

***Diversity-Management Strategies (DMS)
and their implications
for social cohesion
and immigrants' integration***

ICSW Expert Meeting, Bratislava, 13-15th June 2004

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Social Cohesion & Cultural Diversity

Immigration is often being perceived as a **threat** to social **cohesion**.

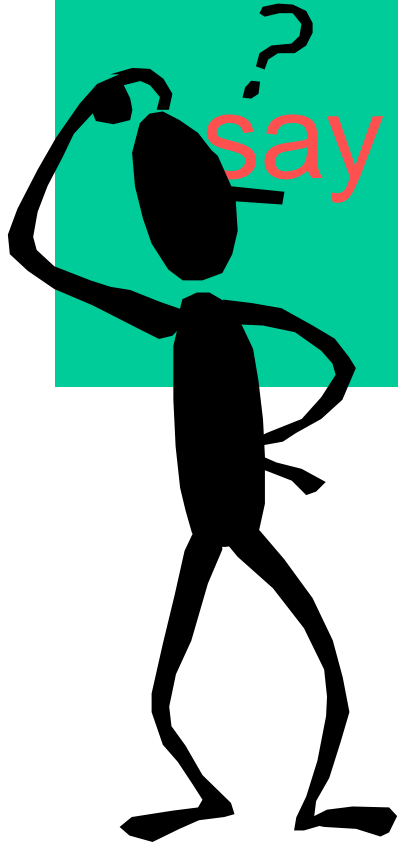
The salient **images** of social cohesion in popular discourse and political rhetoric assume the necessity of a high degree of **likeness** among co-citizens in order to facilitate their **close interaction** .

(Vertovec, 1997)

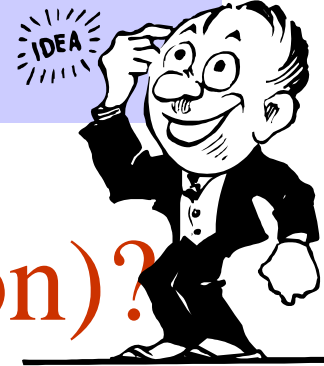
Common understanding of **civil society** or **social capital**, both of which emphasize values such as **trust**, **civic responsibility** and **co-operation**, often assumes that **immigrants' cultural backgrounds** preclude such value structures.

(Vertovec, 1997)

what do we mean when we
say “multicultural” ?



Meanings of the term Multiculturalism



- Descriptive (composition)?



- Political (Opportunity structure)?

- Ideological?



the **demographic** meaning

In this sense, Israel is a truly multicultural society.

According to The 1997 IBS : 20% of its population are Arabs (Muslim, Christian, Druze), 20% are native (third generation +) Israeli Jews, 20% are first or second generation immigrants from the Former Soviet Union, 25% from Muslim states in North Africa and the Middle East; 15% from Western states (e.g. North America, Europe and Australia) (Kazin, 1998).

the **political/structural**
meaning

Access & Equity

power-sharing and equity for
culturally diverse groups:

striving to ensure equal opportunities
and social equality to members of all
cultural groups in the society.

the **ideological** meaning

- attributing **equal value** to all cultures
- perceiving cultural diversity
 - as an **asset**, not a threat
 - an asset to be **nurtured**
 - an asset **for society**, not only for “the other” group/s

the **ideological** meaning

“When we speak of multicultural societies, of minorities and immigrants, we can measure the enrichment and potential for innovation offered in all areas of life in society.

(Chombart de Lauwe, 1987, p144)

DMS

Diversity-Management Strategies

- Segregation
- Assimilation
 - Overt
 - Disguised as
 - Transitory Pluralism
 - Residual Multiculturalism
- Federative Pluralism (*mosaic*)
- Interactive Multiculturalism (*chulnt*)

DMS based on hierarchical treatment of cultures

(Sever, 2003)

Segregation

Segregation is

the “*hierarchical separation of groups; where a more powerful group keeps other group(s) separate and marginalized. At least one language of high status is used to exclude speakers of low status languages*” (Heugh, 1997: 244).

South-African *Apartheid* is one extreme example.

Contexts that
waste
immigrants'

human capital

Human Capital

Previously acquired personal traits

e.g. memory, experience, skill -

that enhance the efficiency of time
spent in specific activities

Human

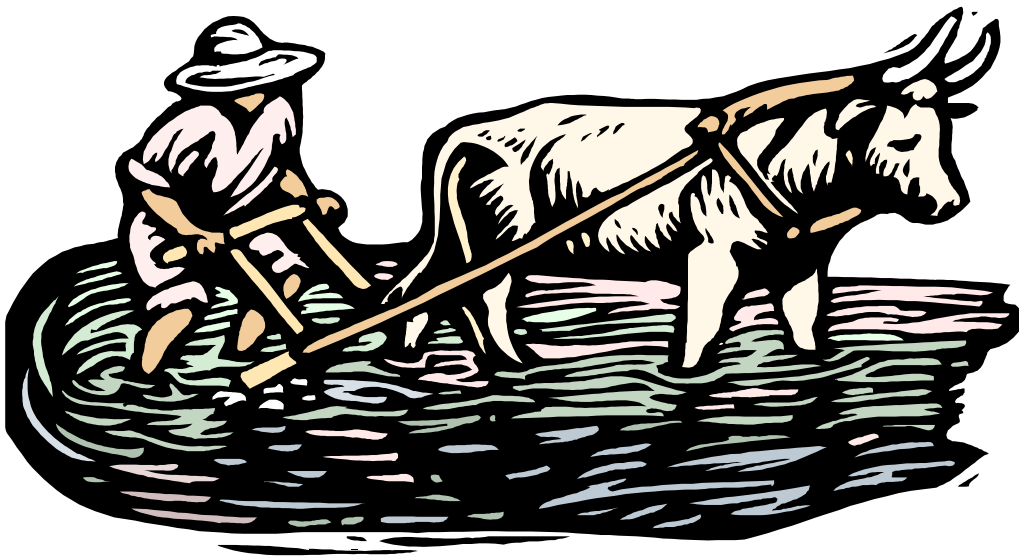
capital

Location-specific

transferable

Overt

Assimilation



Assimilation

- *complete and unconditional **surrender** of one's **own culture** and the **adoption** of the **mainstream culture**, resulting in the **elimination of cultural differences**"*

(Squelch, 1983: 43, quoted by Parker-Jenkins 1995)

- *"the micro-cultures of a country must **rid** themselves of their basic cultural integrities and **adopt** the cultural value system of the dominant culture"*

(Mitchell & Salsbury, 1996; p. 347).

assimilation **wastes**

human capital of
immigrant manpower (e.g
teachers) & parents

assimilation makes
human capital of
immigrant teachers
& parents **worthless**

Loss of
parental
authority

Immigrnat teachers
underrepresented in
education system

Transitory Pluralism



Transitory Pluralism

It's OK for immigrants to hold on to their **culture of origin** and **mother-tongue**, but only as **temporary crutches** that sustain them during the first period of immigration; as soon as they master the dominant language, they are expected to **give up** these crutches and **adopt** the new culture and language (Smolicz 1981).

*In education, this takes the form of providing instruction in ethnic languages and cultures, or even bilingual education itself - but as a kind of **temporary scaffolding**. Its purpose is to help children keep up with their academic knowledge, while they are learning English . Once this is acquired, the ethnic props can be knocked away and education can proceed in English alone...*

(Smolicz 1981, p. 2-3).

An educator from Teachers' College
is amazed to find that ...

*“There are cases of third
generation Puerto-Ricans
in bilingual classes; that
just doesn't make sense!”*

Those who hold such views somehow see **bilingualism** as **un-American**. It may be tolerated for a while as a sort of educational crutch, and its **effectiveness** is then measured solely in relation to children's acquisition and command of **English** and subsequent school **performance** in other subjects

From this perspective, the **benefit** which the **maintenance** of **literacy** in **one's native tongue** confers upon Spanish or Japanese Americans is **never taken into account.**

Their *family unity*, their *identity* and their *right* to maintain their native culture are ignored, while ‘*Americanism*’ is ultimately *equated* with the *way of life of the dominant group.*”

Residual Multiculturalism



Residual Multiculturalism



- *tokenism* (Squelch, 1993; in Parker-Jenki

- *culinary multiculturalism*

(Arnold 1997)

- “three S’ s: Saris, Steel band & Samosas

“ (Massey, 1991)

Residual Multiculturalism

- Maintenance of **peripheral**, exotic components of community cultures, such as folklore, food, ethnic customs and costumes is **encouraged**. Some of these components are adopted into the mainstream .
- **Central** components of the non-dominant culture, such as language, educational conceptions etc are **excluded** from such acceptance



Reflections in education

Superficial teaching practices, based on the **incorporation** of fragmented pieces, or lessons on cultural activities, into an existing **ethnocentric curriculum** (Banks, 1989)

DMS attributing equal value to cultures

(Sever, 2003)



Based on **Multicultural ideology**

- **Mosaic**

Federative Pluralism.

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Interactive

Multiculturalism

mosaic

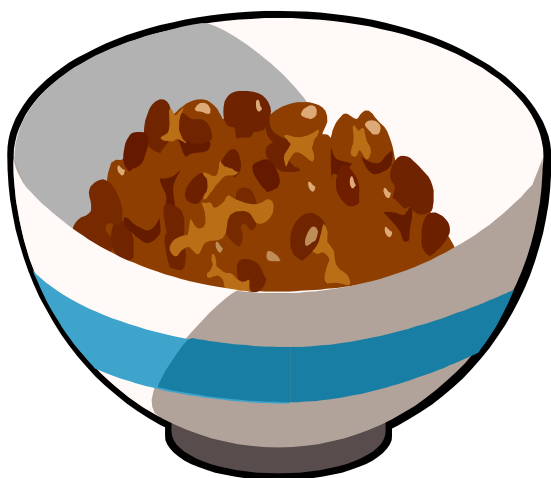


Mosaic

- *a federation of non-similar components*
- *pluralism for society as a whole (a pluralism of groups) but individuals within these would be mostly mono-cultural*

(Smolicz 1981: 9)

chulnt



Chulnt


Interactive multiculturalism ...

aims at “*a balance of shared and core values; with an overarching set of **shared** or supra-ethnic values, the most basic one being the **value** of **multiculturalism** itself*” (Smolicz 1981)

is a *two way process whereby aspects of cultures are shared and a culture becomes **modified** through **contact** with another culture. Each culture, however, maintains its essential aspects*”. (Squelch 1993 p. 127)

DMS

& human capital of
immigrant manpower –
implications for
vocational re-training



How to waste
human capital of
immigrant manpower

Based on: Sever, R. & E. Mass (2003): *The “Empty Vessels” Fallacy: Vocational Training of Immigrants from Developing Countries in Western Economies*. Paper presented at the IVETA regional conference on Regional and International Cooperation in Technical and Vocational Education and Training. Ankara, October 20-22, 2003, Ankara University

Assessing vocational re-training policies

Bipolar scale

a

b

Assumptions

about immigrants' human/ vocational capital

Absent

("empty vessels")

Existing as **location-specific** capital that needs to become **transferable**

Focus of

vocational re-training

On **Missing** human capital (deficit approach)

On **Existing** human capital (assistance with transferability)

Structure & Climate

Blind to accessibility barriers

Multiculturally oriented, builds on immigrants' networks and assets

Instructional Contents & Strategies

Assumed **Universal**; culturall neutral/alienated

Culturally relevant

Vocational training agencies catering to immigrants

Immigrants' origin

- **Western**
economies
- **Third-world**
economies

Treatment

Build on the immigrants' **prior vocational experience & expertise**

Start at the **very beginning** of vocational education, aimed at **people who know nothing**

Action Research

(July 2001-June 2002) in two Israeli *Absorption-Centers*

a. 250-300 immigrants from **Ethiopia**

b. 30-50 immigrants from **Cuba**

Data Collection

1. Staff's perceptions

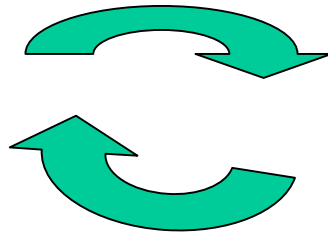
- a. 39 in-depth interviews and personal meetings with leading staff members.
- b. 10 small-group sessions.

2. Immigrants' former occupations in homeland- personal intake interviews with:

- a. 16 adult Cuban immigrants
- b. 78 adult Ethiopian immigrants

findings

a **vicious circle** had evolved



The vicious circle – Ia



Staff's perception of immigrants:

ignorant, dependent, helpless, unable to make their own decisions.

Ethiopian immigrants

- *They have no language, can't even say hello in Hebrew*
- *They don't think for themselves*
- *They came from darkness [there] to light [here]*
- *They have no motivation whatsoever*

The vicious circle – Ib

Staff's perception

Cuban immigrants

- *It's very difficult for them, they have to make a leap from 0 (zero) to 10.*
- *Many of them are low level [of intelligence?] , don't get it, don't understand.*
- *They don't read books, don't think, everything has to be fed into their mouth... Fidel [Castro] didn't allow them to think.*

The vicious circle - II



Teaching them everything,
making all decisions for them,
expecting them to gratefully accept low paying
unskilled job offers.

- *I'm always explaining them what "time" is.
Nobody comes with a watch*
- *I explain how to use a key to open a door...
...how to use the water tap*

The vicious circle - IIIa

The **immigrants' responses** were a mixture of:

- acquired helplessness
- passive resistance
- incomppliance
- overt dissatisfaction
- anger.

In Ethiopia

I'm a teacher of the Amharic and English languages.

Here I'm nothing"

The vicious circle - IIIb



Descriptions of the situation as the staff see it

Cuban immigrants:

Even after a year [in the absorption centre] many of them can't make a doctor's appointment by themselves.

The vicious circle - IIIc



Ethiopian immigrants:

We explain and explain over and over again – and nothing changes. The social worker advised me to lower my expectations for cleanliness.

Some [immigrant] women ...just sit outside all day long instead of taking care of the apartment ; they seem to find it more important to sit in the sun

The vicious circle - IV



The staff feels **professionally ineffective**:
their efforts and dedication were fruitless

What is especially difficult for the staff is their [the Cuban immigrants'] different pace and different perception of things.

- *We're angry with the [Ethiopian] immigrants for not meeting our expectations.*

The vicious circle - V



Staff **entrenched** in their perception of the immigrants as a bunch of ignorant, ungrateful, helpless people.

- *If you don't "sit on their tail", they don't do what you expect them to do*
- *Their priorities are different from what we're trying to give them*
- *For them not to work is not perceived as a big problem, because back there in Cuba many of them didn't work and still got paid*

Results of quick survey-

A surprising variety of **vocational histories**
and **vocational experience**

Among **16 Cuban** immigrants

Journalism; Technicians; Secretarial work; Food industries; Transportation; Fashion; Ironwork; Housekeeping; Gardening

Among **78 Ethiopian** immigrants

Agriculture; Housing & Roads; Textile; Crafts; Commerce; hairdressing; Health & healing; Religious services; Community and education; Industrial worker.

Impact

Explicate **latent assumptions** about the immigrants; gain **insight** into the vicious circle

- *We were locked in a dead-end*
- *We've been nurturing helplessness and couldn't understand why they were not getting independent*
- *They had a life [before migrating] and here everything is different*
- *I never inquired seriously about their [prior] work or education, I assumed that it won't be of any use; what information could such inquiry provide?*

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