

# **Post Multicultural Challenges for Cultural Heritage Managers in the Age of Migrations**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The crisis of multiculturalism is commonly associated with the intensification of international migrations and their social consequences in the host countries. This paper suggests an alternative discourse within both scholarly and policy debate about our common future in post-multicultural societies. We affirm the crisis of Western values - begun for reasons other than the intensification of migrations - has to be considered as one of the main causes of the crises of multiculturalism. This consideration represents the pivot of our theoretical framework as well as a deal to think about within the policy making process for future cultural policies and cultural heritage management practices. The latter, in order to achieve a sustainable integration in host countries, should aim for the recovery of the host communities' cultural values and, on the other hand, the promotion of migrants' cultures. In this sense, post multicultural policies should explicitly aim for the improvement of intercultural competencies within society.

## **Key words**

International Migrations, Post multiculturalism, Integration, Cultural heritage management, Cultural policies research

## Introduction

The perception of failure of the multicultural societies is nowadays related to particular events recently occurred in the Western World and, above all, in Europe. In particular, combined with a strong pre-existing Western financial (and identity) crisis, the dramatic escalation of the migratory crisis from Africa and the Middle East towards the Old Continent has brought to light fragilities that one would not expect from a multicultural society like the one we thought we lived in. Wars, dictatorships, lack of economic opportunities, and climate changes are among drivers that fuel the current migrants' phenomenon. In which sociocultural environment are international migratory flows being receiving in Europe? How does this sociocultural scenery influence the policy making process for the management of this epochal phenomenon? In particular, our key issues are: what lessons to be learned from the failure of multiculturalism? And what is the new role of cultural policies and cultural heritage management practices within post-multicultural societies toward the integration of new comers and a healthy coexistence in host countries?

The present conceptual paper presents the result of the exploratory phase of a broader, international investigation on the role of cultural heritage institutions and particularly cultural heritage management practices in the promotion of integration and intercultural dialogue in the context of current migrations. The contribution is twofold. Through triangulation of a) content analysis of official documents and reports; b) interviews with specialists and key actors; c) a direct observation, the paper first outlines an overview on the current international migration phenomenon and its implications in Europe. In doing so, we provide a basis for contextualizing our work and from which to draw evidence for our theoretical considerations and problematization. The scenario is outlined by considering the perspectives of the main parties involved: on the one hand, migrants and refugees (Subsection 1.1) who arrive in a destination, the European Union, which is experiencing a sort of crisis of identity and solidarity, reflected on internal and external policies. On the other, host countries and their communities (Subsection 1.2), among which - Europeans and western population in general - are increasingly raising concerns related with the migrant flows, such as the fear of an "Islamisation of the Old Continent" (Gruber, 2015), also due to the European demographic trends. We witness the emergence of forms of socio cultural closure towards what is perceived as "different", with the erection of barriers (ideological or even physical barriers) against the possibility of a direct contact with migrants and refugees<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, the increased number of

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<sup>1</sup> We adopt along this paper the expression "refugees and migrants" as indicated in the work of Crawley, Duvell, Jones, and Skleparis (2016), in order to reflect the nature of mixed migration flows. We

terrorist attacks carried out in Europe mostly by young European Muslims rather than non-Europeans, represents another reason of concern for European populations and, at the same time, another point of reflection within the study of multiculturalism and its crises.

The challenges and the opportunities of a post-multiculturalist future in the field of integration and healthy coexistence within the receiving societies is explored in the second part of the article, focusing in particular the role of culture and cultural heritage managers within this context. It seems quite evident that such policies must arise from a collective, transdisciplinary debate involving all the social actors, such as political representatives, scientific community, civil society and industry. It is in this context that we place the present work.

## **1. The siege in the age of migration: An overview on the current migrant phenomenon**

"The Siege" is the title of an essay by Franco (2016) on the phenomenon of the current migration toward Europe. It analyses from different points of view the phenomenon of migration and its consequences, such as the bursting up and developing of populist discourses in politics, at national and international level. On the other hand, Basso Peressut and Pozzi (2012) define our time as the "age of migration", based on a question they point out: to what extent the current migrations differ from those occurred in the past? According to these authors, although migrations have always taken place "due to improved possibilities for physical and virtual movement today, they have grown in quantity, rapidity and complexity" (Basso Peressut & Pozzi, 2012, p. 8). We are thus dealing with an increasing, inexorable and highly complex phenomenon.

The following subsections will briefly outline the criticisms of the phenomenon from the point of view of refugees and migrants, as well as, from the point of view of host communities, in particular European countries. We outlined the scenario presented here based on the triangulation of information given by:

a) the content analysis of official documents by United Nations' organisations (i. e. UNHCR, UNICEF) and European organisation (i.e. Frontex) and independent reports from the front line of migrants' crises;

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also refers to refugees and migrants with other expression we found recurrent in the literature, which is "new comers".

b) unstructured interviews with specialists and key actors between January and May 2017 (Table 1);

c) a direct non-participant observation in Crotona<sup>2</sup>, Southern Italy, where we spent 4 different observation periods between 2016 and 2017, with an average duration of 10 days.

Table 1: Key actors involved in exploratory interviews

Country	Occupation	Role within the current international migrations phenomenon
Italy	Italian Navy Officer	Coordinator for the Italian Coast Guard of SAR operations in the Mediterranean
	Anti-mafia pool prosecutor	anti-mafia and human trafficking investigations related with international migration
	Writer and illustrator	Activist for the intercultural dialogue
	Union trader	Political activist
U.K.	International Terrorism Researcher	Researcher in International Organized Crime and Human Trafficking
Tunisia	Member of Parliament	Parliamentarian, promoter of women's rights in Muslim countries and descendant of refugees
Lebanon	Manager	Contractor of immigrants within the country

### 1.1 The migrants' gaze

The reasons which are currently pushing refugees and migrants to leave their countries, their geographical origins, their routes to Europe and aimed destinations had been analysed in depth by Crawley et al. (2016). Migrants flee from areas of extreme poverty or war zones. In both situations, important considerations arise. In the first case, it is worth to mention the study of Curtis and Jones (2017) showing the paradoxical situation persisting in the African continent, full of opportunities for its natural resources, biodiversity and the large number of young workforce and a huge internal market. Nevertheless, most of the inhabitants continue to live in poverty due – according to the report - to the systematic and unfair exploration of resources by industrialized countries, especially in former colonies, as well as due to tax evasion and widespread corruption, penalizing trade policies and unsustainable environmental costs of a development model in which Africa has never took part. About the drama of the exodus from Africa, Nyabola (2017) claim that none of the young people he encountered for his investigation would

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<sup>2</sup> In Italy the system of reception of migrants include the presence – among others – of Reception Centres (Centri di Accoglienza, CDA), offering hospitality to a foreigner who arrives in Italy waiting to be identified, and more specific Asylum Seekers Centres (Centri Accoglienza Richiedenti Asilo, CARA), where those requiring international protection are hosted and where asylum procedures are initiated. Crotona (Italy) is one of the municipalities in the south of Italy where centres of this type exist.

encourage other Africans to attempt the crossing to Europe, but “what European bureaucrats call pull factors, they call hope”.

On the other hand, violence, persecutions and wars represent reasons that motivate migrations. In the Middle East, for instance, there has been an escalation of violence not only after the failure of the Arab spring or with the start of the civil war in Syria in March 2011 (Crawley et al., 2016, p. 3), but also since the beginning of the Iraq war in March 2003. The latter had opened the way to “years of devastation, also making the dialogue between religions and cultures much harder” (Gruber, 2016, p. 182). It worth to mention that – in this specific case - the concern about the maintenance of a connection between migrants and their countries, their origins, undoubtedly exists among migrants and in the civil society that remain in conflict/crises areas. The existence of projects such as Citizens for Syria is an evidence of the existence of such a will. This project aims indeed to maintain the ties of Syrians forced to escape from their cities, through the support of local and international organisations existing inside the Syrian borders.

Other aspects - each one of them particularly complex - are associated with the phenomenon of current international migrations. For instance, the extremely dangerous conditions of the migrants’ journey, the drama of the drownings at the Mediterranean Sea. Once arrived in a receiving country, migrants trapped in forced displacement for such long periods find themselves in a state of limbo, where their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs can remain unfulfilled (UNHCR, 2016). The latter aspect is certainly of great relevance within the point of view of the scope of our study, that of integration policies, and will be resumed in the next sections.

A trait to be highlighted in the scope of our work is the strong presence of children and minors (often unaccompanied) among migrants. Supranational bodies such as United Nations’ organisations and European Union present evidence, quantitative and qualitative data on the phenomenon. Among the latter, also the reasons for the dramatic choice by families to entrust their children to traffickers of human beings and a journey that might end in tragedy. From a regional point of view, UNICEF (2016, p. 11) outlines that approximately one in six of the world ‘child migrants lives in Europe (European Union and free movement zone), and seven in ten children seeking asylum here in 2016 were fleeing from conflict in the Syrian Arab Republic and Afghanistan. The situation is exacerbated by the disappearance of many of these children, once arrived in Europe and, in general, in the country of initial reception for refugees. For instance, in 2016 more than 6,500 unaccompanied children – mainly migrated from Egypt (79%) Eritrea,

Somalia, Afghanistan, Nigeria and Gambia – have just “disappear” after the process of identification, according to a report by UNICEF (2017, p. 20). In percentage terms, children who became “unreachable” after their arrival on the Italian coast have reached the highest incidence in 2015 (34% of unaccompanied minors. 27.4% in 2016) (UNICEF, 2017).

Furthermore, the living conditions provided by the reception countries to minors are often inadequate even from the social point of view. The conditions of these children are often characterized by strong isolation from host communities. For instance, Shackle (2017) highlights that in Lebanon, despite the fact that the country has the highest per capita concentration of refugees in the world, the minors barely interact with Lebanese children (adults are victims of the same condition of isolation and social exclusion in many host countries, as we will see later in this same subsection). The presence of minors implies on the short and long term further social challenges. It primarily concerns rapid decision-making to prevent minors being exposed to risks and, in the long term, undertaking actions that could neutralise xenophobia, discrimination and marginalization. The educational aspect has to be considered within the process of integration. In this context, it is worth to highlight that “despite concerted efforts to expand the provision of education to more refugee children and youth, the weight of numbers means that enrolment rates have been falling in the past few years, even in countries where determined efforts have been made to get more refugee children into school” (UNHCR, 2016, p. 5).

Adults in many of these host countries experience similar condition of social exclusion. According to a testimony collected by Nyabola (2017), a refugee affirms: “Maybe no one is going to fight you on the streets, but when it comes to real integration we have many problems. The Sicilians will stay with the Sicilians, and the refugees together in another place, but they don’t mix”. Our impression during the surveys in Southern Italy, in the city of Crotone where we conducted direct non-participant observation, does not differ from the perception of this refugee. On the other hand, however it is worth to say that there are also spontaneous demonstrations of solidarity on the part of the host community, and NGOs working at local level to integrate new comers. Nevertheless, the absence of effective integration policies and institutional interventions put at risk a peaceful coexistence. In this context, UNHCR (2016, p. 7) claims that “refugees face two journeys, one leading to hope, the other to despair, and It is up to us to help them along the right path”. This affirmation has powerful implications, not just at ethical and moral level, but it also puts us all in the face of new social, political, sectorial challenges for a peaceful coexistence in the Western society.

## **1.2 The European (and Western) gaze**

The arrival in Europe from over a million migrants and asylum-seekers caught us by surprise and dramatically unprepared, and it has caused different reactions within the hosting population, at several level and from different points of view. The impact of the phenomenon on Western and, in particular, European society has undermined the foundations of national and supranational institutions as well as the very idea of solidarity. Feelings of discontent among the resident population are growing in host countries. Maley (2016) highlights that with the arrival of over a million refugees and asylum-seekers, a sense of panic began to spread across Europeans. In this context, facts and myths about immigrants rapidly become source of anxiety and closure within the resident population (Goodhart, 2006).

Growing feeling of xenophobia and islamophobia among European population are direct consequences of different events, which populist and xenophobic discourses denounce being concomitant. Firstly, it is the physical presence of refugees and asylum-seekers, which inevitably has an influence on the everyday life of the host populations. Secondly, the growing number of terrorist attacks carried out by Islamic fundamentalists in Europe, which is fuelling fears and insecurity, and that host communities associate somehow with the phenomenon of international migration. Table 2 presents some data about the escalation of terrorist attack in European cities. In particular, we take into account the status of terrorists, who in most cases are youngsters born and/or educated in Europe, sometimes as descendent of immigrants as part of the so-called second generation (of immigrants), or even asylum seekers. This phenomenon will be briefly analysed in the subsection 3.1.

During our direct observation, the resident population has often expressed the opinion according to which “terrorists arrive with the boats together with the migrants”. In this context, intellectual and specialists are trying to raise awareness about the fact that “migrants have nothing to do with these facts, as well as the millions of Muslims living in Europe, and blaming them means backing terrorists up in their ultimate goal, that is, to break our free society” (Hamid, 2017). Nevertheless, the fact that asylum seekers were actually perpetrators of terrorist attacks (see Table 2) feeds fears and populist discourses in Europe and Western Countries. The political dispute about the way to manage such epochal human occurrence involves many aspects of the phenomenon and different political levels. “Politics of insecurity” (Huysmans, 2006) have in fact a great influence on the perception and reactions of the host countries’ resident populations, extremely

divided on the possible solutions. Such a strong distance between public opinion positions is perceptible in occurrences like the clashes on the Ramblas (Barcelona) between the extreme right activists and antifascists on 18 of August 2017, right a day after a terrorist attack in the city (see Table 3), or the strong presence of counter-protesters against a march by the far-right group English Defence League in Birmingham, on 8 of April 2017.

Nevertheless, there are other episodes are feeding populist discourses and fuelling fear and revulsion within society towards new comers. For instance, the episode occurred in Cologne (Germany) where, during the 2016 New Year celebrations, immigrants committed mass sexual assaults against young German girls. Although it is still not clear how many of the assailants had just arrived in Germany and how many of them were there already for long time, the effect of this episode on the European public opinion about refugees was devastating (Gruber, 2016). Such argument – the linkage “refugee = criminal/rapist” - became solid pretexts for the emergence of populist, xenophobic and islamophobic discourses in Europe and, generally, in the Western countries.

In this context Müller, Sukharchuck, and Polat (2017) denounce the intention of lying by omission or continuing misrepresentation of the facts, as their investigation revealed that dozens of refugees women in Berlin shelters had experienced sexual harassment by German operators and guards, but such information was not spread within Western media. Finally, the direct observation conducted in southern Italy has allowed us to realise that, paradoxically, the social exclusion (situation presented in the previous subsection) is perceived by local communities as a condition desired and aimed by the migrants. For instance, Maley (2016) states that in Britain the perceived (and not well-identified) threat associated to the increasing presence of refugees became a catalyst behind the vote to exit the European Union –the so-called *Brexit*. A “toxic narrative” – as it was defined by Heller and Pezzani (2017) – had also call into question the work of non-governmental organizations committed to mitigating the loss of life of migrants crossing the Mediterranean sea towards Europe (Camilli, 2017; FRONTEX, 2017). The latter dispute is related with both European political disagreements over the way to assist and identify asylum seekers, but also with strong suspects of collusion between some non-governmental international humanitarian organizations (that operate for the recovery of migrants drawing in the Mediterranean waters) and human traffickers.



Table 2. The escalation of terrorist attacks in Europe

Date	Status of the terrorist(s)	Typology	Victims	Status of the terrorist(s)	Claim of responsibility
<b>2017</b>					
17.08	Spain, Barcelona	Vehicle crashed into pedestrians	15	Moroccans grew up in Spain / second-generation immigrants	ISIS
3.06	UK, London	Vehicle crashed into pedestrians/knife	8	Pakistani, English residency living in London/Italian-Moroccan	
22.05	UK, Manchester	Bomb	23	English nationality second-generation immigrant	
7.04	Sweden, Stockholm	Vehicle crashed into pedestrians	5	Asylum seeker	
22.03	UK, London	Vehicle crashed into pedestrians/knife	6	English nationality	
<b>2016</b>					
19.12	Germany, Berlin	Vehicle crashed into pedestrians	12	Asylum seeker	ISIS
26.07	France, Rouen	Gun/Knife	3	French nationality second-generation immigrants	
24.07	Germany, Ansbach	Bomb	1	Asylum seeker	
18.07	Germany, Würzburg	Knife	2	--	
14.07	France, Nice	Vehicle crashed into pedestrians	84	--	
13.06	France, Magnanville	Knife	2	--	
22.03	Belgium, Bruxelles	Bomb (several attacks)	35	Belgian-Moroccan nationality	
<b>2015</b>					
13.11	France, Paris (Bataclan)	Gun/Bomb (several attacks)	129	French nationality second-generation immigrants	ISIS
14.2	Denmark, Copenhagen	Gun	3	Danish nationality	
09.01	France, Paris	Gun	5	French nationality second-generation immigrants	
08.01	France, Paris (Charlie Hebdo)	Gun	17	French nationality second-generation immigrants	
<b>2014</b>					
24.05	Belgium, Bruxelles	Gun	4	French nationality second-generation immigrants	ISIS
<b>2013</b>					
22.05	UK, London	Knife	1	--	-
<b>2012</b>					
9.03	France, Toulouse	Gun	7	Franco-Algerian nationality	--
<b>Previous remarkable terrorist attacks</b>					
2005	UK, London	Bomb (several attacks)	56	British nationality	Al-Qaeda
2004	Spain, Madrid	Bomb (several attacks)	192		

The creation of an international Code of Conduct for search and rescue operations (SAR) undertaken by non-governmental organisations in the Mediterranean Sea<sup>3</sup> imposed in July 2017 by the Italian Government and backed from the European Commission has not solved the dispute. Another open debate – promoted by some European countries – is that of the enclosure of their borders to create obstacles to the arrival of migrants and asylum seekers. In our opinion such a debate perfectly resumed by the question of the political analyst Nyabola (2017) “What’s more valuable – a human life, or the fraying concept of the sanctity of state borders?”.

Migratory flows continue anyway to proceed towards Europe, and we have to be aware about the fact that after providing immediate needs for migrants and refugees, the focus needs to turn to their social and economic integration. Nevertheless, the social and political implication of the phenomenon as well as the difficulties to find shared solution at European level and, finally, the delays in the asylum request process due to a cumbersome system in the countries most exposed to migration flows, represent a social risk for the future relations between host population and migrants. The exasperated European reactions can be, at least in part, due to an "identity crisis" and a Western crisis of values, pre-existing to the migration crisis. Sociologists already outline this crisis – as well as the limits of the planetary diffusion of the Western model and its presumption of primacy, despite the failures in the Third World of the Western Growth Model (Latouche, 1992) - from the past century. In this context, Adachi (2011) indicates cultural diversity as a threat to social unity and, consequently, social integration is one of the most urgent issues in Western countries. This statement paves the way for our debate on post multiculturalism and the challenges it poses to future cultural policies and integration in Europe. The present work aims indeed to provide valid insights in this sense on behalf of the process of cultural policymaking, in particular related to cultural heritage management, taking in consideration both the gaze of the refugees as well as the gaze of the hosting communities. A necessarily complex approach, therefore, must take into account the needs of two counterparts that sometimes traumatically come into contact, as well as a self-analysis of the past sociocultural policies, and processes in the western countries, and their results.

## **2 From multiculturalism to post-multiculturalism: an overview of the scientific discourses**

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<sup>3</sup> Code of conduct for NGOs undertaking activities in migrants’ rescue operations at sea

The scenario outlined above is accompanied, from a conceptual point of view, by an equally epochal ideological change within the societies of Western countries, that is, the transition from multiculturalism to post-multiculturalism. The analysis of the crisis of the first, on the one hand, and the identification of the challenges produced by the second, represent the starting point for our considerations. As Adachi (2011, p. 108) states, while liberalism used to set a strict border between the private and public spheres, based on the conviction that cultural practices should be recognized only in the latter, in the 1970s a new ideology arose, called multiculturalism. “Inaugurated in Canada by the Trudeau government” (Levey, 2009, p. 75), according to the idea of multiculturalism all cultures have the right to be recognized as “authentic” also in the public sphere (Adachi, 2011). In this context, multiculturalism sought to foster the relationships and communication between the various groups that make up society, which may be different for lifestyle, economic power, religion, moral beliefs, traditions and ethnicity (Colombo, 2011, p. 77). It thus became a paradigm of social integration, and it is conceptualised in the literature in terms of “politics of recognition” (Taylor, 1992) or “differentiated citizenship” (Kymlicka, 1995), for instance.

The idea of multiculturalism thus implied the existence of psychological and sociological processes. Among them, the concept of acculturation, also known as horizontal transmission, refers to the process of cultural and psychological change due to long-lasting contact with people from different cultures (Sam, 2006). In this context, J. W. Berry (1997, p. 10) suggests the occurrence of four possible processes as presented in Table 3. In scientific terms, this is a fertile area of study when related to international migration phenomena, for instance in terms of intergenerational transmission of religious values (Rubin & Rubin, 2014) or immigrants’ adaptation within European countries (Figueiredo, Oldenhove, & Licata, 2017).

Table 3. Mechanism of acculturation

		Dimension related to the hosting / dominant culture	
		Individuals adopt the cultural norms of a dominant or host culture	Individuals reject the dominant or host culture
Dimension related to the culture of origin	Individuals maintain their culture of origin	<b>Integration (Biculturalism)</b>	<b>Separation</b>
	Individuals reject their culture of origin	<b>Assimilation</b>	<b>Marginalization</b>

Source: Adapted from J. W. Berry (1997, p. 10)

Multiculturalism has had particular implications in areas such as language, education, public policy and religious freedom (Colombo, 2011, p. 77). Nevertheless, already by the early twenty-first century, criticisms were moved to multiculturalism. For instance, according to Barry (2001) the unconditional recognition of cultures (in the public sphere) could result in the weakening of social cohesion and unity, thus producing segregation and inequality among different cultural or racial groups. Adachi (2011, p. 107) recovers and strengthens this concept by claiming that in the Western countries “cultural diversity has been recognized to put social unity in danger”, and Gozdecka, Ercan, and Kmak (2014, p. 51) bluntly state “multiculturalism has been declared a failure both in Europe and the Anglophone West”.

In this sense, the academic literature contains evidence about such a failure and its occurrence, not only in continental Europe (Guiso, Herrera, & Morelli, 2016) but also in countries characterised by a long history of immigration, like United States (Thomas, Chiarelli-Helminiak, Ferraj, & Barrette, 2016), Canada (Esses, Wagner, Wolf, Preiser, & Wilbur, 2006) and Australia (Dandy & Pe-Pua, 2010) where their traditionally migrant-receiving communities now seem to struggle in integrating newcomers into the economic, cultural, and political spheres of society. Moreover, evidence from a study in South Korea show that the phenomenon of immigration is perceived as a threat to national identity (Ha & Jang, 2015). Finally, and to paraphrase Adachi (2011, p. 108), the increase in cultural diversity as a main consequence of international mass immigration has represented a stressing test for multicultural society, due to the severe conflicts arose in the host countries.

In this context of “super diversity” (Vertovec, 2007), Gozdecka et al. (2014, pp. 52-53) point out five main related aspect that at the same time determine the failure of multiculturalism in host countries:

- 1) the excessive focus on gendered cultural practices in culturally diverse societies;
- 2) the shift from ethnicity and culture towards religion (in particular Islam);
- 3) the increasing emphasis on social cohesion and security;
- 4) the emergence of new forms of racism;
- 5) the relativization of international and transnational human rights law.

In our opinion, a sixth reason, not considered by the literature so far, led to the end of multiculturalism, that is, the crisis of values and identities that the West, in general, and

Europe, in particular, was already suffering before the ongoing migration crisis began. We will debate this aspect in the section 3.

Multiculturalism has thus failed in the attempt of guaranteeing a harmonious coexistence and a positive peace within society. It represents the current European and Western challenge, where the starting point is a different political, sociocultural approach to the accommodation, education and integration of refugees and migrants, known as “post-multiculturalism” (Kymlicka, 2010; Vertovec, 2010). Nevertheless, this concept is not free of criticism and, above all, different interpretations. For instance, according to Vertovec (2010, p. 83) post-multiculturalism represents an advanced stage of multiculturalism, in which “the emphasis is to foster both the recognition of diversity and the maintenance of collective national identities”. However, we can find different perspectives from other authors. For instance, Gozdecka et al. (2014) interpret post-multiculturalism as “a shift from multiculturalism towards the reaffirmation of mono-culturalism”.

Once the crisis of multiculturalism is assumed and outlined its implications on immigrant-receiving societies, several authors have already elaborated an analysis of current policies adopted in different fields. In the fields of immigration and migrant adaptation, the discourses of European political leaders and the key policy measures can be definitively catalogued as post-multicultural (Lesińska, 2014; Pakulski & Markowski, 2014). In this context, Şahin (2016) suggests possible social integration policies to be implemented in Turkey, which has the greatest number of Syrian refugees and where the government is currently undertaking – according to the author – only palliative temporary actions. Immigrant integration policies and their effectiveness were previously analysed in a large investigation by Schlueter, Meuleman, and Davidov (2013). In particular, those authors put in relation the effectiveness of these policies with the presence of a widespread anti-immigration sentiment on the side of the hosting population. On the other hands, and with regards to the strong presence of minors among migrants (see subsection 1.1) Cowden and Kreisler (2016) have recently conducted an investigation about the development in children of immigrant families and in the same field Bocero, Larragueta, and Sierra (2014) conducted a study on the curricular and social integration of immigrant students in Primary Education. In the same field theory and practice meet each other in proposing, for instance, interactive online course designed to support integration of immigrants (Chirleşan & Chirleşan, 2015) and improvement of intercultural education at national level on behalf of young immigrants’ integration (Sani, 2014).

Other authors approached the socio economic aspect of the integration, like Sotomayor-Morales, Grande-Gascón, and Ajaouani (2017) who approached the phenomenon in the perspective of future labour market policies. They outline the link between social inclusion and professional integration. Moreover, the possibility of providing free childcare to immigrant families is suggested by Drange and Telle (2015), who affirm that subsidizing centre based childcare could improve the cognitive development of children from immigrant families. Still within the socio economical context, Prymula, Shaw, Chlibek, Urbancikova, and Prymulova (2017) emphasize the challenge immigrants pose to host country public health vaccination programmes. On the one hand, they focus the barriers to local health and social services frequently experienced by immigrants; on the other hand, they raise awareness about the need of appropriate immunization strategies to control the spread of vaccine preventable diseases.

### **3 Discussion and proposal**

#### **3.1 The post-multiculturalist challenge for cultural heritage managers in the age of migrations**

According to what exposed above, post multiculturalism poses a series of social and political questions and challenges within the creation of long-term solutions for the integration of refugees and migrants. In this context, it is worth to mention the complexity in which the word 'integration' is shrouded (J. Berry, 1997; Brubaker, 2001; Vinokurov, Birman, & Trickett, 2000). Castles, Korac, Vasta, and Vertovec (2002, p. 12) claim "there is no single, generally accepted definition, theory or model of immigrant and refugee integration". Nevertheless for the purpose of clarity and intelligibility of the present paper, as well as for scientific rigor, we adopt for the present research the definition offered by the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees:

"Integration is a mutual, dynamic, multifaceted and ongoing process. From a refugee perspective, integration requires a preparedness to adapt to the lifestyle of the host society without having to lose one's own cultural identity. From the point of view of the host society, it requires a willingness for communities to be welcoming and responsive to refugees and for public institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population"<sup>4</sup> UNHCR (2002, pp. 12-13).

According to Adachi (2011, p. 108) "the most urgent issue is how we establish social unity and welfare equality in a culturally diverse society without any detrimental cost to

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<sup>4</sup> This definition was later reiterated in 2013 (UNHCR, 2013).

the merits of diversity”. The same author claims that social integration is to be intended as a condition in which social unity exists in cultural diversity<sup>5</sup>. In this sense, the challenges posed by post-multiculturalism to the future cultural policies and cultural heritage management practices - which in the context of integration play a pivotal role - are multifaceted and complex. They lie, firstly, in the aspiration of post-multiculturalism to provide a way of combining, on the one side, a strong national identity and, on the other side, the official recognition of cultural diversity (Vertovec, 2010). Secondly, policy makers need to consider the need to overpass the socio-political traits that, according to Gozdecka et al. (2014) were responsible for the end of the multiculturalism in concomitance with the migrant crises (see Section 2).

In our opinion there is also a further aspect to keep in consideration in the future cultural policy making process which is not considered enough in the literature, that is, the need to overpass the crisis of identity and the crisis of values which are affecting Europe (and the west) before the beginning of the massive international migrations. One can assume communities are – from the sociocultural point of view - prepared to welcome what they perceive as “different” when their sense of identity is fulfilled and they have a healthy relation with their historical and cultural roots. (F. Carbone, 2017; F. Carbone, Oosterbeek, & Costa, 2013). Self-knowledge and auto esteem are thus a *conditio sine qua non* for a greater openness of a community and an individual towards “the other”. In this sense, it is worth to notice that the phenomenon of globalization promoted by Western countries seems to have been successful only in its material aspects: international trade in goods has increased considerably as well as financial flows and the spread of technology and services. On the other hand, however, there is a lack of worldwide spread of non-negotiable values and human rights. It seems that these values have finally been lost in the very same Europe.

The omnipresence of the market as a regulator of relations between individuals and states, the lack of balance between commercial and contractual freedoms and social equity, as well as the absence of a serious discussion about the European demographic trend are reasons for an increasing digression and alienation from the European tradition, characterised – on the contrary – by the equality between individuals and their right to a free and dignified life. To some extent, poor efforts towards the enhancement of individual and collective identity may have contributed in the raise of that sense of disrepair and identity crisis, already theorized by the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman (2000,

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<sup>5</sup> It is worth to highlight that the expression “cultural diversity” was adopted in both scholarly and policy debates in place of the word “multiculturalism”, as a further confirmation of the conceptual overcome of the latter.

2004, 2005, 2007). In addition, such a sense of loss may also have been caused by the progressive trivialisation of religion – here intended as a social instrument of ethical-moral direction and expression of culture – and departure from it without any means of replacing it with valid and consistent social substitutes. Latouche (1992) underlines the decadent impact that modernity has had on the African traditions during the colonial and post-colonial times, but nowadays Europe runs the same risk. A concrete danger exists indeed of emptying European culture (as well as the culture of the singular European states) of its identity, losing its contacts with the historical, philosophical and religious roots that belong to it, and for centuries have expressed in high values of humanity. Relativism seems to represent the highest moment of civilization: eventually, the only truth accepted is the absence of an absolute truth.

Let thus assume the identity problem is not only an issue related to migrants and refugees, but it also exists strongly among Europeans. This is an important consideration in our opinion, as it is definitively part of the above debate and has to be taken into account within the post-multiculturalist policymaking process related to culture. It is in fact not likely to promote social integration for newcomers, if residents do not have a strong and healthy sense of belonging, self-esteem, historical sense, and strong values. These characteristics make communities able “to be open to the other”, as theorised by Fabio Carbone (2016); F. Carbone (2017). Eventually, in the absence of such a premise, the value and genuine openness to different people and cultures boils down to a rhetoric full of paternalistic kindness. At this point therefore, the role of culture (cultural policy making, cultural heritage management, education) appear quite clear within the construction of a positive social peace between European citizens and newcomers.

According to the above considerations and the current scholarship examined so far, it is finally possible to outline a conceptual framework for the future research, regarding the role of culture and cultural heritage management practices toward refugees and migrants’ integration in the context of post-multicultural societies. Representation shape and change identity, as suggested by Singh (2010). This axiom implies in our case the need to represent each of the parties present on the territory in its new composition and taking into account the new paradigm in which they are inserted. According to the definition of integration we adopt for this research (see above in this section), we consider integration “as a process that occurs at both level of the individual refugee and the level of the receiving community” (Marks, 2014, p. 4). Thus, from a programmatic and policy perspective within the field of cultural heritage management and cultural policy in general, the promotion of the migrant cultures on the one hand should be considered, ensuring that both immigrants and receiving community is actively involved in these



practices. Such a practice should avoid the loss of new comers' identity and simultaneously raise awareness and create empathy within the receiving community toward an effective mutual understanding. On the other hand, in order to overpass the value crises among the European population, mentioned above as one of the reason of multiculturalism coming to an end, efforts toward a healthy re-appropriation of roots and values should be increased. Also in this case, this should be a participatory process where receiving societies and new comers are involved. Combining these practices would lead to the achievement of a third goal, which we assume as crucial within the integration process in post-multicultural societies: the strengthening of intercultural competences. In this sense, intercultural competences became a key requisite in our modern life characterised by cultural diversity and intercultural contact (UNESCO, 2009). The enhancement and strengthening of these competences in the new post-multicultural societies thus becomes one of keys to sustainable integration. It should finally be the task of educators, cultural heritage managers and cultural policy makers in general to consider the enhancement of the memory of migrations, keeping alive the memory, the reasons and dynamics of current migrations as well as those occurred in the past, in which eventually the present receiving communities were involved. Figure 1 represent our conceptual proposal.

Our proposed model reflects the above-mentioned definition of integration provided by Adachi (2011) in an ideal scenario where social unity exists in cultural diversity. In this context, since integration is a gradual process that actually starts from local integration, an enormous responsibility lies with the cultural stakeholders and cultural heritage managers at local and regional level have enormous responsibility.

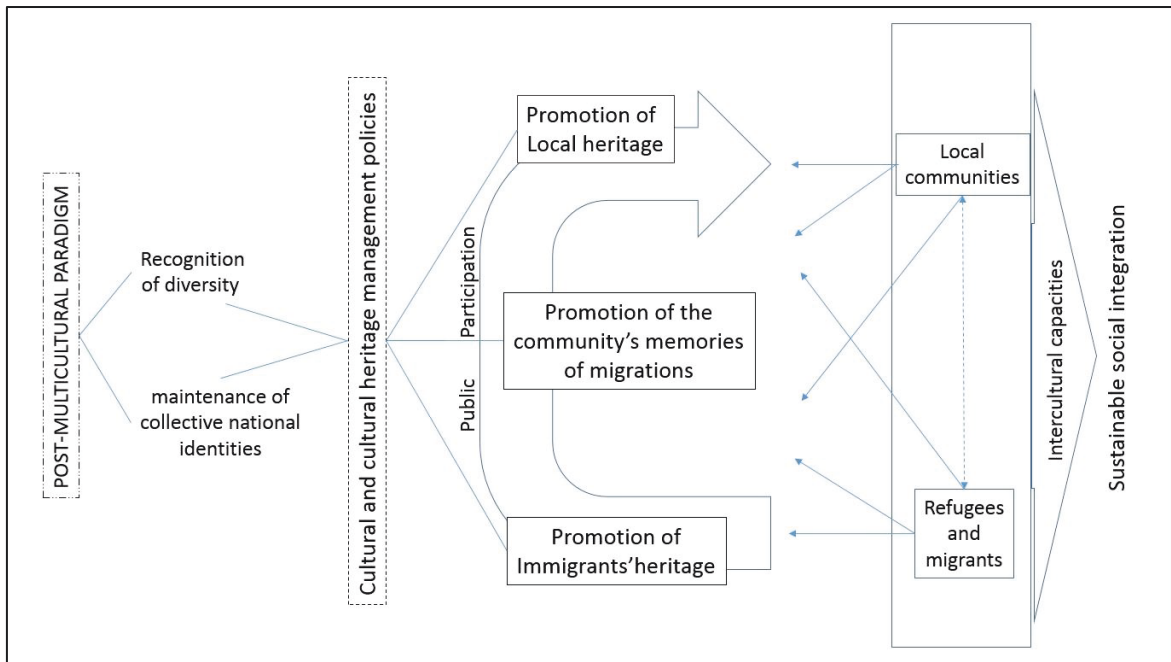


Figure 1. The role of cultural policies and practice of cultural heritage management in a post-multicultural society towards a sustainable social integration of migrants and refugees and the establishment of a positive social peace.

### 3.2 About new comers' radicalization leading to violence<sup>6</sup>

The relation between the process of radicalization of new comers and the so-called second-generation immigrants is a phenomenon which is dramatically emerging in the last years in Europe and that somehow represent the Islamic terrorist attacks that affected Europe and perpetrated by second generation immigrants or even asylum seekers (see Table 2, where is specified the status of the perpetrators of the terrorist attacks). It has emerged thus an unexpected trait that we decided to include in our work due to its importance and the pressing, vital necessity of finding a long-term solution. This is the relationship between culture and education with the prevention of the process of radicalisation (UNESCO, 2017). In this context, as “radicalization processes leading to violent extremism take place primarily at the local level (and) prevention efforts are notably effective if implemented through community-based approaches and non-formal education activities” (UNESCO, 2017, p. 61), we consider that the present work have implications also within the global counter terrorism strategies.

<sup>6</sup> In this work we adopt the terminology defined by UNESCO (2017), according to which “if one wishes to point to the process by which one becomes a violent extremist, the expression ‘radicalization leading to violence’ will be more appropriate than ‘violent extremism’ “ (UNESCO, 2017, p. 21).

This theme represents indeed a global concern, which governments, organizations and researchers are dealing with from different points of view. On the one hand, global meetings such as the 4th World Forum on Intercultural Dialogue on May 2017, in Baku are addressing this topic very seriously in order to define global counter-terrorism strategies. On the other hand, scholars are already exploring this topic from different perspectives. For instance, Piopiunik and Ruhose (2017) explore the relations between immigration, regional conditions and crime. Moreover, social psychologists are trying a new, non-political approach to the phenomenon of adherence to terrorist groups. In this sense, it is worth to mention two different academic positions. One position by Baez et al. (2017) study on 66 terrorists detained in Colombian prisons, from a cognitive point of view, as well as from the point of view of the ability to recognize emotions (the latter aspect of the study revealed that the individuals studied showed difficulties in distinguishing rage from sadness and disgust). In this case, the authors conclude terrorists have a sort of distortion of moral judgment, similar to that of small children and patients with neurological damage to the frontal and temporal lobes of the brain. Other authors argue, on the contrary, that the psychological processes that drive an individual to join (or feel attracted) to terrorist groups such as Isis or Al-Qaeda are deeply human and they are not the result of distortion. Such processes rely on elements common to all cultures and ethnicities, like seeking complicity, recognition. According to Bruneau (2016, p. 4) "individuals most at risk for joining a terrorist group are not those who are poor or violent, but those who are alienated and thus drawn to an arrangement that can offer the camaraderie, brotherhood, and purpose that they are missing. This may help explain why very different demographics—the young man at a refugee camp who is deprived of regional, professional, and academic identities, and the middle-class child of immigrants in a Western country who feels alienated from his or her host country—are common recruits for ISIS". An individual adheres to a terrorist group for more subjective reasons than official and political motivations. It does so for the social bond, for the need to feel part of something and similar to someone. The individual identity is then the key to explain such a behaviour. In this context, as the author explains, "it may also explain why regular attendance at a mosque - which provides a strong social identity - is inversely correlated with the possibility to adhere to ISIS groups" (Bruneau, 2016, p. 4).

By transposing these conclusions to the field we are investigating, the integration of migrants and refugees through culture in the post-multiculturalism age the relationship between the two phenomena and the big responsibility of cultural heritage managers, educators, religious communities in the fight against radicalisation, is therefore evident. In this sense, Unah (2017), a Nigerian journalist, affirms without any doubt that "isolation

helps propagate radicalisation, so providing information and giving an empowering voice to civilians helps reduce it". If, on the one hand, a better education cannot be enough to subtract young people from radicalisation, on the other hand it will surely help them to develop critical thinking skills. In this sense, Vazsonyi, Mikuška, and Gaššová (2017) affirm that both immigrant and native youth would benefit from effective intervention strategies. Despite the escalation of attacks by Islamic fundamentalists, it has inevitably placed the police and the military corps on alert for the safety of European citizens. The representatives of these same services affirm the necessity to urgently include education within the strategies of fundamentalism prevention (Gruber, 2016).

Combined with appropriate measures, more jobs, and greater tolerance towards migrants, these capabilities could become key tools to prevent younger generations from ending up in terrorist networks. In the same way, it is not realistic to think one can fully eradicate the phenomenon of radicalisation, as the absolute control of the territory is not practicable. However, it is possible to improve cultural policies on behalf of those individuals who, as evidenced by the studies, reveal a very similar social, criminal and indoctrination pathway. For instance, a "cultural recovery" of young people attracted by ideological and religious propaganda became a social, civic responsibility (Nava, 2017).

#### **4 Future works**

The general objective of the present study is to highlight the conceptual convergence between refugees and migrants' integration within the post-multicultural societies and the challenges for cultural stakeholders and cultural heritage managers. In the future the theoretical contribution provided will be the starting point for an empirical study which aims at reaching three specific objectives. Firstly, to outline the perception of cultural policy makers and cultural heritage managers towards tackling the new challenges, responsibilities and roles in the post-multicultural society. future works should focus on the role of the museums and significant heritage places within the process of intercultural dialogue, awareness raising and education to promote diversity, boost intercultural capacities and, finally, integration. The second specific objective is to define the sectorial implication of this new challenge for the policy makers at different levels, from the supranational to the regional one, in the areas that are hosting refugees and asylum-seekers. The third aim is to explore the implications of a new approach to cultural heritage management concerning the prevention of radicalisation and, implicitly, reduction of the risk for migrants to join or promote terrorist groups. For these purposes

we are planning to design an action research project based on structured dialogues through a virtual community of practice.

## **Conclusion**

Multicultural societies has shown to be characterized by the presence of different ethnic groups which used to “turn their backs to each other”, even if they used to share the same spaces daily. Apparently, on the one hand there was no real integration among immigrants, and on the other hand, receiving communities practiced only forms of tolerance toward the new comers. In the worst scenario, the marginalization of certain groups within urban contexts and forms of immigrants’ ghettoization has resulted in the development of a sense of resentment leading in some cases to processes of radicalisation and then violence. The latter were materialised in terrorist actions "against Western society" committed by second-generation immigrants (born and raised in that Western society) or even by asylum seekers. By reiterating Galtung (1996)'s theory, we could state that in multicultural societies a form of negative peace was established between immigrants and receiving communities. The current international migration crisis has highlighted these weaknesses and determined the end of multiculturalism.

In this article, we have outlined this process within the perspective of refugees and migrants’ integration and – by highlighting the lessons taught by the failure of multiculturalism and the challenges posed by post-multiculturalism – we have provided a proposal to inform future policy-making processes in the field of culture and the practice of cultural heritage management. In this context, this article highlights the great responsibility of local stakeholders and cultural heritage managers at local level. The challenge lies in the characteristic of post-multiculturalism itself. For instance, we need to combine acceptance, respect and trust beyond cultural, religious and social diversity but without undervaluing these differences. In addition, cultural policies need to take into account the ambitions and needs of two parties – receiving communities and migrants - that sometimes come into contact in a traumatic way. Education and culture are clearly the key to a fair and durable process of “sustainable integration”, toward the establishment of a positive peace within post-multicultural societies. The main goals to be fixed are the maintenance of the cultural roots of newcomers, on the one hand, and the (re)appreciation of Western values and culture on the side of receiving communities, on the other hand. In this sense, institutions as the museums can make themselves promoter of this approach, and promoter of intercultural dialogue and multicultural collaboration. In addition, we consider urgent to introduce the concept of “boosting

intercultural capacities” among the explicit goals of cultural policies and cultural heritage management practices at local, national and supranational level. The reflection aims thus to go beyond the common debate “refugees, opportunity or threat?”. Instead, it is necessary to explore the conditions needed for a positive peace on the long term. Among these conditions, there is a serious thinking on the deculturalization process of the western countries in the last decades.

To some extent, such a proposal aims to be considered also within the context of prevention of radicalization and within the global counter-terrorism strategy. The condition of refugees is sometimes dramatic due to the isolation and, eventually, for the psychological traumas experienced in the conflict area from which they come from. Literature contains evidence about the fact that this scenario can possibly be responsible for identity issues and an “unhealthy” seek for new social relations and solidarities. In this context, new comers and second-generation immigrants may at certain point start heading in the direction of radicalization and extremism. Certainly, we recognize that a better education and greater civic participation (especially in cultural spheres) alone are not enough to keep young people from radicalization, but it would help them to develop critical thinking skills. The latter, combined with appropriate social measures (e.g. jobs, greater access to welfare, etc.) could become key tools to prevent younger generations from ending up in terrorist networks.

Regardless of the ethical considerations on the duty to welcome migrants, independently from the political manipulations of the phenomenon and even without regard to the distinction between asylum seekers and economic migrant, it is necessary to consider the irrefutable fact that we are facing an epochal phenomenon which is having and will have massive impacts on our society. The relentless arrival of migrants and asylum seekers for the years to come demands urgent actions with regard to every aspect of civil society, from the concept of individual liberties to the human rights, from the issues related to security to the creation of common policies for migrants’ management but also to rebuild a sense of belonging and identity for European (and Western) societies, towards a positive peace between new comers and receiving communities. Tackling the migration and refugee crisis is a common obligation which requires a comprehensive strategy and a determined effort over time in a spirit of solidarity and responsibility. Our future well-being in economic and sociocultural terms, and even the physical safety and security of our descendants depend on the political choices we will be able to take and implement in the present. In the process of decision-making, it is recommendable not to consider separately the problems of migrants from those of the receiving populations.

On the contrary, it seems clear to us that, given the outlined situation, the only possible future is a common future.

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