,6
4. Ethnic minorities create additional problems and represent the potential, and in some cases - real threat to the state.	27,5	41,7	30,1	0,6
5. When making a choice with whom to have friendly relations or build up family, the most important factor is a personal human nature and ethnic and religious aspects are the issues of secondary importance.	43,7	33,0	22,6	0,7
6. It is desirable to assimilate the representatives of other ethnic groups.	19,1	19,9	60,5	0,6
7. Everybody who doesn't belong to the titular nations should be forced out of the country	10,5	16,9	70,8	1,9

Source: ISNN, 2003

As we see from these answers the majority gives positive assessment to the ethnic diversity and do not support the policy of assimilation. This, as a minimum, is the evidence of the advantage of multiethnic education. However there is still certain distance from other nations ("we for ourselves, they – for themselves"), which may create problems to the inter-ethnicity.

Certain stereotypes found among Georgian respondents also indicate the optimistic scenario for solving the problem. Blaming Georgians in intolerance and discrimination against others is considered as an outrage. Georgians are very proud of centuries-long history of tolerance and assume that they respect national minorities, but at the same time they are hurt for not having the reciprocal respect. It also should be taken into account that the tolerance is recognized as a sign of high-culture. Incorrect statements about other ethnic groups made by politicians are connected with their political marginalization.

Possible forms of interethnic education

During the research process specific recommendations have been expressed regarding concrete forms of multiethnic and interethnic forms of education. Approbation of these recommendations in focus groups and during the interviews, have revealed possible problems and perspectives regarding introduction of changes and improvements in curriculum.

Recommendations maybe divided into two groups:

1. More openness of the Georgian School towards representation of ethnic minorities and formation of multiethnic recognition in Georgian children;
2. Maintenance and development of the non-Georgian School and along with this further improvement of the teaching of the Georgian language in these schools.

Are ethnic minorities represented in the curriculum of the Georgian School?

Nowadays curriculum of the Georgian school does not actually represent the poly-ethnic reality, existing in Georgia. A child can graduate a Georgian school, without knowing that he lives in poly-cultural state. New textbooks that are in the process of preparation at present practically do not reflect the cultural diversity of Georgia. Although it is possible that such educational materials will be taken into consideration in the future.

We can view one of the new textbooks for the VII form as an example. In the program for the VII form history, geography and civil education is combined in one curriculum. This course was named by the representative of the Ministry of education, answering the question about the source, from which students should know about the cultural diversity of Georgia. The new textbook, written for this course, is based on the principle of students' recognition of time and space. There is a detailed description of the world in this textbook and Georgia is viewed in this context. The separate section is dedicated to the world religions. One of the paragraphs of this section is dedicated to the religions in Georgia. There are enumerated several religions, followers of which have historically resided in Georgia (Christian Armenians, Kurd Ezyds, Muslims, Catholics) and are given the pictures of respective churches/mosque/synagogue. There are also two pictures - "Jewish Clergymen" and "Dance of Kurd girls." There are no other indications on ethnic minorities, apart from the religious paragraph, in the textbook. So, these minorities appear in the textbooks in connection with different religious identities. This context emphasizes the feeling of cultural distinction between Georgians and non-Georgians. In accordance with experts' opinion, there are many other shortcomings in the textbook.

The weak representation of ethnic minorities in the curriculum of Georgian School is stipulated by the left inertia of certain ethnic "segregation" of schools, when existence of various types of schools was providing for the Soviet type of multicultural reality. At present there is a growing necessity that Georgian School must become not a school for "Georgians" but a school for "citizens of Georgia." Thus, representation of ethnic minorities in the curriculum of the Georgian Schools is a necessary condition for protecting their rights. This also helps to destroy the stereotype, spread among Georgians, that "Georgia is the country of Georgians."

It has become obvious while discussing with representatives of the Ministry that the Ministry has no purposeful strategy for improving curriculum in this direction; neither the Ministry showed its negative position towards introducing more interethnic situation in curriculum. In their opinion, there is improvement in this direction but the process is gradual and at first must be solved other more important issues. So, there is a perspective for positive development, especially if there is an agreement from the Ministry that changes are already necessary and the process must be accelerated.

We must keep in mind that new textbooks for forms VIII, IX, XI and XII and other forms are not published yet. Introduction of changes into these books is possible already at present if there is an interest from the Ministry. As the program is in the process of formation, the moment is appropriate for innovations. In the further paragraphs are reflected possible directions of such innovations.

Recommendation:

1. Cooperation with the Ministry for elaboration of conceptual vision of multi-ethnic reality of Georgia and its inclusion into the curriculum;
2. In cooperation with the Ministry and authors of textbooks to enrich curriculum with visual and essential information on multi-ethnic reality of Georgia. It is also directly reflected in the ethnic relations of Georgia. Their knowledge of history is sometimes contradictory with contents of school curriculum.

Is it necessary or not to work out a new, non-controversial version of the history?

Absence of the common vision of history is an acute political problem

for the region. Legitimization of territorial claims is based on appealing to historic grounds and the both sides to the conflict are based on the own versions of the history.

One of the initiatives, carried out under the auspices of the Council of Europe, was the elaboration of such integrated textbook for the region that will be acceptable for all the three countries. But the work is delayed at present because there is no consensus from Azerbaijanis to reflect the genocide of Armenians.

History is one of the most essential elements of the national mythology. In the opinion of one of Georgian respondents, what is written in history text-books, is always the truth as specialists know better how it was in reality.

There is a very essential innovation against this background. It is included in the teaching of history in schools. It is directed towards working out of critical attitude towards historic knowledge. The focus is made on multi-perspective vision of one and the same issue. This is done in upper grades (X-XII forms). Such approach will teach the students history method and will help to destroy stereotypes that there is only one truthful version of history. It is also important that in upper grades history of Georgia is discussed in the context of world history and is not set apart and distinct from other parts of history, as it used to be before.

The fact that the VII and VIII forms' history, geography and civil education is combined in one curriculum, is directed towards civil integration and overcoming of existing dissonance. It means that teaching of history at this stage must be directed towards formation of civil identity and not formation of national identity. Though some experts think that in upper grades combining of history and geography in one textbook is not justified but we should still value efforts of Ministry in the issue of demos formation.

What is taking place in the history study curriculum amounts to a serious review and reconstruction of methodology of history teaching and therefore undermines the existing stereotypes prevailing in this field. Projection of modern forms of territorial arrangements of the State on the past represents one of the aforementioned stereotypes, which, in turn, poses insurmountable obstacles on the way to solution of the territorial disputes.

Transfer of information on history of states is a traditional vision of

history. Modern approaches would help us see people beyond the state and therefore make it possible to ensure that history of people currently residing in Georgia is reflected in the Curriculum. We will address this issue in greater details in next paragraph, however it should be underlined, that since introduction of new methodology would help children to work with the sources, in this context it would be quite possible to introduce into history textbooks certain elements of inter-ethnicity and shed light on those sources, and analyze them, that would bring ethnic-minorities to the limelight.

It maybe asserted that change of history teaching methodology is more important than clarification of the content. As far as the content is concerned, the Ministry is trying to remove from the curriculum the most problematic and controversial issues, though from time to time it is done in favor of the Georgian majority.

Recommendation:

1. Training for teachers to promote the idea of new approaches in teaching history.

How the history, culture and traditions of peoples residing in Georgia should be presented?

As it has been mentioned, the new approaches toward teaching history would be conducive to better presentation in the Curriculum of history of peoples residing in Georgia. Traditionally established folk culture, linguistic diversity, music and other cultural elements are to be considered as part and parcel of this history.

Almost all respondents welcomed the possibility to enrich the secondary school Curriculum, which would better represent history, traditions and culture of those peoples traditionally residing in Georgia. What is meant here is to deliver knowledge to those groups who have traditionally co-existed with the Georgian majority on the territory of Georgia. This is not going to be, for example, history of the whole Armenian nation, but rather history (histories) of those Armenians, who resided in Georgia. Thereby, that approach differs from the one described in the previous paragraph.

One of the paragraphs of the aforementioned textbook is devoted to Tbilisi and its daily life in the 19th century, while the second textbook

is devoted to Georgian rural life and architecture. Both textbooks are rich in visual materials. However, despite the fact that Tbilisi historically has been a multi-ethnic city and this fact was a good topic for its actualization, in neither of these textbooks there is a single picture of representatives of ethnic minorities.

In this framework, it is quite possible to offer positive historic role models related to co-participation of non ethnic-Georgians in the history of Georgia, its development and role in societal life. Such role models, on the one hand, serve as good example for ethnic minorities to emulate, and on the other hand, would decrease the level of stigmatization of ethnic minorities in Georgian majority's opinion. At the same time, by the example of Georgian historical leaders to present and promote patterns of tolerant and "transparent" behaviour, which, in turn, would help tolerant mode of behaviour to take deep roots.

The approach accentuating on "Peoples" has both positive and negative sides. Most likely, exhibition of traditions and rituals of different ethnic groups in secondary schools would not be negatively perceived by Georgians. Folk culture and diversity have taken so deep roots in Georgian society, that Georgians themselves have a great number of different dances, songs, cuisine and even languages in different provinces of the country. Moreover, these rituals and traditions are playing even more important role than ever before, especially when it come to regions of Georgia. "Ethnographic" curriculum, in which not only Georgians, but also other ethnicities are represented, probably would not run counter to the sentiments prevailing in the traditional society and would not give rise to "fears" of losing identity. The Georgian focus group considered as a welcome fact that, for example, Kurdish schoolgirls, full of pride, would tell their classmates about unique traditions and festivities of Kurdish people. In towns, as well as in villages, respect for their neighbours' festivals and rituals is a common-place pattern of behaviour.

However, such an approach maybe discriminative towards ethnic minorities, since it would present them only as an "ethnos" and not as a "nation". For example, Armenians, like Georgians, do not have different from each other their own civil, national and ethnic identities. For their identity the history of the country (Armenia), religion, culture and tradition are equally important. In this respect, probable, there

are certain differences between Armenians and Azeris and this issue calls for further research. That difference can be explained by the fact that Armenians have a unique identity in the region and very sharp sense of identity against the background of unfavorable historical experience, while Azeris are relatives of Turks and they are not all alone. Other ethnic groups may have the similar differences.

Therefore, "ethnographic" approach should be treated carefully and it would be appropriate to apply it through demonstration of "higher" culture elements. However, it would be problem-free to apply its elements within the framework of the existing curriculum. For example, alongside pictures of houses in the Svani, Khevsuri and Megrelian villages found in history textbooks, why not put pictures of houses in Abkhaz or Ossetian villages. We should determine, in which textbooks and in which classes these information should be integrated and whether it would be expedient to teach this course separately, at least as an optional discipline.

An other aspect of the history of peoples of Georgia is to deliver information on those non-Georgian public figures, who had played an important positive role in the history of Georgia. As research demonstrated, memory of such non-Georgian patriots is better preserved in non-Georgian families (Azeri: *"My grandfather used to say that our predecessors fought alongside King Erekle"*.) More negative memories are dominating memories of Georgians.

However, some historical facts may turn out to be rather painfully surprising for the Georgian majority; therefore, such information should be treated with care. For example, the history of Tbilisi makes it vivid that in the past Georgians were not the majority in Tbilisi. Georgians do not like to recognize that the absolute majority of buildings in Tbilisi were not built by non-Georgians. Nevertheless, it would be desirable to present history of Tbilisi as it was, since this city has always been carrier of traditions of tolerant coexistence and integration, which allows us to demonstrate the important role played by non-Georgian public figures. For Georgians recently moved from other regions to Tbilisi this tradition is rather alien, since they have been brought up in mono-ethnic environment. Learning of Tbilisi's tradition would be conducive to their own integration into the City environment.

Representatives of the Ministry of Education considered the proposal to introduce the course on the positive role played by non-Georgians in the history of Georgia as an attempt to manipulate and falsify the history. They think that ethnic minorities played no role in the history of Georgia and therefore such an approach aims at distorting the history of the country.

Meanwhile, other historians think, that this issues has never been adequately studied and researched, therefore we do not know if the official version of history of Georgia corresponds or not to reality. They think that this issue should be thoroughly studied which may result in a different picture of history. Therefore, if we would opt for demonstration of positive role played by non-Georgian peoples in the history of Georgia, it would take serious scientific-research work, prior to writing history textbook. It would be desirable if the necessity of the aforementioned activities is understood at the state level and a special program is worked out at the State University and other academic institutions.

According to the recommendation offered by an expert, the teaching of literature works by Georgian authors about non-Georgians may be a way out of the predicament. Mikheil Javakhishvili can be taken as an example; some heroes of his works are ethnic Azeris.

Recommendation:

1. To work out a curriculum reflecting history, tradition and culture of peoples—either as a separate discipline or as a part of other disciplines.
2. To present positive role models, underline historical examples of patriotism and tolerant mode of behaviour.
3. To strengthen research activities at Universities and scientific institutions in order to strengthen interethnic curriculum

How can we demonstrate those cultural values that are common for Georgians, Armenians and Azeris?

Appealing to culture, rather than to history, maybe more helpful for a better integration of Georgians, Armenians and Azeris.

The historical past, as it was mentioned, has a very strong impact in establishing negative stigma. ***Positive application of the past for legitimization of confidence-building and approximation will be possible only in the case when common cultural origins are***

underlined in this historical past. Taking into account the traditional attitude of the majority of Georgian population, seeking the basis of tolerance in the past might be more effective than putting a stress on human rights. Equality of rights will be better rooted in the society if the cultural richness of minorities and its close relation with Georgian culture are well represented. This also will make its contribution to the unity of the three countries of the region and to the regional integration.

Nowadays the society maintains the vision that Georgian culture is unique and original. At the same time the specialists are well aware that ***Georgian, Armenian and Azeri cultures have a lot of common, which is linked with the common ethno-genesis*** "The key for relations with these nations can be found in medieval texts, because they, as Georgians, built their identity on those national epics created in medieval era".

It will not be problematic to see the proximity of three countries of the region in the context of learning of interaction of cultures. *"Through the different historical and linguistic texts one can make a person understand that there are no original or distinctive cultures as such and there is always cultural influence that can be taught at a school level"*.

Some experts think that this approach can be vitalized through introducing a common origin of Georgian, Armenian and Azeri literature at literature lessons. Teaching of the works of Nazimi, Sayat Nova and others together with Georgian authors would enrich the teaching of Georgian literature.

The process of research showed that this approach may encounter resistance in Georgian schools. Equal representation of Armenian and Azeri cultures next to the Georgian one in school curriculum may be perceived as a threat to the dominant culture. Therefore it is very important how this material will be considered by Georgians.

First of all such curriculum should be elaborated and introduced in all three countries of the region, within the frame of unified educational course. That means that if Georgian children are learning Sayat Nova or others, Armenian or Azeri children in Armenia and Azerbaijan also should learn Shota Rustaveli and Vazha Pshavela. Such equal interchange of cultures will be accepted in Georgia with less problems.

This course also can be introduced not only for the purpose of extension of the course of Georgian literature, but as the part of curriculum for the world literature and culture. This is quite possible if such curriculum is available as compulsory or optional. The format introduced by the ministry is also applicable – the text book has a title "Literature", but in the texts we find Georgian authors, as well as others. for example – Jules Verne or Mark Twain.

No matter how this topic will be included in the teaching curriculum – it is important to make it serve to the deeper understanding of Georgian identity, because the fear to lose the identity is very strong within the society: "We are rushing to Europe so fast and the tendency is such that we are afraid of everything that may damage our roots". As the cultural origin of the three countries is either oriental or Soviet, the Ministry itself also may offer resistance to the introduction of this course, because of the Ministry's western orientation. However this approach will have its lobby among Georgian scientific circles where these issues are well investigated.

Recommendation:

Strengthening of regional cooperation (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan) at a state level, as well as at the level of professionals for including common origins and sources in teaching of literature, for elaboration and introduction of joint curriculum.

Is it necessary to illustrate diversity of identity within the classroom environment?

Reforming of the Georgian school in the intercultural direction and increasing of its attractiveness in the eyes of minority representatives need more than a mere modification of the educational program. It means such educational environment where the child's identity is demonstrated with equal and non-discriminating forms. Is it necessary to establish such school-environment in Georgia and how much it is possible? This is the most difficult and controversial issue of the current study.

This issue takes us back to the problem which is underlined by some Georgian experts – would the open stress on ethnic diversity at the classroom entail the negative reaction and problem sharpening? Is the tactic of hiding of the problem more traditional and acceptable?

We suppose that the given study only provides the possibility to identify the problem, but it is not enough to elaborate final recommendations on this issue. The issue in question need further investigation and piloting of relevant approaches in a real situation. In the Caucasus, as it was already mentioned, there is a tradition of ethnic coexistence, which is based on representation of similarities and not the differences. Coexistence of the people of different ethnic origin, their neighbourly and friendly relations most often are based on this behaviour. In the mixed regions the children of different ethnic origin have friendly relations without touching the problematic and arguable issues. For the individual bearing the different identity it is not easy to demonstrate sub-cultural, ethnic and religious differences. There is a fear to stigmatization and alienation and people try to avoid it.

The focus-group of Georgian teachers and parents shows the advantage of underlining the diversity in the lower grades. Not only teachers, but also some parents supported this approach, because they know the similar stories from Europe (Ireland), where Georgian children found themselves in such multicultural environment and they received a welcome. Therefore, most probably the multicultural elements will not be met with confrontation from the side of Georgians at the classrooms of the Capital City.

However some of the respondents hold that often the parents take their children to the Georgian schools with the assumption that a child will pass through the successful assimilation thus preventing him/her from possible discrimination in future. They may not wish their children to have the identity of "Armenian", "Ossetian" or "Kurd", but want them to be Georgian. *"As a non-Georgian takes his child to the Georgian school, he tries to adapt to a Georgian culture and Georgian environment, to strengthen the roots in Georgia and prevent his child from complexes and encourage him (a child) to get Georgian friends"*. Often these parents are quite well assimilated and maintain their ethnicity only at a level of the last name. In short, such inter-ethnicity may be in confrontation with the processes of assimilation, which is not a result of direct forcible measures, but a voluntary act based on a new reality related to the Georgia's recently gained statehood.

Another situation can be in the regions where the minorities in compact settlement are the neighbours of Georgians and their children go to school together. Here mostly the children of two nations

are represented (Georgians-Azeris, Georgians-Armenians), and it's easier to elaborate multiethnic strategies related to the bilingual education and to share the cultures through informal relations.

In other places the diversity of and interrelated identity also should be taken into account that is a characteristic trait of the Caucasus in general. The same person may have intersection of different identities. Ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural identities not always coincide with one another. A child may have two kinds of identity if he/she is from the mixed family. The preliminary study may not disclose what kind of minority groups exist in Georgia, which should be taken into account in the multiethnic curriculum. For somebody religion can be the most important and not ethnicity, but for others the difference can be based on the language (e.g. Russian), which will not be related to his/her ethnic or religious origin. With this respect the identity is a very individual aspect and its personal emphasis and perception may confront the stigmatization. Accordingly the stigmatization of identity – like Georgian, Kurd, Armenian and others – could serve as restrictive factor for multi-identity and not the encouraging one. Therefore, if in some cases the multiethnic environment should work for solving the interethnic problems, in other cases the introduction of elements of multiculturalism in lower grades requires such methodology, which will be tied not with demonstration of ethnic or cultural identity but with countenance of individual differences in general, regardless of the nature of the difference.

There were no single answers either on the question in which grade is better to introduce the interethnic approaches. According to some teachers at a lower grades the children fail to realize such issues and identity becomes more salient topic after 7th grade, mostly due to the TV influence. Therefore any stress on such issues at primary schools may be rather artificial.

Multiethnic approach may be introduced gradually: it can be preceded with modification of teaching curriculum in such a way that not to make Georgian children leave the school with feeling that they live in the state, which belongs only to Georgians.

Recommendation:

1. Continuation of the study
2. Pilot projects at the schools in Tbilisi and in the regions

In which form the non-Georgian schools should be retained?

At the current stage retention and development of non-Georgian schools is the most important precondition for protecting the minority rights and maintaining the space of multicultural education. Retention or Georgianization – this issue is being solved through confrontation and fight thus depriving from the possibility to elaborate a long-term vision.

The relation of the Ministry with schools takes a character of opposition, rather than of cooperation. It is true with regard of Georgian schools too, but this relation seems more pressing in non-Georgian schools. The schools are now more independent and they enjoy self-governance, but this independence is restricted with certain frame and new requirements. Unfortunately the schools fail or merely are not able to meet those requirements. There is a lack of information in non-Georgian schools and they have no vision on prospect at all. It breeds additional and not groundless fear that the Ministry intends to annul national schools, which is unacceptable for them.

The local authorities at the current situation may not be able to give support to the local schools. New local self-governance bodies most probably will be rather weak. Such development leaves the schools alone before their problems. While the state does not annul the national schools, it also does nothing to help them in elaborating the development strategy. Such form of relation is counter-productive and has a lack of positive perception to the future.

The strategy of bilingual education is under elaboration stage at the ministry and it will be directed to the resolution of this problem. However it can be already said that the pace of reforms related to the minorities does not comply with the possibility of adaptation at a local level.

The pace of changes within the educational system should be in accord with the adaptation capacity. It regards not only minorities, but also Georgian majority. Cultural shock is not an effective way to the cultural integration, it may breed long-term inequality within the society. Shocking modernization of neighbouring Turkey in the 20th century is a bad example with respect of protection of minority rights and multicultural environment. Sound management of public processes in the regime of dialogue and more trust to the society are necessary elements for successful achievements and not just

population's desire to collapse unpopular policy. Every stakeholder should elaborate the similar vision to the future, which will be a ground for implementation of specific measures.

Recommendation

Elaboration of the long-term concept for development of non-Georgian schools, support for these schools in the process of adaptation of novelties, strengthening of cooperation among them, with the Ministry and with Georgian schools.

How Georgian language should be taught?

As the nature of further transformation of non-Georgian school curriculum is not clear yet, it was not possible to elaborate the recommendation in this direction. The major problem considered in this paragraph regards the improvement of teaching of the Georgian language.

As it was already mentioned the teaching of Georgian in non-Georgian schools is under the process of serious transformation. The methodology of teaching, as a second language, has been elaborated; new text-books have been published, the teachers go through the intensive training courses; these text-books have already been introduced this year. The local teachers gave a positive assessment of the changes and children found also easier to learn Georgian through the new approaches.

The changes are introduced to the Georgian schools too. Here also the stress is on functional application of Georgian language and on the skills gained through learning. Georgian language and literature no longer serve primarily to maintaining the Georgian identity but to the functional role of the language in accordance to the public needs. The similar changes are introduced in teaching Armenian at the Armenian schools, which is also positively assessed.

All of these are steps ahead. At the same time the approach of the Ministry needs further deliberation. It seems that the Ministry fails to realize the alternatives with respect of this issue.

The rejection of the new education program from a part of the Georgian society indicates to the narrowness of the approach assumed by the Ministry of Education. That part of the society thinks

that the new education plan fails to pay due attention to the Georgian identity and undermines the role of secondary schools in terms of preservation and further development of Georgian traditions and culture. At the same time, certain apprehension and fear emerged in the regions with respect of further broadening of area of teaching of Georgian language. These fears can also be explained by their aspirations to maintain their ethnic identities.

In the context of globalization, **the problem of maintenance of Georgian identity and at the same time to assume new function to Georgian language – the function of interethnic relations – comes into contradiction with one another and there are no ways identified how to address these contradictions.** It seems that there are no well-thought methods how to address the problem of duality of the function of the language. Therefore, the duality of the language is quite a novelty and is not well conceptualized, and the practice of teaching Georgian language to ethnic minorities is characterized with some elements of assimilation.

It is true, that the aforementioned vision is considered by the Ministry of Education as a "reactionary" one, and not worthy to be considered. However, one can not argue that the Ministry has done nothing in this respect and they are quite open to new ideas. The problem is that in the concept of civil integration proposed by the Ministry of Education major emphasis is put linguistic dimension of integration. Therefore, The Ministry puts far more emphasis on teaching the Georgian language, than it is objectively necessary.

For example, in the new Georgian language textbook for non Georgian children "Tavtavi", the Georgian identity is depicted on the non-verbal level, through pictures and illustrations. The textbook acquaints students with the Georgian language and (too far less extent) with Georgian identity. In this textbook you will not see identity of the children who are going to be users of the textbook.

However, it is still possible to transform the education program in a manner that would preclude it from assimilation of non-Georgian schools, even in a clandestine manner. To do so, it is essential to figure out where is the border line between civil identity and cultural identity in a multi-ethnic Georgia. Therefore, education program should become differentiated with symbolic manifestations.

There are two options to tackle the problem and both of them should

be subject to debate and consideration with experts. **The Georgian language courses should be based either on exclusively civil symbolic, or become inter-ethnic, reflecting symbols of many ethnic groups.**

Recommendation:

1. With the participation of experts to analyse new functional characteristics of Georgian language public space and work out relevant recommendations.
2. To consider the inter-ethnic component for non-Georgian schools in the field of teaching Georgian language

What form can be applied for inter-ethnic education beyond the secondary school?

Methods of bilateral integration beyond the secondary schools are mainly to be realized in the regions of Georgia. These methods may meet all the aforementioned objectives, though the most important thing is to solve the issue of linguistic integration.

Linguistic problems encountered by the non-Georgian population poses serious problems for schoolchildren in they quest for adaptation in secondary schools. He/she may found it extremely difficult to integrate himself/herself into a Georgian secondary school. At the same time, Georgian children who had no contact with non-Georgian speaking children in the past, may consider those schoolmates who do not speak Georgian as children with negative personal traits. It is evident that in Georgia attitudes toward those individuals who do not speak Georgian are far worse than toward those people who do speak Georgian. Therefore, it is extremely important to establish mixed kindergartens, especially so in the regions of Georgia. In this respect, special attention should be paid to bilingual education, as a precondition for preparation of children for integration in secondary schools of Georgia.

Respondents attached huge importance to the factor of informal relations. This may take the form of sport activities, common festivities and frequent socialization. Frequent communication between children and their parents will be conducive to both parties and would help eliminate elements of discrimination.

Recommendation:

1. Supporting bilingual kindergartens in the regions
2. Informal activities, directed towards social integration in regions

External factors and general recommendations

1. As it has been mentioned, state authorities do not have a clear vision of the future society, respective action plan and policy. In spite of the fact that certain documents are prepared and the educational project of civil integration is implemented, it is not clear what will be adopted in the future. This uncertainty is an obstacle for the elaboration of respective educational strategy and its due implementation. As there is uncertainty of policy there is a high risk that practical situation can actually be developed towards assimilation and not integration. Clear time-set plan, which reflects certain vision of future society, will alleviate for the population elaboration of individual strategies and will reduce risks of conflicts. All the sides - Georgians and minorities must clearly understand, what can they concede and what can they receive in return. Such type of "contract" relationship will increase level of confidence in the society and will formulate definite positive model of tolerance that will be in fact obligatory for both sides.

2. It seems from the analysis of research that accent must be made first of all on Georgian schools. These schools are in the process of reforming and considerable part of the indicated plans, if they are implemented in accordance with their idea, will have positive result for preparing foundation of interethnic education. This does not mean that introduction of elements must be postponed for future. Certain steps must be realized already today. Though these activities must be gradually implemented and all the further steps must be essentially piloted.

3. Creation of an intercultural environment at schools is first of all dependent on teachers. Specific training of teachers and setting from the side of the Ministry specific requirements in criteria for teachers' evaluation can be a crucial measure for further promotion.

4. The difficult social-economic situation of the country is demonstrated first of all in unemployment and high rate of labor migration. Absence of employment perspectives in Georgia causes loss of motivation among young people to study Georgian and transforms them into potential migrants. Shift of higher education entirely to Georgian language, is considered as important impetus for studying Georgian language, although so far this only reduces the number of non-Georgian students in higher institutions. The new draft law on *vocational education* is completely unacceptable. It sets Georgian language as an only language of instruction in vocational institutions. Existence of vocational institutions with local languages of instruction in the regions can facilitate the economic development of these regions and reduce the migration of the young people.

Notes:

1. Guram Svanidze, Concept On the Policy Regarding the Protection and Integration of Persons Belonging to National Minorities in Georgia , ECMI Georgia Occasional Paper# 2, European Centre for Minority Issues (ECMI), Tbilisi, Georgia.
2. Research on a Non-Georgian Schools, ACT, 2005, www.mes.gov.ge, www.reform.edu.ge
3. One Society, many Ethnicities: Ethnic Diversity and Civic Integration in Georgia, CIPDD, Tbilisi, 2003.
4. Intercultural education in primary school, Guidelines for schools, NCCA, 2005, Ireland
5. Ibid.
6. Surmanidze L. "Study of Mentality of Georgian Ethnic (on the basis of folk phraseology)", post-graduate research, Tbilisi (in Georgian), 1993
7. Study of the problem of multicultural diversity and regional unity in the South Caucasus, ISSN. Selection – 1000 respondents, among them – 83.4% Georgians.

2.4. The Case of The Netherlands: Intercultural Education

Michel Peters

In the Netherlands the situation of minorities is well documented. Scientists have produced statistics and data about almost every aspect of minority life, so I would almost say that we have too many figures. That is why we did not concentrate on this issue of data collection in the past year.

Instead, we focused on the language issue. We established an informal group with experts which are convinced of the value of multilingual education in Primary School. In the past year this group had political contacts to convince politicians of our point of view. This however was a hard way to go. The trend nowadays is Dutch only', minorities should adopt to Dutch culture and values. This is the political reason why teaching minority languages in school was abolished recently.

There was a standstill during the election period, now there is a new government, with new persons in power. So we have to reopen the multilingual education issue in the next year.

We had three objectives in the last year:

1. A mapping of the migrant organisations. We published a report in Dutch about the findings of this research. Main question was how much migrant organisations were interested in multilingual education. The conclusion was not very encouraging, in the sense that during the interviews we could not detect support for lobby for multilingual education. They are tired of fighting the government who doesn't listen to their arguments. It was felt -mainly by young people- that minority organisations are not always representing their community and they were reluctant to cooperate.
2. Continue the work of the National Initiative Group on Municipal Language Schools. We lobbied with municipal governments to support the establishment of Language Schools. In Amsterdam the project seemed to become successful. Schoolboards were prepared

to finance a part of this pilot project under the condition that the local municipality also would participate in this program. However, Amsterdam municipality stated that they have no money for this project, so the group stopped as they are not able to carry the whole burden of this project. Local initiatives are not very fruitful so we decided to organize a national conference on Language Schools (there were 60 people, minority representatives, academics, politicians). Our idea was to influence the elections, so that multilingual education will be on the agenda of political parties again. As a result of this meeting we will have a follow-up meeting on the 15th of March with two Christian-Democratic politicians. At the governmental level nothing is said now about multilingual education. Entire focus is on pre-school education for migrant children in Dutch language. All funding is directed into this direction. There is no space for teaching languages in the curriculum in school now. A new concept of a 'Broad School' (Brede School) is being introduced at the moment. In this Broad School children will be present from 8 in the morning until 6 in the afternoon. School is not only responsible for education, but also for an after-school program consisting of for instance sports and cultural activities. Language education could very well be part of this after-school program. This is a focus for lobby.

3. Children grow up to live in multicultural society, so they should a. know about each other, about the others' culture and background, b. they should learn to live together and c. prevent and combat discrimination. This is what intercultural education should consist of. The problem is that intercultural education is obligatory by law, but there are no endterms formulated, and schools do not have guidelines how to do intercultural education. Only a third of them pay attention to this issue. There are different institutes that try to stimulate intercultural education, that produce textbooks, but they are not always used in schools.

We plan to make an inventory about intercultural education in Primary Schools in The Netherlands for presentation in this network.

The Case of Romania: Pleading for Intercultural Education in Romania

Judit-Andrea Kacsó

Project's aim

The aim of the project consisted in advocacy for intercultural education as a key mechanism towards developing social cohesion, tolerance and mutual understanding between majority and minorities in Romania. The project implementing team started from the assumption, confirmed by sociological research, that the public educational system plays a crucial role in the shaping of the individual and collective perception of minorities. Consequently, the intercultural education has to address both minority and majority students. For the time being, minority education has a strong intercultural dimension, but the intercultural dimension is nearly absent from the majority students' education. The experience of the transition years towards pluralist participatory democracy in Romania has demonstrated that it is impossible to develop tolerance without addressing the majority population.

Objectives of the project

The project's main objective was to assess the current status of intercultural education in Romania, both in the public school system and NGO sector and to advocate for enhancing the intercultural dimension of school curricula, by recommending a set of guidelines to be adopted in the curricula. In order to complete the objectives, the following activities have been developed:

- a theoretical dimension to define interculturalism and multiculturalism
- inventory the current situation of the intercultural education in both the NGO sector and in the public school system of Romania
- assessment of the situation on the ground, questionnaires disseminated in relevant schools from five regions of Romania.
- comparison, discussion and evaluation of the results; elaboration of a detailed report on the situation of intercultural education in Romania;

- development of a list of recommendations and guidelines for improving intercultural education in the public schools by experts and field operators;
- discussion of the report, recommendations and guidelines in a national meeting dedicated to the situation of intercultural education in Romania with participation of minority representatives, intercultural NGOs, representatives of the Romanian government, ministry of education, ministry of culture, institutes for the research of educational curricula, media.
- publishing of the report containing the recommendations and guidelines in a brochure and dissemination to all relevant national, regional and local decision making bodies in matters related to education.

Activities of the project

1. Launching: At the beginning the project has been presented at the regular press-conference of the organisation (May 3, 2006), explaining the objectives, planned activities and expected results of the project, the partner organisations and the funders.

2. Meetings

- meeting of the selected monitors of the intercultural education project. At this occasion it was presented the project and its objectives, the questionnaires and the working methodology (July 2006).
- debate of historians in Oradea regarding the intercultural dimension of history teaching in Romania (January 2007).
- national meeting. At this meeting, besides other guests, Attila Márkó Secretary of State at the Department of Interethnic Relations and Gabriella Pásztor Secretary of State at the Ministry of Education, General Directorate for Education in National Minorities' Languages participated (January 2007).

3. Ground assessment

The first step in questioning of the opinion of students and teachers was to elaborate and test of the questionnaires. The questionnaires for the three different categories (students, teachers and non-governmental organisations) were elaborated and shared with the

network. Liga Pro Europa requested a written permission from the Ministry of Education to apply the questionnaires in a number of highschoools and primary schools in the five historical regions. This permission has been granted with a great delay to PEL at October 10, 2006.

3.1. Selection of the localities and of the monitors:

Meantime the PEL has identified and selected the localities in which the questionnaires will be applied as well as the monitors who were instructed with the methodology of the research and about the modalities of applying them. The questionnaires were tested on a control group formed of 15 students from different highschoools. After analysing the proposals of the control group, the questions have been modified according to the results. In the first period we have selected the monitors and identified the localities. We have applied the questionnaires in urban and rural communities as well.

Due to the fact that the written permission of the Ministry of Education was received very late and in the period mid-June – mid-September the schools had been in holiday, there was a delay in sending the questionnaires and official documentation to the monitors, respectively to the school inspectorates and directorates.

In the initial project the number of questionnaires to be distributed to students and teachers was set to be 250. Nevertheless, we have considered that in order to have a more comprehensive view over the opinions of those questioned we should increase this number even if the present inventory is not a genuine sociological poll. Thus a number of 1227 questionnaires has been reached (1072 for students and 155 for teachers).

Ground assessment's results

Questionnaires for students

In November-December 2006, 1072 questionnaires were applied to students, 463 in gymnasiums and 609 in high schools, and about 150 questionnaires to teachers in 16 towns and cities all over the country (Braşov, Caransebeş, Constanţa, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Orşova, Timişoara, Topolog, Tulcea, Bucureşti, Cluj Napoca, Satu Mare, Craiova, Filiaşi, Sibiu, Iaşi and Buzău).

The analysis here does not claim to be a genuine sociological one (those questioned do not make up a representative sample for this country), but it is rather an inquiry into the students' and teachers' opinions regarding their knowledge on national minorities and into the intercultural aspects of the public schools in Romania.

One of the questions was about the **national minority** the respondents thought to know best and it also asked for three specific traits of that minority. The national minority most often mentioned by students was the Roma. Their perception is mostly negative as they are described as thieves, liars, uncivilised, illiterate, dirty, violent persons; when positive traits were attached to them, the phrases that came to the mind of the respondents were: unity, respect for traditions, specific clothes, language and music. The Hungarian minority is seen both negatively (they are difficultly tolerated by the Romanian people, they are crafty, mean, intolerant, nationalists and liars, with no respect for their adoptive country, they have all kinds of claims – Braşov; separatists, ironic – Bucharest, conceited and intolerant – Timișoara) and positively (kind, religious, friendly, have beautiful customs, clever, good organizers, good hosts, dependable, disciplined) and also neutral (specific folk clothes, dances, music). The most desirable minority are the Germans, their description being mainly neutral and positive (specific folk clothes, dances and music, dependable, civic sense, openness towards others).

Other ethnic communities mentioned were the Jews, Turks, Tartars, Czechs, Lipovans, Italians, Ukrainians, Russians, Serbs and Aromanians.

Sport, parties, school stage performances, contests, trips and youth camps were among the most commonly mentioned regarding **school and out-of school activities** that students have together with children of different ethnic background. Many students answered they had not participated in such activities as there had been none organised.

Two of the questions pertained to **defining tolerance and intolerance**. Most of the students defined tolerance resorting to terms like understanding, acceptance, patience, appreciation and respect for those of different ethnic background, language and religion or they considered tolerance to be „overlooking a thing somebody did and you don't like". There were students who considered tolerance

a moral quality, a virtue, a behaviour of peaceful people. Intolerance was described using terms like rejection, callousness, lack of respect, discrimination, racism, self-isolation of other ethnical communities, incapacity of going beyond prejudices, hatred. The last part of the questionnaire was devoted to the respondents' **personal comments**. Most of the questionnaires were returned either without being filled in at this point or with a „I have no comment to make” answer. We quote below from those that did have a personal opinion that shows the degree of „tolerance” towards minorities:

“I for one am against Romas’ behaviour, not against them as persons. As for Hungarians, I think they should display their patriotical stand in another country than mine.” (boy, Romanian, the 10th form, Timișoara)

“Let Hungarians go back to Mongolia where they’ve come from, let’s set Harghita and Covasna counties free because lately they have been turned into fortress by these nomads. I won’t talk about Croatians. They are a shame on the face of the Yugoslav people and they should be shot.” (boy, Romanian-Serb, the 10th form, Timișoara)

“In my opinion, Roma, Hungarians and Muslims shouldn’t be allowed to live in Romania, so we shouldn’t be asked questions like who we will accept and who we won’t. I am a Romanian and I won’t accept other nationalities.” (boy, Orthodox, Romanian, the 10th form, Timișoara)

“Out with Hungarians in this country!!! Out with Roma, too!!!” (boy, Romanian, the 10th form, Timișoara)

The question „**Would you want... (an ethnic or religious minority person) to live in your town, street, block of flats..**” elicited answers like:

„It doesn’t matter. The important thing is for them [Roma] to be thoroughly dissolved” (boy, Romanian, the 9th form, Timișoara)

„Why have you asked us so many questions about peoples that aren't loyal to us?” (girl, Romanian, the 9th form, Timișoara)

„The only ethnic group I hate is the Hungarian one.” (boy, Romanian, the 8th form, Orșova)

„Gipsies will kill Romania” (Hungarian, the 11th form, Cluj)

Questionnaires for the teaching staff

A number of 155 (100%) questionnaires have been applied in 19 different localities of Romania, both urban and rural (Brașov, București, Constanța, Caransebeș, Tulcea, Filiași, Craiova, Sibiu, Aghireși-Fabrici, Timișoara, Buzău, Berca, Cluj, Drobeta Turnu Severin, Orșova, Iași, Satu Mare, Topolog, Ciucurova).

Ethnic distribution of the respondents, according to their declaration: Romanians (115 persons = 74,19%), Hungarians (18 persons = 11,61%), Germans (3 persons = 1,94%), Lipovven (1 person = 0,65%), Montenegrin (1 person = 0,65%), not declared (16 persons = 10,97%)

Regarding the **length of service** 12,90% of the respondents have less than 5 years in education, 27,10% have between 5-10 years, 16,13% between 10-15 years, 12,90 between 15-20 years, 6,45% between 20-25 years, 9,03% between 25-30 years, 7,74% between 30-40 years, 1,29% more than 40 years and 4,52% have not declared their **seniority**. The majority of those who filled the questionnaires were 30-40 (35,48%) and 20-30 (28,39%) years old.

The **specialization** of the teaching staff have divided according to the curricula areas established by the Ministry of Education, as follows: 32,26% (50 persons) belongs to the area of Language and communication, 21,94% (34 persons) to the area of Mathematics and natural sciences, 22,58% (35 persons) to the area of Human being and society, 3,23% (5 persons) to the area of Arts, 9,03% (14 persons) to the area of Tehnology and 3,87% (6 persons) to the area of Sports. There were also 5 schoolteachers (3,23%) and 6 persons (3,87%) who have not declared their specialization.

From the point of view **religious compozition** the group was formed of 113 orthodox persons (72,90%), 14 Roman-Chatolics (9,03%), 2 Greek-Catholics (1,29%), 7 persons Protestants (4,52%), one

Evangelic and one Unitarian (0,65%), 2 atheists (1,29%), and 15 (9,68%) persons have not declared their religious affiliation.

The answers given to the question regarding the **definition of interculturalism**:

Nr.	Answer	Nr. of persons	%
1	Openness to other cultures	85	54,84
2	Good coexistence with other communities	63	40,65
3	Communities living in the same country	25	15,13
4	Knowledge about other cultures, languages, religions	55	35,48
5	Neighbouring cultures	15	9,68
6	Interacting communities	62	40,00
7	Influencing communities	62	40,00
8	Other answers:	6	3,87
9	Interacting cultures	1	0,65
10	Coexisting cultures	1	0,65

The results of the **subjects** where intercultural education can be provided are as follows: arts 64,52%, civic education 65,16%, geography 49,68%, history 78,71%, language and literature 66,45% and religion 70,97%. Optionals mentioned: history of national minorities, universal history, one optional with a general presentation of interculturalism. There had been cases when the teachers mentioned an optional presenting the minorities from their locality or county.

According to the teaching staff's opinion the **easiest subjects** where intercultural education can be provided are history (52,26%), followed by language and literature (37,42%, including Romanian language and literature, modern languages and language and literature of national minorities), civic education (36,77%), religion (23,87%), geography (12,90%). Other subjects mentioned were: philosophy, history of arts, music, optional interculturalism). Only 5 persons (3,23%) considered that intercultural education can be provided at all the subjects.

Even if 72,90% of the respondents (113 persons) considers that there is a **need for special trainings** for teaching staff in intercultural education and that intercultural education would have a positive impact (90,32%) on the interethnic relationships, 85,16% of them declared they never participated in any **professional training** for teaching interculturalism. Even if 63,87% of the respondents consider possible intercultural education at the subjects they teach, less than

50% of them indicated an intercultural subject they would develop **at their class** (41,94%) or at an **extracurricular activity** (42,58%). The issues mentioned were mainly elements of literature, history, music, dances and traditions of ethnic minorities from the areas the teachers belong. None of the teachers indicated a subject that would present **all** of the national minorities living in Romania. This is not a real surprise if we look at the figures showing the **knowledge of the existence of national minorities or ethnic groups** in Romania:

Nr.	National minority or ethnic group	Answers	%
1	Hungarians	154	99,35%
2	Serbs	136	87,74%
3	Albanians	88	56,77%
4	Russians	107	69,03%
5	Greeks	108	69,68%
6	Turks	126	81,29%
7	Ruthenians	76	49,03%
8	Germans	138	89,03%
9	Croatians	82	52,90%
10	Bulgarians	113	72,90%
11	Ukrainians	121	78,06%
12	Jews	129	83,23%
13	Tatars	115	74,19%
14	Aromanians	116	74,84%
15	Roma	154	99,35%
16	Czechs and Slovaks	82	52,90%
17	Armenians	115	74,19%
18	Italians	77	49,68%
19	Lippovans	129	83,23%
20	Poles	81	52,26%
21	Csangos	99	63,87%

One of the questions referred to the opinion of the teaching staff regarding **who should learn** about minorities. The overwhelming majority (84,52%) of them think that every students in the school system should learn about minorities, 18,71% think minorities and the majority in area where minorities are living should learn and only a small part of the teachers (3,87%) consider that only minorities should learn about themselves.

Although 60,5% of the teachers questioned think that **it would be**

useful for persons belonging to the majority to learn a minority language, when they were further asked about **what exactly should** the majority **be taught** about, only 20% chose a minority language, the others opting for the history (58.06%), the culture (83.87%) or the religion (32.90%) of a minority.

Regarding the **need for intercultural education in public schools**, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (90.32%) agree to such an education, and 53.55% consider that intercultural aspects are scarcely present in schools. Regarding ethnic discrimination in schools and replication of stereotypes and prejudices, only a quarter of the respondents admitted their existence. Another quarter of the teachers think that the Romanian state should not encourage minority language education at all levels of study and 27.10% consider that minority education should be funded by private or foreign sources. The **social distance** measured at the respondents shows us that the most desirable minority are the Germans (76.77% of respondents declared they would accept an ethnic German as member of their family), followed by the Hungarians (69.03%), Jews (58.06%) and Roma (41.94%). From the point of view of religious diversity the most accepted are the Catholics followed by Greek-Catholics (69.03%) and Protestants (51.61%). The less desirable group are the Jehova Witnesses, accepted as family member only 34.19% of those questioned.

The most **tensioned relationships** were considered those among Romanians and Roma (55.48%), followed by the Romanian – Hungarian (50.32%) and Orthodox – Greek-Catholics (18.06%).

Inventory of school textbooks

Interculturalism, openness towards others, diversity management have been posing a huge challenge to the educational system in Romania. During the period of national-communism the official policy was, at best, to ignore minorities of any kind, the change of regime has brought about minimal changes in educational policies.

The emergence of more than one handbook for an object of study has been a new challenge and has given handbook authors the opportunity to try out a modern dealing of school texts. The analyse here, far from being comprehensive, intends to research and itemize the prejudice handbooks pass on and also whether they foster openness to diversity.

Out of practical reasons, we have chosen a student in the 8th form from a gymnasium in Tîrgu-Mureş and we have borrowed the History, Geography, Musical Education, Civic Education and Romanian Language and Literature handbooks he has used in the last four years of school.

Although we have found no interest on the part of the authors for interculturalism and diversity inclusion, we have noticed their respect for political correctness principles.

History

The history handbook for the 5th form deals with ancient history. Messages are conveyed concerning national identity and Christian affiliation and there is a permanent association between (Christian) faith and positive traits.

The history handbook for the 6th form lacks the same openness to present minorities, although the history of Transylvania should have been an opportunity to present them. There is no diversity management concept; nevertheless, the handbook stresses the difference between the notion of nation as it is understood nowadays and as it was understood in the period studied.

The handbook for the 7th form introduces notions that are important to the student's development: nationalism, federalism, irredentism, pan-slavism, antisemitism, chauvinism.

As for the handbook for the 8th form, its very title is misleading: „History of Romanians” instead of „History of Romania” (while it deals with the history of this geographical area). Information about minority is scarce. There is no reference to the minorities in Dobruđa and the sizeable minorities in Transylvania are dealt with only after the province's union with the Romanian Kingdom. Although a political admission of the Holocaust has been made, the handbook does not resort to it at all, but only to deportation actions by the Romanian state.

Romanian Language and Literature

There is no diversity management concept in this handbook either. References to other ethno-cultural groups are scarce and accidental. In the handbook for the 8th form, for instance, students can find that S. Petöfi (1823-1849) is a Hungarian poet.

Although public education in Romania is lay and religion is studied

only by the students who want to, religious texts pervade the Romanian Literature handbooks.

Civil Education is studied in the 7th and 8th forms.

Civil education is the subject where openness towards diversity can be fostered best. Educating students as responsible citizens who understand and practise democracy should include the understanding of diversity, whatever its kind. These handbooks should also promote harmony and not conflict.

One of the concepts the handbook for the 7th form is left to confusion is the national state as its definition and the example given are contradictory (National state = the state that comprises one nation within its borders, for instance, in the Romanian national state other nationalities live too).

In the handbook for the 8th form diversity is introduced to students and they also have a series of exercises related to it. In spite of visible progress of this handbook, there are concepts whose illustration should be more carefully chosen (Nationalism is acceptable, within certain limits, as national pride).

Musical Education

The handbook for the 5th form resorts to a lot of religious musical pieces. No less than 15% of the musical excerpts in the handbook is of religious origin and there is another 12% of carols and Christmas songs. On the other hand, the folk music in the handbook covers all the historical regions of Romania.

Although to a lesser degree, church music is present in the 6th form handbook too and the Morning Prayer is placed on page 3, before the national anthem. The 8th form handbook has no religious reference although it deals with the history of music.

Geography

The 5th form handbook has no bearing on the theme we are analysing. The 6th form handbook introduces European states to students. Each state is presented in a general chart comprising the languages spoken, religion, minorities, etc. Hungary is presented as a Catholic country and Romania is described as an Orthodox country. The first assertion regarding the Republic of Moldova is:

„The Republic of Moldova or Bessarabia is a Romanian land". Then it goes on with: „Romanians make up 65% of the total population of Moldova. Besides them, there also live Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauzians, Bulgarians and Jews." When it comes to other European states, ethnic, linguistic and confessional diversity is more clearly brought into light. For instance, Belgium is both Catholic and Protestant.

The 7th form handbook gives a minute description of diversity wherever it can be found.

The 8th form handbook is perhaps the sole source for the students to learn about the main minority communities in Romania and their contribution to this territory. Without going into historical details, describes the settling of the Hungarian and Saxon communities as well as of the Roma and Jewish ones. Their contribution to Romania's development is illustrated by the foundation of the city of Timișoara by the Saxons and by the foundation of Cluj by Hungarians.

The analyse of the gymnasium handbooks leads us to the following **conclusions**:

- there is no concern for interculturalism, no educational policy to this end (unlike Ireland, for instance). The presence of the Other is desultory and it is up to the authors' personal view to include any references to difference. Progress has been made when compared to the handbooks in the '90s, but a comprehensive view on intercultural education is still lacking.

- There is no concern for avoiding gender prejudice formation.

- There is no clearcut border between religious and lay education. Although religious classes are held that can be attended by the students who choose so, other subjects are still imbued by a religious perception.

Inventory of non-formal education. Non-governmental organizations

The Pro Europa League has identified the nongovernmental organisations active in the field of education and send them a series of questionnaires in order to create a common database. The organisations that will appear in the common database are:

Resource Center for Ethnocultural Diversity, Cluj
 Intercultural Institute, Timișoara
 Education Center 2000+, Bucharest
 Resource Center for Roma, Cluj
 Project on Ethnic Relations, Tg-Mureș
 European Centre for Diversity, Tulcea
 Civitas Foundation for Civil Society, Cluj
 Soros Educational Center Romania
 Interethnic Relations Research Centre, Cluj
 Romanian Association for Community Development, Cluj
 Philothea Klub, Tg-Mureș,
 Socio-Cultural Association of Roma from Banat, Timișoara
 Romanian League for Education and Popular Culture, Iași
 Friends of People – Umanism and Culture , Slatina
 Fundația Măiestrie, Armonie, Tradiție, Creativitate, Aspirație – Matca
 2000, București
 Liga Pro Europa, Satu Mare branch
 Tranzit House, Cluj
 Communitas Foundation, Cluj
 Heltai Gaspar Library Foundation, Cluj
 Outward Bound Romania, Tg-Mureș
 Evangelische Akademie Siebenburgen, Sibiu
 German Youth Center, Sighișoara
 KAM-WAC Regional and Anthropological Research Group,
 Miercurea-Ciuc

Among the nongovernmental organisations have been included not only those who have activities in the field of intercultural education, but those also who have important publications and/or researches regarding minorities in Romania.

Organisations of ethnic minorities

Hungarian Democratic Union from Romania
 Democratic Forum of Germans from Romania
 Roma Social-Democrat Party
 Union of Serbs from Romania
 Union of Armenians from Romania
 Democratic Union of Turkish-Muslim Tatars from Romania

Turkisn Democratic Union from Romania
 Union of Ukrainians from Romania
 Cultural Union of Ruthenians from Romania
 "Dom Polski" Union of Polish people from Romania
 Democratic Union of Slovaks and Czechs from Romania
 Union of Bulgarians from Banat – Romania
 Community of Lippovan Russians from Romania
 Federation of Jewish Communities from Romania
 Union of Croats from Romania
 Association of Macedonians from Romania
 League of the Albanese from Romania
 Hellenic Union from Romania
 Italian Community from Romania
 Asociația Ceangăilor Maghiari din România

The Pro Europa League had developed during the years two projects of intercultural education College of Democracy (for students of X-XII grade) and Transsylvania Intercultural Academy (for students and university graduates). As a result of the pilot-project Interultural Academy (funded by the Council of Europe, Confidence Building Measures Programme) the first network of intercultural facilitators has been set up in 16 localities of Romania.

Regarding **formal education**, Liga Pro Europa identified three important universities which have masters on interculturalism: University of Bucharest, Babeș-Bolyai University from Cluj and Al. Ioan Cuza University from Iași.

Central governmental structures with competences in the field of ethnic minorities

1. Department for Interethnic Relations, directly subordinated to the Romanian Government

The mission of the Departament of Interethnic Relations is to promote Romania's ethnic diversity by consolidating and widening support for our multicultural society. To this end, we initiate and develop programs designed to improve the protection system for national

minorities, work out strategies to combat racism and xenophobia, and give support to organizations active in the field. Last but not least, our activity focuses on the legislative and institutional building process for the protection of ethnic minorities in Romania as a candidate country to the European Union.

Activities:

- Initiates and develops programs meant to improve the protection system of national minorities;
- Elaborates strategies to combat racism and xenophobia;
- Supports organizations active in this field;
- Contributes to the process of legislative and institutional strengthening for the protection of national minorities living in Romania, having in consideration the present status of our country's adhesion to the European Union.

Regarding the mother tongue education of minorities DIR collaborates permanently with the Education and Youth Commission of the Council of National Minorities. DIR is organizing independently or in partnerships informal education programs with students and youngsters belonging to the national minorities. In the past few years DIR has supported publishing various textbooks for high school destined to the students in the public network beneficial to the national minorities.

2. Ministry of Education and Research – General Directorate for the Education in Minorities Languages'

Objectives regarding minorities

- to really assure the basic education in the education system for national minorities;
- permanent actualization of school programmes and adapting them to the needs of beneficiaries;
- forming of basic competences in order to support languages and cultures of minorities in Romania;
- bringing the quality of education for minorities to the standards of performance of the European Union countries;
- resizing of school network in the field of minority education;

- endowment of schools with textbooks in the languages of ethnic minorities;
- development and monitoring of educational protection and support projects and programmes for children belonging to disadvantaged groups.

3. Ministry of Culture and Confession

General Directorate of Contemporary Creation: Departament Cultural Diversity

Departament of Minorities' Culture, through the administration of the „Proetnicultura” Programme, ensures the a favorable framework for the protection and logistical, material and specialists support for the safeguarding, conservation, preservation, affirmation, development and free expression of ethnic, cultural, linguistical and religious identity of national minorities in Romania; the promotion of ethnic tolerance; mutual respect; interculturalism and dialogue between cultures; cooperation and permanent relationship with other governmental institutions and nongovernmental organisations dealing with the issue of ethnic minorities inside and outside of Romania.

Cultural fields of activities:

- Historical, etno-cultural and ethnological research
- memoirs (anniversaries, commemorations)
- preservation, development and promoting of cultural and linguistical identity
- protection and promotion of cultural mobile and immobile patrimony
- international intercultural cooperation

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE STUDENTS

Filling the questionnaire is optional. You can refuse to complete one or all of the questions.

1. Name of school: 2. Grade:
 3. Locality: 4. Sex: ☐ Masculine ☐ Female
 5. Ethnicity: 6. Religion:

7. Do you study in a school where other persons with different ethnic backgrounds study?

☐ No ☐ Yes. Which ethnicity?.....

8. Which minorities live in Romania? (thick the minorities you think are living in Romania)

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hungarians | <input type="checkbox"/> Germans | <input type="checkbox"/> Roma |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Serbians | <input type="checkbox"/> Croatsians | <input type="checkbox"/> Czechs and Slovaks |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Albanians | <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgarians | <input type="checkbox"/> Armenians |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Russians | <input type="checkbox"/> Ukrainians | <input type="checkbox"/> Italians |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Greeks | <input type="checkbox"/> Jews | <input type="checkbox"/> Lippovans |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Turks | <input type="checkbox"/> Tatars | <input type="checkbox"/> Poles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ruthenians | <input type="checkbox"/> Aromanians | <input type="checkbox"/> Csangos |

9. Which of these minorities have you learned of at class?

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hungarians | <input type="checkbox"/> Germans | <input type="checkbox"/> Roma |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Serbians | <input type="checkbox"/> Croatsians | <input type="checkbox"/> Czechs and Slovaks |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Albanians | <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgarians | <input type="checkbox"/> Armenians |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Russians | <input type="checkbox"/> Ukrainians | <input type="checkbox"/> Italians |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Greeks | <input type="checkbox"/> Jews | <input type="checkbox"/> Lippovans |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Turks | <input type="checkbox"/> Tatars | <input type="checkbox"/> Poles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ruthenians | <input type="checkbox"/> Aromanians | <input type="checkbox"/> Csangos |

10. Would you like?

	A Hungarian	A Roma	A German	A Jew	A Greek-Catholic	A Jehovah witness	A Catholic	A Muslim	A Protestant
To live in your town									
To live in your street									
To live in your flat									
To be your schoolmate									
To be member of your family									

11. Do you learn at school to be tolerant with:

- | | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Christians | <input type="checkbox"/> Muslims | <input type="checkbox"/> Roma |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Jews | <input type="checkbox"/> Catholics | <input type="checkbox"/> Germans |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Women | <input type="checkbox"/> Homosexuals | <input type="checkbox"/> Serbians |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hungarians | <input type="checkbox"/> Protestants | <input type="checkbox"/> Black people |
| <input type="checkbox"/> others, namely: | | |

12. Are festivities organised in your school in other language(s) than Romanian?

- ☐ No ☐ Yes. In what language(s)?.....

13. Would you like to speak the language of your colleagues of other ethnicity? Where would it be more appropriate to learn it?

- ☐ Yes, at school ☐ Yes, but not at school ☐ No

14. Which of the next relationships seem to you to be tensioned?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Romanians-Hungarians | <input type="checkbox"/> Romanians – Roma |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Orthodox-Greek-Catholics | <input type="checkbox"/> Hungarians – Roma |
| <input type="checkbox"/> others. Namely?..... | |

15. Are the public announcements, posters, panels, names of laboratories in your school in other languages than Romanian?

- ☐ No ☐ Yes. Namely?.....

16. What are the activities you develop with children of different ethnic background?

.....

.....

.....

17. According to your opinion, students of other ethnicity should

- ☐ study in my class
- ☐ study in my school, but in an other class
- ☐ study in an other school
- ☐ study in private schools

18. Which are the classes where you learn about other ethnic groups?

- ☐ history ☐ language and literature

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> geography | <input type="checkbox"/> civic education |
| <input type="checkbox"/> art history | <input type="checkbox"/> religion |
| <input type="checkbox"/> others. Namely..... | |

19. What have you learned at school about the other ethnic groups living in Romania?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> their history | <input type="checkbox"/> their literature |
| <input type="checkbox"/> their religion | <input type="checkbox"/> their music |
| <input type="checkbox"/> their dances | <input type="checkbox"/> other. Namely?..... |

20. What is your opinion on tolerance?

.....

21. And on intolerance?

22. Which is the last extracurricular activity you participated together with students of different ethnic background?

.....

23. If you have personal comments regarding the questionnaire, write us:

Thank you for your cooperation!

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TEACHERS

Filling the questionnaire is optional. You can refuse to complete one or all of the questions.

1. School:
2. Locality
3. Your length of service.....
4. Subject taught.....
5. Ethnic background
6. Religious confession.....
7. Age
8. Sex ☐ female ☐ masculine
9. What is interculturality?
 - ☐ openness to other cultures ☐ neighbouring cultures
 - ☐ good coexistence with other communities
 - ☐ interacting communities
 - ☐ communities living in the same country
 - ☐ influencing communities
 - ☐ knowledge about other cultures, languages, religions
 - ☐ other answer. Namely.....
10. Which are the subject where intercultural education could be achieved?
 - ☐ history ☐ language and literature ☐ geography
 - ☐ arts ☐ civic education ☐ religion
 - ☐ optional subject on this issue. Namely.....
11. According to your opinion which is the subject where intercultural education is the easiest to achieve?
 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.
 5.
12. Is it possible to have intercultural education at the subject you are teaching?
 - ☐ Yes ☐ No (go to question nr. 15)
13. Are there any provisions/recommendations in the school curricula for the teaching the interculturalism?
 - ☐ Yes:.....
 - ☐ No
14. Have you participated to professional trainings for teaching interculturalism? If yes, who were the organisers?

☐ Yes ☐ No

<input type="checkbox"/> Hungarians	<input type="checkbox"/> Germans	<input type="checkbox"/> Roma
<input type="checkbox"/> Serbians	<input type="checkbox"/> Croats	<input type="checkbox"/> Czech and Slovaks
<input type="checkbox"/> Albanians	<input type="checkbox"/> Bulgarians	<input type="checkbox"/> Armenians
<input type="checkbox"/> Russians	<input type="checkbox"/> Ukrainians	<input type="checkbox"/> Italians
<input type="checkbox"/> Greeks	<input type="checkbox"/> Jews	<input type="checkbox"/> Lippovans
<input type="checkbox"/> Turks	<input type="checkbox"/> Tatars	<input type="checkbox"/> Poles
<input type="checkbox"/> Ruthenians	<input type="checkbox"/> Aromanians	<input type="checkbox"/> Csangos

- ☐ only minorities
- ☐ minorities and the majority in areas where minorities are leaving
- ☐ every students in the state school system

☐ history ☐ culture ☐ religion ☐ language☐ necessary ☐ useful ☐ not useful ☐ overwhelming

- ☐ official festivities
- ☐ public announcements
- ☐ names of laboratories
- ☐ panels

21. Please consider, according to your opinion the following statements:

	Agree	Do not know	Do not agree
Intercultural education in state school is necessary			
As regarding interculturality the educational system is not prepared for the European integration			
The intercultural aspects are little present			
There is no openness to other cultures than the majority one in the actual educational system			
There are frequent cases of discrimination based on ethnic origin in schools in Romania			
Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are perpetuated in schools in Romania			
The Romanian students should study together with Hungarians, Roma, Germans etc.			
The state should encourage education in the languages of minorities at all of the levels			
Education for minorities in mother tongue should be financed from private or external resources			
Roma students should study in special classrooms			
Teachers who are working with classes in which the number of Roma students is at least 20% should receive a bonus to their salary			
In schools events and festivities of minority communities are organised			
The school is organising the extracurricular participation of students at the events and festivities of minority communities.			
During the extracurricular activities students are taught tolerance			

22. Would you accept?

	A Hungarian	A Roma	A German	A Jew	A Greek-Catholic	A Jehovah witness	A Catholic	A Muslim	A Protestant
to live in your town									
to live in your street									
to live in your flat									
to be your colleague at work									
to become member of your family									

23. Which of the following relationships seems to you to be tensioned?

- ☐ Romanians-Hungarians ☐ Romanians – Roma
☐ Orthodox-Greek-Catholics ☐ Hungarians – Roma
☐ others. Namely?.....

24. What effect do you think intercultural education has on interethnic relations?

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> positive | <input type="checkbox"/> negative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> without any effect | <input type="checkbox"/> other. Namely?..... |

25. Please, indicate a subject of intercultural education that you could develop at

- ☐ your class
- ☐ an extracurricular activity.....

Thank you for your cooperation!

3. Diversity and Social Cohesion

3.1. Achieving Social Cohesion in a Multicultural Europe

Attila Markó

Thank you for inviting me to this meeting. I was asked to speak about the Department of Ethnic Relations, about ethnic minorities in Romania, also about inter- and multicultural education. I will point out some key elements and I will expect your comments and questions.

The Department was established in 1997. A few days ago we turned ten and we are glad that while there were changes in the rank of the Department, the activities were not affected by political changes. The Department deals with almost everything related to minority issues: minority education, culture, different programs for minorities and, of course, it is also an interface with the government itself. We can collect all the needs and problems of minorities and then act like a spokesperson for minorities before government.

We do not have the power to force other ministries to do something but we are strong enough to pressure them to do things, mainly because of the minorities themselves, because of their real problems. For instance, the Russian communities in the Danube Delta came to me to ask the minister of Interior and Administration to demand local authorities to put up bilingual signs for localities and this was already done.

Regarding the budget, we have over one million euros to run our programs, but there are minority organizations whose budget is three

or four times higher than ours and it is quite understandable because they finance their own activities, their meetings, cultural programs, their own publications. We have over twelve euros for minorities organizations which go directly to them and they can use it without any governmental control or interference. This is OK but still not enough. Our department has been fighting over years for an increase of the money meant for programs because experience shows that they are the best way to have good practices and to implement these good practices into state policies.

This department is a state-governmental authority with its own employees and they are public officers; apart from this department we have the council of national minorities, and at the moment when it was called the Council for National Minorities it was formed by representatives of different minorities and representatives of different ministries. In 2000, it was renamed the Council of National Minorities and it is formed only by minorities themselves, they work together and make proposals, and our department has the duty to forward those proposals to the ministries concerned. Recruitment in our department is not based on ethnic background. We have five regional offices and I came up with this condition when they were established that the employees in a those offices should know the languages spoken in the area: Tartar in Constanța, Hungarian in Cluj, Serbian in Timișoara, Ukrainian in Suceava, while our employee in Turnu-Severin, who is a Romanian, knows the area very well. They were not proposed by the respective communities, there was a free competition for the job in this public office, but it was a condition to know the language in the area.

We have a very interesting way to be a minority in Romania because without any law on minorities the practice was that minority organizations can be represented in the Parliament by one deputy for each minority – which is an interpretation, but not a definition proper of minorities. We proposed a draft law on minorities where we tried to combine a definition with the realities in Romania, but it is difficult to deal with this issue as Europe has no general rule for defining and/or recognizing minorities. The common European practice is to have a definition which is a description actually, while

some countries adopted another definition, like Hungary for instance, which made up a list of the minorities recognized in Hungary. We have adopted a way somewhere between the two as we have a descriptive definition at the beginning of the law and at the end of the law we have a transitory article presenting a list of existing minorities in Romania. Naturally, such a list is always controversial: how other communities can enter the list is but one problem that is often raised. At present we have 20 minorities represented in the Parliament, they are officially recognized and are entitled to be members of the Council of the National Minorities, a consultative body nearby our department, and it is the actual forum where all minorities come together and discuss their specific problems.

We also have a specific governmental structure for Roma issues – The National Agency for Roma – and it deals with any kind of improvements that can be brought to the life of this community. Our department has no funds and no attributions to invest, this is why it was necessary to set up this Agency; we deal with education and culture, while they deal with infrastructure, social assistance and the like. The Roma issue is not exclusively an ethnic issue, it is also a social issue.

Some words on our work on inter- and multicultural education. It is very difficult to handle these issues when there is a very strong opposition from the public opinion. We had several researches conducted and we found out there is almost no difference in the mentality of the population since 1996 to 2007. On the contrary, those who have always hated minorities, now hate them even more. If people are asked whether they accept to have a Roma as a neighbour or in the same city or in another country the answer is always "in another country", so as far as possible.

We started to have discussions at university level to have a new approach in history teaching, to train students so as to become open minded teachers because otherwise it is useless to have good history handbooks; and now we have some programs at the university in Cluj and other universities, but this is only a start point, it is not enough at all.

I have brought along some optional multicultural handbooks meant for children in the third and fourth grade presenting different communities in Romania. The research Liga Pro Europa conducted in schools revealed that there is a great lack of understanding for and of information about other communities. As the handbooks I mentioned are not compulsory, the next step for us is to include such topics into the curricula because there are no chapters on history of minorities, for instance, and the common history of different groups. In my view, it is difficult to have separate books on history of minorities because it is very important to interlink the history of communities and the best way would be to have for each history benchmark some remarks on how minorities contributed to that event, how they accepted certain historical moments. A very new initiative is to have comments on the Hungarian Revolution in 1956. Nobody in Romania knows that there were 20 people convicted for their opposition to the regime and standing by the revolution – not only Hungarians in Romania, but also Romanians and Germans fraternized with the movement. And history books say nothing about that. We should have such intercommunication between different histories. But there are good signs: the ministry already accepted to have minority history included in the history schoolbooks.

We have to deal on two different levels: first of all it is very important for them to know their own history, but at the same time it is important for everybody to know everybody else's history. Although I am a Hungarian, when I was in school I learnt nothing about Hungarian history, so I had to learn it on my own.

Another positive sign is that at least between Hungary and Romania there is an agreement on having history reconsidered. There is a joint commission that is trying to put together different pieces of history and to have a common history book. It is very interesting to see how different communities perceive a certain moment in history. There is a lot of mind-opening work to do. It is easy to write a book but you need the political will to accept it as a teaching material and also the general public opinion to accept it.

Regarding migration, unfortunately, the ministry of Foreign Affairs is

involved in every level of Council of Europe activities and we are in permanent fight with them to let us know about different events or documents. It is much better to speak out and to have a dialogue than to pretend that everything is perfect and we can show our model to Europe. We receive some of the information and we attend some of the meetings of the Council of Europe, but as far as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot officially give to the Ministry of Education a task it is unlikely that we should get too far in this respect.

In Romania we don't have any specific policy for new ethno-cultural groups. There are private initiatives, there is an Arabic school in Bucharest for instance, but nothing at state levels. I am aware that these groups are growing larger from one year to another and we should avoid tensions so we have to do something, but there is also the other side of this issue: they chose to come here. The difference between a Lebanese and myself is that I was born here, but it was his choice and his will to come here. We have to make a distinction between historical minorities and new groups, in my opinion.

It is difficult to handle religious education, we have now a new law on freedom of religion and there is a strong separation between the state and religious denominations. They have the right to establish religious education. We have only two traditional communities which are very closely connected to religion: the Jewish community and the Turkish community, but other communities are full of diversity when it comes to their religion: we have Orthodox Bulgarians and Catholic Bulgarians, six different religions for Hungarians and so on.

We are trying to communicate the fact that 2008 is the European Year of Intercultural Education to different ministries: Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Culture. We haven't put anything on paper yet because it needs a budget, some planning; first we need to see whether there is a budget for that or not, otherwise it will remain only a beautiful plan on some papers.

Regarding the political representation of the minorities I can say that there are 20 minorities represented in the Parliament but for instance, Hungarians are represented by a larger group because they reached

the threshold of 5% needed for a group to enter Parliament. Other minorities don't have to reach that threshold but they have to achieve 10% of votes that are necessary for 1 deputy generally. If a candidate needs 30.000 votes to be elected as a deputy, it means that for minority candidates it is enough to have 3.000 votes.

The minority community is who puts the person on the election list. And they have different groups competing in the election process. Very small communities happen to have three organizations representing them like the Macedonian community who consists of a little bit more than 700 people. For small groups, the whole situation is becoming more of an ethno-business. A group slightly exceeding 2000 people, like the Ruthenians, are represented in the Parliament. It is a situation very much prone to abuse, because if you and me call ourselves Huns and gather 3000 friends to vote us, we will get into the Parliament and we will receive every benefit entailed by this. Another interesting situation is that of the Slovak and Czech communities that still form a kind of former Czechoslovakia, they stick together, they have a single organization and are represented by one deputy.

The minority group in the Parliament consists of 18 deputies and the Hungarian minority is represented separately by a Hungarian group of deputies, that has a different treatment due to its number. How do they feel themselves, in the opposition or close to the government, they are always close to the government, that is obvious, because the government votes the budget for them.

I think this kind of ethno-business is used by different parties also for having more votes in the Parliament. This is a personal remark: very few of them come up with proposals in the Parliament for their group. Up to now, I've seen a proposal by the Turkish representative to have a Day of the Turkish community or proposals coming from different communities for the implementation of the law on education in order to have bilingual education in situations. There are some deputies that are committed to their communities, but the others are only used to raise their hands whenever it is necessary. I don't mean to condemn the communities themselves, this is the real situation

unfortunately; the communities are real and we have to deal their problems but there are weaknesses of the positive discrimination which are abused in Romania.

I have a huge compassion for all those small communities, and our department focuses on programs for small groups mainly, because they are losing their language, they are losing their culture, the assimilation process has a much stronger impact on them than on larger communities. The problems are real, but there is a difference between the problems of the community and the political representation of the community.

The law allows for this situation and as a representative of the government my partner for each community is its deputy.

There are minorities that do need to have their own representation in the Parliament, not to be liberal, or democrat or labour or extreme right wing, they have a strong community cohesion which needs to have its own representation, the Hungarian community is one of them, but the Ukrainian, the Croat, the Greek, the Turkish communities are large enough to need a voice of their own in the Parliament and they are also involved in inter-parliamentary groups between the respective countries, the Bulgarian deputy is vice-president of the inter-parliamentary group between Romania and Bulgaria. They are a real interface between the countries and their activity and their position are very important not only to be a member of the Liberal Party or the Social-Democrat Party. Nevertheless, theoretically and in an ideal situation, when everything is settled in the country and the rules are clear and everybody knows how to deal with minorities, then the need for such a parliamentary representation would be lower and lower but I cannot foresee the moment when such a complete interethnic harmony is achieved.

The Roma party got very few votes when compared to the size of the community. Other parties tried to attract their votes, and I cannot be certain that the Hungarian organizations had discussions with Roma leaders to get their votes by including them on the election lists, of course not on the top of the list. At local levels there are agreements

between Roma and Hungarian communities because in many areas Roma communities speak Hungarian, but of course Romanian political parties also use Roma communities because the cohesion of the Roma communities is very weak due to their historical, traditional background and due to their current internal fight.

It is difficult to have a vision on the problem of people coming from other countries to work in Romania, for instance we have over a million citizenship requests coming from Moldavia, and we have not granted these people Romanian citizenship because the European Union does not allow us to do that.

But I'm not so sure that more people will go to work in Europe after Romania's accession to the EU because those who wanted to leave have already done so. Great Britain was very concerned by such an exodus from Romania and Bulgaria and British journalists stayed in airports waiting for Romanians to arrive and they found out there were no Romanians on the plane going to Britain to work, there were only businessmen on business trips, students and tourists.

3.2. Connecting Partners' Programs to Discourse Analysis

Elly Rijnierse

Four years ago, I wrote a paper about the The Cosmology Triangle. In this paper I elaborated the concept of the Cosmology Triangle, and tried to apply the concept on the issue of Minority Rights. Recently I reread this article. I found that the concept may still be valuable, however, the elaboration on the struggle for minorities rights may not have been so excellent. In this paper I will try a second time to operationalize the theory, mainly by explaining the model and applying it in a concrete exercise for each of us, in relation to our own organisation and project on minority issues.

The problem often seen in relation to minorities in societies, is not necessarily straightforward discrimination and exclusion on the basis of ethnic, religious or cultural differences, but that the entire structure and way of thinking of minority groups are different from the majority. As if one wants to drive on the right, and the other on the left on the highway. Both ways can not be honoured in one society. Therefore the struggle is about integration or assimilation, the fear is to lose one's identity, either one or the other. These are real conflicts and real fears. The question in this article is whether we should search for the (ideo)logical(ly) right answer, or whether we should look for a good, creative solution, here and now, even if it may not be the ultimate, eternal answer. The Cosmology Triangle is made to provide a tool for the latter.

The Cosmology Triangle has its origin in Political science and Political philosophy. The Cosmology Triangle represents the interaction between three basic discourses: Identity discourse, Development discourse and Empowerment discourse.

I have used the word 'discourse' in this model as a Model of Thought¹⁴. A main characteristic of a Model of Thought, or discourse, is that it has an inner logic. A discourse is a logical construction, an attempt to understand and interpret social reality in a certain logical way.

As a consequence, interpreting social reality within the frame of one 'Model of Thought' does not leave room for contradictions. Or, daily

life as we experience it, is full of contradictions. We do not easily understand someone else's thoughts and actions: 'How does someone think and where does it come from?' Following our line of thinking we expect someone to do A, but he does B. How come?

The same is true for different societies. However, when it comes to politics and political action, more often than not we apply 'our' Model of Thought, 'our' frame to the other society. For example, the main critic I heard upon the US intervention in Iraq is that the US has based its strategy upon assumption how the Iraqi society would react according to the US logic, and not upon assumptions how the Iraqi society would react as a consequence of the inner logic of the Iraqi society. Then it is as if the US plays chess and the Iraqi society plays at draughts. No wonder you can not predict the outcome of your actions, and that communication is non-existent.

This brings us to the question, which 'games are generally played' in politics and what are 'the rules of these games'? Can we identify clearly distinguished 'games'? Based upon learnings from political philosophy, the tentative answer may be 'yes': there may be three *basic* 'games', as mentioned: three basic Models of Thought, models respectively based upon the basic idea of Identity, of Development and Liberty²². As if we are playing basically three different games, as chess, draughts and backgammon.

The Cosmology Triangle

The Cosmology Triangle starts from the assumption, that basically there are only three Model of Thought, which have an almost complete 'inner logic', and therefore are 'closed models of thinking'. Then in this model the 'rules of the game' of each of the three are explained: the basic characteristics of each Model of Thought. If we know the basic characteristics of each discourse, then we may be able to identify quickly a pattern in someone's actions, or thinking, even if it is not ours. Just like one can easily recognize which game is played, if one knows the rules of the each game.

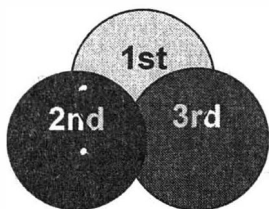
A second assumption that is expressed by the Cosmology Triangle is that in daily political life, political actors, such as political parties, political leaders, international institutions, civil society organizations, do not follow strictly one of these three Models of Thought, or discourses. Even less can we look at 'social developments' in this

way. If we analyze the ideology, vision or strategy of one organization, or even one person, almost never one of the three identified basic Models of Thoughts are followed fully. One may find combinations of two, or even three. Here, we will encounter contradictions, even within the philosophy of one organization or one person.

This is reflected in the Cosmology Triangle Model. The triangle is designed upon the analogy with colors: Everybody knows that the three basic colors are Red, Yellow and Blue. Each color represents a basic discourse. However, in real life we almost never see these basic colors. We see an endless variety of colors. However, we know we can analyze them as mixes of the basic colors: Yellow and Blue makes green. Red and Blue makes purple. This knowledge is very useful for those who want to create himself the right color for the stairs in his own house. Equally, the Cosmology Triangle is very useful for the one who wants to create a certain social reality in his own city or country, such as 'social cohesion'. (Look how this should work in relation to the idea of participatory democracy.(!))

The new aspect of the Cosmology Triangle is that *three basic discourses* are identified, and used in the method of analysis, as well as in the method of construction of political strategy. This in opposition of the *presentation of innumerable discourses in a logical coherent way*, like the color spectrum, or for example *the representation of discourses in a historical way*, following the principle of theses, antitheses, syntheses (dialectics).

The Cosmology Triangle is the preliminary result of earlier research³³. The model is new, and therefore subject to debate. However, in this article and subsequent exercise, we propose to apply the model, in order to find out whether it can work. Debate can follow the exercise. In the following scheme the Cosmology Triangle is presented visually, immediately thereafter the main characteristics of each discourse, or Model of Thought, actually identified as a Cosmology are presented.



1st Cosmology: Identity Discourse or Yellow
2nd Cosmology: Development Discourse or Blue
3rd Cosmology: Empowerment Discourse or Red

Features of the three basic discourses, creating different worlds:

YELLOW	BLUE	RED
FIRST COSMOLOGY	SECOND COSMOLOGY	THIRD COSMOLOGY
NON-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY	MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY	CONTEMPORARY INFORMATION SOCIETY
PRIMARY SECTOR Agriculture	SECONDARY SECTOR (Agro-) industry	THIRD SECTOR Trade and Services
COMMUNAL DEMOCRACY as a means of RECOGNITION OF THE INDIVIDUAL	REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY as a means of REALLOCATION OF RESOURCES	REFLEXIVE DEMOCRACY as a means of CREATION OF SOCIAL SPACE
Leading democratic concept: BROTHERHOOD B / \ E F	Leading democratic concept: EQUALITY E / \ B F	Leading democratic concept: FREEDOM F / \ B E
RITUALIZED determination of REPRESENTATION	GOVERNMENT with (IN-) DIRECT REPRESENTATION	TRANSNATIONAL institutionalised COMMUNICATION for decision-making
RELIGIOUS WORLD ORDER	NATIONALISTIC WORLD ORDER	COSMOPOLITAN WORLD ORDER
ETHNIC/RELIGIOUS SOCIAL CONTRACT	NATIONAL SOCIAL CONTRACT	GLOBAL SOCIAL CONTRACT
Primary domains of public responsibility RELIGION	Primary domains of public responsibility ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	Primary domains of public responsibility SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
LINEAGE/REPRODUCTION CULTURE	OWNERSHIP CIVIL LAW	SOCIAL NETWORK INFORMATION
Struggle for MAN POWER	Struggle for ECONOMIC RESOURCES	Struggle for SOCIAL SPACE
IDENTITY DISCOURSE	DEVELOPMENT DISCOURSE	EMPOWERMENT DISCOURSE
SPIRITUALISM	DEVELOPMENTALISM	HUMANITARIANISM

A central concept in each cosmology is the *Social Contract*. A Social Contract is the written or unwritten 'set of rules' and mutual expectations within a community or society, which creates the basis for sustainability of that group, economically, socially, politically, culturally.

The **Blue Cosmology** is most common to us at this moment: the National Social Contract. In a Western Society it is almost impossible to survive even without a passport, that identifies your nationality, and therefore your rights and duties as a citizen in that country. Labour, social welfare and freedom of expression are to a high degree dependent from your citizenship. The concept of the Nation-State is not God-given. It has been created over the last centuries, mainly in the Western world.

The creation of the Nation-State is described in history as a transition, from a system of societies which have been structured around an Ethnic or Religiously based Social Contract. This Social Contract, the **Yellow Cosmology**, is a social contract in the first place between the members of that Ethnic or Religious group, based upon a particular vision about the way how to sustain this society, always linked to economy, welfare and political decisionmaking. It is by nature discriminatory upon religion or culture, while the National Social contract claims non-discrimination to be one of its fundamental pillars. These days the very idea of the Nation State is under pressure. There are many problems that surpass the borders of the Nation-State. The environment is one of them. Environmental issues require a decisionmaking system, but also law enforcement, that is beyond the mandate of a National Government. International trade and the struggle against child labour, or for proper labour conditions, is another example. Through the struggle for these particular issues, across ethnic, religious or national boundaries, a new set of rules, and a new decision making system, is currently being created. Participatory democracy, reflexive democracy, universal human rights are all constructing elements of the **Red Cosmology**, or the empowerment discourse.

The three **Models of Thought**, or discourses, are represented in the Cosmology Triangle in a neutral way by colors. One can not say that one color is by nature better than the other. One can have one's preferences. But each painter will tell you that it depends from what you want to paint, which colour is best. The neutral representation of the discourses is on purpose, in order to express the fact that the

three discourses are not historically, and chronologically following each other, in the way it has just been described. This is only true to a certain extent in a particular part of the world. The observation is that all three discourses are living discourses, at this point in time. It may always have been this way. And they are competing. Examples are the political confrontations about the role of Islam in Turkey, the role of the Orthodox Church in Georgia as in Russia, or Christianity in the US (God bless America!).

The second reason why the discourses are represented by colors is the fact that the three discourses are considered as basic discourses, just like red, yellow and blue are basic colors. White is the absence of colours, black the total merge of all colours. Similarly, society is a product of the realisation of the three discourses simultaneously, with all its contradictions. *When society is described, it should not be described through the lense of one of the basic colors, but as a particular combination of the three basic colors.* If we are able to analyse society in this way, it will create a fuller understanding of society.

More important, it will facilitate dialogue. When we understand that it is possible, and valid, to look to issues in societies through these different lenses, and we start to understand the discourses, just like it is possible to understand the rules of chess, draught and backgammon, then it will be easier to discuss.

Thirdly, and may be most importantly, the analogy with colors brings us to the idea that the combination of colors may be normal, even desirable. At least, unescapable. A particular combination of colors may be good and functional at a certain moment in time, despite the inner contradictions it may contain, and later, this particular combination may prove to be not functional any more.

How to use the Cosmology Triangle?

I would like to stress three points:

In the set of concepts representing each cosmology, economic, political, philosophical, technical and cultural aspects are brought together. The lists are not exhausting. *It is an attempt to develop a holistic, but still operational, tool for analysis.* The combination of these types of concepts suggests for example that in a non-technological society a religiously or ethnically based social contract is more likely to emerge, than in an industrial society. This can be

stated on the basis of empirical research, but also made understood from its inner logic. In practice the combination of a strong and rationally governed national state and industrial development appear to be a very effective package deal, as we have seen in the European history, and later in Asia. Similarly, it is suggested that a society in which trade and services are the dominant economic sector – actually in the Western context referred to as the “information age” a facilitating rather than a guiding administration is needed.

Secondly, the scheme shows that *concepts have different meanings in different contexts*. The most important issue is related to democracy. The three basic concepts that make up the philosophy of democracy are freedom, equality and brotherhood. It appears that if one takes one of these concepts as the leading concept, it alters the meaning of the others. The philosopher Pieter Boele vanHensbroek in his theses “Political Discourses in African Thought” presents this idea. 1860 to the present⁴ as follows:

Brotherhood	Equality	Freedom
Equality -Freedom	Freedom - Brotherhood	Brotherhood-Equality

For example, if one accepts the idea of brotherhood (within an ethnic or religious group) as a leading principle, the meaning of the idea of freedom is to be interpreted within the limits of brotherhood. Respect for the (male) lineage is important in order to guarantee the social cohesion within the group. The meaning of Freedom is therefore determined by the rules set in the logic of brotherhood. A similar line of reasoning is possible with respect to the concept of Equality. Equality appears to be the leading principle for the national state and civil law. The dominant struggle within the state is a struggle for equal rights for men and women, equal rights for minorities and majorities, etceteras. The concept of brotherhood is still there, but has lost its central importance. Noble birth may still be an advantage, it is not any longer the determining factor for social stratification. Of course the political struggle for democracy was meant to undermine the dominance of brotherhood.

The same will happen if equality will be replaced by freedom as the dominant principle: equality for the law will remain an important concept, but the expectations of the good it will bring may be tempered when the attention shifts to the creation of a facilitating environment, in which the aim is to create optimal opportunities for all individuals (or groups/

organisations/enterprises) "to live a life one has reason to value". This last quote belongs to Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen, an Indian economist, who explicitly chooses for the precedence of *freedom* over *equality* as the leading principle for development.

Lastly, each discourse has its inner logic, and its 'raison d'être', just like the three basic colors have. In social systems, one can use the rules with a positive intention, and with a negative intention. This is true for all three. It is important to bring this question to the forefront in this discussion. If one has pure negative intentions, your strategy will be different than when you are confronted with someone who is playing another game, chess rather than draughts, but in a positive way.

The exercise:

Each of us here in the group is working for a civic organisation, struggling for a better life of one or more particular ethnically, religious or culturally defined groups. Each of us has to analyse its environment as well as the particular group. It is important to have a clear idea where we stand, and what we want exactly for our group and for society as a whole. For the Dutch society the scheme has been filled in, just an example how it could be filled in.

The scheme identifies most important political actors in society. It is requested, concerning the specific issues you are addressing with your organisation or programme, to analyse the point of view of each actor. How would you label the discourse of the Bulgarian Government (more specifically this ministry for example), in relation to the Roma? What is the discourse, how would you characterize its actual concrete political decisions? It may be different. It is mainly one discourse, or a combination of discourses. What are the consequences of the position, in theory or in practice, for your objectives, and for your strategy?

The importance of the exercise is not the final outcome of the analyses, the importance is to discuss with colleagues questions, in a systematic way, which you normally not discuss, and in its full complexity, but systematically. The intention is that ideological deadlocks are determined and overcome, expectations will become more realistic, and strategies more effective. Most important is to see that arrangements are always temporary, the ultimate model does not exist, as much as the ultimate paintings do not exist. But a great variety of beautiful paintings is possible.

Red, yellow or blue?					Roumania	Bosnia H	Georgia	Bulgaria	Netherlands
How would you characterize, in relation to minorities issues,						corat peoples	others		
Government + governing political parties									
Current ideology of the national government?									B+
Actual performance of the national government?									B+
General public									
Current public opinion?									B+ / R+
Actual performance of the general public?									B+ / R+
Civil Society Organisations General									
Current ideology of civil society organisations?									R+
Actual performance of civil society organisations?									R+
Civil Society working for Minorities participation									
Current ideology of civil society organisations?									R+
Actual performance of civil society organisations?									R+
Minorities Communities									
Current ideology of minority communities?									Y+ / R+
Actual performance of minority communities?									Y+ / R+
Religious Institutions + affiliated civil organisations									
Current ideology of Religious Institutions?									R+
Actual performance of Religious Institutions?									Y- / R+
European Commission									
Current ideology European Commission?									R+
Actual performance of European Commission in your country?									
Council of Europe									
Current ideology of Council of Europe?									R+
Actual performance of the Council of Europe in your country?									R+
OSCE									
Current ideology of the OSCE?									R+
Actual performance of the OSCE in your country?									R+
Private Sector									
Current ideology of Private Sector?									B- / R+
Actual performance of Private Sector									B- / R+

Notes:

1. Pieter Boele van Hensbroek, "African Political Philosophy, 1860-1995, an inquiry into three families of discourse", PhD Thesis, Universiteitsdrukkerij, Groningen, 1998 (?), 161
2. Idem.
3. The Cosmology Triangle is the result of a research executed in West-Africa, entitled: "Democratization and Globalization in Benin". The process of building this theory is described in: Rijnierse, E. (2000), "La démocratie dans un monde multicosmologique. Une expédition d'exploration menée depuis l'Afrique". Dans: W. van Binsbergen, G. Hesseling et P. Konings (éds.), *Trajectoire de libération en Afrique contemporaine*. Leiden: Centre d'Etudes Africaines, Paris: Karthala, décembre 2000.
4. Boele van Hensbroek, P. (1999), *Political Discourses in African Thought. 1860 to the present*. London: Preager Publishers.

3.3. The Role of Intercultural Education in Diversity Management and in Achieving Social Cohesion

Jagoda Paukovic

On 31 of March 2004 the Committee of Ministers approved the revised version of the Council of Europe's Strategy for social cohesion. This text was drawn up by the European Committee for Social Cohesion (CDCS) so as to provide a brief exposition of the organisation's understanding of social cohesion and to set out broad guidelines for future work. The revised Strategy defines social cohesion as follows: *the capacity of the society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means.* ([http://www.coe.int/T/E/social_cohesion/social_policies/03.Strategy ...](http://www.coe.int/T/E/social_cohesion/social_policies/03.Strategy...))

This social policy has often been referred to as "European Social Model". This approach in the twenty first century faces a number of questions and strains. The Strategy recognizes this challenge to find ways of adapting the social policy's achievements to changing needs and changing circumstances without losing their essential character.

Social cohesion is a process, about relationships in society. In the view of the Council of Europe the social cohesion is kept by various factors and conditions, social and welfare regulations, security, health security provided to the community by the state, by the civil society, churches, everything that keeps community together. Social cohesion must be firmly based on human rights (as codified in the European Convention of Human Rights and the Revised European Social Charter.

Council of Europe sees the social cohesion as a project, an ideal we are striving towards. As Europeans during globalisation and regionalisation we have to develop instruments to achieve social cohesion while managing and respecting diversity which is a fact of

our societies and which is related very close to the processes of migration. Diversity is a value for the individuals and the society. Managing it means keeping a balance in which we always have to depart from human rights.

How do we deal with diversity? Education is a very important vehicle for social cohesion, it can also destroy social cohesion, it can divide. We need an education that respects diversity and keeps social cohesion, which promotes the intercultural dialogue: intercultural education. Council of Europe is now preparing a White Paper and invited us to contribute. Council of Europe needs civil society to pressure governments to take part in the process. Intercultural dialogue and the intercultural education are the most important instruments for promoting social cohesion and it is also most difficult to obtain a political will by the governments to implement it on national level. The most important obstacles are populist politics, religious institutions that serve local governments, and may be even the interests of the neighbouring countries, which we face daily in our local experiences.

In order to formulate a coherent and long-term policy for the promotion of intercultural dialogue within Europe and between Europe and its neighboring regions, the Council of Europe is preparing a "White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue". The White Paper is addressed to policy makers and practitioners at national, regional and local levels, to whom it will provide guidelines and analytical and methodological tools for the promotion of intercultural dialogue.

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/whitepaper_EN.asp

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/intercultural/default_EN.asp#TopOfPage

The White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue of the Council of Europe will formulate the political orientations of the Organization in this area. It will also serve as a reference document for action at national, regional and local levels. The White Paper will evaluate the results of recent activities of the Council of Europe, of examples of good practice and recent scientific studies on intercultural dialogue, and will formulate the conclusions to be drawn for their implementation. The White Paper will suggest policies and initiatives that the various

stakeholders may consider implementing in different contexts, in order to support intercultural dialogue and to maximize its benefits. The White Paper will identify, more specifically, how the Council of Europe – through model actions and follow-up programmes – can help create better conditions for the promotion of intercultural dialogue, how it can support dialogue and how it can pursue its policy of dialogue with neighbouring regions.

The White Paper will provide standards and tools, in particular examples of good practice.

The White Paper will be the end result of an open consultation process, involving all stakeholders of intercultural dialogue.

We as a network on diversity and social cohesion through effective participation of minorities, are working since 2003 on producing such instruments. This is how we networked to exchange experience, acquire the knowledge and pool resources to develop instruments but also to lobby for implementation using the power and flexibility of the so called “transnational society”. Many issues and steps recommended by the White Paper have been taken by us on a small scale in our local trajectories. The next step would be to summarize, each of us, the way our projects contribute to social cohesion in our respective contexts. The following questions will serve in summarizing our work:

1. how does your project contribute to social cohesion in your society? Which are your concrete good practices?
2. what is still lacking in the project?
3. what are the major obstacles?
4. suggestions for solutions

The results will be presented by each participant organization in our final meeting in Tuzla in November 2007. The synthesis will be offered to the Council of Europe as complementary to the White Paper which is due to be adopted in November 2007. The year 2008 of the intercultural dialogue we will enter with new joint programs.

http://ec.europa.eu/culture/eac/dialogue/calls_en.html

4. Follow-up. The way forward

4.1. Evaluation

The participants concluded that the partners' meeting was a valuable opportunity to learn about the partner organisations' work. Information and description about local situation as well as models and strategies were shared among the participants.

The partners' meeting demonstrated the value of networking as well as working on different level, from local to international one.

From the presented case studies of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Georgia, The Netherlands and Romania it emerged that intercultural education is not only relevant to minorities but also to the members of the majority groups.

One of the major conclusions of the meeting was the importance of continuing of the networking in order to promote diversity and social cohesion through lobbying at decision-makers, local and national level institutions, and through local non-formal educational projects. Intercultural education was seen as a very important vehicle to promote tolerance, equality and respect for diversity.

The participants considered as an asset the participation of Attila Markó, secretary of state in the Department for Interethnic Relations, who has presented the not only the situation of the ethnic minorities in Romania, but also the department's views about inter- and multicultural education.

4.2. Continuation of local projects in 2007

The discussion focused on the concept note for the project "Schools of Local and European Policies" put forward by The Union Public Movement Multinational Georgia. Devised to cover compact settlements of ethnic minorities in the 5 regions of Georgia, the project is a response to the major gaps in minority treatment: absence of an adequate legal framework and comprehensive policy approach to minority issues, lack of political representation of minorities, language barriers contributing to isolation and lack of culture of political participation among representatives of minority groups.

The project has as its overall objectives to contribute to the creation of a democratic self-government system in the country and to protect the interests of ethnic minorities and empower them for participation in the community life and development. All participants agreed to support the project and send all the necessary information in order to be submitted in time.

The partners agreed to develop and implement a project meant to be the follow up of the project on intercultural education carried out in their countries during the year 2006. Starting from the conclusions and recommendations of the previous project, the current project will focus on the implementation of the conclusions and recommendations. The preliminary results of this project will be discussed on the occasion of the following partners' meeting, to be held in Tuzla.

4.3. Planning the partners' 2007 priorities and common strategies

1. Checking with donors for intercultural education projects and sustainable funding of the network. Sharing the information with all the partners:

- Balkan Trust for Democracy and EU delegation in Bosnia-Herzegovina to be contacted by Emir Sejranic;
- Directorate General for Culture to be contacted by Theodora Krumova;
- Trust for Democracy in Eastern Europe, Bulgaria to be contacted by Deyan Kolev;
- Open Society Institute, Hungary, and East-East Programme to be contacted by Smaranda Enache.

2. Agit Mirzoev is going to elaborate the first draft of the PMMG project and budget until 24 February and share it with the network. Every organization reacts and indicates the activities and/or expertise which it can provide.

3. Michel Peters checks the MATRA funding opportunities and details with the Ministry.

4. Jagoda Paukovic prepares the final narrative report of the project, Equal Participation of Minorities in Europe funded by Cordaid until the middle of April.

5. Miralem Tursinovic will set up a yahoo group in order to facilitate a better communication between the partners in the future.

5. Presentation of the Meeting's Programme and Participants

5.1. Programme

Diversity and Social Cohesion – Equal Participation of Minorities in Europe. Intercultural Education

Thursday, February 15

6:00 p.m. Arrivals
7:00 p.m. Registration
9:00 p.m. Dinner

Friday, 16 February 2007

9:00 a.m. ***Presentation of local cases on intercultural education***
The case of Bulgaria – Deyan Kolev, Theodora Krumova
The case of Georgia – Agit Mirzoev
The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina - Emir Serjanic,
Miralem Tursinovic
The case of the Netherlands – Michel Peters
The case of Romania – Judit-Andrea Kacsó
11:15 a.m. Coffee break
11.30 a.m. ***Achieving of social cohesion in a multicultural Europe – the Romanian case***
Attila Markó
1:00 p.m. Lunch
2:00 p.m. ***Debating the local cases on intercultural education***
Chair: Jagoda Paukovic

4:00 p.m. ***Discussion: The Role of intercultural education in promoting social cohesion***

Chair: Jagoda Paukovic

8:00 p.m. Dinner

Saturday, 17 February 2007

9:00 a.m. ***Connecting our programs to Discourse Analysis***

Elly Rijnierse

11:15 a.m. Coffee break

11:30 a.m. ***Common vision on Diversity and Social Cohesion***

Jagoda Paukovic

1:00 p.m. Lunch

2:00 p.m. ***Discusson: Continuation of the local projects in 2007***

4:00 ***Planning the partners' 2007 priorities and common strategies***

6:00 p.m. ***Conclusions***

7:30 p.m. Dinner

Sunday, 18 February 2007

9:00 a.m. ***Intercultural visiting tour of Bucharest***

2:00 p.m. Lunch

3:00 p.m. Departures

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5.3. Participant organisations

Cordaid (the Netherlands)

Cordaid is one of the leading development organisations in the Netherlands with an annual budget of around 150 million euro, of which non-grants financing amounts to around 15 million euro a year. Cordaid is committed to serving the poor and those that are deprived of their rights from a perspective of economic and social justice. We support the poor and their organisations, regardless of age, sex, race, religion or political conviction. Cordaid strongly believes that everyone has the right to a decent human life free from the shackles of poverty. Cordaid is a nongovernmental organisation with a catholic tradition. Our inspiration is based on Catholic Social Teaching. For Cordaid, every single person counts. Cordaid's vision on development cooperation envisages building on the poor people's own strength to improve their livelihoods. Non-grant financing is an integral part of Cordaid's approach and strategy to development financing.

Justitia et Pax (the Netherlands)

Justitia et Pax Netherlands is a catholic human rights organisation. It was established by the Netherlands Bishops' Conference. Justitia et Pax defends human rights, social justice and a society that is accomodating and seif for all its members.

The commission is part of a world-wide network of more than 130 national commissions. It is an active member of the Conference of European Justice and Peace Commissions and maintains intensive contacts with the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, with other (religious and non-religious) organisations that are invloved in human rights and social justice and with intergovernmental institutions. Justitia et Pax has consultative status with the Council of Europe. Justitia et Pax engages in studies and action based on the Catholic social teaching. It carries aut studies, research and analysis with the results focusing on awareness, forming of opinion and political lobbying. Through them Justitia et Pax also contributes to the development of this social teaching in the field of justice and peace.

Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Tuzla (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

Helsinki Citizens Assembly (hCA) is the international network of civic initiatives, movements, social and political groups in the East and in the West that work together on democratic integration of Europe. The main goal of hCA is articulation and promotion of views, interests and political visions of the civic society in the area of Helsinki, on European integration and problems that are faced. Talks of this integration and problems of Europe can not be held on the level of Governments of states themselves; the society should also participate in it. hCA wishes to broaden this debate on Europe to other but exclusively political elite's levels.

hCA has its branches in almost all European countries. Since hCA wishes to establish strong warranties of freedom, democracy and respect of human rights in Europe, including protection of all types of civic initiatives, special attention has been directed to regions that are on conflicts. Basically, hCA assists all those brave people who fight to preserve the existence of civic virtues in situation of chaos, war and discrimination.

Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Tuzla: Registered in December 1996, 8 April 1995 officially opened. Since then, hCA office in Tuzla has been an active participant in promotion, strengthening and linking of civic initiatives in Tuzla and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. hCA Tuzla has an intensive co-operation with the hCA Banja Luka. Furthermore, the hCA office in Tuzla has a close co-operation with the Forum of Tuzla Citizens, Citizens Alternative Parliament and many other different local organizations.

Union Public Movement "Multinational Georgia" (Georgia)

Public Movement "Multinational Georgia" is a non-governmental, non-profit organization, which is aimed at raising civic awareness of the national minorities of Georgia, intercultural education, exchange and interaction, popularization of the minority rights defense campaign, and development of the integration processes.

This organization has sponsored numerous conferences on minority issues, published newsletters, organized seminars for ethnic minority NGO leaders, and is currently involved in a new project titled, "Multi-Ethnic Resource Center of Civic Education in Georgia". This center aims to bring together representatives of the ethnic minorities of

Georgia for the purpose of participation in seminars, conferences, discussions (with participation of members of Parliament, government officials, staff of the office of Public Defender, international organizations and diplomatic missions accredited in Georgia, representatives of Mass Media, well-known conflict researchers and lawyers), computer training courses, and Georgian and English language lessons. The center also has plans for the construction of a library on issues relevant to multinational Georgia.

Center for Interethnic Dialogue and Tolerance “Amalipe” (Bulgaria)

Center Amalipe was founded at the beginning of 2002. It is an organization established in Veliko Turnovo region (Central Bulgaria) and at the same time it is one of the leading Roma NGO at national level that initiates and implements policy oriented projects on behalf of Roma community.

The activity of center Amalipe is concentrated on: provoking a change in the educational system; advocating for real Roma participation in the policy making process; preserving and renewing Roma identity through collecting, editing, and popularizing the best examples of Roma culture; solving existing problems of local Roma communities in Veliko Turnovo region; promotion and advocacy for introducing of human rights approach in the development process; mainstreaming Romani women issues.

In its activity Center “Amalipe” follows its Regulations, Program, and General Strategy for Development 2004 – 2009.

Its strategy sets the following tasks for the organization: introducing Roma folklore classes in the primary schools in the whole country; carrying out lobby campaigns before different institutions at the national, regional and local level and the different political parties for enhancing the process of Roma integration; realizing of monitoring and evaluation of the implementation of the Framework program for equal integration of Roma in Bulgarian society; realizing activities for solving the living problems of Roma living in the barracks on “Aleko Konstantinov” Street in Veliko Turnovo; building sustainable partnership with Roma and non-Roma NGOs; mainstreaming Romani women issues.

Liga Pro Europa (Romania)

Liga Pro Europa (PEL) is a regionally based NGO, founded in the Transylvanian town of Targu-Mures in December 1989, by a group of twenty engaged local intellectuals from different ethnic, religious and linguistic background. Its mission, as stated in the *"Declaration of Principles"*, adopted by the first General Assembly on 10 January 1990, is to contribute to Romania's transition from dictatorship to democracy by the promotion of the respect for human rights and democratic values in Romania. The PEL's goal is to actively involve citizens' participation in promoting respect for human and minority rights, democracy and pluralism, as well as intercultural living and mutual understanding between persons and communities with different ethnic backgrounds, with emphasis on the multicultural traditions of Transylvania.

The PEL has an extensive expertise and experience in intercultural projects. Along the years it has accumulated a large inventory of good practices in minority protection and intercultural education. Unfortunately, the public school system is reluctant to promote new intercultural strategies in the school curricula. The PEL has constantly advocated for the transfer of good practices and lessons learned from the informal education (NGOs) to the public school system. In 2005, the PEL completed a pilot-project in partnership with the Council of Europe, providing for the training of 25 intercultural facilitators in the Romanian schools.

Annexes

Annex A. Opinion of the Committee of the Regions on the Proposal for a Decision of the European Parliament and of the Council concerning the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)

The Committee of the Regions,

*Having regard to the European Commission's proposal for a *European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)**

(COM(2005) 467 final);

Having regard to the European Commission's decision of 16 November 2005 to consult it in accordance with Article 128 of the Treaty establishing the European Community;

Having regard to the decision of its Bureau of 12 April 2005 to instruct its Commission for Culture and Education to draw up an opinion on this subject;

Having regard to Article 151 of the EC Treaty which states that 'The Community shall take cultural aspects into account in its action under other provisions of this Treaty, in particular in order to respect and to promote the diversity of cultures';

Having regard to Article 22 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the Union which states that 'The Union shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity';

Having regard to the Unesco Convention of 20 October 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions;

Having regard to the Opinion of the Commission for Culture, Education and Research, adopted on

1 March 2006 (CdR 44/2006 rev. 1) (rapporteur: Mr András Máti, Mayor of Szirák (HU/UEN-EA));

adopted the following opinion at its 64th plenary session, held on 26 and 27 April 2006 (meeting of 27 April):

1. Introduction

The Committee of the Regions

1.1 stresses that Europe's strength lies in its diversity. Respect for cultural linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity is one of the basic principles underlying the process of European integration, which is not about levelling out differences or creating uniform identities but fostering greater cooperation and understanding among the peoples of Europe;

1.2 notes the scale of migration in the European Union today. Public administrations must provide immigrants with all available means to become a source of intercultural exchange and to integrate fully into our societies;
1.3 recognises that the combined effect of the successive enlargements of the Union, the increased mobility resulting from the single market, old and new migratory flows, more extensive exchanges with the rest of the world through trade, education, leisure and globalisation in general, is increasing interactions between citizens in Europe;

1.4 welcomes the European Commission's initiative on the Year of Intercultural Dialogue and agrees with the key objective of the Year, which is as follows: to raise the awareness of European citizens and all persons living in the European Union of common cultural values in Europe and of the importance of developing active European citizenship which is open to the world, respectful of all manners of diversity and based on common values in the European Union. A European Year devoted to intercultural dialogue constitutes a unique awareness-raising tool for involving citizens, insofar as intercultural refers to a dialogue which embraces all elements and groups within society;

1.5 endorses the idea of closely involving the candidate countries with the project among other initiatives to promote intercultural dialogue, and supports the focus on ensuring that

the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and the initiatives to promote intercultural dialogue implemented in cooperation with the EFTA countries, Western Balkan countries and the partner countries involved in the European Neighbourhood Policy complement each other;

1.6 stresses that local and regional authorities:

- have important competences in promoting cultural activities and intercultural dialogue and they bear a major responsibility for shaping and supporting our rich variety of cultures and for integrating into society the different communities that exist within it;

- have a key role in disseminating and applying best practice and exchange of experiences in this field, in particular through their coordination of multi-dimensional local and regional networks in the cultural sector, involving all relevant actors.

2. Importance of intercultural dialogue

The Committee of the Regions

2.1 reiterates that the basic principle underlying the process of European integration is respect for and the promotion of cultural diversity. Cultural diversity is a source of richness that needs to be preserved, whilst its virtues need to be extolled as one of the main characteristics of Europe's identity. Intercultural dialogue is, in this respect, a key instrument in promoting understanding of cultural diversity;

2.2 stresses that intercultural dialogue can promote greater understanding, in particular in relation to cultural traditions, religious practice and history. It can also guard against the risks of both cultural indifference and levelling down as well as the growth of racist and xenophobic attitudes, which encourage anti-social behaviour. The CoR reiterates that intercultural cooperation needs to be stepped up so as to ensure that cultural differences are an instrument for strengthening and uniting people in a multilingual, multicultural Europe;

2.3 emphasises that intercultural dialogue helps to curb extremist tendencies in certain social groups;

2.4 emphasises that it would particularly support more effective integration of immigrants;

2.5 stresses that intercultural dialogue can help to instil the basic values of private, social and civic life, such as solidarity, tolerance, democracy and understanding for cultural diversity. Intercultural dialogue can foster the ability to communicate between different cultural groups and to take part in civic society. Such dialogue is vital since racism, xenophobia and friction are on the increase. The right to be different does not justify different rights before the law;

2.6 points out that intercultural dialogue can assist in alleviating the social exclusion, isolation and marginalisation of disadvantaged social groups, in particular immigrants. Culture and participation in cultural activities can provide them with new possibilities for strengthening their identity, their selfesteem and achieving a new status in society;

2.7 calls for continuous support to facilitate intercultural dialogue and relevant activities at local government level in order to support various existing initiatives and to strengthen cultural exchange between citizens through multiple measures involving culture, sports, youth, etc.;

2.8 calls for increased emphasis on the mainstreaming of culture in all policy areas, particularly in education and in social and employment policy and sport.

3. The role of local and regional authorities in supporting intercultural dialogue

The Committee of the Regions

3.1 calls for the promotion of the lesser-used languages and regional languages in Europe including the languages of some of the smaller Member States;

3.2 stresses that local and regional authorities, through their proximity to citizens, are strategically well placed to respond to the specific needs and demands of the different cultural groups within the EU and to effectively mobilise local and regional communities in promoting greater intercultural dialogue;

3.3 calls for local and regional authorities to be to the fore in the implementation of the Year, in particular to carry out information campaigns at local and regional level. Because of their closeness to and representation of local communities, they are in a unique position to ensure the widest access possible to actions, reaching in particular 'disadvantaged' groups and thereby ensuring maximum benefit from the opportunities available;

3.4 stresses that, in view of the greater complexity involved, programmes and legislation to combat cultural and social exclusion could be more of a priority at local and regional levels, rather than action at the level of international diplomacy;

3.5 underlines that in order to promote intercultural dialogue effectively, there is a need for cooperation at regional and local level involving the relevant actors, especially the social partners, education and training establishments, NGOs, youth, sports, cultural and religious organisations at grassroots level;

3.6 stresses the increasing importance of intercultural dialogue at international level;

3.7 would here highlight the importance of the UNESCO Convention of 20 October 2005 on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, which for the first time achieved consensus on a series of guidelines and concepts regarding cultural diversity, inter alia in the context of trade policy resolutions, and created the basis for a new global pillar of governance in the culture sector;

3.8 pays tribute to the activities of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures and expresses the hope that local and regional authorities will be included in the work of this foundation;

3.9 underlines the important contributions that existing programmes for cooperation between regions and/or municipalities and for town twinning have provided in enriching cultural cooperation between towns and cities;

3.10 underlines that local and regional authorities can help to promote intercultural dialogue developed in coordination with other policy sectors such as education, training, enterprise and employment strategies;

3.11 stresses that, in conjunction with all of these measures promoting cultural exchange, the European Union is founded on cultural elements that are common to all Europeans, which come from their own traditions and which, when taken together, form what could be called 'European culture'.

4. Specific proposals

The Committee of the Regions

4.1 calls for the events of the Year to be organised in such a way that the

initiatives trialled during the Year can be used as a basis for an in-depth analysis to develop a communication and exchange tool for local and regional authorities;

4.2 calls for the Year to intensify interaction and open discussion between all citizens in the EU so as to promote the values and the idea of European integration. It further points out that it is insufficient to merely highlight a few success stories; what is needed is a coherent blueprint for the medium-term application of successful exchange models;

4.3 calls on the European Commission to take the experience acquired through the Year into account in long-term action programmes which include intercultural dialogue, such as Culture 2007;

4.4 to this end, calls on the Member State to incorporate cultural dialogue and programmes into the legislative work of national and regional parliaments, particularly in relation to State education, the propagation of culture and citizens' initiatives;

4.5 calls on the European Commission to spell out what is actually involved in the actions at Community level (Actions A and B), and to provide detailed information about the instruments which can be used;

4.6 notes that in the breakdown of resources contained in the Annex to the draft proposal a large proportion of the proposed budget for the Year has been allocated to supporting emblematic action on a Community scale (8 actions envisaged – Action B). The CoR calls for more focus to be given to small-scale actions, in particular at local and regional level, which have lasting repercussions and multiplier effects in communities and which can provide an important added value to EU cultural actions. Due to a lack of funding, many innovative small-scale actions cannot be implemented. We would therefore recommend that the European Year emphasise small-scale local initiatives, and request that the requisite support be provided;

4.7 advocates supporting the work of the European Migration Network as an existing platform that allows a EU-wide debate on migration issues and the marginalisation of groups of migrants in order to combat cultural misunderstandings and inform policymakers and the public accordingly;

4.8 calls for the positive appreciation of local community social networks as visible mediators, motivators and catalysts for dialogue between individual cultures;

4.9 stresses that involvement of local and regional authorities in the implementation of the European Year seems the most effective way of ensuring that it reaches European citizens.

Incorporating the local and regional dimension into a European Year is fundamental to its success;

4.10 calls on the European Commission to involve local and regional authorities in the implementation of the Year, in particular to carry out

information campaigns at local and regional level;

4.11 **requests** that programmes pursuing a multidisciplinary approach, combining various art forms as one - perhaps on the basis of a unifying idea - be given special support;

4.12 **calls on** the European Commission to devise a short message or central idea for the 2008 European Year conveying the meaning of the slogan 'Unity in Diversity' to all European citizens. It also **requests** special support for projects which focus on identifying shared European cultural traditions and/or future-oriented strategies in this area;

4.13 **requests** that the measures for intercultural integration implemented by the different Community institutions as part of the Year of Intercultural Dialogue be evaluated, in order to show how the cultural assistance they have provided has benefited the social integration of immigrants, helping these become an asset for Europe rather than a problem.

5. Recommendations of the Committee of the Regions

Recommendation 1

Text proposed by the Commission

Article 5

Cooperation by the Member States

Each Member State shall appoint a national coordination body, or an equivalent administrative body, responsible for organising that State's participation in the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Each Member State shall ensure that this body involves in an appropriate manner the various parties in intercultural dialogue at national level. This body shall ensure the coordination, at national level, of actions relating to the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue.

Text proposed by the CoR Amendment

Article 5. Cooperation by the Member States

Each Member State shall appoint a national coordination body, or an equivalent administrative body, responsible for organising that State's participation in the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Each Member State shall ensure that this body involves in an appropriate manner the various parties in intercultural dialogue at national level, including local and regional authorities. This body shall ensure the coordination, at national level, of actions relating to the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue.

Brussels, 27 April 2006

The President of the Committee of the Regions

Michel DELEBARRE

Annex B. Decision No 1983/2006/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 18 December 2006 concerning the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008)

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND THE COUNCIL OF THE EUROPEAN UNION,

Having regard to the Treaty establishing the European Community, and in particular the first indent of Article 151(5) thereof,

Having regard to the proposal from the Commission,

Having regard to the Opinion of the European Economic and Social Committee¹,

Having regard to the Opinion of the Committee of the Regions²,

Acting in accordance with the procedure laid down in Article 251 of the Treaty³

Whereas:

(1) The Treaty establishing the European Community gives it the task of creating an ever closer union between the peoples of Europe and of contributing to the flowering of the cultures of Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and also highlighting their common cultural heritage.

(2) The combined effect of the successive enlargements of the European Union (EU), the increased mobility resulting from the single market, old and new migratory flows, more significant exchanges with the rest of the world through trade, education, leisure and globalisation in general, is increasing interactions between European citizens, and all those living in the EU, and the various cultures, languages, ethnic groups and religions in Europe and beyond.

(3) European citizens, and all those living in the EU temporarily or permanently, should therefore have the opportunity to take part in intercultural dialogue and fulfil their potential in a diverse, pluralist, solidarity-based and dynamic society, not only in Europe but also in the world.

(4) At the heart of the European project, it is important to provide the means for intercultural dialogue and dialogue between citizens to strengthen respect for cultural diversity and deal with the complex reality in our societies and the coexistence of different cultural identities and beliefs. Furthermore, it is important to highlight the contribution of different cultures to the Member States' heritage and way of life and to recognise that culture and intercultural dialogue are essential for learning to live together in harmony.

(5) Intercultural dialogue thus contributes towards achieving a number of the EU's strategic priorities, in particular by:

- respecting and promoting cultural diversity in Europe, improving coexistence and encouraging active European citizenship open to the world and based on the common values in the EU,
- contributing to ensuring equal opportunities and non-discrimination within the EU by including the renewed Lisbon strategy, for which the knowledgebased economy requires people capable of adapting to changes and benefiting from all possible sources of innovation in order to increase prosperity,
- emphasising the cultural and educational dimension of the renewed Lisbon strategy and, in so doing, stimulating the cultural and creative economy in the EU, which generates growth and creates jobs,
- supporting the EU's commitment to solidarity, social justice, the development of a social market economy, cooperation and greater cohesion in the respect of its common values,
- enabling the EU to make its voice better heard in the world and to forge effective partnerships with countries in its neighbourhood, thus extending a zone of stability, democracy and common prosperity beyond the EU, and thereby increasing the well-being and security of European citizens and all those living in the EU.

(6) Intercultural dialogue is an important dimension in many Community policies and instruments in the fields of the structural funds, education, lifelong learning, youth, culture, citizenship and sport, gender equality, employment and social affairs, combating discrimination and social exclusion, combating racism and xenophobia, policy on asylum and the integration of immigrants, human rights and sustainable development, audiovisual policy and research.

(7) It is also an increasing factor in the EU's external relations, particularly with regard to accession and candidate countries, the countries of the western Balkans, the candidate countries for association agreements with the EU and the partner countries of the European neighbourhood policy and other third countries, particularly developing countries.

(8) Building on the basis of Community experiences and initiatives, a fundamental step is promoting the participation of each citizen, men and women on an equal footing, of each Member State and of European society as a whole in an intercultural dialogue, in particular through the structured cooperation with civil society. It contributes to creating a sense of European identity, by embracing differences and shaping the various aspects of belonging to a community.

(9) For the purpose of the present Decision, the notion of 'active European citizenship' should not cover only citizens of the EU as defined in Article 17 of the EC Treaty, but any individual living permanently or temporarily in the EU.

(10) The common values of the EU are those defined in Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union.

(11) It is essential to ensure complementarity and a horizontal approach in all Community, national, regional and local actions with a strong intercultural dialogue dimension, given that the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue will help to raise their profile and increase their coherence. The planning of these actions, both at Community and national level, shall take on board, where relevant, the experience gained from actions under the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All (2007).

(12) The European Year of Intercultural Dialogue should also contribute to integrating intercultural dialogue as a horizontal and trans-sectoral priority into Community policies, actions and programmes and to identify and share best practices in its promotion. Visible recognition of best practices and projects in the field of intercultural dialogue will encourage stakeholders and promote the idea among civil society.

(13) Cooperation with other international institutions such as the Council of Europe and UNESCO could be developed as appropriate, in particular to take into account their experience and expertise in promoting intercultural dialogue.

(14) It will also be important to ensure complementarity between the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and all external aspects of promoting intercultural dialogue initiatives developed within appropriate frameworks, including with those EFTA countries which are party to the EEA agreement, the countries of the western Balkans and the partner countries of the European neighbourhood policy. It will also be important to ensure complementarity with any other cooperation initiative with third countries, in particular developing countries, which is relevant to the objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue.

(15) Actions of intercultural dialogue to be developed within relevant external relations instruments should inter alia reflect the mutual interest associated with the exchange of experiences and values with third countries and promote mutual knowledge, respect and understanding of their respective cultures.

(16) This Decision is addressed to the Member States. The candidate countries should nevertheless be closely associated with actions under the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue through initiatives to promote developing intercultural dialogue within the relevant frameworks for cooperation and dialogue, particularly in the context of the civil society dialogue between the EU and these countries¹.

(17) This Decision lays down, for the entire duration of the action, a financial envelope constituting the prime reference for the budgetary authority during the annual budgetary procedure, within the meaning of point 37 of the

Interinstitutional Agreement of 17 May 2006 between the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission on budgetary discipline and sound financial management².

(18) The measures necessary for the implementation of this Decision should be adopted in accordance with Council Decision 1999/468/EC of 28 June 1999 laying down the procedures for the exercise of implementing powers conferred on the Commission³. An advisory committee is thus considered appropriate to the type and scale of the action envisaged.

(19) Since the objectives of this Decision cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States and can therefore, by reason of the need, in particular, for multilateral partnerships and transnational exchanges on a Community scale, be better achieved at Community level, the Community may adopt measures, in accordance with the principle of subsidiarity as set out in Article 5 of the Treaty. In accordance with the principle of proportionality as set out in that Article, this Decision does not go beyond what is necessary in order to achieve those objectives,

HAVE ADOPTED THIS DECISION:

Article 1

Subject

The year 2008 shall be designated as the 'European Year of Intercultural Dialogue' to contribute to giving expression and a high profile to a sustained process of intercultural dialogue which will continue beyond that year.

Article 2

Objectives

1. The overall objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue shall be to contribute to:

— promoting intercultural dialogue as a process in which all those living in the EU can improve their ability to deal with a more open, but also more complex, cultural environment, where, in different Member States as well as within each Member State, different cultural identities and beliefs coexist,

— highlighting intercultural dialogue as an opportunity to contribute to and benefit from a diverse and dynamic society, not only in Europe but also in the world,

— raising the awareness of all those living in the EU, in particular young people, of the importance of developing an active European citizenship which is open to the world, respects cultural diversity and is based on common values in the EU as laid down in Article 6 of the EU Treaty and the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union,

— highlighting the contribution of different cultures and expressions of cultural diversity to the heritage and ways of life of the Member States.

2. The specific objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue shall be to:

- seek to raise the awareness of all those living in the EU, in particular young people, of the importance of engaging in intercultural dialogue in their daily life,
- work to identify, share and give a visible European recognition to best practices in promoting intercultural dialogue throughout the EU, especially among young people and children,
- foster the role of education as an important medium for teaching about diversity, increase the understanding of other cultures and developing skills and best social practices, and highlight the central role of the media in promoting the principle of equality and mutual understanding,
- raise the profile, increase the coherence of and promote all Community programmes and actions contributing to intercultural dialogue and ensure their continuity,
- contribute to exploring new approaches to intercultural dialogue involving cooperation between a wide range of stakeholders from different sectors.

Article 3

Content of measures

The measures taken in order to achieve the objectives defined in Article 2 are set out in the Annex.

They shall include the implementation of the following activities or the granting of support thereto:

- (a) events and initiatives on a European scale aimed at promoting intercultural dialogue, through involving directly or otherwise reaching as many people as possible, and highlighting achievements and experiences on the theme of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue;
- (b) events and initiatives at national level and regional level with a strong European dimension aimed at promoting the objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, through directly involving or otherwise reaching as many people as possible, with particular attention being given to actions relating to civic education and learning to appreciate other people and their differences;
- (c) information and promotion campaigns, particularly in cooperation with the media and civil society organisations at Community and national level to disseminate the key messages concerning the objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and the recognition of best practices, especially among young people and children;
- (d) surveys and studies on a Community or national scale and consultation with transnational networks and civil society stakeholders to assess and report on the preparation for, and the effectiveness and impact of, the

European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in order to lay the basis for its long-term follow-up.

Article 4

Cooperation by the Member States

Each Member State shall appoint a national coordination body, or an equivalent administrative body, responsible for organising that Member State's participation in the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. It shall inform the Commission of that appointment within one month of the adoption of this Decision.

Each Member State shall ensure that the aforementioned body involve in an appropriate manner the various parties to intercultural dialogue at national, regional and local level.

The aforementioned body shall ensure the coordination, at national level, of actions relating to the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue.

Article 5

Implementation

1. The measures necessary for the implementation of this Decision shall be adopted in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 6(2).

2. Special attention shall be paid to cooperation with the European institutions, in particular the European Parliament.

Article 6

Committee

1. The Commission shall be assisted by a Committee.

2. Where reference is made to this paragraph, Articles 3 and 7 of Decision 1999/468/EC shall apply, having regard to the provisions of Article 8 thereof.

3. The Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

4. The national representatives to the Committee shall be appointed preferably by the national coordination body referred to in Article 4.

Article 7

Financial provisions

1. Measures which are Community-wide, referred to in part A of the Annex, may be subsidised up to 80 % of their total cost from the general budget of the European Union.

2. The measures referred to in part B of the Annex may be subsidised up to 50 % of their total cost from the general budget of the European Union in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 8.

3. Measures which are Community-wide, referred to in part C of the Annex, shall give rise to a procurement contract or the award of grants financed from the general budget of the European Union.

Article 8

Application and selection procedure

1. Decisions on the awarding of grants shall be taken by the Commission

in accordance with the procedure referred to in Article 6(2). The Commission shall ensure a balanced and fair distribution between the Member States and among the different fields of activity involved, while taking into consideration the quality of the projects proposed.

2. Grant applications presented under Article 7(2) shall be submitted to the Commission by the body referred to in Article 4.

Article 3

International organisations

For the purposes of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, the Commission may cooperate with appropriate international organisations, in particular with the Council of Europe and UNESCO, taking great care to ensure the visibility of the EU's participation.

Article 10

Role of the Commission

1. The Commission shall ensure coherence between the measures laid down in this Decision and other Community actions and initiatives.

2. The Commission shall endeavour to involve the candidate countries in the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, on the basis of their participation in a number of Community programmes including an intercultural dialogue dimension and by developing specific initiatives in appropriate frameworks, particularly in the context of civil society dialogue between the EU and candidate countries.

3. The Commission shall ensure complementarity between the measures taken to achieve the objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and initiatives likely to be developed within the relevant cooperation and dialogue frameworks with those EFTA countries which are party to the EEA agreement, the countries of the western Balkans and the partner countries of the European neighbourhood policy.

4. The Commission shall also ensure complementarity with any other initiative of cooperation with third countries, in particular developing countries, relevant for the objectives of intercultural dialogue of the European Year.

Article 11

Budget

1. The financial envelope for the implementation of this Decision for the period from 1 January 2007 to 31 December 2008 is EUR 10 000 000. Preparatory action shall be limited to 30 % of the overall budget.

2. Annual appropriations shall be authorised by the budgetary authority within the limits of the financial framework.

Article 12

Protection of the Community's financial interests

1. The Commission shall ensure that, when actions financed under this

Decision are implemented, the financial interests of the Community are protected by the application of preventive measures against fraud, corruption and any other illegal activities, by effective checks and by the recovery of the amounts unduly paid and, if irregularities are detected, by effective, proportional and dissuasive penalties, in accordance with Council Regulation (EC, Euratom) No 2988/95 of 18 December 1995 on the protection of the European Communities' financial interests⁴, Council Regulation (Euratom, EC) No 2185/96 of 11 November 1996 concerning on-the-spot checks and inspections carried out by the Commission in order to protect the European Communities' financial interests against fraud and other irregularities⁵ and Regulation (EC) No 1073/1999 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 May 1999 concerning investigations conducted by the European Antifraud Office (OLAF)⁶.

2. With regard to the Community actions financed under this Decision, the notion of irregularity referred to in Article 1 (2) of Regulation (EC, Euratom) No 2988/95 shall mean any infringement of a provision of Community law or any infringement of a contractual obligation resulting from an act or omission by an economic operator which has, or would have, the effect of prejudicing the general budget of the European Union or budgets managed by the Communities, by an unjustified item of expenditure.

3. The Commission shall reduce, suspend or recover the amount of financial assistance granted for an action if it finds irregularities, particularly non-compliance with the provisions of this Decision, the individual decision or the contract granting the financial support in question, or if it transpires that, without Commission approval having been sought, the action has been subjected to significant change which conflicts with its nature or with its implementing conditions.

4. If the time limits have not been observed or if only part of the allocated financial assistance is justified by the progress made with implementing an action, the Commission shall request the beneficiary to submit observations within a specified period. If the beneficiary does not give a satisfactory answer, the Commission may cancel the remaining financial assistance and demand repayment of sums already paid.

5. Any amount unduly paid shall be repaid to the Commission. Interest shall be added to any sums not repaid in due time under the conditions laid down in Council Regulation (EC, Euratom) No 1605/2002 of 25 June 2002 on the Financial Regulation applicable to the general budget of the European Communities⁷.

Article 13

Supervision

1. The beneficiary shall submit technical and financial reports on the progress of work for any action financed under this Decision. A final report

shall also be submitted within three months of the completion of the action. The Commission shall determine the form and subject-matter of the reports.

2. For a period of five years following the last payment in respect of any action, the beneficiary of financial assistance shall keep available for the Commission all the supporting documents regarding expenditure on the action.

3. The Commission shall take every other step necessary to verify that the actions financed are carried out properly and in compliance with the provisions of this Decision and Regulation (EC, Euratom) No 1605/2002.

Article 14

Monitoring and evaluation By 31 December 2009 at the latest, the Commission shall submit to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions a report on the implementation, results and overall assessment of the measures laid down in Article 3 to serve as a basis for future EU policies, measures and actions in this field.

Article 15

Entry into force

This Decision shall enter into force on the day following that of its publication in the *Official Journal of the European Union*.

Article 16

Addressees

This Decision is addressed to the Member States.

Done at Brussels, 18 December 2006

For the European Parliament

The President

J. BORRELL FONTELLES

For the Council

The President

J.-E. ENESTAM

ANNEX. Measures referred to in Article 3

A. CO-FINANCING OF ACTIONS ON A COMMUNITY SCALE

A limited number of emblematic actions on a European scale aimed at raising awareness, particularly among young people, of the objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue may receive a Community grant of up to 80 % of the total cost.

These actions may consist of particular events, including a Community event to open and close the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in cooperation with the Presidencies in office during 2008.

As an indication, approximately 30 % of the total budget allocated will be devoted to these actions.

B. CO-FINANCING OF ACTIONS ON A NATIONAL SCALE

Actions at national level with a strong European dimension may fulfil the conditions for receiving Community aid of up to 50 % of the total cost. These actions may relate in particular to the cofinancing of one national initiative per Member State.

As an indication, approximately 30 % of the total budget allocated will be devoted to these actions.

C. ACTIONS ON A COMMUNITY SCALE

1. Information and promotion actions including:

(a) an information campaign coordinated at Community level and articulated in the Member States, building on best practices of intercultural dialogue at all levels;

(b) cooperation with the private sector, the media, educational institutions and other partners from the civil society to disseminate information on the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue;

(c) the design of a logo and slogans for use in connection with any activity linked to the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and the production of promotional tools to be made available throughout the Community;

(d) appropriate measures for publicising the results and raising the profile of Community programmes, actions and initiatives contributing to the objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue and to provide a European recognition to best practices, especially among young people and children;

(e) the dissemination, of teaching materials and tools primarily intended for educational institutions, promoting exchanges on cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue;

(f) the establishment of a web portal to make actions in the field of intercultural dialogue accessible to the general public and to guide promoters of projects relating to intercultural dialogue through the various relevant Community programmes and actions.

2. Other actions:

Surveys, studies at Community level and consultation with transnational networks and civil society stakeholders to assess, and report on, the preparation for the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue in order to lay the basis for its long-term follow-up.

3. Financing will generally take the form of direct purchase of goods and services by means of open and/or restricted invitations to tender. It may also take the form of grants.

The financial resources dedicated to Heading C shall not exceed 40 % of the total budget allocated.

D. ACTIONS RECEIVING NON-FINANCIAL COMMUNITY SUPPORT

The Community will grant non-financial support, including written

authorisation to use the logo, once developed, and other materials associated with the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, in initiatives from public or private organisations, in so far as the latter may provide assurances to the Commission that the initiatives in question are or will be carried out during 2008 and are likely to make a significant contribution to achieving the objectives of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Initiatives organised in third countries in association or cooperation with the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, without being supported financially by it, may also receive non-financial support from the Community and use the logo and other materials associated with the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue.

Notes:

1. See Commission communication of 29 June 2005 to the Council, the European Parliament, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on civil society dialogue between the EU and candidate countries.
2. OJ C 139, 14.6.2006, p. 1.
3. OJ L 184, 17.7.1999, p. 23. Decision as amended by Decision 2006/512/EC (OJ L 200, 22.7.2006, p. 11).
4. OJ L 312, 23.12.1995, p. 1.
5. OJ L 292, 15.11.1996, p. 2.
6. OJ L 136, 31.5.1999, p. 1.
7. OJ L 248, 16.9.2002, p. 1.

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Annex C. Declaration by the European ministers of education on intercultural education in the new European context

We, the European ministers of education of the forty-eight States Parties to the European Cultural Convention, meeting on the occasion of the 21st session of the Standing Conference in Athens, from 10 to 12 November 2003, adopt the following declaration:

1. Reiterating, this symbolic place where it was born, that democracy – the political system common to all our states – is the reference value for both current and future generations;
2. Observing the diversity of our societies in terms of ethnicity, culture, languages, religions and education systems;
3. Having noted the social conflicts and disagreements that may result from the coexistence of different value systems;
4. Wishing to preserve the multicultural nature of the European society and to avoid a situation in which globalisation exacerbates the processes of exclusion and marginalisation.
5. Aware of the disturbing persistence in our societies of xenophobic and racist practices, violence and intolerance that sometimes affect educational establishments;
6. Recognising that, for over fifty years, the Council of Europe has been working in theory and practice on the development of education for democracy:
 - by applying the fundamental values of the Organisation, in particular the respect for human rights, pluralist democracy and the rule of law;
 - by emphasising the learning of democracy, as one of the objectives of education policy in Europe, particularly since the 1st Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe, held in Vienna in October 1993;
 - by capitalising on the wealth of experience gained by the Council of Europe through its priority projects in the education field;
 - by implementing the mandate given to the Council of Europe following the 2nd Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Council of Europe, held in Strasbourg in October 1997, which recognised education as a priority for the development of democracy and human rights;
7. Recognising the role of intercultural education and the major contribution of the Council of Europe in maintaining and developing the unity and diversity of our European societies,
8. Reiterate our attachment to the European Cultural Convention as the fundamental text where European co-operation in the education field is concerned, and wish to give practical effect to this statement:

- by being closely associated with the celebrations in 2004 to mark the 50th anniversary of the convention's entry into force;
- by studying the possibility of drawing up an additional protocol which would update the text of the convention to take into account the most significant developments that have occurred in the last few decades, as well as the future priorities in the field of education;

9. Note with satisfaction the progress and results of the projects and activities currently being carried out by the Council of Europe, particularly:

- the implementation, in the framework of Recommendation Rec (2001) 15 of the Committee of Ministers on history teaching history in twenty-first century Europe, of the Day of Remembrance of the Holocaust and for the Prevention of Crimes against Humanity and the new project on the European dimension in history teaching, devoted to key dates in the history of our continent;
- the success achieved by the European Year of Languages and the annual European Day of Languages, which each year celebrates linguistic diversity and strengthens intercultural education;

the launching of the project on the new intercultural challenge to education; religious diversity and dialogue in Europe, which will make a major contribution to the shared goals of mutual understanding, respect, and learning to live together;

- the implementation, in the framework of Recommendation No. R(2000)4 of the Committee of Ministers of the project on education for Roma/Gypsy children, a project that highlights the principles of intercultural education;
- the programme on the strategies and initiatives aimed at learning democracy, pursued in conjunction with higher education institutions, and concerned with the Bologna Process, the Lisbon Convention (drawn up jointly with Unesco), participatory governance, quality assurance and public accountability, under a life-long learning approach;
- the project on education for democratic citizenship and human rights, a project which should be extended during the Year of Citizenship through Education in 2005 and beyond, through implementation of Recommendation Rec (2002)12 and development of the concept of teaching democracy;

10. Call on the Council of Europe:

- to attach greater importance to education in general and, on the strength of its experience in this area, to successfully pursue the aspects of its work programme relating to, amongst others, educational policies, history teaching, language policies and education for democratic citizenship;
- to pursue its cooperation in the field of education for citizenship and democracy on the basis of the fundamental principles of the Organisation;
- to focus its work programme on enhancing the quality of education as a response to the challenges posed by the diversity of our societies by making learning about democracy and intercultural education key components of educational reform;

11. Request the Council of Europe, as an organisation with a wealth of experience in the fields of managing diversity, intercultural education and quality education, to tailor its education programme and working methods in order to implement the following strategies and give fresh impetus to these activities by developing a coherent, feasible and integrated action plan;

In this connection it should:

- a. resume conceptual research on intercultural education with a view to adapting terminology and clearly defining the content and context of intercultural education;
- b. help to build understanding of the European dimension of education in the context of globalisation by introducing respect for human rights and diversity, foundations for managing diversity, openness to other cultures, inter-religious dialogue and „Euro-Arab dialogue“;
- c. step up efforts in the area of the content of learning methods and teaching aids, in order to provide the member states with examples of educational tools making it possible to take the intercultural dimension of curricula into account;
- d. develop analytical instruments and identify and disseminate examples of good practice which emphasise intercultural and pluralist approaches, in school textbooks;
- e. develop programmes aimed at communication and mutual understanding, particularly through language learning and by encouraging awareness-raising for the importance of linguistic diversity in multicultural societies;
- f. encourage the member states to introduce the intercultural dimension in their education policies, in order to enable appropriate consideration of dialogue between cultures;
- g. encourage research focusing on social learning and co-operative learning in order to take into account the „learning to live together“ and intercultural aspects in all teaching activities;
- h. support initiatives and experiments with democratic governance in schools, particularly through partnership, youth participation and co-operation with communities, parents and civil society;
- i. develop quality assurance instruments inspired by education for democratic citizenship, taking account of the intercultural dimension, and develop quality indicators and tools for self-evaluation and development for educational establishments;
- j. identify models of good practice in the areas of democratic governance and quality assurance in schools and prepare their potential users to be able to make use of them;
- k. strengthen intercultural education and management of diversity within

its programme of in-service training for education staff and encourage member states to contribute to this programme by organising seminars on topics directly linked to the aims of the present declaration;

l. devise and promote work methodologies that are suitable to integrate into states' own initial and in-service training programmes the principles of non-discrimination, pluralism and equity;

m. recognise the potential of information and communication technologies (ICTs) as tools for promoting intercultural learning in a global context;

n. develop educational strategies and working methods to prepare teachers to manage the new situations arising in our schools as a result of discrimination, racism, xenophobia, sexism and marginalisation, and to resolve conflicts in a non-violent way;

o. encourage the development of professional competencies for the teaching profession, taking account of skills existing within a team linked to the roles of learning facilitator, mediator, counsellor, partner and human resources manager;

p. foster a global approach to institutional life in order to create a community of students, taking account of the unofficial curriculum, the atmosphere at the school, the school's organisational ethos and non-formal education;

q. encourage member states to acknowledge that managing diversity is not a problem in schools alone, but concerns the whole of society, particularly with regard to policies implemented in the social, family and migration fields;

12. Call on the Council of Europe to organise a European year of citizenship through Education in 2005, which will make it possible to capitalise on and implement the achievements of the Council of Europe in the field of education for democracy;

13. Recognise the specific contribution of the Council of Europe to education for democracy and would like new synergies to be forged between the work of this Organisation and that of its major partners, particularly the European Union, Unesco and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD);

14. Give support to existing global processes dedicated to the development of education, such as Education for All (Dakar Action Plan), quality, lifelong learning, education for sustainable development (for example, through the United Nations Decade on Education for Sustainable Development), and Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights;

15. Are resolved to make the necessary arrangements to take intercultural education into account as an important component of our education policies; this entails appropriate measures at the levels of curricula, school governance and teacher training.

10-12 November, Athens (Greece)

Annex D. Overview of international agreements, conventions, recommendations and reports with meant for the protection of minority groups' rights

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (10 December 1948)

United Nations

UNESCO: Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity (2001)

United Nations General Assembly: Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities (18 December 1992)

International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (18 December 1990)

The Convention on the Rights of the Child (20 November 1989)

United Nations General Assembly: Declaration of Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief (25 November 1981)

UNESCO: Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (27 November 1978)

UNESCO: Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, cooperation and peace and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms (19 November 1974)

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (19 December 1966)

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (16 December 1966)

The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (21 December 1965)

UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education (15 December 1960)

CSCE/OSCE

Lund Recommendations regarding the effective participation of minorities in public life (September 1999)

The Oslo Recommendations regarding the linguistic rights of minorities (1978)

The Hague Recommendations regarding the Education Rights of National Minorities (1996)

Document of the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE (19 January 1989)

Paris Chart for a New Europe (21 November 1990)

CSCE Helsinki Document (10 July 1992)

Council of Europe

- Congress of Local Regional Authorities: Recommendation 222 Language Education in Regional or Minority Languages (1 June 2007)
- Recommendation 1773 – The 2003 guidelines on the use of minority languages in the broadcast media and the Council of Europe standards: need to enhance cooperation and synergy with the OSCE (17 November 2006)
- Recommendation 1766 – Ratification of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by the member states of the Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly (4 October 2006)
- Recommendation 1735 (2006) The concept of "nation", Parliamentary Assembly (26 January 2006)
- Recommendation 1740 - The place of the mother tongue in school education, Parliamentary Assembly (10 April 2006)
- Declaration on the Council of Europe's Strategy for Developing Intercultural Dialogue (the "Faro Declaration") , Ministers responsible for cultural affairs in the States Party to the European Cultural Convention, Portugal, (27-28 October 2005)
- Resolution Res 7 on the youth policy of the Council of Europe, Committee of Ministers (29 October 2003)
- Recommendation 1623 Rights of National Minorities, Parliamentary Assembly (29 September 2003)
- Recommendation 1556 Religion and change in Central Eastern Europe, Parliamentary Assembly, doc. 9827 (11 June 2003)
- Recommendation R 12 on education for democratic citizenship, Committee of Ministers (16 October 2002)
- Recommendation 1521 Csango minority culture in Romania, Parliamentary Assembly (23 May 2001)
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