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Diversity Management and Integration: From Ideas to Concepts

I. Introduction: the Context

Walking in the streets of (especially bigger) cities everywhere in the world we can hear a fascinating plurality of dialects and languages, and detect the diverse physical and cultural characteristics and features of individuals—in short, one of the common characteristics of urban environments is a fascinating diversity of diversities. In rural environments, pluralities and diversities might be less obvious and numerous; however, they can be found everywhere. Travelling in the countryside reveals a number of asymmetries and diversities—such as specific geographic and/or climatic features of the territory, diverse density of populations, different levels of social and economic development, diverse architecture, etc.

Ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversities are just a few kinds and dimensions of diversities and asymmetries that exist in contemporary societies. However, considering their social impacts, roles and importance in history—especially in the past two centuries—they can be considered to be important factors of social and historic developments. In many ways, ethnicity—as a specific social phenomenon and (political) concept, but especially as diverse and distinct collective entities that have emerged and evolved in specific historic circumstances (in Europe since the seventeenth century) into (modern) nations and developed their specific ethnic identities, ways of life and cultures—conditioned the elaboration, development and evolution of the concept of nation-states. This concept is built on the myth of ethnic homogeneity, which perceives

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See, for example, Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (Verso, London, 1983); Carlile Aylmer Macartney, National States and National Minorities (Oxford University Press, Humphrey Milford, London, 1934), 192-211; Hugh Seton-Watson, Nations and States (Methuen, London, 1977); Anthony D. Smith, The

nation-states as ethnically homogeneous single nation-states of titular nations.² Since this concept was introduced and has become the main principle of social organization of modern societies, ethnicity has gained social relevance—as a matter of fact, it has become the central criterion for the inclusion into a titular nation in certain nation states. Regardless of the social stratification within a nation and/or nation-state, which typically accepted existing internal inequalities and built upon them, a specific ethnicity was the basis of ethnic and social inclusion. Whoever was recognized as a member of the titular nation, was (became) one of 'us'. Those who were not recognized and/or accepted as members of the titular nation were (became) the 'others' and were often excluded from the mainstream, discriminated against and marginalized—in the most extreme cases, states even attempted to eliminate their minorities (or some of them). Some states denied the very existence of minorities, while others recognized their existence officially and sometimes granted them a special status and protection. If the emergence of nation-states in Europe created (traditional) national minorities as we know them today, the elaboration and evolution of the concept and the actual development of nation-states conditioned the historic development of the protection of national minorities and its evolution.3

Traditional national minorities, however, account for only a fraction of the existing ethnic diversity in contemporary societies, which is constantly increasing. Migrations (both legal and illegal) in a globalizing world (in which mobility of people has increased incredibly over the past decades) are key factors contributing to ever-increasing ethnic diversity in immigrant societies—in all environments that for different reasons attract immigrants. Emigrant societies face different challenges. Usually, remittances of emigrants initially improve lives and the social situation of local populations; transfer of know-how and investments of emigrants in the economy and infrastructure; and

Ethnic Origins of Nations (Blackwell, Oxford, 1986); and Mitja Žagar, "Constitutions in Multi-Ethnic Reality", 29-30 Razpave in gradivo (1994/1995), 143-164.

² This concept could be explained by a simple equation: state = nation = people. See Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1789: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990), 23.

In previously existing historic types of states, ethnicity did not usually have much social 3 relevance for the social position of an individual. All individuals were subjects of the state and its ruler, whose religion—in Europe, but also in non-European societies—traditionally determined the religion of his subjects. Their ethnicity, language and culture usually did not matter, as long as they were loyal subjects who regularly and diligently paid taxes and dues and did not rebel. With the introduction of nation-states, those individuals who did not belong to the titular nation became the 'others', different from the majority—a minority that was often considered a problem and an obstacle to the desired ethnic homogeneity, which was considered the optimal social arrangement. In such broader social environments and frameworks, the concept and standards of the protection of national (and other) minorities developed and evolved. See, for example, Mitja Žagar, "Some Newer Trends in the Protection and (Special) Rights of Ethnic Minorities: the European Context", in Miroslav Polzer, Liana Kalčina and Mitja Žagar (eds.), Slovenija & evropski standardi varstva narodnih manjšin (Zbirka Slovenija in Svet Evrope, št. 21) (Informacijsko dokumentacijski center Sveta Evrope pri NUK, Inštitut za narodnostna vprašanja, Avstrijski inštitut za vzhodno in jugovzhodno Evropo, Ljubljana, 2002), 77-104.

increased communication, exchange and cooperation with their immigrant societies might contribute to a faster economic and social development in the societies of origin of emigrants. However, intense and massive emigration might affect the population, its social, age and/or gender structure, which might result in the economic decline of (usually already economically and socially deprived) communities, and in the most extreme cases might even cause the depopulation of certain regions and territories.⁴

The nature of migration is changing as well. In addition to traditional economic and politically (including military) influenced/motivated migrations, which might be legal or illegal, we can see a number of cases when people—usually well educated and economically (relatively) well off—migrate and commute worldwide for different, often personal, reasons (e.g., better working conditions and opportunities for creativity, innovation, etc.). If the current problems and trends continue and the crisis of climate and ecological situations (e.g., drought, salination, desertification, disappearance of the ice caps at the Earth's poles and the rising level of oceans, etc.) in different regions of the world continue or deteriorate, we might expect a substantial increase in ecologically or climate-conditioned migrations—a new phenomenon that might lead to millions or even tens of millions of migrants worldwide.⁵

For more on contemporary global migration and its impacts, see, for example, Emory Elliot, Jasmine Payne and Patricia Ploesch (eds.), Global Migration, Social Change and Cultural Transformation (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2008). As mentioned above, remittances of emigrants might be an important factor in interstate relations and in economic development (especially of emigrant societies). For more on remittances and problems in their regulation and transfer, see, for example, Raúl Hernández-Coss, The Canada-Vietnam Remittance Corridor: Lessons on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems (World Bank, Washington, DC, 2005); id., The U.S.-Mexico Remittance Corridor: Lessons on Shifting from Informal to Formal Transfer Systems (World Bank, Washington, DC, 2005); and Jose de Luna-Martinez, Endo Isaku and Corrado Barberis, The Germany-Serbia Remittance Corridor: Challenges of Establishing a Formal Money Transfer System (World Bank, Washington, DC, 2006).

⁵ Climate and ecological refugees can be considered to be a relatively new topic and global problem, which is, however, becoming more and more important day by day. This problem has numerous social and economic dimensions and impacts that are yet to be explored and understood properly in their global context. The size and depth of the problem are yet to be recognized and treated properly by science and politics, which should do their best to raise the necessary public attention. At this time, civic society and different NGOs are the key actors in exploring and addressing this problem, and will, it is hoped, be able to build a global social movement aimed at reducing the sources and consequences of global warming and resolving/undoing at least some ecological problems. We hope that the volume of the relevant scholarly literature will increase rapidly and will be able to offer also adequate alternatives and solutions. See, for example, Geoff Leane and Barbara von Tigerstrom (eds.), International Law Issues in the South Pacific (Ashgate, Aldershot, 2005). Consequently, it is even more important that some relevant information can be found on the Internet. See, for example, http://www.safecom.org.au/foe-climate- guide.htm>; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Climate_refugee>; <http://www.sciam.com/ article.cfm?id=climate-change-refugees-extended>; http://thestar.com.my/lifestyle/story. asp?file=/2008/3/18/lifefocus/20642838&sec=lifefocus>; and http://uk.reuters.com/arti-asp?file=/2008/3/18/lifefocus/20642838&sec=lifefocus; cle/environmentNews/idUKL1084229020080313>. To illustrate the problem, we can men-

In spite of the above-described cases and situations and regardless of the problems that ageing populations might bring in the future in many developed countries, which makes them vitally dependent on immigration,6 the myth of ethnic homogeneity of nation-states continues to dominate (public) discourses and perceptions, as well as the official (ethnic, migration and integration) policies of states. In particular, nationalist politicians (whose policies promote the myth of ethnic homogeneity as the basis for 'national unity' and 'national interests', as defined by those politicians, with the goal being to establish and/or continue their monopoly over 'their' states and societies and to exclude the 'others'), but also many politicians from other political and ideological 'camps' (who believe in this myth or find it useful), and many in the general public (exposed to this myth in the process of their (political) socialization, in national educational systems and in dominant media) continue to see existing and growing diversities as possible dangers to the ('traditional') dominant culture in a certain society as they might affect and change the nature of this culture and the dominant 'traditional' identity (as they perceive it). Consequently, they consider the existing ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural diversities, and especially the demands of certain distinct communities or possible (legal and political) obligations to officially recognize, accept and support these diversities (e.g., their cultural expressions, usually manifested in the cultural activities of persons belonging to diverse ethnic communities) to be unnecessary costs and complications that might affect (negatively) and complicate the functioning and efficacy of the nation-state and its institutions.

Luckily, which outlines my perception of and position on (social) diversities and multiculturalism/interculturalism, there are many voices in the world—including

tion one of the burning cases: estimates of the possible number of ecological and climate refugees in the world vary substantially; however, it is believed that if the current trends of development continue in Bangladesh alone their number could exceed 20 million. See, for example, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/613075.stm. If we add to that number also refugees that (will) have to leave their homes due to different ecological problems and disaster, the number of these refugees will be even higher.

The problem of the ageing population exists also in some less developed countries that, however, might not be able to apply the same approach to resolve the problem. Usually being emigrant societies, faced with substantial emigration that might lead even to depopulation of certain areas, it seems unlikely that, at their present level of development and considering the existing economic opportunities, they would be able to attract immigrants (although some from even poorer areas might be interested in immigrating to these societies) in numbers necessary to replace the negative migration balance. Consequently, they do need alternative approaches and long-term strategies to address the issues of future development and especially of their ageing population. In my view, the best option is to implement successful development programmes and policies properly adjusted to the specific conditions and needs of the respective environments that could ensure a better future by offering possibilities for the improvement of the conditions and better life of people there. When general conditions improve, these environments are more likely to attract immigrants from other regions, thereby utilizing also this approach to address the issues of the ageing population.

prominent scholars⁷—who consider the existing ethnic diversity not only as an actual fact and state, but also value the richness of a multicultural environment that offers numerous possibilities (such as diverse cuisines and national restaurants, traditional arts and culture, various traditions, knowledge and skills, etc.), which might also constitute important comparative advantages of such an environment.

The above-mentioned are just a few of the pluralities, asymmetries and diversities that can be found in complex contemporary societies. Considering their social relevance, potential and possible impact on social processes and development, we would expect these and other issues relevant for the understanding of diversity, diversity management and integration (in this context, integration policies and measures in particular) to be at the top of the political agenda and a central topic of public discourse and policy consideration in many countries. However, this happens only occasionally—usually, when there is a crisis or excess connected with those issues. Consequently, often these issues are not among the central topics of research in social sciences and humanities that are adequately funded.

Often, these issues (with their seemingly negative social impacts and consequences) are (mis)used and (mis)interpreted successfully by nationalist politicians, parties and movements for political mobilization (of their supporters) and for the promotion of intolerant, exclusive, nationalist and/or xenophobic rhetoric and politics in diverse environments.

The 'other (democratic) side' of politics and intellectuals (especially those who define themselves as liberals or left-of-centre), as well as the EU institutions and some governments of European states, advocate and promote multiculturalism, interculturalism, (social) inclusion, integration and diversity management, which have become not only political catch-words but also official policies in some countries and environments (such as, e.g., Canada, Australia, the UK, the EU, etc.). We could speak of certain 'positive trends' regarding the recognition, regulation and management of diversities. There has been some progress in awareness raising and public recognition of the importance of these issues for a peaceful and stable development of diverse societies. However, the results and social impact of these policies and actions might not have met the optimistic expectations.

This is not to deny some important achievements. Developments in Canada, where since the 1960s and 1970s the idea and concept of multiculturalism had been shaped and translated into an official policy that has since further evolved and transformed (and still continues to evolve and transform), are very important in this context. At the same time, the evolution and transformation of Canadian multiculturalism and multicultural

⁷ See, for example, Will Kymlicka, Multicultural Citizenship (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1995), 220; Charles Taylor, Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition": An Essay (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1992); Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition", in David Theo Goldberg (ed.), Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader (Blackwell, Oxford, 1994), 75-106.

As typical cases of such crises or excesses that brought issues related to diversity management and the regulation and management of ethnic and/or religious relations to the top of public and political agendas we could list, for example, escalated ethnic and/or religious tensions that occasionally led to terrorist acts in Northern Ireland and Spain, historic developments in the former Yugoslavia in the past decades, etc.

policies have contributed to the evolution and transformation of Canadian society—especially to the evolution and transformation of the perception of Canadian society. Although Canada has traditionally been defined as an immigrant society, it was perceived as a predominantly bi-communal country and attention was usually focused on the existence of and divisions between the Anglophone and Francophone communities. These divisions still exist and, in many ways, continue to dominate Canadian politics. However, everybody recognizes that they are just a small part of the plurality and diversity that exists in Canada, which is a true multicultural society with immigrants coming from all over the world, settled especially in the metropolitan areas of Canadian cities. Canadian multicultural policy has been instrumental for the existence, preservation and development of the cultures of all of these distinct communities—in addition to the Anglophone and Francophone communities, also the First Nations (indigenous peoples and persons belonging to them) as well as immigrants and their communities—and for their full integration into Canadian society.

Canadian multicultural policy and its evolution—with its positive and negative effects and experiences—have had an impact on the elaboration and development of European policies. Regardless of some resistance in many environments, the majority of European countries have introduced at least some elements of multiculturalism and/or interculturalism in their cultural and (im)migration policies—even in cases when they have failed to recognize the existence of ethnic minorities. In addition to the development of standards for the protection of (traditional) national minorities, where the Council of Europe has played a central role, the basic standards for the protection of immigrants (especially (im)migrant workers) have slowly started to be developed as well. We expect this process to be slow and gradual and would request the cooperation of all relevant actors in building the necessary social consensus for the introduction of higher minority protection standards; however, from the perspective of multiculturalism and successful management of the existing and ever-growing diversity in European societies, we would hope that the standards for the protection of immigrants would reach the level of the current standards for the protection of national minorities. The existing international standards define the (special) rights of national minorities as the rights of persons belonging to those minorities, thereby stressing their individual nature. In this context, it is important to note that many rights of persons belonging to minorities can only be exercised in community with others, which is also recognized in some international political and legal documents. However, regardless of several requests and attempts to introduce and develop also the collective protection of minorities, which have to a certain extent been realized in a few European states, there is no doubt that

⁹ See, for example, Ramón Maíz Suárez and Ferran Requejo Coll, Democracy, Nationalism, and Multiculturalism (Taylor & Francis, Routledge, London, New York, 2005); Taylor, Multiculturalism ..., op.cit. note 7; Walter Temelini, "Canada's Multiculturalism Policy: Past, Present And Future—From a Canadian Policy to a World Philosophy", in Mitja Žagar, Boris Jesih and Romana Bešter (eds.), The Constitutional and Political Regulation of Ethnic Relations and Conflicts (Institute for Ethnic Studies, Ljubljana, 1999), 73-84; Gökçe Yurdakul and Y. Michal Bodemann (eds.), Citizenship and Immigrant Incorporation: Comparative Perspectives on North America and Western Europe (Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2007).

the existing international standards insist on their individual nature. ¹⁰ It is important to note that the European Union (EU) also recognizes the importance of cultural diversity and pluralism—which has been reflected in EU treaties since the Maastricht Treaty and is included in diverse policies, especially in policies and programmes for the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity and in the field of education. ¹¹ Although these issues are paid less attention than some other economic and political issues, the EU showed their importance by declaring 2008 the Year of Multicultural Dialogue.

A key content of multiculturalism, interculturalism and integration is social inclusion that is based on the principles of non-discrimination and equality and on human rights and freedoms. Diverse concepts and policies of (social) inclusion were central for different models of the welfare state and have influenced the development of different concepts of integration of immigrants and their communities as well. They have impacted also the shaping and content of migration (and especially immigration) policies. Those countries that treated immigrants as 'temporary guest workers' have paid certain attention to their inclusion and integration into the labour market, social security and pension systems and to their economic equality/status, ignoring their full integration in

- "1. The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore.
- Action by the Community shall be aimed at encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, supporting and supplementing their action in the following areas:
 - improvement of the knowledge and dissemination of the culture and history of the European peoples,
 - conservation and safeguarding of cultural heritage of European significance,
 - non-commercial cultural exchanges,
 - artistic and literary creation, including in the audiovisual sector."

These references to cultural diversity show that EU treaty law does recognize the importance of these issues for the EU and for a common European identity.

¹⁰ See, for example, Mitja Žagar, "Rights of Ethnic Minorities: Individual and/or Collective Rights? Some New(er) Trends in Development and the (Universal) Nature of Human Rights—the European Perspective", 1(4) *Journal of International Relations* (1997), 29-48.

For example, the Treaty Establishing the European Community, signed 25 March 1957, entered into force 1 January 1958, at http://eur-lex.europa.eu/en/treaties/dat/12002E/pdf/12002E_EN.pdf, in its Art. 3(1)(q) declares that "[f] or the purposes set out in Article 2, the activities of the Community shall include" also "a contribution to education and training of quality and to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States". Art. 149(1) states: "[t] he Community shall contribute to the development of quality education by encouraging cooperation between Member States and, if necessary, by supporting and supplementing their action, while fully respecting the responsibility of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of education systems and their cultural and linguistic diversity". Art. 149(2) determines as a key Community action "developing the European dimension in education, particularly through the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States". Especially important in this context is Title XII, 'Culture', with its Art. 151, which states:

other spheres of life on the grounds of the belief that soon their 'guest workers' would return to their countries of origin. However, in reality, most of those 'guest workers' and their families (now already in their second and third generations) stayed permanently in their host societies—forcing the host countries and their governments to re-examine their immigration and integration policies and strategies. Immigration and integration policies of countries that recognized the fact that immigrants had come to stay permanently (or, at least, for a longer period of time) developed different approaches regarding their (social) content, nature and intensity. Among them were policies of open discrimination, exclusion and segregation of immigrants, as well as policies of their (involuntary/forced) assimilation, which were options that are today considered unacceptable by democratic standards and a violation of human rights. On the contrary, voluntary assimilation of immigrants is considered acceptable—especially if it actually leads to their full integration and ensures their equality. However, the preferred options would be full integration of immigrants (and their communities) into their host societies and their actual (economic, social, cultural) equality based on the concepts and policies of multiculturalism and interculturalism. Different concepts of and approaches to inclusion and integration of immigrants and distinct communities into contemporary diverse societies will be presented in the following sections of this contribution.

At this point, however, in Europe, we should stress the existence of different views and perceptions of migrations and their impact on the structure(s), culture(s) and nature(s) of host societies. Often, their common characteristics and contents might be positions and (negative) reactions that point out security risks and dilemmas that in respective environments migrations might cause—especially after 9/11. Even more often, there are fears that (constantly growing) immigration might endanger a specific culture, nature and identity of host societies; these fears are usually connected with discussions on the determination of absorption capacities of host societies and on the formulation of immigration policies that would prevent their absorption capacity from being exceeded. The usual consequences of such views are requests for the reduction and successful (restrictive) management of migrations, which includes the termination and prevention of illegal migration. In several environments, we can detect intolerance and xenophobia regarding immigrants and their communities, but also regarding other distinct communities and their members.¹²

Our reality, however, is that migrations (diverse migration flows) worldwide do not only continue, but continue to increase and contribute to the growing diversity of contemporary societies. Furthermore, I would argue that Europe's ageing societies need immigration to ensure their stable future (social and economic) development and current standards of living. We might expect that the social relevance and importance of concepts such as multiculturalism, interculturalism, integration and diversity management, as well as the importance and impact of policies and measures regarding (im)migration, integration and diversity management, will continue to increase. Consequently, the fol-

¹² In addition to discrimination against and hatred of immigrants and their communities, in Europe the most frequent targets of discrimination, intolerance and xenophobia are the Roma and their communities and other marginalized groups, such as, for example, homosexuals.

lowing sections will address the concepts of integration and diversity management and their evolution.

II. Integration: Concepts, their Evolution and Theoretical Framework¹³

Integration, which could be described as a set of approaches, concepts, measures, programmes and policies initially designed and introduced to include immigrants in their host societies has been developed in the past five or six decades. These concepts and policies of integration of immigrants and persons belonging to marginalized communities were conceived as alternative concepts that would replace (or at least complement) diverse concepts of assimilation and segregation that had not produced the desired results in environments where they had been implemented. These developments should be observed in the context of the evolution of human rights after World War II, which has established international (universal and regional/continental) and national standards of human rights and the protection of minorities. From the perspective of human rights, the concepts, policies and practices of involuntary assimilation and segregation should be considered to be violations of human rights—and therefore unacceptable and illegal in democratic societies based on the rule of law and high standards of human rights and in the international community, which has declared peace and human rights to be its central goals. 14 Consequently, it should not be surprising that the EU and many European states have officially declared (social) integration to be their desired goal.

My definition of (social) integration is broader than most 'traditional' definitions that would limit this concept to integration of immigrants. I define (social) integration as a continuous process of voluntary, equal and full inclusion of all individuals, especially those who are marginalized, such as immigrants, persons belonging to ethnic and/or other minorities or deprived (social) groups, as well diverse distinct commu-

¹³ This section is based on the initial integral text (longer version) of my paper "EU Citizenship and its Possible Impacts on Integration of Immigrants: The Perspective of Migrants and Diasporas" (2006, 13-20), which was prepared for the scholarly journal *Humanities Research*, based on a paper that was presented at the conference of the National Europe Centre of the Australian National University on integration of immigrants in Canberra in 2006. Since due to the limited space in the special thematic issue of the journal all accepted texts had to be reduced in length, this text was revised and cut for the publication in 2008.

See, for example, the Charter of the United Nations, signed 26 June 1945, entered into force 24 October 1945, at http://www.un.org/aboutun/charter/. The best known of the unacceptable policies and practices of involuntary segregation in the world in the post World War II period was the apartheid policy in South Africa, which was condemned and isolated by the international community and the UN, which also imposed international sanctions on this country. There was also a vigorous public (awareness-raising and political) campaign worldwide that tried to present the true nature of this segregationist system and society and to mobilize the broadest possible public in the fight against such policies and practices and to generate support for the fight against apartheid in South Africa. Although often international sanctions (also due to the specific interests of some states that do not want to jeopardize their substantial economic interests) have proven to be less effective than expected, they contributed to the problems of the apartheid regime and, finally, helped in the process of transformation in South Africa that, finally, brought an end to the apartheid regime.

nities (as collective entities) into societies where they live. The bases of this gradual and continuous process are human rights and the principles of democracy, solidarity, equality and (social) justice. The central aim is the (social) inclusion of all individuals, especially of (im)migrants and persons belonging to minorities, distinct and marginalized communities, as well as of these communities, into a democratic society that recognizes the existence of all diversities and pays adequate respect to them. Recognizing their different starting positions and their specific interests, the process of integration should not only ensure their equal inclusion into social processes and relations, but also establish their equal position. In this context, integration policies should focus on the individual, as well as collective, dimensions of inclusion and integration. Consequently, they should prevent and combat discrimination, social exclusion, isolation and marginalization of individuals, minorities and distinct communities/groups. Additionally, they should spell out, determine, develop and promote measures, programmes, activities and active policies that facilitate equal and voluntary integration without assimilation pressures. Founded on human rights, integration policies should be based on the highest standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including minority rights and the protection of minorities, multiculturalism and/or interculturalism.¹⁵

Successful democratic policies in general, but especially successful integration policies in diverse societies, demand an active role of the state, which should—taking existing possibilities, resources and capabilities into account—ensure, promote and develop adequate conditions for voluntary, holistic, equal and full integration of individuals and distinct communities in all spheres of life. Integration policies should be continuous democratic processes that request the permanent active and equal participation of all spheres of society, including immigrants and persons belonging to minorities and/or distinct communities, in all phases. To be effective and adequate, integration policies need to evolve and develop constantly. They have to be updated and revised based on a process of evaluation, taking into account developments and changing circumstances and interests in a specific society. In my view, integration and integration policies are the foundations and key elements of diversity management in contemporary plural, diverse and asymmetrical societies.

I would consider the standards set by the Council of Europe documents (especially by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed 4 November 1950, entered into force 3 September 1953, CETS No. 5, at http://www.conventions.coe.int; but also the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, adopted 1 February 1995, entered into force 1 February 1998, CETS No. 157, at http://www.conventions.coe.int; European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, adopted 5 November 1992, entered into force 1 March 1998, CETS No. 148, at http://www.conventions.coe.int) as the minimal standards and would encourage respective countries to develop higher national standards.

¹⁶ Mitja Žagar, "Nekaj misli o politiki integracije romske skupnosti v Sloveniji", 41 Razprave in gradivo (2002), 149.

¹⁷ The integration process and integration policies are presented in a scheme in Appendix I.

¹⁸ Mitja Žagar, "Diversity Management—Evolution of Concepts: International, Constitutional, Legal and Political Regulation and Management of Ethnic Pluralism and Relations, including Prevention, Management and/or Resolution of Crises and Conflicts as Components of Diversity Management", 52 Razprave in gradivo (2007), 6-37.

The complex definition of (social) integration that I have developed for this study is just one of several definitions of integration that can be found in the literature and several international and national legal and political documents. ¹⁹ Among these numerous definitions, I would single out one that was very influential in developing the concept and policies of integration worldwide. The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) definition of integration of immigrants from 1952 describes integration as a:

[G]radual process by which new residents become active participants in the economic, social, civic, cultural and spiritual affairs of a new homeland. It is a dynamic process in which values are enriched through mutual acquaintance, accommodation and understanding. It is a process in which both the migrants and their compatriots find an opportunity to make their own distinctive contributions.²⁰

This definition illustrates well the central goal of integration, which was to replace the concepts of segregation and assimilation of immigrants and all 'others' that were in their characteristics and identities different from the majority population or dominant social structures. Historically, there have been several concepts, models, policies and practices of segregation and assimilation in different environments and historic epochs. Regardless of differences, they all aimed at the reduction of diversity and homogenization of specific environments and communities. Their nature and goals were compatible with the traditional concept of single nation-states presented above. Consequently, such outcomes have not been unacceptable for the early concepts of integration, which, however, rejected involuntary and forced assimilation or segregation. Different concepts, approaches, models, policies and practices of integration could be described as liberal (civic), communitarian (or multicultural) and liberal pluralism.21 These (modern) concepts and models of integration have been developed recently—after World War II and especially since the 1960s and 1970s. Their common basis, characteristics and, simultaneously, goals are—or at least should be—the recognition and respect of diversities and (the principle of) equality, which should provide the basis, framework and conditions for voluntary and equal coexistence and cooperation of all individuals and distinct communities in a certain plural environment.

¹⁹ We can find several definitions of integration in the literature and diverse political and legal documents. Sharing certain common characteristics, these definitions might differ substantially in their details and specific dimensions, reflecting the specific views and aims of their creators. An extensive list and overview of definitions and concepts and some relevant documents can be found in Romana Bešter, *Integracijska politika – politika integracije imigrantov: Teoretični model in študija primera Slovenije*, Ph.D. thesis on file at the Univerza v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za družbene vede (2006), 13-48.

²⁰ Cited in Canadian Council for Refugees, "Best Settlement Practices. Settlement Services for Refugees and Immigrants in Canada", Canadian Council for Refugees, February 1998, at http://www.web.net/~ccr/bpfina1.htm.

²¹ See, for example, Sara Nikolić, On the Road to Empowerment: The Role of Romani NGOs in Romani Integration in Macedonia, M.A. thesis on file at the University of Sarajevo and University of Bologna (2006), 10-20.

As mentioned above, democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms, solidarity, equal rights, equality and justice and adequate policies of non-discrimination should be the common content and basis of all models and policies of (social) integration, including integration of immigrants. For integration of immigrants in liberal—civic models of integration that build unity on democratic political nation (people), citizenship (for which some documents and scholars use the term nationality) and its acquisition remain very important and relevant. Schnapper nicely illustrates this approach when she states:

[T]he nation is best defined by its aim, which is to transcend through citizenship particularities, whether they be biological (or perceived as such), historical, economic, social, religious or cultural; to define the citizen as an abstract individual, without particular identification or label, below or beyond his concrete characteristics. What makes the modern nation specific is that it integrates all populations into a community of citizens and it legitimizes the action of the state—its instrument—by this community; so it implies universal suffrage—all citizens involved in choosing their governments and judging the way power is exercised.²²

Such (liberal-civic) models of integration pay no importance to the ethnic, cultural, linguistic, religious and other diversities that exist in every plural society. They strictly follow the principle of non-discrimination and absolutely equal treatment of everybody.²³ This approach considers all of the above-mentioned differences and diversities to be located within the private sphere of the individual, believing that they have no influence over the status of individuals and their situation and position in the public sphere. Considering the importance of citizenship for the liberal-civic model of integration, we would expect that states following it would stimulate and make as easy as possible the naturalization of immigrants, thereby enabling their full integration into a society. However, reality is often different. We should mention the case of France (which is usually considered to be a typical case of the liberal-civic model), where the failure of their model and policies of integration became evident especially during the ethnic rioting there in 2005, which was triggered to a large extent by inadequate inclusion and integration of immigrants and other marginalized individuals, who, regardless of official declarations and policies, remain excluded and marginalized and are often discriminated against (openly or indirectly); the police brutality that was a direct inducement to riots was in many ways just the reflection of the above-described reality. Hence, it should not come as a surprise that, in addition to requests for improvement in their social and economic conditions, the rioters demanded adequate integration programmes and measures.

Communitarian models of integration recognize, respect and take into account the existence of diversity and distinct communities. Moreover, they consider respect for and the adequate treatment, organization and management of these diversities to be among

²² Dominique Schnapper, "The Idea of Nation", 2(18) Qualitative Sociology (1995), 184 (emphasis in original).

²³ For example, John Rawls, A Theory of Justice (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999), 11.

the central needs and tasks of modern plural societies.²⁴ Their advocates recognize and respect the existence, needs and rights of persons belonging to distinct communities, as well as distinct communities themselves, and try to ensure their (special minority) protection. Often, these models put communities and their rights before individuals and individual rights, which is the main criticism of critics who point to the incompatibility of these models with concepts of (individualistic) liberal democracy.²⁵ Among the solutions that can contribute to better diversity management in contemporary pluralist societies, communitarian models offer decentralization, devolution, autonomy, setting up of (administrative) borders, federalization, partition and dissolution of existing states, which might lead to the establishment of new sovereign states.²⁶ Ideally, these solutions can be reached in a peaceful and democratic way. However, these models might not be the most appropriate way to facilitate the integration of immigrants.

Liberal pluralist models of integration try to combine and synergize the positive elements of liberal–civic and communitarian models. Such integration combines and includes respect for human rights, including minority rights and recognition of separate ethnic identities, fighting prejudice and discrimination, enforcement of anti-discrimination laws, and some modification of institutions of the dominant culture, making them more accommodating to cultural differences. Concepts of national identity and integration should be tolerant and pluralist in their nature. Additionally, Kymlicka points out that an important element of inclusion is adequate representation of geographic and non-territorial constituencies in the public sphere. Such a concept of integration, putting an important emphasis on minority rights, contains elements enabling an ethnocultural group to participate in society on an equal basis, while retaining its separate ethnic identity. Consequently, Nikolić concludes that:

Successful integration requires the willingness of both the minority and the majority, a two-way approach. The majority needs to understand that successful integration of a minority is in the benefit of the society as a whole, as it enables better overall social and economic development. In parallel, it is important for the minority group to play a leading part in constructing its own path to empowerment.²⁸

Basically, my model of integration could be classified among the diverse liberal pluralism models. However, unlike most other models in that group that focus on individual minority rights, it stresses also their collective dimension. In my view, minority rights are simultaneously individual and collective in their nature and should provide adequate protection, status and position both to an individual belonging to distinct (minority) communities, as well as to those communities as specific collective entities. Consequently, considering its specifics, it could be said that my definition of (social) integration and

²⁴ See, for example, Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition ...", op.cit. note 7, 75-106.

²⁵ See, for example, Nikolić, op.cit. note 21, 16.

²⁶ For example, Michael Walzer, "The Politics of Difference: Statehood and Toleration in a Multicultural World", 2(10) Ratio Juris (1997), 174.

²⁷ See, for example, Kymlicka, op.cit. note 7, 176.

²⁸ Nikolić, *op.cit.* note 21, 19.

a specific model of integration built upon it might constitute a specific model that I describe as an "all-inclusive model of (social) integration" that addresses (the needs and interests of) and includes individually persons belonging to ethnic and other minorities, immigrants and marginalized individuals and collectively ethnic and other minorities, but also all other distinct communities. Consequently, we should stress again that such integration and integration policies should be based on respect for human rights and the adequate protection of minorities, on the principles of democracy, equality and non-discrimination, tolerance, solidarity and social justice, democratic inclusion and participation, and the rule of law.²⁹ In this context, the active participation of all relevant actors is required for the success of such a process of (social) integration. These actors include the state and its institutions, public and private institutions and companies with public functions, the media, and all relevant institutions, organizations and associations of civic society, including the economy. Ideally, all inhabitants of a country should be included in a successful process of (social) integration. However, it is especially important that the (social, economic, political and legal conditions for) active, voluntary and equal participation of persons belonging to minorities and immigrants, as well as their distinct communities and their organizations, is enabled and stimulated—which should be a direct obligation and responsibility of the state.³⁰

III. DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY: A CATCH WORD OR A WORKABLE ALTERNATIVE:³¹

I consider integration policies and a successful process of (social) inclusion and integration to be key components and preconditions of successful diversity management in plural societies. In this context, we could describe diversity management as a set of strategies, policies, concepts and approaches, programmes, measures and activities that should ensure equality, equal possibilities, participation and inclusion in all spheres of social, economic and political life (both public and private life) for all individuals and communities within a society, especially for immigrants, persons belonging to national and other minorities, marginalized individuals, minorities and other distinct communities. This should be done in a way that would enable the preservation, coexistence and development of their specific characteristics, cultures and identities, but also their interaction, cooperation, transformation and development of new cultures and identities. Consequently, measures, programmes and activities should be developed and carried out that, on the one hand, prevent social exclusion, negative stereotyping, discrimination, racism and xenophobia and similar negative phenomena, and, on the other hand, stimulate and promote tolerance and equal cooperation and inclusion, intercultural education and better knowledge of existing diversities, voluntary integration based on the recognition and respect of diversities and distinct identities, economic and social development, etc. Speaking specifically of integration measures, programmes and activities for immigrants, which was the initial focus of integration policies, should include

²⁹ See, for example, Bešter, op.cit. note 19, 71.

³⁰ Relevant actors, factors and the institutional framework of integration and integration policies are presented in schemes in Appendix II and Appendix III.

³¹ This section is based upon Zagar, *op.cit.* note 18, 6-37.

assistance immediately upon their arrival in the host country, training and teaching of official languages and other languages, the provision of information relevant for immigrants, as well as training and educational programmes that can assist their integration and promote their belonging in the receiving society.³² Taking into account that conflicts are normal phenomena in every plural environment, successful diversity management and integration policies demand the establishment and development of functional mechanisms and institutions for prevention, management and resolution of crises and conflicts.³³

So defined, diversity management might be presented as the broadest framework and concept (that includes necessary strategies, policies, measures, programmes and activities) for the regulation and management of countless pluralities, diversities and asymmetries in contemporary societies. As the developments in the 1990s and early 2000s have shown, in this context, diversity management needs to pay special attention to ethnic and cultural pluralism and relations, protection of minorities, prevention, management and/or resolution of crisis and conflict (especially of those crises and conflicts perceived and interpreted as ethnic ones). The very name of the concept is to a certain extent accidental, but it reflects its nature and main content very well. Namely, in (political and scholarly) debates on multiculturalism and interculturalism in the 1990s, a need was stressed to develop a concept that would enable modern societies to regulate and manage all diversities and asymmetries that exist in them. In a search for an adequate name, the phrase 'diversity management' was introduced, which soon became popular and started to be used as a catch phrase. As is often the case, the name and concept(s) were borrowed from different sources, disciplines and fields, such as biology and ecology in natural sciences, where they are most frequently used in the context of preserving and managing biodiversity and existing resources that are crucial issues for future development and survival, or economy and (business and public) management and the social sciences, where they are most frequently used in connection with the prevention of all kinds and forms of discrimination and regarding the management of resources, human resources and workforce that might be (internally) diverse according to different criteria, including language(s), culture(s) and ethnicity.³⁴

In discussing the management of diversities, we should be aware that, in addition to plurality and diversity of diversities and asymmetries within every contemporary

³² Bešter, op.cit. note 19, 73-74.

³³ Fields and issues that are important for integration and should be included in integration policies are presented in Appendix IV.

See, for example, Carol J. Pierce Colfer (ed.), The Equitable Forest: Diversity, Community, and Resource Management (Resources for the Future, Center for International Forestry Research, Bogor, Washington, DC, 2005); Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis, Productive Diversity: A New, Australian Model for Work and Management (Pluto Press, Annandale, 1997); Mario Polèse and Richard Stren (eds.), The Social Sustainability of Cities: Diversity and the Management of Change (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2000); Norma M. Riccucci, Managing Diversity in Public Sector Workforces (Westview Press, Boulder, 2002); Mari Sako and Hiroki Sato (eds.), Japanese Labour and Management in Transition: Diversity, Flexibility and Participation (Routledge, London, New York, 1997); and Debra L. Shapiro, Mary Ann Von Glinow and Joseph L.C. Cheng (eds.), Managing Multinational Teams: Global Perspectives (Elsevier JAI, Amsterdam, San Diego, 2005).

society, there are substantial differences among individual societies, which constitute additional dimensions of diversities and complicate their management.³⁵ However, a simple post-modern approach that focuses on partial and specific characteristics might not be appropriate and sufficient in this context, since for successful management of diversities one should take into account also the whole, global picture with all its dimensions and relevant (social) contexts. In other words, effective diversity management should provide a normative and actual framework in which all different existing and possible socially relevant diversities and asymmetries could be detected, expressed and recognized, but also taken into account in social and political processes when participating actors desire so and express their interests. In this process, the conditions, needs, interests, rights (including duties) and actions of every possible and detectable actor (mostly diverse collective entities with their formal or informal forms of organization, but also individuals) should be taken into account and the existing system with its institutions should provide a formal and institutional framework for the permanent coordination, harmonization and realization of diverse interests and for the formulation of (harmonized) common interests. Consequently, diversity management is a useful tool for the creation, promotion and strengthening of social cohesion in diverse societies, based on recognition and respect for existing and possible diversities—taking into account that societies (as well as all their components), rather than being static and permanent categories, are processes with their temporal dimension in constant evolution and transformation. In this context, diversity management should provide for democratic expression, reconciliation and coordination of all detected and expressed interests and for the formulation of common interests—shared by all or almost all members of a society—that are the long-term basis for internal cohesion and the stable existence and development of diverse societies. If such shared common interests do not exist and do not bind together and lead collective actions of diverse collective entities and individuals, the consequence might be a deficit in the necessary social cohesion, which might lead to the escalation of tensions, crises and conflicts, especially in cases when certain collective entities—most frequently, distinct communities and individuals—feel exploited and/or discriminated against. We should, therefore, consider the adequate protection of all existing minorities and distinct communities, based on minority rights and their established standards, to be necessary elements of diversity management in contemporary societies. An additional necessary component and precondition of successful diversity management is successful (social) integration, as presented above.

Considering that diversities, asymmetries, the existence of diverse and sometimes conflicting interests, and consequently possibilities for escalation of conflicts, are normal phenomena in all plural societies, necessary components of diversity management should be also strategies and mechanisms for the prevention of escalation of crises and conflicts and for their management and/or resolution in cases when preventive strategies, mechanisms and measures do not succeed in preventing their escalation. Consequently, every

³⁵ For the purposes of comparative analysis and easier understanding, we need to classify societies according to their specific nature and specified criteria. Consequently, speaking of their nature, we might differentiate between pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial societies (which are often described as information societies), between pre-modern, modern and post-modern societies, while sometimes one hears even of post-post-modern societies.

strategy of diversity management should include also strategies, policies, measures and activities that can be applied in post-conflict situations and societies—paying special attention to rebuilding and developing the economy and infrastructure, rehabilitation of damaged and destroyed social networks and relations, promotion of human rights (including minority protection), democratization, restoration of trust and conditions for coexistence, but especially to the permanent elaboration, formulation and development of common interests as the basis for equal cooperation in a plural environment. Usually in such circumstances, these elements of the strategy might prove more productive and successful for the rehabilitation of diverse societies than concepts of punitive justice and reconciliation that do not focus on the formulation and development of common interests.

IV. Conclusion

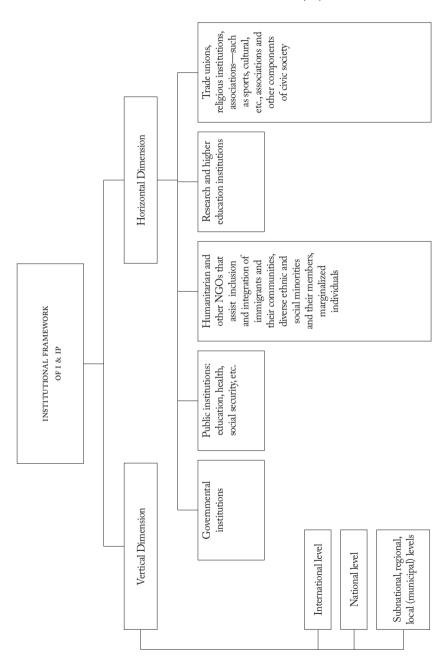
To conclude, I would say that, at this stage, diversity management and integration as its essential component are still more catch words and political proclamations than a set of elaborated and successful strategies, policies, measures and activities. However, in different environments (especially at a micro level and in relatively well-integrated societies) and on different occasions, we can see gradual developments of (im)migration policies and might detect some elements of successful diversity management. In my view, analyzing especially the case of the Balkans and the tragic historic developments there in the past decades, what was and is lacking the most was/is a universal long-term strategy that would define key principles, goals and elements of diversity management and would establish an effective system for the detection and early warning of possible tensions, crises and conflicts and their escalation in a certain environment, thereby initiating and directing preventive strategies, policies, measures and activities in time to prevent their escalation. I believe that the most effective preventive strategies, policies and mechanisms would be those that would elaborate, constantly reaffirm and develop common interests that provide for a necessary cohesion of a diverse society. Hopefully, all relevant actors in a certain plural environment would agree that successful diversity management is not just their desired (possibly long-term) goal, but a workable necessity that is worth all efforts and investment—especially considering the possible negative consequences and harm of the uncontrolled escalation of conflicts and their transformation into violent ones, which we saw in different parts of the world.

Appendix I. A Basic Scheme: Process of Integration and the Model of Integration Policy

PROCESS OF INTEGRATION (I) AND INTEGRATION POLICIES (IP) Principles of I & IP Goals of I & IP Main fields and Institutional Legal framework Target groups issues of I & IP framework Programme of measures and activities General policies Special policies Implementation Monitoring and evaluation Mechanisms and procedures for development, improvements, changes and better efficiency of I & IP

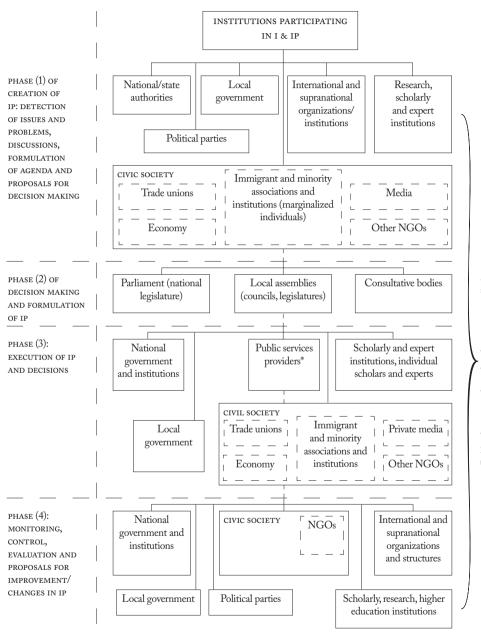
Source: based upon Bešter, op.cit. note 19, 70.

Appendix II. Scheme: Institutional Framework of Integration (I) and Integration Policies (IP)



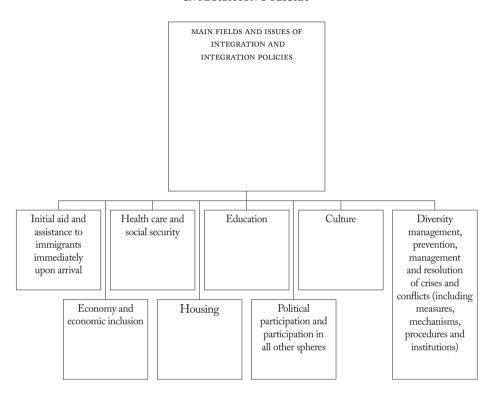
Source: based upon Bešter, op.cit. note 19,78.

Appendix III. Scheme: Roles of institutions in the process of integration (I) and integration policies (IP)



^{*} Education, child care, health care and security, social security and services, public media, etc.

Appendix IV. Scheme: Main Fields and Issues of Integration and Integration Policies



Source: based upon Bešter, op.cit. note 19, 87.