

Concept note “Pluralism and multi-culturalism”

First Latin American Social Cohesion Conference.
A strategic priority in the European Union-Latin American partnership

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Concept note

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I. Introduction To the compendium

This concept note is a collaboration of the Madrid Club with EUROsocial Programme, of the European Union, as contribution to the Latin American Social Cohesion Conference organized by Chilean Senate.

This contribution consists on an analysis of pluralism and multiculturalism in Europe and Latin America, based on the lessons learnt and the work done in its Shared Societies Project, and thereby extract topics for discussion for an exchange of experiences in the construction of a common agenda for the challenges facing the two regions.

This concept note is not intended to be prescriptive or a compendium of lessons on multiculturalism and social cohesion of one region for another. The concepts of multiculturalism and pluralism have different meanings in Latin America and Europe. Although neither of the two regions is homogeneous in terms of geography, population and culture, or “country, landscape and people” in the words of Unamuno, the challenge of multiculturalism in Latin America is seen as represented by making visible and empowering, in legal-formal and cultural terms, certain societal groups present since the origin of the States; while in Europe the challenge is managing a diversity that has formed over the years thanks to the progress of the societies and that today represents a cultural, religious, ethnic and linguistic mosaic.

Multiculturalism, interculturalism and pluralism

Multiculturalism, pluralism and interculturalism are often defined as concepts of cultural recognition, however, it is necessary to deepen their definitions. In order to clarify these concepts, we start with the approach of Giménez Romero,¹ who understands both multiculturalism and interculturalism as modes within cultural pluralism. The first pluralist socio-cultural approaches were defined in multicultural policies in the nineteen sixties, and subsequently (starting in the eighties) they have been made more concrete in intercultural proposals in a wide range of sectors such as education, philosophy, communication, and others.

Pluralism is understood to be “a general category of democratic society (social, political, legal pluralism, etc.)” and multiculturalism a necessary and therefore complementary component.² From this standpoint, multiculturalism starts with recognition of the right to be different and from respect for cultural diversity; it is limited to the coexistence of diverse cultures that share the same space and time and, to a certain extent, expects that harmony will grow out of acceptance of the other.³

Interculturalism, on the other hand, arises as a consequence of the weakening of national states that comes from the outside due to the phenomenon of globalization and the deterioration of sovereignty and social cohesion, and from within due to the demands of indigenous populations and other minorities.⁴ In the

1. Giménez Romero, C., Pluralismo, Multiculturalismo e Interculturalidad. Educación y Futuro: Revista de Investigación Aplicada y Experiencias Educativas (2003) No. 8. Editorial CES Don Bosco-EDEBE pp. 9-26

2. Giménez Romero, C., “Pluralismo, Multiculturalismo e Interculturalidad”. Educación y Futuro: Revista de Investigación Aplicada y Experiencias Educativas (2003) No. 8. Editorial CES Don Bosco-EDEBE pp. 9-26

3. Giménez Romero, C. Ibid.

4. Servindi, “Interculturalidad: Desafío y proceso en construcción”, Training manual, (2005).

Gallep, B., “Multiculturalidad en Europa: experiencias y posibles aportes para América Latina”; in “Descentralizar, un derrotero a seguir”, FLACSO, 2008.

words of Tubino, in Latin America, interculturalism arises as an “ethical-political alternative to the failure of the homogenizing assimilationism of national States”.⁵ Specifically, it arose in the area of indigenous education as an alternative to the habitual teaching model.⁶ This approach aims to promote dialogue and tolerance between diverse cultures and to analyze the relationships that arise between people and groups with dissimilar cultural origins.

5. Tubino, F., “La Interculturalidad crítica como proyecto ético-político”, Encuentro Continental de educadores Agustinos, Lima, 24th–28th January (2005).

6. Tubino F., (2002) in Servindi, “Interculturalidad: Desafío y proceso en construcción”, Training manual, (2005).

II. A Latin American view

*"I resolutely believe that respect for diversity is a fundamental pillar
in the eradication of racism, xenophobia and intolerance"*

*Rigoberta Menchú,
Guatemalan indigenous leader,
Nobel Prize winner.*

1. Introduction

Starting in the eighties, multiculturalism emerged as a Latin American phenomenon and has experienced considerable growth and expansion over the past two decades. The struggle for recognition of the collective rights inherent in the cultural identity of different peoples, ethnic groups, regions, communities and classes has been the main objective of this growing trend. Significant progress has been shown in terms of satisfying the increasingly complex demands of these groups. These demands aim to assert the existence of diverse cultures that organize themselves as societal actors with progressive participation in both the national and international scene.

Current societal processes have revitalized local and regional cultures and empowered indigenous peoples, and they have allowed them to create particular cultural systems. These dynamics find answers in the original culture of the peoples, giving rise to new identities that in turn enrich diversity. In a similar manner, these processes have contributed to increasing the visibility of the poverty conditions, economic and social exclusion and violations of human rights suffered by these communities.

2. Theoretical reference framework

The Club de Madrid—through its Shared Societies Project—has the goal of preventing ethnic, religious and cultural conflict within communities and nations, and between them. Societies have greater probabilities of developing peacefully, democratically and prosperously when their leaders and citizens recognize the value of diversity and actively seek means of collaborating in the construction of an inclusive society based on a set of shared goals and common values. Along these lines, the Club de Madrid is exploring the possibility of working with different key actors in Peru in the fight against discrimination against indigenous peoples as an integral principle of their human rights and fundamental liberties, using fair and inclusive implementation of the elements of the Law on the Right to Prior Consultation—enacted in 2011 in application of ILO Convention 169.

In addition to the postulates of the Club de Madrid's Shared Societies Project, we have incorporated interesting elements from the report on the Americas of the **Next Generation Democracy** project of the Club de Madrid on "access and inclusiveness" in this section.

In Latin America, social cohesion is determined mainly by social class and therefore involves poverty and income inequality. Nevertheless, in almost all countries this basic inequality is—to a greater or lesser

degree—combined with and aggravated by other forms of discrimination. The most pronounced discrimination is the combination of class and ethnicity, particularly with respect to indigenous and African-descended groups all over the continent.

According to the Bertelsmann index used in this project⁷, even more serious is the combination of class, ethnic group and gender, which is manifested especially in the situation of indigenous women living in the outskirts of cities and in rural regions. Nevertheless, despite great deficiencies such as sexist attitudes in all of Latin America and femicides in Central America and Mexico, considerable progress has been made in the area of gender equality as some efforts have been made to increase the political representation and/or equal education of women.

3. Internal comparative perspective in Latin America

Latin America as a region exhibits a high degree of racial inequality and discrimination against indigenous and African-descended populations and other minority groups. This is true despite constitutional and legal measures prohibiting racial discrimination in most countries. Many Latin American states implemented multicultural citizen reforms that established certain collective rights for indigenous groups, something that has been much less true for African-descended ones. Taking this into account, we will try to provide a comparative perspective on the situation of African-descended ones, as well as that of other minority groups in Latin America, with a specific focus on intercultural education and its fundamental role in the development of an intercultural society and in the legal mechanisms for protecting the rights of indigenous peoples.

a) The rights of indigenous and African-descended peoples

Latin America is the most culturally diverse region in the world. Indigenous peoples represent between 40 and 50 million people. This is approximately 10% of the total population of the region and encompasses over 400 different ethnic groups that subsist in an environment of poverty, exclusion and inequality. African-descended peoples represent over one third of the population, totalling 150 million people distributed throughout the region.⁸ It is further estimated that of the 200 million indigenous and African-descended people, nearly half are children and adolescents under 18 years of age.⁹

The incipient democracies in Latin America have not known how to provide pertinent answers to the demands of indigenous and African-descended peoples. As a result, their inclusion through pluralistic and multicultural policies is more necessary than ever. A comparative study of the Social Inclusion Index of the *Council of the Americas*¹⁰ in the last three years reveals results that are not promising in many countries of the region. Exclusion is a difficult phenomenon to address, considering that it responds to structural inefficiencies that are difficult to mitigate properly in the short term. In addition, the Index concludes that exclusionary laws and discriminatory attitudes deeply rooted in Latin American societies related to race and gender generate additional difficulties.¹¹

The majority of indigenous and African-descended families in Latin America live in poverty or extreme poverty. The socio-economic gaps between these groups and the rest of the population are manifested in prisons filled with individuals of African-descended origin who, by virtue of the reality of exclusion to which they are subject, are absorbed by sexual exploitation, drug trafficking and arms trafficking networks.

Education continues to be inaccessible to a great number of children of indigenous or African-descended origin. In Brazil, progress has been observed in terms of enrolment in secondary school, a situation

7. Bertelsmann Transformation Index : <http://www.bti-project.de/bti-home/>

8. They are located in Brazil, where they represent 50% of the population, in Colombia (20%), Venezuela (10%) and in the Caribbean (16%).

9. Funproeib Andres, UNIVER y AECID, Atlas sociolingüístico de pueblos indígenas de América Latina (2009), Bolivia: Funproeib Andes, http://www.unicef.org/honduras/tomo_2_atlas.pdf.

10. <http://www.as-coa.org/articles/%C3%ADndice-de-inclusi%C3%B3n-social-2014-de-la-revista-americas-quarterly>.

11. Bintrim, Rebecca; et al. "Social Inclusion Index", *Americas Quarterly*, (2014), vol. 7, No. 3, p. 1–17 http://www.americasquarterly.org/charticles/socialinclusionindex2014/social_inclusion_index_2014-spanish.pdf.

that is different from realities like that of El Salvador, where statistics indicate 43% enrolment by indigenous or African-descended children.¹² In the area of labour rights, in Ecuador and Guatemala, 41% and 17.4% of the indigenous or African-descended population, respectively, have access to formal employment, while a small sector (24%) of indigenous or African-descended Paraguayans have a formal job.

On the other hand, the growing trend of urbanization has also reached the indigenous peoples of Latin America, and currently around 40% reside in cities.¹³ There are diverse factors that explain urban migration by indigenous peoples, including loss of land, natural disasters, poverty and the prospect of better employment and economic opportunities in cities.¹⁴ When emigrating to urban areas, indigenous peoples face problems such as unemployment, limited access to services and lack of adequate housing. In addition, they may experience discrimination and difficulties in maintaining their identity, language and traditions, and feel they are "in no man's land".¹⁵ Likewise, some indigenous peoples live in urban areas because of the expansion of the cities themselves into formerly indigenous territories, even into places where the original peoples were found.

The situation of urban indigenous peoples is very particular and similar in Bolivia, Argentina, Chile and Mexico. Specifically, Argentine society, where white culture and evolutionism predominate, was founded on the negation of the Kolla indigenous peoples, making their reality invisible and hiding their historic role.¹⁶

The urban indigenous person is a subject with rights and deserves to participate actively in political life and the public sector. Subsidies as the only measure cannot be the solution to the problems of inequality and exclusion. Currently, the struggle of indigenous peoples is having a positive influence as it attempts to democratically reverse social exclusion and is an agent in the defence of citizen rights. The inclusion of these communities in positions of power favours their situation in cities while also building more democratic societies.

The indigenous movements are probably the continent's most diverse and complex phenomenon. In some Latin American capitals like Mexico City, São Paulo or Lima, families of indigenous and peasant origin that have migrated to the city have reconstructed forms of organization and are asserting their cultural and economic practices in their new urban settlements (slums, favelas, neighbourhoods), which in turn defines their structures of exchange and integration. This generates tensions within the dominant political system, which repeatedly leaves them outside the benefits the system offers, even in countries with the highest level of democracy.

Within these "new villages", as Iturralde defines them, there are at least three cases of constitution of communities in their migratory destinations: the cities and villages created by the migrants (the majority of them indigenous or having a common rural origin) on the Rio Grande border (Mexico-United States), the towns of indigenous colonists in the Bolivian Chapare and the "Comunidades Populares en Resistencia" in the Petén of Guatemala.¹⁷

Another important phenomenon is that of displaced populations in both El Salvador and Nicaragua due to civil wars and conflict zones, such as the state of Chiapas in Mexico and particularly in Colombia, where the situation for these communities is progressively worsening. This is recognized as one of the failures of multiculturalism in Colombia, where despite its recognition that it is a pluriethnic country and the commitment to safeguarding cultural diversity through the development of openly pluralist

12. Bintrim, Rebecca; et al. Ibid.

13. Schmelkes, Sylvia (2014), *Indígenas rurales, migrantes, urbanos. Una educación equivocada, otra educación posible*. Instituto de Investigaciones para el Desarrollo de la Educación, Universidad Iberoamericana (Mexico).

14. UN Fact sheet, (2007) Urban Indigenous Peoples and Migration: Challenges and Opportunities. Sixth Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, New York from 14th to 25th May.

15. UN Fact sheet idem.

16. *Indígenas Urbanos en América Latina: ¿Entre identidad y la calidad de vida?* Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.

17. Iturralde, D., La gestión de la multiculturalidad y la multiétnicidad en América Latina (1995), Paper presented at the First Regional Meeting of Latin America and the Caribbean of the Management of Social Transformations (MOST) Programme. Buenos Aires, Ministerio de Cultura y de Educación, 28–31 March <http://www.unesco.org/most/iturspan.htm>.

and multiculturalist legislation, statistics demonstrate that indigenous and African-descended populations have been the most affected by internal displacement due to conflict and violence.¹⁸

b) Gender and multiculturalism

The challenges of gender inequality are not limited to the differences between the two genders, as enormous inequalities between women are also observed. In Latin America, the living conditions and prospects for the social progress of women vary depending on whether she is an indigenous or African-descended woman, young, living in urban or rural areas, living in her country of origin or in a host country, if she has children or is elderly.

Gender, as a cultural expression of sexual difference, symbolizes what is understood to be inherent in women and men in a manner that structures beliefs and practices in multiple hierarchies that discriminate against women, despite important achievements obtained in some aspects, such as education. Thus evidence demonstrates that poverty and social exclusion in the region has an increasingly female face.¹⁹

For 2006, the unemployment rate for indigenous or African-descended women in the seven countries²⁰ that had the necessary measurements, the average rate was 85% higher than for her male counterpart, while the average unemployment rate of non-indigenous or non-African-descended women exceeded that of the men by 60%.

Nevertheless, not all the data show negative results. In Bolivia, Guatemala and Peru, the unemployment rate for indigenous women was lower than that of non-indigenous men; the opposite was recorded in Brazil, Chile, Ecuador and Uruguay²¹ for indigenous and/or African-descended women compared to non-indigenous or non-African-descended men.²² One point to highlight is that employment for African-descended men in some realities is even higher than for women, which reveals that inequality does not act homogeneously in all cultures.

Indigenous and African-descended women demand that their work and contribution be visible. These demands coincide with those of collective rights, but they also need specific recognition. Thirty million indigenous women participate in the struggle, but they are consistently made invisible both internally and externally by the organizations, and therefore it was necessary for them to speak out as indigenous women through networks that boosted their capacity to negotiate and gain spaces for political participation.

The **Shared Societies Project** of the Club de Madrid has explored issues like the double discrimination of women in greater depth. It found that the tensions related to identity or belonging to a group affect men and women differently: the greater the identity-related tension in a group or with respect to it, the greater the negative impact on women.

Women who belong to more vulnerable or minority groups suffer what is known as double (or triple) discrimination by virtue of their group identity or because they are women. They are often excluded from formal decision-making processes in matters that directly affect them.

Hence it is necessary to identify the specific challenges facing women in these circumstances, as well as the processes and dynamics related to decision-making in these cases, in order to define possible solutions. Despite the aforementioned difficulties, women can often play a fundamental role in containing intergroup tension thanks to their specific strengths and the specific role they occupy in their communities, often

18. Vélez Torres, I., "Desplazamiento y etnicidad: fracasos del multiculturalismo en Colombia", *Desacatos*, No. 41, January-April (2013) pp. 155-173 http://www.ciesas.edu.mx/desacatos/41%20Indexado/esquinas_4.pdf.

19. OIT, CEPAL, FAO, PNUD, ONU MUJERES; *Trabajo decente e igualdad de género. Políticas para mejorar el acceso y la calidad del empleo en América Latina y el Caribe*, November (2013), Santiago: OIT, CEPAL, FAO, PNUD, ONU MUJERES <http://www.revistahumanum.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Informe-Regional-espanol-trabajo-decente.pdf>.

20. Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru and Uruguay.

21. In Uruguay the unemployment rate of African-descended women doubles that of African-descended men and exceeds that of non-African-descended women by 3%.

22. ILO *Multilateral Framework on Labour Migration*. Non-binding principles and guidelines for a rights-based approach to labour migration (2007) Geneva: ILO.

underutilized. Clearly women can become agents of change in their own communities (horizontal dimension) and with respect to public authorities (vertical dimension).

c) Intercultural education in Latin America

In Latin America, multiculturalism has become a phenomenon that has imposed new challenges on Latin American democratic society. In this context, it has spread beyond the education sector to promote the exercise of rights and responsibilities by all citizens, men and women. Definitively, the establishment of democratic relations and equal opportunities, as well as respect for differences.

Bilingual intercultural education has played a fundamental role in the genesis of ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism in Latin America. Bilingual intercultural education (BIE) arises in the Latin American region starting in the seventies within the framework of interculturalism as a response to the homogenizing process and the dominant education. It is a system that also emerged in contraposition to the characteristic biculturalism of the multiculturalism of the United States, which understands that an individual is capable of utilizing visions, values and concepts from two different cultures.²³

In the decade of the eighties, educational projects were designed which sought to interconnect the dominant society with the indigenous one. In later years, diverse indigenous movements originating in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Guatemala demanded and promoted educational reforms, and achieved the introduction of bilingual intercultural education in the educational system.²⁴ BIE has contributed to the recognition of linguistic-cultural diversity in legal frameworks and to introducing an intercultural perspective into public policies, and, in particular, into education policies.²⁵

Nevertheless, there was an urgent need to transition from multicultural and "indigenist" education, frequently paternalistic, towards a true intercultural shift in Latin American education policies.²⁶ The struggles of the indigenous movements became stronger and obtained spaces and scholarships for indigenous peoples in universities, and indigenous universities were created, organized within the framework of the intercultural indigenous university. These transformations have managed to integrate the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples by designing a specific curriculum, to gain not only access to but also respect for traditional knowledge.²⁷

The access of indigenous peoples to relevant higher education continues to be very limited. The Universidad Indígena Intercultural represents a regional effort promoted by the Fondo Indígena; it is a unconventional university comprised of a Network of Associated Centres whose objective is to "contribute to the training of indigenous professionals qualified in leadership, using an intercultural approach, organizational tasks and decision-making to enable graduates to have a political, economic and social impact in their respective societies".²⁸

d) Legal pluralism and protection of indigenous rights

In the nineties, assertion of the pluricultural nature of the State, the officialization of minority languages, promotion of bilingual education and recognition of common law practiced by indigenous communities were subject to constitutional reforms in Latin America.

23. Servindi, "Interculturalidad: Desafío y proceso en construcción", Training manual, (2005).

24. Ströbele-Gregor, J. Kaltmeier, O. and Giebler, C., "Construyendo Interculturalidad: Pueblos Indígenas, Educación y Políticas de Identidad en América Latina", GTZ Programa Fortalecimiento de Organizaciones Indígenas en América Latina, (2010), Eschborn: GTZ

25. Valiente Catter, T., "Educación Intercultural Bilingüe en Latinoamérica. Visión y realidad de un proceso en la región andina", in *Construyendo Interculturalidad*, GTZ, (2008), Eschborn.

26. Gunther, D. and Mendoza Zuany, R. (coordinators), "Multiculturalismo educación intercultural y derechos indígenas en las Américas" (2008), *Revista Entreverando*, No. 96.

27. Presentation of Mirna Cunningham, TEMAS: El desafío de construir sociedades interculturales en América Latina y el Caribe. A talk on recognition of indigenous communities (2011) <http://www.casamerica.es/temasTV/el-desafio-de-construir-sociedades-interculturales-en-america-latina-y-el-caribe>.

28. Von Gleich, U., "La Diplomatura de Revitalización Lingüística y Cultural: La Universidad Indígena Intercultural (UII) y la Subred de Revitalización Lingüística" in *Construyendo Interculturalidad. Pueblos Indígenas, Educación y Políticas de Identidad en América Latina* (2010), Eschborn: GTZ, pp.30-37.

In the past decade, diverse movements and governments in Latin America, from Lula da Silva in Brazil, Rafael Correa in Ecuador and Evo Morales in Bolivia to Hugo Chávez in Venezuela, extended certain transformations to the regional political context. Mainly in the Andean societies, there was a rupture with the colonial past, the importance of which has materialized in diverse levels of multiculturalism and pluralism depending on the political structure of each Latin American country.²⁹ A fundamental example of the progress of the multiculturalist trend is the implementation of ILO Convention 169, which includes collective rights to land, political participation and education. The right of indigenous peoples to prior consultation has been recognized in the Peruvian legal code since February 1995, the date when ILO Convention 169 entered into force, and it seeks to ensure that indigenous peoples can include their development priorities that might affect the exercise of their collective rights in the political agenda. A considerable number of countries are promoting modifications in their constitutions and recognize the right of consultation of indigenous peoples.

Along these lines, the Club de Madrid intends to develop a project with political impact that will make it possible to reflect on the challenges facing the Law on Prior Consultation in Peru—according to ILO Convention 169—and support the main stakeholders in consultation processes, taking into account the different public administration standards and instruments available for effective compliance.

Muteba Rahier and Dougé-Prosper analyzed the behaviour of this phenomenon in the Andean region and described what they called the “multicultural turn” in the constitutions of the countries in the region. According to the authors, Chile and Peru are the two countries that have not been reached by this multicultural “turn”, because their constitutions do not mention indigenous and African-descended peoples or refer to race, ethnicity or skin colour.³⁰ Although as we’ve seen, Peru on 17th September 2011 enacted the Law on the Right of Indigenous Peoples to Prior Consultation, which establishes the content, principles and procedure of the right to consultation (however there are difficulties when it comes to implementing this standard and making the consultation binding).

Colombia, for its part, was the first country to adopt multiculturalism in its constitution of 1991 (amended in 2005) and in special laws after this. Ecuador, on the other hand, has also had two constitutions with a multicultural focus (1998 and 2008), in addition to special laws and decrees that facilitated the implementation of these policies.

In the case of Colombia, recognition of legal pluralism and the special indigenous jurisdiction are interesting. Languages spoken by indigenous communities in their territories are recognized as official, and, in addition representation in the Senate for indigenous groups is guaranteed.³¹ Although some analysts suggest that formal ethnic recognition is called into question by the violence that exists in Colombia.

From a technical perspective, Paraguay’s constitution is well constructed, but the absence of participatory mechanisms considerably limits its implementation. Brazil’s constitution also incorporates significant advances, such as utilization of natural resources by indigenous communities, however, the multicultural focus has not been made concrete.

The constitution introduced in 2009 in Bolivia contemplates the establishment of a plurinational state, which along with that of Colombia and Ecuador represents one of the most progressive multicultural constitutions in the region. Other countries like Belize, Guyana, Surinam and Uruguay do not contemplate the rights of indigenous peoples in their magna cartas, and the scant references to indigenous territorial rights are contained in secondary legislation (Anglo-Saxon legal tradition); while in Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras, it is possible to identify certain very superficial legal references to the

29. Ströbele-Gregor, J. Kaltmeier, O. and Giebler, C. (comp.), “Construyendo Interculturalidad: Pueblos Indígenas, Educación y Políticas de Identidad en América Latina” (2010), Eschborn: GTZ.

30. Nevertheless, special laws have been enacted to protect the rights of indigenous peoples, the majority Mapuche (estimated to represent approximately 4% of the population) (Muteba Rahier and Dougé-Prosper, 2010).

31. Rodríguez Pinto, S. and Domínguez Ávila, C., “Sociedades plurales, multiculturalismo y derechos indígenas en América Latina”, *Política y Cultura* (2011), No. 35, pp. 49-66:

indigenous issue. Outside of the South American region, only the Mexican and Guatemalan constitutions make reference to indigenous jurisdiction, while in Panama and Nicaragua, they are limited to specific laws.³²

As a result of constitutional reforms that assign the responsibility for promoting interculturalism and granting to or recognizing a series of collective rights of nationalities and indigenous and African-descended peoples to the State, possibilities for addressing the needs of these groups and of constructing a new project of an intercultural, inclusive and democratic nature are being created.³³

4. Topics for discussion

- In Latin America the national cultural **information systems** that exist in Argentina, Chile and Mexico display similarities. For example, they have in common the concept of culture from the sociological point of view, which includes cultural industries, and they leave aside the anthropological concept, which includes ways of life, beliefs, values, etc. The incorporation of the concept of "multiculturalism" as one of the fundamental dimensions of the sense of belonging component, which along with other parameters projects expectations for the future and for social mobility and the sense of integration and social membership, can be identified as one of the most important advances in this field in the region. In this way, the term "multiculturalism", very debated and given different meanings in European academic circles, is enriched and clarified with meanings from Latin American thought.³⁴

We have noted that the phenomenon of plurality and the valuation of cultural diversity *per se* somehow represents an obstacle in comparative studies of cultures. Moreover, the lack of agreement on the definition of culture reveals the great challenges posed by quantitative measurement of the elements that make up culture and, as a result, on the construction of comparable indicators either regionally or internationally.

In addition, the **activities of extractive companies** without proper controls and their impact on climate change and indigenous populations is one of the most questionable aspects of the Latin America panorama.

There is pressure both from the private sector and the public sector that points to environmental legislation and to prior consultation processes as the main enemies of investment. A questioning of the measures oriented towards loosening environmental regulations and control, lowering taxes and occupational protection, that seek to favour investment over protection of the environment and the populations that inhabit these areas should be at the centre of the debate. Processes must be configured that reach agreement based on information and evaluation of the impacts and benefits for indigenous peoples that these projects involve.

- Along these lines, political authorities cannot ignore the **organized civil society** that claims its ethnic and cultural identity and, beyond recognizing the legitimacy of their demands, it must provide mechanisms of political participation and mechanisms of public administration that address the reality of the entire Latin American social spectrum.
- Lastly, we propose **democratic governance and multiculturalism** in Latin America as a topic for discussion, with an invitation to rethink democracy, not only in terms of participation but also in terms of accountability: what democracy? And, for whom?

32. Rodríguez Pinto, S. and Domínguez Ávila, C. Ibid.

33. Walsh, C., "Interculturalidad, reformas constitucionales y pluralismo jurídico", Monthly publication of the Instituto Científico de Culturas Indígenas, Year 4, No. 36, March 2002.

34. Valle de Frutos, S. "La Dimensión Cultural", *Archipiélago. Revista cultural de nuestra América* (2010), vol. 19, No. 70, Madrid: Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Facultad de Ciencias de la Comunicación.

III. A European view

"The EU was founded after Europe [...] lived through the atrocities during World War II. All of us have a duty in ensuring that no one is discriminated against, or being subject to violence because of their ethnicity, religious beliefs, gender or sexual orientation. Too few are standing up against intolerance today. We need political leaders who do not flirt with populism and xenophobia."

Cecilia Malmström, European Union Commissioner for Home Affairs,
in 'Crimes against the foundation of society',
12th November 2013.

1. Introduction

Multiculturalism is defined as the multiple relationships between States and the populations of States. In Europe, this term has been preferred to "multinationalism", which has acquired a political shading—and therefore is more sensitive—by being interpreted as a questioning of national integrity.³⁵

Although European States do exist that were formed with multiculturalism as a constituent element, Belgium and Switzerland for example, in the eighties, as Kymlicka³⁶ reminds us, the States tried, through symbols or myths, to consolidate a national language, communication, defence and even a religion.

Nevertheless, social phenomena such as immigration and globalization have led to significant changes in Europe as a model of socio-demographic evolution in recent decades. From there, concepts such as multiculturalism and pluralism resurfaced with new political and social implications. Today, the majority of European countries recognize the presence in their territory of different groups with different origins, their own languages, histories and cultures. Some minorities that were already present in the States have acquired greater visibility, and their demands have become more systematized; other groups are the result of phenomena such as immigration or freedom of movement within the EU.

2. Theoretical reference framework

the European reference framework for issues of fundamental rights is the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, which each year publishes its **"Fundamental Rights: Challenges and Achievements"** report. For this concept note on Pluralism and Multiculturalism, we will use as a basis the 2013 report, which analyzes from a comparative perspective the situation of asylum, immigration and integration; equality and non-discrimination; racism, xenophobia and other intolerance; as well as the situation of the ROMA population in Europe. From this exhaustive analysis of the status of the question in Europe, we will attempt to draw conclusions and ideas for the discussion.

35. Gallep, B., "Multiculturalidad en Europa: experiencias y posibles aportes para América Latina" in "Descentralizar, un derrotero a seguir", FLACSO, 2008.

36. Kymlicka, W., "Multiculturalism". *Diálogo Político*, No. 2, 2007, Buenos Aires, Fundación Konrad Adenauer. Will Kymlicka is the Canada Research Chair in Political Philosophy at Queen's University, Kingston, Canada; and a member of the Expert Advisory Panel of the Shared Societies Project of the Club de Madrid.

In addition, we will use the **Shared Societies Project**³⁷ initiated in 2007 by the Club de Madrid in an effort to provide current leaders with arguments and tools for positively managing social diversity and overcoming intergroup tensions and hostilities. Social division due to race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender or other attributes leads to tensions and hostilities, and it is one of the main problems today facing countries all over the world. The members of the Club de Madrid chose social cohesion as a priority issue in order to call the attention of political leaders, public officials and international institutions to this important issue; we also wanted to contribute to the solution and promote ways of achieving greater harmony and justice in intergroup relations. Our concern and commitment to this issue and this project are as deep today as when we started down this path.

We use the term “shared society” because it is the one that best describes our vision of a society that inspires everyone living in it to feel they are part of it and able to play an important role while at the same time realizing their potential as people. In our 2007 document entitled “A Call to Action for Leadership to Build Shared Societies”, we state the following:

A “shared society” is a socially cohesive society. It is stable, safe. It is where all those living there feel at home. It respects everyone’s dignity and human rights while providing every individual with equal opportunity. It is tolerant. It respects diversity. A shared society is constructed and nurtured through strong political leadership.

It is obvious that this vision goes beyond tolerance and the desire for everyone to be alike. As Jennifer Shipley stated when she was Vice President of the Club de Madrid, “‘You have to be like us!’ is an unintelligent and unsustainable national identity approach”.

More recently, the **Next Generation Democracy** project of the Club de Madrid (2014–2016)—which works to make democracy respond to the expectations of citizens by preserving their spheres of liberty and dignity while guaranteeing a sustainable future for future generations—provides us with interesting data by region on different aspects of “access and inclusiveness” as an constituent element of democracy in terms of political and social integration and non-discrimination. We incorporate interesting elements from the European report on “access and inclusiveness” later on.

3. Internal comparative perspective of the EU

For the analysis of the internal comparative perspective in the EU on the subject, we have drawn on the most recent report of the **European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA)**,³⁸ specifically its sections dedicated to the following: the current status of asylum, immigration and integration; equality and non-discrimination; racism, xenophobia and other intolerance; the situation of the ROMA population in Europe. In addition to denouncing situations of discrimination, the report also provides examples of best practices or measures taken by some EU States to improve the situation in these four areas. We will try to approach the diagnosis of social inclusion from the standpoint of multiculturalism and pluralism within the EU in this section, leaving policy proposals for the following section covering *topics for discussion*.

The report on Europe³⁹ of the **Next Generation Democracy** project of the Club de Madrid points to a growing social imbalance between northern and southern European countries, along with a progressive social division between young and old, that has reduced opportunities for certain groups as a consequence of the deep economic crisis that began in 2008.

With regard to social inclusion policy, the report stresses that the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Luxembourg continue to top the list compared to other European countries. Specifically the northern states, which are small and more homogeneous, still have relative egalitarian societies; values of equality, integration

37. http://www.clubmadrid.org/en/programa/the_shared_societies_project

38. “Fundamental rights: key legal and policy developments in 2013”, European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights: http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-annual-report-highlights-2013-0_en_0.pdf

39. Next Generation Democracy Project, Club de Madrid, 2014: http://nextgenerationdemocracy.org/Regional_Report_for_Europe: http://nextgenerationdemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/NGD_RegionalReports_WiderEurope.pdf

and community are deeply rooted, and—even though there is public debate on the growing social heterogeneity—these long-standing values continue to prevail in politics and in society.

In this context, preventing discrimination represents one of the central principles for ensuring equality of opportunity. In general, we can speak of good or at least acceptable anti-discrimination policies in most European countries. However, discrimination against women, homosexuals, ethnic and religious minorities persists despite the fact that most countries have enacted anti-discrimination laws. While Ireland, the Netherlands and Sweden are the countries that prevent discrimination most effectively, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, where some minorities like the Roma population face systematic discrimination, present some acute deficiencies in this regard. Other collectives subject to discrimination are the Serbian ethnicity in Croatia and the Hungarian minority in Romania. It is important to emphasize that the serious economic situation has contributed to worsening the discrimination suffered by these minorities, and it is feared that this will continue to be a structural problem for many years to come, particularly in the countries of southeastern Europe.

a) Asylum, immigration and integration

Immigration is one of the phenomena that currently most affects the questions that occupy us in this note. Although movements of people have accompanied the construction of Europe since its beginnings—representing an engine of progress, wealth in cultural and economic terms (labour-related, fiscal, etc.)—in recent years, coinciding with the crisis buffeting Europe, we are witnessing a social erosion that is exposing the errors in the integration policies applied up to now. A mercantilist view of immigration has emerged in some countries that now are restricting the entry of immigrants and even applying questionable methods to return them to their countries of origin, in addition to a resurgence of extreme-right and xenophobic political movements and parties that use immigration as a scapegoat for current social ills.

In addition, the challenges in managing maritime borders or the excessive and disproportionate fees for obtaining residency permits that some Member States demand with respect to the European Law on Asylum are just some of the persistent challenges facing the EU. These represent clear examples of practical obstacles to integration of migrants.

The report points out the slow implementation and safeguard of European legislation, and uses the example of effective return systems. Some NGOs go further in denouncing that we are witnessing in Europe the violation of the law and of human rights in the application of the so-called “hot returns” (summary repatriations) by some European States⁴⁰ that violate the **Geneva Convention and the European Convention on Human Rights**.

b) Equality and non-discrimination

The exclusion of certain social groups from the most basic spheres of participation, such as employment, politics, healthcare or education, are the result of discrimination against these groups based on their ethnicity, religion, gender.

There is data from Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Ireland and Sweden showing that ethnic or racial discrimination was the most frequently reported type in 2012, particularly in the area of employment. In Germany, research by migration and integration experts shows that the persons most visibly of Turkish, African, Asian and Latin America origin, as well as Muslims, are especially vulnerable to discrimination in the job market, at public offices and authorities or when seeking accommodation.

The new EU programme on “Rights, Equality and Citizenship” was adopted in December 2013 for 2014–2020. The programme promotes the Fundamental Rights and combats all forms of discrimination and racism, and it will continue financing the inclusion of the Gypsy population.

40. The initiative of the Spanish executive that aims to legalize these “hot returns”, particularly those occurring through the border fence in Melilla, a territory bordering Morocco through which immigrants enter irregularly, is especially controversial.

There are relatively high levels of discrimination related to **age** identified in Belgium, Denmark and France. Age and **disability** were the most commonly identified grounds for discrimination in the Czech Republic. On the other hand, equality bodies in Poland ranked disability and **gender** as the most common grounds for discrimination. Likewise, most of the complaints received by the equality body in Estonia were related to gender. In addition, discrimination against pregnant women and parents in Estonia is considered direct discrimination due to gender. Similarly, evidence of discrimination against pregnant women in the job market was recorded in the research conducted by the Equal Treatment Commission in the Netherlands and by the Equality Ombudsman in Sweden.

In response to these forms of discrimination, the European Accessibility Act, which covers access to goods and services by disabled and elderly persons, is still in the preparation phase.

c) Racism, xenophobia and related intolerance

As we mentioned previously, the rise of xenophobic movements and parties in Europe, with the crisis as a backdrop, has caused racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance to again be a concern on the political agenda of the EU, its institutions and its Member States.

Killings motivated by racism and extremism have taken place in a number of Member States, and more seriously—although the Member States are adopting measures to prohibit extremist groups and parties—some elements of racism and extremist ideology are being openly displayed in the public sphere in some EU countries.

Field work by the European Fundamental Rights Agency in Greece discovered that this country is experiencing a strong increase in cases of racist violence, discrimination and intolerance, as well as extremism, despite the significant overall decrease in the country's violent crime rate.⁴¹ The fact that ethnic profiling continues to be a habitual practice in some Member States, also in the context of immigration controls, does not help to mitigate this problem.

Political actors have their share of the responsibility for allowing this climate of hate and violence. In the case of politicians—Cécile Kyenge in Italy and Christiane Taubira in France—some have been the target of racist abuse by other politicians, with the news media often acting as an echo chamber and the Internet serving as an additional channel for dissemination of this abuse.

Gypsy communities, persons of African origin, immigrants and asylum seekers continue to suffer from racism and xenophobia in the European Union, as shown by diverse cases of repatriation in Austria, Bulgaria, Finland, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, the Netherlands, Slovakia and Sweden.

The arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in Bulgaria and Hungary in larger numbers than usual has fuelled the expression of xenophobic sentiments and attitudes in these countries. This raises the difficult question of the effect the arrival of numerous refugees from Syria and other conflict zones might have in EU states not traditionally considered destination countries.

d) Situation of the ROMA population in Europe

In this area, the FRA 2013 report contains some positive measures and best practices that some European countries and institutions have been adopting in recent years in the area of Roma inclusion.

For its part, the Council of Europe has taken positive measures: **ROMED** is a programme started in 2011 which offers specific training to both Roma and non-Roma to act as mediators in more than 20 countries in the areas of education, health and culture. The programme was started in 2011 and consists mainly of hiring persons of Roma origin, from local Roma communities or having good knowledge of Roma issues to act as mediators between the Roma population and public institutions. The following countries are actively

41. Cases cited by FRA, http://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-annual-report-highlights-2013-0_en_0.pdf

participating in this programme: Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Republic of Moldova, Portugal, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Spain, Turkey, United Kingdom, Ukraine.

ROMACT is a joint project of the Council of Europe and the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion of the European Commission with the support of the European Alliance of Cities and Regions for Roma Inclusion. The project is being carried out in five countries: Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Romania and Slovakia. Its objective is to advise and work directly with local authorities to promote the inclusion of Roma communities at this level. The project proposes improving the capacity of local authorities to carry out their functions and responsibilities with respect to the application of practices that improve the integration of Roma by working on the accountability and sensitivity of authorities to these collectives.

At the national level, Poland, for example, continues to implement its Programme for the Roma Community for 2004–2013 covering matters of education, Roma and civil society, employment, health, housing, security, hate crimes, culture and preservation of the Roma ethnic identity.

In December 2013, the Czech Republic approved seven measures to prevent tension and strengthen social cohesion among the majority of society and the Roma minority, including a review of assistance and subsidies for housing, and a network of social services in socially excluded areas.

The Bulgarian National Strategy for Integration of Roma Communities asked all municipalities to prepare and approve annual plans for integration of Roma. In the United Kingdom, some local authorities established a "National Roma Network", as a forum for dialogue between the central government, local authorities and civil society. In the field of best practices, some Member States also started to develop local and regional plans for implementing their national strategies. One example is Germany's "Berlin Action Plan" for inclusion of foreign Roma. Likewise, various Member States have set up working groups or consultation councils made up of representatives of ministries, local authorities, independent experts, Roma associations and other civil society organizations.

Croatia, Finland, France, Latvia, Romania, Slovenia and Spain established diverse working groups and platforms for holding consultations on national Roma integration strategies. Spain developed an operating plan for 2012–2020, a national strategy for strengthening coordination between the different administrative levels. Italy also established roundtables at different levels of government, including an interministerial roundtable for discussing local affairs.

4. Topics for discussion

As we have seen throughout this European diagnosis on inclusion, multiculturalism and pluralism, the challenges facing the EU when it comes to constructing an inclusive society are many. It involves a complex effort that over the long term requires reflexive and committed political leadership.

With the aim of providing leaders with a reflection on how to progress towards an increasingly cohesive society, the Shared Societies Project of the Club de Madrid codified the principles that underpin a truly inclusive society and defined **Ten Commitments** that integrate the elements necessary to effectively make social cohesion a reality. This material, published in the first issue of this series, is available on our website.⁴²

At the Club de Madrid, we believe that one of the most effective ways of demonstrating the benefits of a shared society is by showing its direct relationship to the attainment of economic welfare. This idea is what prompted the members of the Club de Madrid to develop an economic argument in favour of cohesion to present this relationship unequivocally and energetically. Some of the data contained in the publication by the Club de Madrid: **The Economic Rationale for Shared Societies** can serve as topics for discussion in this workshop.

42. [http://www.clubmadrid.org/img/secciones/16118_ARGUMENTO_CLUB_M\(F\).pdf](http://www.clubmadrid.org/img/secciones/16118_ARGUMENTO_CLUB_M(F).pdf).

- Recent research by the World Bank suggests that where group-based tensions lead to civil war, national income can be reduced by as much as 50 percent.⁴³
- A decade of data collected and evaluated by the World Bank found that countries with high levels of social trust and cohesion saw an 18.6% increase in GDP over the decade. At the same time, countries with low levels of social trust, experienced economic stagnation during the same period of time.⁴⁴
- In Canada, economists calculated that the failure to fully recognize the potential of immigrants and women in the workforce represented an untapped economic resource of \$174 billion in lost personal incomes.
- Another challenge from the European perspective is the resurgence of xenophobic and exclusionary speech promoted by European nationalist parties that has become a political stimulus for eliminating the multicultural approach in public policies. This not only undoes the progress made in the area of political and social rights but also places European democracies at risk as systems that ensure equal rights and social harmony, and it reveals the current guarantee mechanisms for fundamental rights as insufficient.
- Migration processes take place within and towards Europe. European migration processes are with increasing intensity delineating national and European policies, and therefore it is interesting to analyze the pertinence of the intercultural approach to migration and social cohesion in the new European countries without a past tradition of migration, such as Bulgaria and Hungary, receiving immigrants.
- The European and international security scenario is facing global phenomena such as terrorism. The simplification of identity and religious concepts, their political or media manipulation and, hence, the stigmatization of citizens by virtue of their religion, ethnic or cultural origin, are a danger to peace and stability in Europe. There are political attitudes and proposals that fuel a climate of mistrust and ultimately one of rejection of difference that can endanger the foundations of the genesis of the European Union: the union for peace and stability.

43. Foa, R. and Jorgensen, S., "Defusing Collective Violence: The Economic Arguments", in McCartney, C. (ed.), *The Shared Societies Project Background Papers: Responding to Social Cohesion Challenges* (2008), Madrid: Club de Madrid

44. Foa, R. and Jorgensen, S. Ibid.

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