The Conflict and Challenge of Integrating the "Others" in Europe

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Abstract:

From facing issues related to cultural conflict and integration of immigrants and minorities to religious fundamentalism, uncertainties and economic slowdown Europe is confronting challenges like never before in past fifty years. Among these, the integration of the 'others', particularly the immigrants, is a major challenge. The process of integration and differentiation of 'others' is happening in social, cultural, economic, and political sphere leading to conflict and friction among people. With multiculturalism being pronounced as failure by many European countries, policy of inter-culture is seen as an alternative. This paper attempts to identify who constitute 'others' in Europe. Further it explores the nature and reasons for conflict and tension between the natives and the 'others'. The paper also discusses issues pertaining to social integration, particularly discussing and multiculturalism and inter-culture as policy options for social integration of the 'others' in Europe.

Key Words: *Cultural conflict, 'Other(s)', Multiculturalism, Assimilation, Inter-culture,*

   Social Integration

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1.   Introduction

Europe has had experience and a long history of migration, both immigration and emigration. Migration to contemporary Europe is a part of phenomenon of international migration inherent in the process of globalization. During the last couple of decades migration, and particularly immigration (and the immigrant population) has become an increasingly significant issue in European societies. The process of migration and presence of immigrants is shaping much of the nature and content of social, economic and political dynamics in contemporary Europe. In rapidly altering milieu, from facing issues related to integration of immigrants and minorities to religious fundamentalism, uncertainties and economic slowdown Europe is confronting challenges like never before in past fifty years. Among these, the integration of the 'others', the immigrants, is a major challenge. The process of integration and differentiation of immigrant communities is happening simultaneously in social, cultural, economic and political sphere. A number of policies have been adopted to address the issue. This paper is divided into four sections. The first section attempts to define who the 'others' in Europe are and why there is a cultural conflict. The second section deals with policy options for promoting social integration and their relative strengths. The third section deals with issues and challenges in social integration of 'others', and the last section analyses inter-culture as an effective way to promote social integration and dwell into why Europe needs to integrate the 'others'.

Migration and the presence of immigrants is one of the hotly debated issues across Europe. The patterns of migration, the size and composition of migrant populations, to and from Europe have changed greatly over time, reflecting both current and historical patterns of migration flows.[i] According to Jean-Pierre Garson and Anais Loizillon, (2003) throughout the second half of the 20th century, European countries have experienced four main migration periods. These are[ii] a) Employment-related migration and the reconstruction of Europe, b) Economic crisis and new migration adjustments: increasing flows of family reunification and the permanent nature of migration, c) diversification of host and sending countries and the increase in the flows of asylum seekers, refugees and ethnic minorities, d) The return of employment-related migration with a "preference" for skilled workers and temporary migration. Along with this the disintegration of the Soviet Union led to rapid economic and political transition of former communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Amidst this transition/ turmoil a large number of people migrated to west Europe in search for better prospects, stability and security. Although these patterns are indicative of specific trends and flows of people but what is more significant is that this process has altered the socio-cultural and demographic composition of Europe to large extent. These movements led to emergence of a distinct demographic mosaic combining pieces of diverse socio,

cultural, linguistic, ethnic, religious and regional peculiarities. Cultural diversity has become a feature of almost all the European countries. If we look at the statistics explaining the demographic composition then in 2012, there were 34.3 million foreign citizens[iii] in the EU, representing 6.8 % of the total population. More than one third (17.2 million) of these people were citizens of another EU Member State. In most Member States, the majority of resident foreigners are third-country[iv] nationals. As per the statistics of the year 2012, in almost all the other Member States the majority of foreigners are non-EU citizens with only Luxembourg, Cyprus, Ireland and Belgium being an exception. The data shows that more than 75% of these foreigners in the EU resided in Germany, Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and France.[v] As per the statistics in 2011 the United Kingdom[vi] reported the largest number of immigrants and along with Germany, Spain and Italy, these four Member States only together accounted for 60.3 % of all immigrants to EU-27 Member States.[vii]
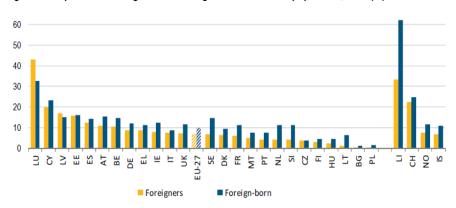
Figure 1: Proportion of foreigners and foreign-born in the total population, 2011 (%)

No data by country of birth for RO, SK, ME, HR, MK and TR

Source: Eurostat (online data code migr_pop1ctz and migr_pop3ctb)

The statistics released by the European Commission shows that, in absolute terms, the largest numbers of foreigners living in the EU on 1 January 2012 were in Germany (7.4 million persons or approximately 9% of the total population), Spain (5.5 million or approximately 12% of the total population), Italy (4.8 million or approximately 8% of the total population), the United Kingdom (4.8 million or approximately 7% of the total population) and France (3.8 million or approximately 6% of the total population). Non-nationals in these five Member States collectively represented 77.1 % of the total number of non-nationals living in the EU-27, while the same five Member States had a 62.9 % share of the EU's population. In relative

terms, the EU-27 Member State with the highest share of non-nationals was Luxembourg, as they accounted for 43.8 % of the total population. A high proportion of non-nationals (10 % or more of the resident population) was also observed in Cyprus, Latvia, Estonia, Spain, Austria and Belgium.[viii]

If we take in account the place of the origin of the immigrants of non-EU countries residing in the EU then data reveals that about 7.9 million people[ix] were citizens of a European country outside the EU-27, making it the largest proportion of total immigrants almost nearing 38.5 %. Among these more than half were from Turkey, Albania or Ukraine. The next biggest group of immigrants is from Africa (24.5 %), followed by Asia (22.0 %), the Americas (14.2 %) and Oceania (0.8 %). More than half of the immigrants of African countries residing in the EU are from North Africa, mostly from Morocco or Algeria. Among Asians the largest percentage originates from South and East Asia including India, Pakistan, China, and Bangladesh. People from Ecuador and the United States constitute the largest percentage of non-nationals from the Americas living in the EU.[x] Table 1 provides details of foreign and foreign born population by group of citizenship and country of birth in EU at the beginning of 2012.

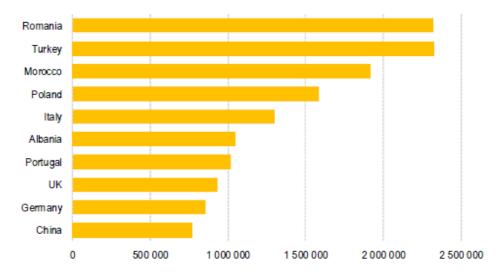|	Foreigners — Total		Citizens of other EU Member States		Citizens of non-EU Countries		Foreign-born — Total		Born in other EU Member States		Born in non-EU Countries	
	Thousand	%	Thousand	%	Thousand	%	Thousand	%	Thousand	%	Thousand	%
EU-27 (1)	20709.9	4.1					32967.0	6.5				
Belgium	1224.9	11.0	778.6	7.0	446.3	4.0	1699.2	15.3	797.1	7.2	902.1	8.1
Bulgaria	42.4	0.6	11.3	0.2	31.1	0.4	88.1	1.2	32.9	0.4	55.1	0.8
Czech Rep	423.0	4.0	151.3	1.4	271.7	2.6	390.8	3.7	138.2	1.3	252.7	2.4
Denmark	358.7	6.4	134.9	2.4	223.8	4.0	531.5	9.5	169.2	3.0	362.3	6.5
Germany	7409.8	9.1	2744.8	3.4	4665.0	5.7	9931.9	12.1	3453.4	4.2	6478.5	7.9
Estonia	206.6	15.7	14.4	1.1	192.2	14.6	210.8	16.0	19.8	1.5	191.0	14.5
Ireland	487.9	10.6	388.8	8.5	99.1	2.2	685.5	15.0	504.7	11.0	180.0	3.9
Greece	975.4	8.6	151.2	1.3	824.2	7.3	1259.9	11.2	320.7	2.8	939.2	8.3
Spain	5562.1	12.0	2354.5	5.1	3207.6	6.9	6555.0	14.2	2353.4	5.1	4201.6	9.1
France	3858.3	5.9	1353.1	2.1	2505.2	3.8	7358.2	11.3	2131.4	3.3	5226.9	8.0
Italy	4825.6	7.9	1450.1	2.4	3375.4	5.5	5457.8	9.0	1747.7	2.9	3710.1	6.1
Cyprus	172.4	20.0	108.3	12.6	64.1	7.4	200.3	23.2	108.5	12.6	91.8	10.6
Latvia	332.9	16.3	6.7	0.3	326.2	16.0	298.0	14.6	30.4	1.5	267.6	13.1
Lithuania	20.6	0.7	3.0	0.1	17.6	0.6	147.8	4.9	18.1	0.6	129.7	4.3
Luxembourg	229.9	43.8	198.7	37.9	31.2	5.9	216.2	41.2	164.7	31.4	51.5	9.8
Hungary	207.6	2.1	127.9	1.3	79.7	0.8	465.6	4.7	316.2	3.2	149.4	1.5
Malta	20.5	4.9	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Netherlands	697.7	4.2	360.8	2.2	336.9	2.0	1906.3	11.4	473.1	2.8	1433.2	8.6
Austria	947.7	11.2	382.7	4.5	565.0	6.7	1332.8	15.8	550.5	6.5	782.3	9.3
Poland	57.5	0.1	18.4	0.0	39.0	0.1	674.9	1.8	265.2	0.7	409.7	1.1
Portugal	439.1	4.2	108.0	1.0	331.1	3.1	853.8	8.1	212.1	2.0	641.7	6.1
Romania	36.5	0.2	7.0	0.0	29.5	0.1	193.5	0.9	87.1	0.4	106.4	0.5
Slovenia	85.6	4.2	6.1	0.3	79.5	3.9	230.1	11.2	21.4	1.0	208.7	10.2
Slovakia	70.7	1.3	54.0	1.0	16.7	0.3	156.9	2.9	131.8	2.4	25.1	0.5
Finland	181.7	3.4	68.3	1.3	113.4	2.1	260.9	4.8	93.3	1.7	167.5	3.1
Sweden	646.1	6.8	276.0	2.9	370.1	3.9	1426.4	15.0	489.5	5.2	936.9	9.9
UK	4802.3	7.6	2344.1	3.7	2458.2	3.9	7625.8	12.1	2575.7	4.1	5050.1	8.0
Iceland	21.0	6.6	16.5	5.2	4.5	1.4	34.6	10.8	22.4	7.0	12.1	3.8
Liechtenstein	12.1	33.3	6.0	16.6	6.1	16.7	22.8	62.5	7.7	21.1	15.1	41.4
Norway	409.2	8.2	247.2	5.0	161.9	3.3	614.7	12.3	266.1	5.3	348.6	7.0
Switzerland	1815.1	22.8	1141.1	14.3	673.9	8.5	2033.7	25.6	1218.3	15.3	815.4	10.3
Croatia(2)	23.3	0.5	7.7	0.2	15.6	0.4	:	:	:	:	:	:

(1)Estimated
(2)Population data for HR comes from 2011 Census as on 31 March 2011
Source: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/images/d/d9/Foreign_and_foreign-born_population_by_group_of_citizenship_and_country_of_birth%2C_1_January_2012.png

By the end of 2011, the largest percentage of foreigners in the EU Member States were citizens of Romania and Turkey, exceeding 2.3 million each, as shown in figure 2. The third largest group consisted of approximately 1.9 million Moroccans, followed by 1.6 million Polish nationals living in another EU Member State. Some of the bigger Member States, particularly Italy, the United Kingdom, France and Germany, are both important destination countries and countries of origin for foreigners in the EU. This may be attributed to the fact that there is large total population of these Member States and there is higher mobility of people within the borders of the European Union to and from these countries (Vasileva, 2012, 2).

Figure 2.

Source: Eurostat estimates

2. Defining the Others

The ever increasing cultural diversity of Europe on account of large scale migration, both from within Europe and outside Europe, is complicating the dynamics of interaction between the natives and the 'others' and posing challenge of integrating the 'others'. Defining the 'other' constitutes a way in which people describe themselves. According to Zygmunt Bauman (Bauman 1998) one could see the

'other' as the unknown, as the diametrical opposite to oneself or as the stranger. In Jacques Derrida's terminology we are all together 'other' for each other (Derrida 1996). In a way we are all engaged in the process of identifying and creating 'others'. More often than not at core of this creation of the 'other' lies the cultural distinctiveness of individuals involved. According to Jenkins 'the making of the other' is a continuous process and a part of social act. Identity thus becomes a constitutional aspect of the 'otherness' becoming the boundary between the self and the 'other'. The idea(s) about the 'others are constructed, reconstructed, negotiated and renegotiated continuously in daily life in almost all the aspects of life. The process of 'etherisation' of groups and communities in culturally diverse and plural societies is an ongoing process.

The numerical strength of the 'others' is growing day by day in Europe. They can be seen on streets, in neighbourhood(s), doing various jobs, cleaning, driving, in sales, making or serving food, any or everywhere. The 'others' include groups and communities who share a geographical origin and/or cultural background. While defining who are those who constitute the 'others', the variable of space happens to be of greater significance as compared to time. Because even after spending number of years or generations abroad a person may continue to be seen and in fact is seen as the 'other'. The place of origin and the cultural moorings of a person define who constitutes the 'other' in a given space. Also one's recognition of him/herself is also related to how and to what extent a person is connected to his/her community within the foreign land and the country of origin. In this article the term 'others' is defined on the basis of the cultural differences between the natives and the foreigners. Although there can be and there are differences between the communities within the destination at times even greater than those as compared to the immigrant community, however in this context the spatial dislocation of the person is considered to be an active component defining his/her 'otherness'. Thus the term 'others' subsumes members of various communities including diaspora, transnational, and immigrants, intra-EU migrants who are culturally different from the natives. The term 'others' applies equally to intra-EU migrants and migrants from other parts of the world. In the process of 'etherisation' a foreigner remains a stranger or 'other' irrespective of the fact that if he/she has legal citizenship of the host country. The 'other' is more a socio-cultural construct which is psychologically perceived and created rather than technically or legally defined. As a consequence despite being citizens some groups and people belonging to distant and different cultures remain 'others' in the host country or place of destination.

In social and cultural sphere the difference between the language, religion, cultural practices and habits of the 'others' more often than not create strife among immigrants and natives. Whenever cultural or ethnic identities come in contact, "ethnic differences become more pronounced, and all sides fall back on stereotypes

and the stigmatization of the adversary through language or actions intended to dehumanize, thereby justifying hostile actions. This is a common pattern in ethnic conflicts around the world, and it is also evident in Europe today. The slide to ethnic conflict in Europe is not violent, but it can nonetheless be destructive, both economically and politically" (Sambanis, 2012) for instance the growing tensions between Greece and Germany.[xi] Instances of "such stigmatization in Europe abound, from the disparaging acronym PIGS, used to refer to the troubled economies of Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain, to the tired medical analogies of an infection of the North by the contagious South. Germans tell the Greeks how to live; the Greeks reply by calling them Nazis" (Sambanis, 2012).

These conflicts occur from both the sides or can be seen as two-way process. The cultural distinctions among different groups create a division between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group' who perceive the cultural practices of the 'others' as largely alien, incompatible, and hence unacceptable. However, cultures provide identity to individuals and a sense of belonging. 'It is our culture- its ideals, symbols and everyday practices, its rites, rituals and festivals- that distinguishes and defines us. It is in the domain of culture that we think, express ourselves, articulate our aspirations and anxieties, and decide the mode of life we wish to engage in' (Pathak, 2006). In unfamiliar social settings cultures offers a comfort zone, as a way of life. Hence it is difficult to part away with culture. "According to Werbner the dislocations and relocations of transnational migration generates two paradoxes of culture. The first is that in order to sink roots in new country transnational migrants begin by setting themselves culturally and socially apart. They form encapsulated 'communities'. Second, that within such communities culture can be conceived of as conflictual, open, hybrdising and fluid, while nevertheless having a sentimental and morally compelling force" (Werbner, 2005: 745). Werbner further argues that constitutes a field of power because "first, culture as a conferring agency is a field of transaction and relatedness; second, culture as performance, in being embodied, contains inescapable experiential force; and third, culture as a discursive imaginary of selfhood, identity, subjectivity and moral virtue. In these three senses, culture is 'real', a force generating social conflict, defensive mobilisation and creativity" (Werbner, 2005: 746). Thus culture becomes a pervasive force binding and at the same time guiding people. "Migration entails more than cultural transplantation or translocation. It entails acts of cultural and material creativity. Social spaces and symbolic discourses, as well as their material and organisational embodiments, all need to be created" afresh in the new locations (Werbner, 2005: 759).

In the new locations, from complete harmony/assimilation/adaptation to total rejection at the two ends of the continuum, cultures continually act, interact, and react with each other in diverse ways. These simple daily encounters become problematic when an attempt is made to hierarchize cultures where a particular

culture imposes or ranks itself higher than the other cultural groups. Such imposition is based on an idea of cultural superiority, leading to attempts of cultural domination, which itself points towards cultural intolerance. As Cohen (2013) puts it, "immigration is reinvention. Lands of immigrants excise the anguish of the motherland. They invite the incomer to the selective forgetfulness of new identity. New opportunity is only one side of the immigrant story, its bright star. The other side, its black sun, is displacement and loss immigrants have been sufferers from manic-depression unable to come to terms with the immense struggle involved in burying the past, losing an identity and embracing a new life — as if bipolarity were just that, a double existence attempting to bridge the unbridgeable. If you dig into people who are depressed you often find that their distress at some level is linked to a sense of not fitting in, an anxiety about where they belong: displacement anguish". The social fabric and harmony in contemporary Europe is being fractured by uneasy daily encounters between people belonging to diverse cultural background. At times taking a violent turn these tensions are manifest in the form of racism, xenophobia, fundamentalism, extremism, communal hatred and clashes. A football fan of Indian origin was bashed up in UK which was alleged as racist attack in March 2013.[xii] In a chilling case of mass murder, Anders Behring Breivik, a 32-year-old Norwegian right-wing extremist, carried out shooting, fatal explosion and terrorism in Norway on 22 July 2011. Breivik had argued that he was acting to save Norway and Europe from "Marxist and Muslim colonisation". Brevik criticized European policies of trying to accommodate the cultures of different ethnic groups and he obsessed with what he saw as the threat of multiculturalism and Muslim immigration.[xiii] Other such instances include, riots in the suburb of Paris;[23] murder of film director Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands in 2004; riots, largely pitting British Bangladeshi and Pakistani youths against White youths, broke out in three northern British cities during May, 2001; rise (and death) of Pim Fortyn, outspoken Dutch politician who openly castigated Muslim immigration and Muslims' inherent unassimilability in May 2002; ban on headscarf in France, are all examples of the "immigrant-native"[4] and "immigrant-state"[5] conflict and failure of policies of integration.

Some groups belonging to a particular socio-cultural and religious affiliation often face hurdles in integrating and are more prone to friction as compared to others. The larger the cultural difference between the natives and the immigrants greater are the difficulties in finding a common ground for social solidarity. Such tendencies often result in labelling of 'others', perpetuating prejudice (generalized *attitude* towards members of a group), stereotyping the community (generalized *belief* about

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members of a group), leading to discrimination (*behaviour)* directed towards people on the basis of their group membership). One may notice a wide variety of responses among people while interacting with the individuals or confronting situations involving people from cultural background different than their own. These responses can be positive (let's face the situation), accommodative (let's make space), indifferent (whatever), reactive (oh what should we do), proactive (I need to know what is new), provocative (all of us resist) or negative (lets resist it).

3. Policy Options

The Member States of the European Union have made attempts to address issue of social integration of culturally diverse groups into the mainstream society. The nature and extent of social integration of immigrants is generally measured on the basis of number of variables such as linguistic integration, labour-market integration, civic/political integration, residential integration, and educational integration (Gallagher, 2003, 34). From granting citizenship rights to the immigrants and minorities to facing criticism of fostering segregation and cultural division Member States of the European Union are facing challenges to design models of social integration of the 'others' through which they can strike a balance between cultural diversity and social, economic and political integration, by factoring in regional, traditional, historical, and cultural specificities as well. However balancing the interest of groups with divergent interests within a particular policy framework is quite a challenge.

The concept of equality has always been central to the evolving legal order of the European Union and the principles of equality and non-discrimination feature prominently in the provisions of the Lisbon Treaty.[6] The preamble of the Lisbon Treaty states that "drawing inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law".[7] Article 22 of the Charter for Fundamental Rights of the European Union states that, the Union 'shall respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity'.[8] The EU itself is based on a multicultural or intercultural model, where the respect for the cultural diversity of European populations is enshrined in Article 151 of the Treaty of the European the Treaty on European Union and of the Treaty establishing the European Community. The Article expressly specifies that the, "The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States,

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while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore".[9] Further the Clause 4 of the article stipulates 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 its cultures".[10] With the fundamental values of equality, freedom, dignity and human rights at the core numerous policies, resources and recommendations have arisen at all levels of governance in all of the EU's member states. Among others the prominent policies are *a*) assimilation, and *b*) multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism: Acknowledging cultural pluralism as an inherent fact of contemporary European society now multiculturalism has become inalienable part of public discussion. The term "multiculturalism" includes a number of interrelated concepts such as identity, cultural diversity, plurality, distinctiveness, equality, and recognition. It emphasizes the importance of cultural belongingness and legitimizes the desire to retain differences (Bhargava, 1999). Multiculturalism advocates a society that accords equal status to distinct linguistic, ethnic and religious groups or minorities in order to promote social cohesion and order. Recognizing the differences the multicultural framework allows members of minorities or groups to maintain their distinct cultural identities. According to Rex "multiculturalism in the modern world involves on one hand the acceptance of a single culture and a single set of individual rights governing the public domain and a variety of folk cultures in the private domestic and communal domains" (Rex, 2010, 221). In Western Europe, the use of the term "multiculturalism" entails *a*) acknowledgement of the permanent presence of immigrant populations and *b*) the formulation of policies aimed at subsequent integration of immigrants (minorities) into the mainstream. Though different Member States have approached and adopted a multicultural framework over time but all of them have not necessarily defined and modelled it in similar ways. Variations in these models occur due to the structure of the state, their recognition of regional and linguistic diversities, the presence of minorities and their percentage in the total population. Multiculturalism was first adopted as an official policy by Sweden in 1975 to address the issue of the social integration of immigrants. Later, Britain, the Netherlands and other Scandinavian countries also adopted multicultural policies to deal with the challenge of integration of immigrant population. 'Some countries have institutionalized pluralism through the creation of regions granting limited power, as in Italy and Spain. Other countries have built the state upon linguistic pluralism, e.g. Belgium and Switzerland, where each of the linguistic and territorial communities have their own institutions. In France, Germany, Great Britain and the Netherlands, the term "multiculturalism" refers to the supposedly communitarian form of organization of the immigrant population

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around a common nationality or religion (or both) and the accompanying demand for their specific voices in the public sphere' (Kastoryano, 2008).

Assimilation: This can also be called the 'republican' or 'universalist' model, with notion of equality at the core. Unlike the 'multiculturalist or pluralist model based on the respect for and protection of cultural diversity within a framework of shared belonging, assimilation is based on the idea of a single culture and of the full adoption (whether by submission or absorption) of the rules and values of the host society so that the minority group becomes culturally indistinguishable from the mainstream dominant culture and society' (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010, 253). In other words, the policy of assimilation is based in the complete assimilation or integration of the 'other' into the mainstream dominant values and common national identity of the host society. French model of integration is based upon the policy of assimilation. Irrespective of any difference or affiliation individuals are citizens and citizens are equals before the law (civic individualism) (Carrera, 2005, 6). Assimilationist model of integration purports that, "equality can be achieved through the full adoption of the rules and values of the dominant society" (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010, 253). However assimilation has been criticized for being too rigid, uncompromising and dominant. When the premiers of both, the UK and Germany, David Cameron and Angela Merkel pronounced multiculturalism as a failure, Nicolas Sarkozy too condemned multiculturalism.[11] Making a sharp comment Sarkozy said, 'we have been too concerned about the identity of the person who was arriving and not enough about the identity of the country that was receiving him. Of course we must all respect differences, but we do not want a society where communities coexist side by side. Our Muslim compatriots must be able to practise their religion, as any citizen can, but we in France do not want people to pray in an ostentatious way in the street. If you come to France, you accept to melt into a single community, which is the national community, and if you do not want to accept that, you cannot be welcome in France'.[12] Thus assimilation entails that people of all faiths and affiliations must integrate into wider society and accept core values of host society. France was the first country in Europe to ban the full-face Islamic veil in public places. The issue of veil or hijab is part of a wider debate about multiculturalism in Europe, as many politicians argue that there needs to be a greater effort to assimilate ethnic and religious minorities. The debate includes various aspects ranging from religious freedom, freedom of women, secular traditions, and modern values to even fear of terrorism and security issues. President Nicolas Sarkozy has said veils oppress women and are "not welcome" in France.[13]

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Apart from the multicultural assimilations' model of the integration of the 'others', 'there is the separation or exclusionist model, characterised by restrictive and rigid immigration legislation and policies. Here 'rigid' refers mainly to the formal and legal criterion that must be fulfilled in order to have access to and reside in a territory (the right of residence is granted temporarily and conditionally). Access to nationality is very much limited, whereby the acquisition is based on *jus sanguinis* (the blood right to citizenship). These programmes and policies mainly focus upon temporary immigrants' settlement in their societies (the guest worker system). Immigrant workers are often denied political citizenship' (Carrera, 2005, 6). Germany, Switzerland and Belgium have adopted the exclusionist model of integration of immigrants.

In the past couple of years both the prominent models of integration namely multiculturalism and assimilation have been pronounced as failure in Europe. General public opinion and political action continue to push the policy more towards assimilation even if multicultural framework is adopted by a particular state. The reasons for so-called failure of multiculturalism are rooted in inherent ambiguities in the structures, processes, and set of values in European society. The problem with the multicultural model (Bradford, 2010) lies in the fact that 1) it attempts to address complex conditions faced by 'others' in everyday reality. The policies at the broad level may not be able to comprehend the forms of discrimination in everyday micro settings. Thus the multicultural approach becomes too top-down driven by the perceptions and understanding of elites. Marginalisation and discrimination of 'others' in everyday's life is often too subtle to be evident. Even if the conditions of equality or no discrimination have been set in terms of objective parameters such as housing, education, employment, even then discrimination may be behavioural in nature based on subjective aspects of interaction/communication in everyday life. 2) The multicultural model attempts to achieve long term integration of the 'others' and their short term settlement issues. In fact if an immigrant is able to settle quickly in terms of finding a job, and appropriate housing even then they may not be able to integrate with the society and may wish to retain their cultural distinctiveness. They may not be able to assimilate themselves with the mainstream culture despite getting settled. 3) Recognition of cultural diversity along with expectation of integration with the mainstream culture makes the condition complex. The distinction between public and private sphere may also not be of much help as there is also a continuity of action of an individual between public and private spheres of life. Moreover the recognition of differences can and at times go against the fundamental values of equality and social cohesion as some of the communities may be privileged as compared to others because of historical and cultural reasons. Whether it is "weak"[14] multiculturalism or "strong"[15] multiculturalism as discussed by Grillo, there is a

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tendency towards assimilation in the name of integration. The lesser is the degree of assimilation greater is the separation from society (Grillo quoted in Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010, 254).

On the other hand the assimilationist model too falls short of achieving goal of social integration of the 'others'. A denial to recognise or practice the cultural diversity in public sphere implies a failure to acknowledge the significance and complexity of multi-culture or cultural plurality. With debates over ban of hijab in public, violent clashes and riots in suburbs of Paris, the French model of integration too came under attack with critics suggesting that France needs to relook at its policies of integration/assimilation which are overlooking the cultural complexity. Rather than integrating the assimilationist model of integration is leading to separation between the cultures making the lines of differences deeper and wider (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010, 255). Nevertheless, it would be erroneous to assume that all immigrants in Europe are marginalized or face discrimination. In reality one may find differential degree and extent of integration with the host society among different groups and communities and also among different generations within a particular group or community. It is also established that different models of integration have yielded positive results in the case of some communities but still there are minority groups that have not integrated because of institutional discrimination and pervasive racism.

4. Issues in Social Integration

With enactment of number of provision in charters and treaties through various programs and policies, there has been a shift towards acceptance and accommodation of ethnic and cultural differences of the immigrants among some people, however for large number of people the ethnic and cultural differences are becoming deeper and wider. The liberal democratic societies of Europe particularly the Western Europe have failed to guarantee freedom, equality and dignity to all the individuals within the territory of nation-state. In the recent decade the riots in suburbs of Paris, involvement of second-generation immigrants in Madrid and London terrorist attacks, instance of violence and continuous discrimination have laid bare the deficiency of different types of models of integration. These issues and open pronouncement of failure of multiculturalism have proved the inconsistencies between the theory and practice of integration of the 'others'. Evidence indicates that immigrants face disadvantages in almost all the spheres of activities in everyday life and are being treated as 'others'. In fact there exists mixed evidence regarding integration and 'etherisation' of the immigrants in everyday life. The 'etherisation' happens in social, economic and political spheres in varying degrees and proportions. From one perspective, in the contemporary Europe the social tensions

involving immigrants can partly be explained as a product of economic distress/ recession in the regions of migration. Immigrants are generally perceived as an economic threat by the local. For instance as per one of the reports of Daily mail in UK Between 1997 and 2010, more than half of the rise in employment in the UK was accounted for by foreign nationals. The official figures revealed that nine out of the ten jobs created in 2010 went to foreign nationals. The report elaborated that British nationals accounted for only a tiny fraction of the rise in employment among working age people with most new workers being immigrants. The figures, produced by the Office for National Statistics, reveal that employment among working age people rose by 181,000 in 2010. Yet employment levels among British nationals rose by just 14,000, or less than 8 per cent of the total. Employment among non-UK nationals rose by 163,000 during the period – equal to more than 90 per cent of the total.[16]

Similarly according the state statistics bureau SSB, as reported by newspaper Dagens Næringsliv (DN), that almost all of the 38,000 new jobs created in Norway during 2012 were filled by immigrants on an average three out of four of those jobs went to foreigners who have settled in Norway, with the rest filled by foreigners on short-term permits.[17] Although Norway is not a member state of the EU however through the European Economic Area treaty (EØS-avtalen), Norway is obliged to open its labour markets to immigration from EU and EEA members in order to gain access to EU markets. The Norwegian Federation of Trade Unions (Landsorganisasjonen, LO) confirmed that most of the country's employment growth last year hinged on immigration. In low-paying industries and semi or unskilled category of jobs like cleaning, causal and temporary work, more than 50% of those employed are immigrants. In the construction industry, one worker in five is an immigrant. In industries like retail, restaurants and hotels, the number of immigrants has increased and number of Norwegian workers has declined steadily in the last few years. LO expressed that the trend started since 2004, when several new countries from Eastern and Central Europe joined the European Union (EU). Liv Sannes, an LO economist, commented that, the large scale influx of migrants from the CEE countries and other third world countries are putting pressure on weaker groups in the labour market, including young workers, people with health problems, and low-skilled immigrants who are already in Norway.[18]

Rafaela M. Dancygie (2010) claims that "competition over economic goods has been more significant in shaping on-the-ground conflict than struggles over identity-based claims". Thus conflicts mostly emerging from economic reasons, more so

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aggravated by recession, are generalized into socio-cultural spheres and migrant as a group becomes 'them' with a distinct set of characteristic as against the natives 'us'. The labeling or stereotyping of immigrants further feeds into and is shaped by these economic issues.

According to Sarah Spencer (2012), "anxiety about migrants derives more from perceptions of national impact than local experience. Nevertheless addressing actual tensions on the ground must be part of the solution, whether arising from such misunderstandings or, more problematic, from perceptions of unfairness–on who should be entitled to what: that the migrant, the 'other', is getting access to resources before those perceived to have a greater entitlement. This is a perception so pervasive that in the UK white people are more likely than any other ethnic group to believe they are likely to be discriminated against by their local authority in the allocation of public housing".[19]

5. Interculture: Way Forward?

Europeans cannot deny that the existing vast cultural diversity is becoming ever complex, hence they need to find out ways of integrating the 'others'. With manifest failure of other models of integration Intercultural model can be adopted to manage cultural diversity. Inter-culture means "the interactive process of living together in diversity, with the full participation and civic engagement of, and social exchange between, all members of society beyond that of mere recognition and coexistence, in turn forming a cohesive and plural civic community it acknowledges that all societies are composed of different groups and that minority culture groups also deserve the right to propose changes to the society provided that these changes can be demonstrated to be in the best interests of the cultural group at large and that they do not violate the rights of any other group" (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010: 261). In intercultural framework an individual has Right to have differences from the cultural norm of the host community that are recognised in law and institutions (Wood, 2009, 23).

At the same time there is a valorisation of policies, institutions and activities which create common ground, mutual understanding, and empathy and shared aspirations. But this does not mean that differences will simply disappear and harmony and peace will be established. Inter-culture necessitates self- understanding, flexibility, and demands adaptability on the part of both, the host and the guest. "Inter-culture derives from the understanding that cultures thrive only in contact with other cultures, not in isolation. It is about understanding the importance of symbolism, perceptions and discourse in creating a feeling of acceptance, belonging and trust" (Palmer, 2010). Any approach for social integration will be effective if it is able to

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penetrate down to various levels involving comprehensiveness, participation, coordination, co-operation between various levels of government, regional bodies, local sphere and neighbourhoods, and also responding to the context specific needs and issues (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2010: 263).

Aided by rapidly and constantly evolving means of technology and ever-modernizing means of communication the issue of integration of the 'other' also needs to be perceived and analysed from a different perspective. According to Vertovec, 'the social and cultural impact of means of communication and transportation has had varied and considerable effect on immigrant communities particularly on the culture and identity of the second generation and children born to the migrants. This impact can be seen in the form of intense linkages and exchanges between sending and receiving countries, marriages, alliances, religious activities, media and commodity consumption. The effect of these linkages has been far more complex in its nature, degree and extent as compared to past rendering new dimension and meaning to practices of constructing, maintaining and negotiating collective identities' (Vertovec, 2001: 575).

In short, Inter-culture demands a) de-segregation of public spaces and opening up of avenues for mixing/interaction of different cultures, b) establishing trust between diverse ethnic communities, and c) need for initiating exchange of ideas and mediating in situation of conflict through dialogue and discussion. Recognizing the fact that integration is a two-way process, Inter-culture thrives on the notion of equality and granting of formal citizenship and existence of impartial authorities. As the intercultural dialogue can take place across the levels, ranging from individuals to transnational bodies, it makes and involves every stake holder in the process of establishing social order.

The success of the efforts of social integration of 'others', depends upon a balance of philosophical, theoretical, and practical measures. The effectiveness of such an approach lies in communicating that in spite of having differences people can come together and constitute a shared public sphere transcending identity barriers. One example of such an endeavour is Big Lunch organized across England as part of Eden Project in which an astonishing eight and a half million people took part in events across the UK. The Big Lunch[20] is 'based on a belief that the world can be a better place through people working together, with nature, optimism and common sense. We know that when people get together, we become more positive and start to sort out some serious stuff. By simply having some fun with our neighbours on one day in the summer, we can build new friendships that we can enjoy for the rest of the year. The Big Lunch is a chance for neighbours from different generations and backgrounds to hear each other out and share stories, skills and interests. We

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call this phenomenon 'human warming'' (EUROPA, 2013). Another interesting example can be taken from one of the countries from Eastern Europe, Poland[21] called as 'Our Choice' - Newspaper and Portal for Immigrants from Ukraine. Poland has a sizeable population of immigrants coming from other smaller and developing countries from Central and Eastern Europe. A significant number of Ukrainian migrants living in Poland do not know the Polish language well enough to obtain necessary information or to handle official formalities in Polish. The language barrier and a lack of trust towards representatives of Polish organisations and problems in contacts with state administration hamper the integration process of Ukrainian nationals in Poland. The newspaper and the web portal 'Our Choice' aims to improve the knowledge of Ukrainian migrants about Polish society and to facilitate their integration into it by introducing Polish legislation, culture, traditions. The newspaper also gives information on education possibilities, counselling services, labour market, different events and training opportunities for migrants, etc. It is especially addressed to Ukrainian labour migrants whose level of Polish is insufficient to understand information provided in Polish for migrants.[22]

6. Conclusion

Learning from the success and/or failure of previous approaches the new approach should focus on how to create the conditions conducive for integration to happen. Rather than policy driven-top down approach to address the issue of integration what is desirable is to mobilise, encourage and enable civil society in local areas to take action on issues of integration that are relevant in particular areas.[23] Creating the conditions of integration requires rebalancing activity from the public to the voluntary and private sectors, and also from centrally-led to locally-led action. The significance of such a change lies in targeting the actual or real problem rather than a problem that may not exist in an area.[24]

The top-down approach is driven by an all-encompassing strategy blanketing/ overlooking cultural diversity. On the contrary a bottom-up approach will address issues that pertain to the local area thus focusing on the actual problem and thus economizing on efforts, and other resources as well. Among various models of integration adopted by different countries some are more successful than others. At the same time one model may be more effective than the other in a specific region. The effectiveness of these models is contingent upon a combination of wide variety of factors and actors involved in the process of integration. Integration is not a

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unidirectional, static, and one-time process. It is a two-way, dynamic and continuous process that keeps on evolving and unfolding. If adjustment to the host society is required from the immigrant, then equally important is the acceptance by the host society (IOM, 2006:2).

In sum, with increasing complexity of social fabric of Europe, effective management of cultural diversity is an enormous challenge. Straight-jacket approach types of policies have not yielded much. On the contrary it has bred differences, hatred, and racism. Rigid frame of references to label/characterise the 'others' has also led to growth of prejudice. However, there have a number of efforts to find a common ground among different communities that can provide a way towards effective social integration of all into cohesive units. It must also be understood that what these policies of integration intend to do is a socio-psychological (re)engineering of people's perceptions towards each other. It involves subjectivity but uses objective variables to shape subjective attitudes. The challenge is to strike a balance between subjective outcomes and objective inputs as it is a matter of time and space.

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