Report of OSCE-ODIHR Roundtable

Addressing Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims: Youth and Education

Vienna, 17 December 2008

Agenda

9:00 - 9:30	**WELCOME AND OPENING REMARKS**
	Ambassador Ömür Orhun, OSCE Chair-in-Office's Personal Representative on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims
	Jo-Anne Bishop, Head, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department, OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)
Introduction:	Taşkın Tankut Soykan, Adviser on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims, ODIHR

9:30 - 13:00	**YOUTH**
Moderator:	Bashy Qurashy, European Network Against Racism, Brussels
Introducer:	Prof. Yasemin Karakaşoğlu, University of Bremen, Intercultural Education, Bremen
Discussant:	Jovana Bazerkovska, The Bureau of the European Youth Forum, Brussels
9:45 – 13:00	**(I) The Impact of Intolerance against Muslims on Young People: Causes and Consequences**
	Unfortunately young people are not exempted from the impact of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Various studies indicate that young Muslims belonging to minority populations are often subject to exclusion and discrimination. Some surveys also highlight the increase of anti-Muslim attitudes among the majority youth populations in North America and Europe. Although Muslim young people with immigrant backgrounds have diverse ethnic, linguistic, cultural and political affiliations, they often face the challenge of reconciling different identities (e.g. Muslim v. European). This can create serious emotional problems, especially at younger ages, if the majority population perceives Muslims to be an alien element. An additional phenomenon which impacts on this group is, a vicious circle of inadequate housing, educational deficiencies, and unemployment The combined impact of these is to diminish the equality of opportunity of young Muslims. Simultaneously, intolerance and discrimination against Muslims increasingly manifests itself in violent attacks against individuals and property thus threatening social cohesion. In turn, the effects of insecurity, alienation and exclusion on Muslim youth may lead to greater crime and unrest.
	(II) Youth Response to Intolerance against Muslims: Good practices and lessons learnt
	Muslim youth organizations and other youth NGOs dealing with racism, xenophobia and intolerance have developed several initiatives to confront the rise of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims in the past decade. They have sought to enhance inter-cultural and inter-faith dialogue and raise awareness about Islam and Muslim cultures. Some of these initiatives have provided support and advocacy services for young Muslims facing a wide range of social problems, such as insecurity, lack of confidence, mental health problems, cultural taboos, educational underachievement, inability to access to job market, drug abuse and criminal activity. Although Muslim civil society in Europe and North America has made a very significant progress in addressing these issues in recent years, they express concern that the funding available for such projects is reducing and being directed towards activities to counter "radicalization," indicating that Muslim minority youth are seen primarily as a security problem.
	Open Discussion

13:00 - 14:00	*Lunch*

14:00 - 18:00	**EDUCATION**
Moderator:	Veysel Filiz, COJEP International- Conseil de la Jeunesse Pluriculturelle, Strasbourg
Introducer:	Dr. Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, the Book Foundation, London
Discussant:	Nuzhat Jafri, Canadian Council of Muslim Women, Toronto
14:15 - 18:00	**(I) Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims in Education: Exclusion and Alienation** As in other minority communities, Muslims generally put a high premium on education as way out of problems associated with economic marginalization and social exclusion. However, Muslim students continue to experience intolerance and discrimination in school settings at varying levels. In many countries, Muslim students attend schools where the quality of education is very low, or are sent to special schools for children with learning and behavioural difficulties. Although there is usually no official data on the religious background of students, some surveys indicate that non-native born students have much lower literacy than native students with no immigrant background. Many Muslim students feel that current integration discourse focuses on only assimilation, at times depriving them from learning their mother tongue, culture and religion and forcing them to become invisible. This intolerant attitude at times leads to expression of anti-Muslim stereotypes, even in text books, which mostly go without any challenge. Most worrying, as exemplified in the ODIHR's 2007 Hate Crime Report, anti-Muslim attitudes also manifest themselves as violent attacks, including bullying of Muslim students and vandalism of Muslim schools. **(II) Educational Responses to Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims: Cooperation between Educational Authorities and Civil Society** As intolerant attitudes tend to develop at a young age, educational institutions have a special role to play, and teaching inspired by core human rights principles as well as principles of mutual respect and understanding can have positive consequences. However, educational initiatives to confront intolerance against Muslims have still remained considerably limited across the OSCE region. Only very few States have developed guidelines for educators to accommodate the needs of Muslim students. There is a lack of comprehensive educational policies, programmes or strategies dealing with intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Although various teaching materials on anti-Semitism and racism are available today, teaching materials on anti-Muslim stereotypes have yet to be developed. NGOs addressing intolerance against Muslims, in particular, youth NGOs, can play a very positive role in improving this situation. **Open Discussion**

18:00 - 18:30	**Closing Session**
	• Discussion on Recommendations • Follow-up • Concluding remarks by Amb. Orhun and Mr. Soykan

Introduction

Many OSCE participating States are facing the difficult challenge of combating racism and xenophobia, including rising levels of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Since 2005, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), in conjunction with the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office's (CiO) Personal Representative on Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims, has been organizing roundtable meetings to address prejudice and discrimination against Muslims. The first meeting, which was held on 27 September 2005 in Warsaw, aimed at outreach to NGOs and identifying general concerns, good practices and recommendations. The second meeting, which took place on 9 May 2006 in Warsaw, was focused on the representation of Muslims in public discourse. This is the report of the third roundtable, held in Vienna on 17 December 2008, which centered on the question of youth and education. The meeting was co-sponsored by the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC).

The roundtable brought NGOs, youth organizations and educational experts together with representatives of governments and international institutions, with a view to exploring the impact on youth of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. The meeting also considered how education can mitigate this phenomenon.

The meeting was opened by Ambassador Ömür Orhun, Personal Representative of the OSCE CiO on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims and Ms. Jo-Anne Bishop, Head of the ODIHR Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department.[1] In the opening addresses they highlighted the importance of engaging with young people in promoting inter-cultural dialogue to address intolerance against Muslims and using education as a longer term tool for this purpose. The aim of the meeting was to provide opportunities to discuss challenges and good practices in this area, as well as ODIHR's new initiative to develop educational tools to counter intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Yasemin Karakaşoğlu and Jeremy Henzell-Thomas introduced the roundtable's two sessions, and made respectively presentations on the causes and consequences of anti-Muslim hostility and bias among young people and on ways how education can counter such attitudes and behaviours.[2]

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[1] Opening and closing statements are attached as annexes.
[2] The presentations made by introducers are attached as annexes.

This report presents a summary of the main topics of discussion during the roundtable. The positions contained in this report as presented by participants do not necessarily reflect the policy or position of the OSCE or its institutions.

The Impact of Intolerance against Muslims on Young People: Causes and Consequences

Participants asserted that the sharp increase of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims following the terrorist attacks in New York, London and Madrid, has had a direct, negative impact on youth, and on Muslim youth in particular. The roundtable discussions touched on four dimensions of this phenomenon: 1) youth as perpetrators of acts of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims, 2) youth as bystanders, 3) youth as victims and, finally, 4) youth as agents to promote diversity and respect.

A number of reports indicate that although young people are generally more tolerant than other age groups towards Muslims, there has recently been a considerable increase in anti-Muslim behaviours and attitudes among the youth of some participating States.[3] Speakers attributed this largely to the frequent negative portrayal of Muslims and Islam in political discourse, media and popular culture. They highlighted that anti-Muslim rhetoric, which can depict Muslims as a monolithic block with violent and irrational attitudes, has contributed to a general climate of mistrust, fear and hostility towards Muslims. Other factors contributing to anti-Muslim stereotypes include differences in socio-economic backgrounds, lack of openness to diversity and new ideas, low levels of knowledge about Muslims and Islam, and a lack of day-to-day contact with Muslims.

Participants provided numerous examples of physical and verbal harassment of young Muslims by their peers. In this regard, they also raised concerns about the high number of bystanders who do not intervene when such incidents occur. They argued that growing misunderstanding and intolerance could eventually undermine fundamental rights and freedoms, including freedom of expression, freedom of religion or belief, and the rights to education and employment, which would consequently endanger social cohesion.

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[3] See for example, Bevelander, Pieter and Otterbeck, Jonas,Young People's Attitudes Towards Muslims in Sweden (August 2007), IZA Discussion Paper No. 2977. Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1011145> and Noret, Natalie, Islamophobia in Young People, York St John's College, April 2005.

Many young Muslims in Europe and North America, some participants said, feel discriminated against socially, culturally and economically because of their background. Although Muslims are the largest religious minority in Europe, they are comparatively disadvantaged in terms of access to housing, employment and education. Speakers contended that negative stereotypes and low expectations vis-à-vis Muslim youth on the part of some educators have also hindered the upward mobility of Muslim students, in particular young women. They called attention to the increasing frustration that many young Muslims face as the targets of suspicion in the aftermath of 9/11, particularly those who were in their pre-teens and have grown up in the shadow of this terrorist event.

Participants discussed the challenges young Muslims often face in reconciling their different identities. Speakers underlined that there are millions of young people identifying themselves as both Muslim and European. In societies where Muslim cultures are perceived in a negative way and rejected as an alien element, these young people are often caught up in an environment of confrontation in which anti-Muslim stereotypes depict predominantly negative images of Islamic culture, with little recognition of either Islamic contributions to civilization or to the centuries-old presence of Muslims in many parts of Europe.

Nonetheless, many participants warned that the religious aspect of identity should not be overemphasized, since many Muslim youth in Europe do not identify themselves as Muslim only. Instead they urged recognition that Muslim youth often have multiple and/or integrated identities. Many Muslim young people are experiencing increasing gaps among different generations and the breaking of family ties, creating a feeling that they are neither connected entirely with their families nor connected with mainstream society. The current challenge for Muslim youth is thus being accepted by both mainstream society and their own communities as having multiple, integrated identities.

Some participants warned that although this increasing frustration and alienation might contribute to criminalization or radicalization among some youth, this should not be used to create false generalizations or stereotypes that young Muslims in general are more inclined than other groups to such asocial behaviours.

Youth Response to Intolerance against Muslims: Good Practices and Lessons Learnt

Participants also drew attention to the role of youth as agents for the promotion of respect for diversity and mutual understanding, in response to rise of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Various youth initiatives were discussed, which aim at promoting inter-cultural and inter-faith dialogue and raising awareness about Islam and Muslim cultures. Other examples were given of support and advocacy services for young Muslims facing a wide range of social problems, such as insecurity, lack of confidence, mental health problems, cultural taboos, educational underachievement, unemployment, drug abuse and criminal activity.

A number of these projects are particularly innovative. For instance, from 2006-2008, the Swedish educational association Sensus and the Swedish Muslim study association Ibn Rushd jointly trained 100 Swedish Muslim young people as "peace agents" to help their peers understand that Islam is a peaceful religion, and to respond to mischaracterizations of Islam.[4] Another creative initiative was the "Living Library" project initiated in 2000 by a Danish youth NGO, "Stop the Violence," which seeks to reduce stereotypes, by creating "libraries" consisting not of books but of human beings marginalized by their national, ethnic or religious origin, or other status, who can provide information to combat negative stereotypes.[5] In 2008, the group A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe organized an anti-discrimination training event that brought together young Muslims, Jews and others to play football, make music and dance, thus providing the young people a chance to learn and gain empathy for each other.[6] Several other successful programs were also mentioned, including the European Muslim Union (EMU) youth exchange programmes,[7] COJEP International's West and East Meeting Forums,[8] the Association of Young Muslim German's workshop series,[9] and the Democratic Platform for young Danes engaged in democracy, civic citizenship and inter-cultural dialogue. Participants stressed that the use of new technologies, in particular the Internet, can be helpful in delivering the message of tolerance and respect for diversity to younger people in a more effective way.

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[4] Additional information is available on the Peace Agents Website at <http://www.fredsagenterna.se/>
[5] Additional information is available on the official Living Library Website at <http://living-library.org/index.html>
[6] Detailed information is available on the CEJI Website at <http://www.ceji.org/>
[7] For EMU's youth and education activities visit its website at
<http://www.emunion.eu/index.php?option=com_content&view=section&layout=blog&id=6&Itemid=55>
[8] Further information is available at the website of COJEP International
<http://cojep.eu/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=172&Itemid=42>
[9] Additional information is available on the website of the MJD (in German) < http://www.mjd-net.de/dialog>

Participants also underlined the importance of youth related initiatives cooperating with governmental authorities to counter anti-Muslim and racist or xenophobic attitudes and behaviours. For example, the work by the Forum against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR) was cited as a good example of informing and sensitizing governmental authorities about the negative impact of racial profiling and violent manifestations of intolerance on Muslim youth. Another example was the work of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in training future FBI staff members, police officers, airlines, and others through its "Diversity Education and Law Enforcement Outreach Program."[10] The Open Society Initiative's project on Muslims in European Cities has also looked into the question of how local authorities engage with Muslim youth. The activities of Muslim Youth Helpline are a good example of how to provide counselling for Muslim youth experiencing intolerance and discrimination, as well as training for governmental authorities about the consequences of discrimination against Muslims.[11] Yet another initiative was a project by the Canadian Council of Muslim Women to address issues faced by ethnic Somali Muslim boys and girls, which used various methods -- including poetry, drama, visual arts and short stories – to highlight key issues.[12]

Participants in the roundtable welcomed ODIHR's initiative to cooperate with Casa Arabe to develop a Reference Guide on Muslims in Spain, which aimed at reducing anti-Muslim stereotypes and prejudice. The Guide included a chapter on Muslim youth. Some participants advocated producing similar tools for other participating States, including France, Germany, Denmark, Austria and Switzerland.

Despite these many positive initiatives, participants pointed out that in general there was very limited information on youth initiatives targeting intolerance and discrimination against Muslims, because as of yet, there has been no proper mapping of such initiatives. They also raised concerns that so many youth projects started and ended without any sustainable impact due to lack of institutionalization. They particularly highlighted the need for ODIHR's support to build the capacities of youth NGOs to combat intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. Another challenge is getting funding for such youth projects. Many speakers expressed their frustration that most of the funding available for Muslim NGOs was allocated to projects dealing with the prevention of radicalization.

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[10] A description of the project at the website of the ADC < http://www.adc.org/index.php?id=2478>
[11] Further information is available at the website of the MYH < http://www.myh.org.uk/>
[12] More information on the project and resulting tools are available at <www.ccmw.com>

Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims in Education: Exclusion and Alienation

Participants pointed out the irony that while education is supposed to be one of the most effective means to counter prejudice and stereotypes among youth, many Muslim boys and girls have their first taste of intolerance and discrimination at school. Some speakers related this to ineffective integration policies, which were sometime influenced by lack of accurate information and sometimes even by prevailing stereotypes of Muslims. According to these speakers, educational policies for the integration of immigrants also often fail to address the problem of indirect discrimination. For example, many Muslim students belong to low income families, which live in poor neighbourhoods where access to adequate housing, health, employment and education is limited, leaving them doubly disadvantaged.

Some participants contended that even when authorities take measures to address the special circumstances of Muslim students, these efforts are sometimes misguided and counter-productive. One example is the practice of placing immigrant students in special schools for children with learning difficulties. While the aim of this approach might be to accommodate the needs of students who are not fluent in the official language, the result is to hinder the educational development of many Muslim students.

Biased attitudes may have an especially harmful impact on the educational development of Muslim girls. In this regard, participants highlighted that some educators expect less from Muslim girls because they believe that Islam does not value the education of girls. This could lead to a lack of attention to and disempowerment of Muslim girls, especially those wearing headscarves, although studies have shown that in practice Muslim girls are more likely to continue to higher education than Muslim boys.

Some speakers expressed concern that attempts to accommodate the religious needs of Muslim students sometimes lead to anti-Muslim rhetoric. For example, observance of Islamic holidays, introduction of teaching about Islam, or discussions of public funding for Muslim schools are sometimes misrepresented as attempts to Islamicize Europe. Such incidents can increase prejudice and have a negative psychological impact on Muslim students.

A number of participants were critical of what they regarded as biased school curricula. Many examples were cited of how textbooks overlook the contributions made by Muslims, present the

history of Islam in a negative way, or fail to make clear the diversity of Muslims. Some speakers asserted that many educators lacked the knowledge and skills to encourage students to adopt a critical approach to such textbooks. Others, citing the Open Society's Report on Muslims in the UK, emphasized that some teachers even display negative, prejudiced and stereotypical attitudes toward students with Muslim background[13] Although there are several educational programmes and materials addressing anti-Semitism or racism, similar tools dealing with anti-Muslim bias and hostility were said to be scarce.

While participants discussed the need to provide teachers with on going training and tools to address intolerance against Muslims in the classroom, they also underlined the need for targeting school administrators. Without support from administrators, it was noted, teachers would have difficulties implementing comprehensive projects aimed at combating intolerance and different forms of xenophobia.

Educational Responses to Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims

Participants discussed different educational approaches, methodologies, curricula and teaching resources available to educators to combat intolerance against Muslims. They elaborated two complementary areas for educational reform: 1) challenging negative perceptions of Muslims within the educational system and 2) developing critical thinking and empathy among students. During the discussion, various themes were raised, including demystification of Islam and Muslims; peer to peer introduction of the faith and culture; and a formal educational approach.

Several speakers drew attention to recent educational projects and tools developed by Muslim organizations. The work done on textbooks and curriculum development by the Council on Islamic Education (CIE) in the USA was highly commended, especially for its inclusive and co-operative approach.[14] Educational tools and materials developed by ADC to counter negative stereotypes were also cited as good examples.[15] The Islamic Conference Youth Forum for

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[13] Open Society Institute, Muslims in the UK: Policies for Engaged Citizens, EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program (EUMAP), OSI, Budapest, 2005, p. 147.
[14] Further information is available at the website of the CIE < http://www.cie.org/index.aspx>
[15] These tools and materials are available at the Education Section of the ADC Website
<http://www.adc.org/index.php?id=203>

Dialogue and Cooperation (ICYF-DC) announced the launch of a project to monitor the manifestations of intolerance against Muslim on campus.[16]

Other non-governmental initiatives mentioned included a DVD on prejudice and intolerance against Muslims released by an organization called "Show Racism the Red Card." The DVD presented interviews with high profile footballers, both Muslim and Non-Muslim, who spoke out against racism and intolerance against Muslims. Participants described this as an excellent way to educate and influence non-Muslim youth by using celebrities to convey the message. The initiative could also inspire Muslim youth and create a sense of belonging by showing that celebrities they look up to also support them.[17] Participants also recommended educational tools available on the website of Change the Story, which provided interesting lesson plans and teachers' guides on Muslims and Islam that could break stereotypes and reduce prejudice.[18] Another initiative is the "1001 Inventions Teaching Pack," developed by a non-political, non-religious initiative from the Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilisation (based in the UK), which was presented as a unique set of tools customized for the classroom activities of teachers.[19]

A number of participants underlined the importance of community initiatives to support Muslim youth in the field of education. The work of the Muslim Youth Helpline and the Turkish German Students Union was commended. The latter organization had several valuable projects, including for university students, elementary and secondary school students, as well as assistance for parents of Turkish origin.

Speakers mentioned also a few governmental initiatives to counter intolerance and discrimination against Muslims in the field of education. For example, the Canton of Zurich has prepared a new curriculum to teach about world religions, including Islam, developed with the help of the canton's Muslim community. The British Council's "Our Shared Europe Project" is another initiative aimed at promoting recognition of Muslim contributions to the world.[20] While

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[16] The website of the IOCYF-DC is availableat < http://www.icyf.com/>

[17] Additional information is available on the webiste of the organization at <http://www.srtrc.org/>

[18] Educational tools and materials are available at the Change the Story Website
<http://www.changethestory.net/>

[19] Additional information is available on the website of 1001 Intventions at
<http://www.1001inventions.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=main.viewSection&intSectionID=240>

[20] Additional information is available on its website at < http://www.oursharedeurope.org/project-overview/what-is-our-shared-europe>

lauding such initiatives, participants expressed concern that most of them were not yet institutionalized. For that, there is a need for a stronger political leadership.

In this regard, participants underlined the important role of the OSCE CiO's Personal Representatives on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims in raising awareness about anti-Muslim bias among politicians and high-level governmental officials and in keeping this issue high on the agenda of the OSCE. They expressed support for the on-going cooperation between ODIHR and CiO's Personal Representative in the field of education. Many participants asked that further roundtables on intolerance and discrimination against Muslims be organized, as they provide a useful forum for discussion of crucial issues. Participants also welcomed ODIHR's new educational project on combating anti-Muslim hostility and prejudice, which aims at mapping educational practices and initiatives in this area and developing guidelines for educators.

The following provides a summary of recommendations that were put forward by roundtable participants. The recommendations were not adopted by the participants and they do not necessarily reflect the consensus of participants at the roundtable. They are directed to participating States, OSCE institutions and civil society.

Recommendations for OSCE participating States

1. Ensure that minority youth, including those with Muslim background, have equal access to health, housing, employment, education, counselling and other social services, by developing effective integration policies for their access to those services;

2. Increase the quality and quantity of cultural exchange programmes between Muslims and other groups, both domestically and internationally, including student exchanges, study trips and visits to local mosques, museums and cultural centres servicing Muslim communities in host societies;

3. Review all immigration and security policies which may reinforce prejudice and stereotypes against Muslim communities and individuals, including especially ethnic, cultural and religious profiling policies;

4. Extend governmental outreach initiatives with Muslim youth to include issues beyond security and prevention of radicalization, which can reinforce stereotypes that Muslims are a security problem;

5. Provide systematic financial and political support for grassroots organizations working actively with youth to promote tolerance, acceptance and non-discrimination;

6. Promote empirical and analytical research on the causes and consequences of intolerance and discrimination against Muslim communities in relation to young people, in order to develop more efficient and sustainable policies to counter anti-Muslim discourse. Encourage the creation of scholarships and awards for this purpose;

7. Develop formal and informal educational projects, teaching materials, and activities to counter anti-Muslim prejudices and enhance the understanding of cultural and ethnic diversity among Muslims communities;

8. Develop educational policies, strategies and programmes to create inclusive school environments where linguistic, ethnic, cultural and religious diversity is appreciated and the needs of students with different backgrounds, including Muslims, are taken into consideration;

9. Review school curriculum and text books to correct misrepresentation of Muslims and Islam and to recognize the contributions of Muslims to civilization, in particular in the fields of literature, history, science and art;

10. Incorporate teaching about intolerance and discrimination against Muslims into the whole curriculum, including history, science, arts, literature and citizenship education;

11. Ensure that Muslim students' right to freedom of religion and belief is respected and protected at all levels of the education system, in accordance with international human rights standards and protection of minority rights;

12. Design educational programmes and curricula in order to ensure that Muslim youth have opportunities to learn of their cultures and their mother tongues;

13. Pay special attention to the pre-service and in-service training of all educators, including principals, teachers and consultants, on why and how to confront cultural intolerance and religious discrimination against students of Muslim background;

14. Encourage the active engagement of school authorities with students of Muslim background and their parents by establishing regular contacts with them to exchange information on the educational progress of the students;

15. Instruct schools and colleges to prevent and effectively respond to school yard harassment and name-calling of students with Muslim backgrounds, including girls with headscarves.

1. Building on the success of the reference guide on Muslims in Spain, support the development of similar tools for other participating States, including France, Germany, Denmark, Austria and Switzerland;

2. Extend the experience and knowledge ODIHR gained in developing educational materials on anti-Semitism to the area of combating intolerance and discrimination against Muslims;

3. Implement the ODIHR projects on mapping of educational practices and on intolerance and discrimination against Muslims, as well as and the development of guidelines for educators on why and how to counter anti-Muslim prejudice and stereotypes, in cooperation with civil society and intergovernmental organizations, including UNESCO, the UN Alliance of Civilizations Initiative and the OIC;

4. Using Internet technology and visual materials, develop new projects more attractively designed for young people in order to sensitize them about the negative consequences of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims;

5. Create networks for youth NGOs and education experts dealing with intolerance and discrimination against Muslims;

6. Address issues concerning the exercise of the Muslims' right to freedom of religion or belief through the ODIHR Advisory Panel of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief;

7. Cooperate with Muslim NGOs to promote the Toledo Guiding Principles on Teaching about Religions and Beliefs in Public Schools;[21]

8. Conduct training and capacity building activities for NGOs addressing intolerance and discrimination against Muslims;

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[21] For background on and the text of the principles, see
<http://www.osce.org/publications/odihr/2007/11/28314_993_en.pdf>

9. Follow up the civil society recommendations of the 2007 OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office Conference on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims;[22]

10. Organize the next ODIHR roundtable with a special focus on gender aspects of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims;

11. Organize a follow-up youth event to bring together media professionals and youth organizations dealing with intolerance and discrimination against Muslims.

Recommendations for the OSCE Chairpreson-in-Office's Personal Representative on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims

1. Make public the reports of all past country visits, including to Denmark, Germany, France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and the United States;

2. Promote the convening of a high level conference on tolerance and non-discrimination against Muslims, as follow up to the 2007 OSCE Chair-in-Office Conference on Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims;

3. Encourage all participating States and OSCE institutions to intensify their efforts to counter intolerance and discrimination against Muslims.

Recommendations for Civil Society

1. Become familiar with the OSCE standards, mechanisms and platforms created to increase engagement with youth in combating intolerance and discrimination, including against Muslims;

2. Create youth forums to bring together religious leaders, the media, educators, and community leaders to discuss the causes and consequences of discrimination and intolerance against Muslims and to develop strategies to counter this phenomenon;

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[22] For information on the Conference and the text of the recommendations see
<http://tandis.odihr.pl/index.php?p=ki-mu,instru>

3. Organize awareness raising campaigns, intercultural and interfaith dialogue activities and training programmes to break stereotypes and reduce prejudice against Muslims;

4. Actively engage with governmental authorities at national and local levels, in particular educational authorities, with a view to better informing them about the needs and interests of Muslim students and supporting them in developing effective educational responses to the manifestations of anti-Muslim hatred and prejudice;

5. Establish targeted capacity building programmes to provide Muslim youth with awareness of political processes, and with skills on how to lobby effectively, voice their concerns, and work with the media and educational institutions.

List of Participants

NGO Representatives
1. Mr. Cenk Alican, Türkisch-Deutscher Studentenbund E.V.
2. Mr. Azer Bayramov, Youth Development Public Union
3. Ms. Jovana Bazerkovska, European Youth Forum (YFJ)
4. Mr. Mohamed Boudjenane, Canadian Arab Foundation (CAF)
5. Ms. Ayten Bulut, Muslimische Jugend in Deutschland e.V. (MJD)
6. Mr. Bircan Eker, Turkish Danish Network
7. Mr. Evren Erdener, European Students' Forum
8. Mr. Yasar Ersoy, Turkish Islamic Culture and Social Solidarity Union of Austria (ATIB)
9. Mr. Veysel Filiz, COJEP International- Conseil de la Jeunesse Pluriculturelle
10. Ms. Ruth Friedman, CEJI- Jewish Muslim Dialogue Programme
11. Mr. Abdelaziz Hamaoui, Cultural Islamic Centre of Valencia
12. Ms. Nazia Hussain, Open Society Institute
13. Mr. Mohammed Imran, Muslim Youth Helpline (MYH)
14. Mr. Elshad Iskenderov, Islamic Conference Youth Forum for Dialogue and Cooperation (ICYF-DC)
15. Ms. Nuzhat Jafri, Canadian Council of Muslim Women (CCMW)
16. Ms. Amila Jašarević, SOS against Racism in Denmark
17. Mr. Cemil Kabza, Western Thrace Minority University Graduates Association
18. Mr. Yasri Khan, Young Muslims of Sweden (YMS)
19. Ms. Banu Kurtulan, Verein zur Förderung des Gedankengutes Atatürks in Österreich
20. Mr. Mammet Mambetovi, Foundation for Research and Support of the Indigenous People of Crimea
21. Ms. Arzu Merali, Islamic Human Rights Commission (IHRC)
22. Ms. Salma Mirza, Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR)
23. Mr. Belit Nejat Onay, Türkischer Akademikerbund Hannover E.V.
24. Mr. Emre Ozdemir, Türkisch Islamische Stiftung für die Schweiz
25. Mr. Abdennur Prado, Junta Islàmica Catalana (JIC)
26. Mr. Bashy Quraishy, European Network against Racism (ENAR)
27. Mr. Malik Sezgin, European Muslim Union (EMU)
28. Mr. Nawar Shora, Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC)
29. Mr. Aydin Suer, Forum of European Muslim Youth and Student Organisations (FEMYSO)

Introducers
1. Dr. Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, the Book Foundation/Association of Muslim Social Scientists
2. Prof. Yasemin Karakasoglu, Bremen University, Intercultural Education Department

Intergovernmental Agencies
1. Ms. Maria Belen Alvarez Castro, EU Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA)
2. Mr. Ali Demirci, Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC)
3. Mr. Ufuk Gokcen, Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC)
4. Ms. Berjan Gordana, Council of Europe's North-South Centre
5. Mr. Jan Aga Iqbal, Organization of Islamic Conferences (OIC)

6. Mr. Gabriel Mazza, Council of Europe General Directorate of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport

OSCE Institutions:
7. Ms. Jo-Anne Bishop, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department, Head
8. Ms. Azra Junuzovic, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department, Hate Crime Reporting Officer
9. Amb, Omur Orhun, Chair-in-Office's Personal Representative on Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims
10. Mr. Taskin Tankut Soykan, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, Adviser on Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims.

Annexes

-Opening and Closing Remarks and Keynote Speeches-

Opening Remarks

R. Ambassador Ömür Orhun

Personal Representative of OSCE Chairman-in-Office on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims

I would first of all like to welcome all of you to this Roundtable.

Throughout the last four years, during which I had the pleasure of holding this office, I have always highly valued working with the civil society. Your contribution to the realization of our common objectives has been really significant. As you might remember, ODIHR and my self organized two previous Roundtables with Muslim NGO's; the first in September 2005 on general issues, and the second in May 2006 on Public Discourse. I look forward to a constructive meeting and especially to receiving your recommendations. In past OSCE meetings we heard enough rhetorical statements and time has really come for action and implementation of commitments.

At the outset I would also like to express my deep appreciation to everything the ODIHR did to realize this meeting. I am sure the ODIHR will explain their activities and projects. Therefore, I would like to begin my general remarks with a few observations and OSCE's normative framework on combating intolerance and discrimination against Muslims.

NORMATIVE FRAMEWORK

As the largest regional security organization, the OSCE has repeatedly emphasized the role of youth and education in combating racism and xenophobia and on promoting tolerance and mutual understanding. By way of giving some examples, I can cite the following:

- In the 2003 Maastricht Ministerial Decision, the OSCE has committed to target the younger generation in its efforts to raise awareness of the need for tolerance and the importance of recognition of peaceful coexistence.

- The 2007 OSCE Spanish Chairman-in-Office Declaration on the Bucharest High Level Conference on Combating Discrimination and Promoting Mutual Respect and Understanding encouraged the participating States to engage with and mobilize young

people and youth organizations in order to promote a culture of mutual respect, understanding and equality.

- Acknowledging the important role youth can play in fostering mutual respect and understanding between cultures and religions contributing to the promotion of democracy, human rights and fundamental freedoms,   Spanish Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE also held a Youth Forum in Madrid on 5-6 November 2007. Supporting Youth for Alliance of Civilizations Movement, the Madrid Youth Declaration acknowledged social inclusion as a primary method to overcome misunderstandings, disenfranchisement, and marginalization and encouraged the development of educational programs to promote mutual respect and tolerance.

On the other hand, the key role of education in fighting racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance among the younger generation has also been recognized in various OSCE Ministerial and Permanent Councils Decisions. As expressed in the 2003 Maastricht Ministerial Council Decision, the OSCE is resolved to take a stronger role in the field of education.

- In the context of confronting anti-Muslim hatred and prejudice, this issue was addressed more specifically in the Declaration of the Spanish Chairman-in-Office on Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims in 2007. The Chairmanship explained that education is a crucial means to prevent and address intolerance and discrimination against Muslims, as well as to promote integration and pluralism and to combat radicalization.

MY ACTIVITIES

Now I wish to summarize my activities in these fields. In parallel to the commitments and political declarations that I underlined a minute ago, as the OSCE Chairman-in Office's Personal Representative on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims, I tried to raise awareness of the crucial role that youth and education can (and does) play in confronting anti-Muslim attitudes and discrimination.

- During my country visits, I paid special attention to engaging with youth NGOs addressing intolerance and discrimination against Muslims.

- I tried to identify the challenges that Muslim youth belonging to immigrant or minority populations were facing in the OSCE region. In particular, I attempted to find answers to how intolerance and discrimination against Muslims was preventing them from fully participating in social, economic and political life of the societies in which they were living.

- I particularly focused on the questions concerning education: Do Muslim students have equal access to education? Are there educational policies and programs addressing the special needs of Muslim students of immigrant and minority origin? What are the direct or indirect discriminatory attitudes that Muslim students are facing at school? Are the text books free from anti-Muslim stereotypes and prejudices? Are the educators aware of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims? Do they know how to respond to manifestations of intolerance against Muslims in school settings? What are the teaching materials, educational policies and programs to confront anti-Muslim hatred and bias? (These and some other questions that I will share with you at the end of my remarks can best be addressed by you.)

- I also sought to obtain more information on the activities of governmental agencies, civil society organizations and Muslim initiatives addressing these challenges. This helped me to find some good practices which could be transferred to other countries.

- In my country reports and through my speeches at the conferences that I attended, I shared this information with the general public. These documents are available at ODIHR's TANDIS website, which is a very useful reference tool.

OBSERVATIONS

Unfortunately, in the course of my work I observed that in many OSCE countries young Muslims belonging to minority populations are often subject to exclusion and discrimination.

- Many Muslim students attend schools where the quality of education is very low (in some countries those schools are even called "black schools"), or are sent to special

schools for children with learning and behavioral difficulties. Although there is usually no official data on the religious background of students, in many participating States Muslim students have much lower literacy than the other students.

- Many Muslim students and their parents are concerned (and rightly so) that current integration discourse focuses only on assimilation, implicitly or explicitly requiring them to abandon their cultural identity as much as possible or make it invisible. In fact, this runs counter to the objective of integration, because it makes many Muslim students feel alienated from the rest of the society. The situation becomes even worse when anti-Muslim rhetoric dominates the responses to the demands of Muslim students for the accommodation of their identity in schools.

- Such an assimilationist approach does not help to increase sensibility about the special needs of Muslim students. For instance, in some OSCE participating States teaching about Islam in schools is still a problem because of the lack of necessary teaching material or qualified teachers. Many Muslims also complain that teaching about world religions are, in practice, conducted from a very narrow perspective which provides very little room for diversity. In this regard, I would like to draw your attention to ODIHR's Toledo Guiding Principles, which deals with teaching about (but not on) religions or beliefs in public schools from a human rights point of view.

- Muslim youth NGOs and community representatives rightly complain that educational authorities do very little to combat intolerance against Muslims. They emphasize that sometimes even text books reinforce stereotypes and misrepresentations about Muslims. They indicate that although there are various teaching materials on anti-Semitism and also on racism available for students and teachers, there is almost no teaching material on anti-Muslim stereotypes. I believe that ODIHR's recent initiative to develop guidelines for educators is a significant step forward in this area.

- It is essential that tolerance education addresses the specificities of anti-Muslim hatred and bias. General tolerance education or education on racism would not be enough to confront most commonly used anti-Muslim stereotypes.

- NGOs should actively participate in the development of educational tools, policies and programs addressing intolerance against Muslims, in order to make sure that these initiatives have a real impact on the ground.

FURTHER QUESTIONS THAT COULD BE ADDRESSED

In addition to the questions which I suggested to be addressed, you might consider to address the following also:

- What role political, religious and minority leaders should play to promote values of tolerance, mutual respect and non-discrimination, and to contribute to building inter-cultural dialogue?

- How civil society organizations and national human rights institutions can develop and ensure better outreach of tolerance-building programs for the youth? Do the national authorities have the necessary political will to cooperate with the civil society in this area?

- Are there good examples of coalition building efforts among civil society actors that could be shared within and even outside the region?

- Which initiatives are started by the youth? Do youth encounter specific problems when implementing these projects?

DIFFERENT TYPES OF EDUCATION

In my opinion, the main aim of education within our specific context should be to avoid social exclusion and ethnic/religious isolation. In other words, we must create a new vision for all for the future.

Before going into different types or segments of education, it needs to be underlined that education can be divided into two: formal and informal. Both are life long processes. On the other hand, training also needs to be addressed within this context.

Without claiming to have come up with a complete or comprehensive list, I believe segments of education can be divided into the following general categories:

- Pre-school and basic education
- Professional education
- Apprenticeship training
- Civic education: human rights, citizenship, ethics, ownership, participation, respect to others
- Education about religions, religious history, cultures and civilizations, including tolerance and diversity education
- Education on a specific religion (practices)
- Mother tongue education (cultural identity)
- Education at home
- Training on communication technologies
- Training for parents and elders (second generation)
- Education for the mainstream society members
- Training for teachers, imams and priests, law enforcement officials, etc.

I hope this list will facilitate your deliberations and will help us to clarify further recommendations.

Intolerance, discrimination and hate against Muslims is not a static phenomenon, but changes in its intensity, changes from place to place and from time to time. Therefore, an increased awareness is needed, first on the causes of this illness, and secondly on the remedies to be applied. I am sure the deliberations and recommendations of this Roundtable will be highly instrumental in that respect. I wish all the success to all of you.

Jo-Anne Bishop,
Head of the Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department,
OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

On Behalf of the ODIHR, I would like to greet and warmly welcome you all to this meeting and to Vienna.

We are delighted to have so many NGO participants from so many countries represented as well as representatives of IGOs and permanent missions to the OSCE. The fact that there is such as a strong turnout at a very busy time of the year attests to the commitments of everyone in here to the issues we will be discussing today.

This is the third NGO roundtable on intolerance and discrimination against Muslims. We hope that we will continue having these annual roundtables in the future, as long as there is a need and demand for them. We are very pleased to be able to co-host and co-organize this meeting together with Ambassador Orhun, the CiO's Personal Representative on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims. I would like to use this opportunity to thank him for his longstanding support for the work of the ODIHR Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Department and for the excellent co-operation we continue to share. I would like to also thank to the representatives of the Organization of Islamic Conference for providing financial support for some of the civil society representatives to attend the roundtable.

The aim of today's event is to facilitate discussion on the issue of intolerance and discrimination against Muslims in the OSCE region with a special focus on youth and education. We hope this meeting will also serve as an opportunity to further increase cooperation between the OSCE and civil society and to obtain concrete recommendations on ODIHR's work in these areas.

Although there are many familiar faces and many of you whom we have been cooperation with for a long time new, there are however, many new organizations represented here. Therefore, I would like to take a couple of minutes to provide a short overview of the ODIHR activities in the field of combating intolerance and discrimination against Muslims.

In ODIHR's annual reports on hate crimes and responses, we noted several findings in relation to youth and anti-Muslim hate crimes. First, youth were perpetrators of many attacks motivated

by hatred against Muslims, although the research indicated that anti-Muslim prejudice and stereotypes were lower among young people, comparing with older people. Young people who were perceived as Muslims also quite often emerged as victims of hate crimes. It is worrying that many incidents occurred in school premises. Muslim girls with headscarf and students attending Muslim schools were also targeted. Finally it was reported that many youth organizations, including those with specifically Muslim background, took various initiatives to combat intolerance and discrimination. These included monitoring on-campus intolerance and discrimination against Muslims, raising awareness about Muslims and Islam and providing legal and psychological support for the victims of hate crimes. In our Tolerance and Non-Discrimination Information System, you can find more information on educational and youth initiatives, especially examples of good practices, to counter intolerance and discrimination against Muslims.

As indicated in ODIHR's last hate crime report, hate crimes against Muslims are generally under-reported and under registered. One of the reasons for this is that there are very few NGOs monitoring hate incidents targeting at Muslims. With the view of increasing the capacities of NGOs in monitoring and responding hate crimes, in May 2008 the ODIHR organized training on hate crimes. A significant proportion of the NGOs attended this training was the ones dealing with intolerance against Muslims. Currently, we are working with together these NGOs to develop and implement small scale projects based on the skills and knowledge that they obtained during the training.

Taking into account the recommendations that came out of the second roundtable meeting, in 2007 the ODIHR launched a project which seeks to support the development of a series of country specific resource books on Muslim communities within the framework of its educational capacity building and awareness raising activities. This project aims to promote an increased understanding of Muslim communities living across the OSCE region and to provide a more complete overview of their role and contribution in society. In this respect, the books can be useful resource tools for journalist, policy makers and educators. They will contain facts, figures, short essays on different aspects of Muslim life and culture, directory of contacts and a glossary of Islamic terms. The first country-specific resource book was developed on the Muslim communities in Spain in partnership with Casa Arabe and its Institution of Muslim and Arab World Studies.

Moreover, in 2007 and 2008 the ODIHR intensified its efforts to seek into the possibilities of supporting the development of educational tools to counter intolerance against Muslims. In the beginning of June, we organized an assessment meeting with educational experts and Muslim community representatives to discuss the needs for the development of educational tools to counter anti-Muslim bias and prejudices. Based on the recommendations of experts, ODIHR started developing new educational project consisting of three main components: 1) development of a mapping exercise on educational practices and initiatives in this area, 2) drafting of guidelines for educators on why and how to counter intolerance against Muslims, and finally 3) creation of an expert network.

As we did before when we were developing the project on country specific resource guides on Muslim communities, we pay special attention to develop and implement this new educational project in cooperation with the civil society. Now we hope that this roundtable will also provide an opportunity to exchange views with the NGOs on ODIHR's new education project on combating intolerance and discrimination against Muslims.

In this spirit, I encourage you to speak openly and constructively. Make full use of this meeting as an informal, but meaningful, occasion to look forward, to identify good practice, and to recommend further action. And to think about the way that we can build bridges, coalitions and establish methods for engaging all communities in the battles against discrimination and intolerance. Now is the time to build trust, cooperation and mutual understanding.

I look forward to your recommendations – recommendations that our office will work hard to implement, of course.

I wish you – and us- a successful meeting.

Closing Remarks

R. Ambassador Ömür Orhun

Personal Representative of OSCE Chairman-in-Office on Combating Intolerance and Discrimination against Muslims

At the end of a long, but profitable day, I have little to say by way of concluding this meeting.

Let me start with the obvious.

Governments must ensure an education system that offers equal opportunity for developing knowledge, skills and capacities necessary for the youth to become productive, equal and engaged members of their societies.

On the other hand, such a system must also demonstrate a commitment to a shared society, where everybody understand and respect others.

We must recognize that education requires communication and communication generally contains educative elements.

Additionally, any educational system and the media have a role to play in order to avoid parochialism and to contribute to creation of intercultural dialogue. In that, face to face dialogue will play an important role for creation of mutual confidence and trust.

On the other hand, true meaning and value of education must be understood. Education brings enlightenment and helps to create awareness of rights and responsibilities.

A significant aspect of education is that we are born with a learning process and that process remains with us throughout our entire life. Education is not (and should not be) confined just to schools and text books. Therefore education should be seen as a continuous and life-long process.

It is vital for education to promote universally shared values. Education must also assist in development of peaceful, democratic and pluralistic societies based on respect to human rights, tolerance, non-violence and dialogue and understanding.

I would also like to add the responsibility of Muslims and Muslim communities to search for and seek adequate education for themselves, first and foremost for their children, but also for the frown-up.

At this stage, a word or two of caution might be in order.

We must avoid an education (or if you prefer an education system) for the wrong kind of social cohesion. In other words, people or pupils that have an open mind at the outset should not be led to feelings of hate and disrespect.

Secondly, if more concrete measures are not taken to empower and fully educate women, all our endeavors will be meaningless.

Finally, I have to underline the crucial role to be played by the youth in all these, both as a source of action and as a target group.

Before concluding my remarks, I wish to thank our moderators and introducers. I wish to add my appreciation once again to ODIHR for all their efforts. But, my deepest appreciation goes to all of you, participants and observers, for your valuable contributions. We had a lively debate and noted action oriented recommendations. The proceedings of this Roundtable will be put together in a report to be prepared by the ODIHR and we will appreciate to receive your written recommendations to reach the ODIHR as soon as possible, but not later than the end of this month.

Thank you all once more and have a safe journey back home.

Keynote Speech Concerning the Youth Sessions

Yasemin Karakasoglu, Bremen University, Intercultural Education Department

Dear Participants of the OSCE Roundtable Meeting on Youth and Education,

I am delighted, and it is an honour for me to speak to you during this first part of our workshop. Thank you very much, Tankut Soykan and Ambassador Ömür Orhun for the invitation to Vienna.

Before starting the analysis of the situation of young Muslims, I want to point to the frame of the discourse on Muslim Youth, especially in Europe:

1.) Muslim Youth in member states of the OSCE have - as we already heard in former workshops of the ODIHR - very different experiences with education, integration, and discrimination. In most of the western European countries, Muslim youth make up a substantial part of the migrant population. While in Germany, Sweden or Austria the youth have mostly Turkish or Bosnian roots, with their parents or grandparents having come to these states as former guest workers, in France they have North-African roots, and in Britain; Pakistani roots. Here, the existence of a large Muslim community has its origin in the colonial past of the countries of residence.

2.) Muslims in Europe are at a disadvantage when compared with other religious groups, despite being the largest religious minority in most of the European countries. They face discrimination in regards to housing, employment, and education. The negative image of Islam, on the side of many teachers, leads to low expectations from Muslim pupils, especially from Muslim girls, and hinders their upward mobility in education.

The ban of the headscarf in 10 of the 16 Länder in Germany leads to discrimination of those young Muslim women with headscarves, those who – despite all barriers – were successful in achieving a step up in higher education. As one of the results of discrimination in the education and formation systems, Muslims in the UK, the Netherlands, Germany and France have the highest unemployment rate. Many of them – compared to their non-Muslim peers in working age - have no specialized qualifications.

3.) The majority of Muslim communities in Western Europe and North America are built on younger generations, mostly below the age of 25. In addition, their birth rate in Europe is three times higher than that of non-Muslim Europeans, which is declining (Ömer Taspinar, the co-director of The Brookings Institution's project on Turkey). The Muslim population has doubled in the last 10 years to 4 percent of the European Union's population. About 1 million new Islamic immigrants arrive in Western Europe every year, and by 2050, one in five Europeans will likely be Muslim.

4.) This goes along with a high relevance of religious affiliation among Muslim youth, contrary to a mostly secularized public life in most of the member states of the OECD, where the impact of religion on the individuals is negligibly low. Even if this does not – on the side of the young Muslims – necessarily aline with active religious practice, this is one of the reasons for alienation between parts of the Muslim youth and the surrounding society.

As an example, more than two thirds of young Muslims in Germany consider themselves religious, whereas this is only the fact for one third of the Christian youth (Weltzels/Brettfeld 2007). Religious affiliation plays an important role in family relations, especially when it comes to searching for a husband or wife, but has negligible importance in regards to peer affiliation. In a survey we conducted among migrant young girls with different religious affiliations, we found out that Muslim girls did not regard religious conformity as a prerequisite for friendship (Boos-Nünning/Karakaşoğlu 2006).

5.) Muslim youth view themselves as equal with the natives of their countries of residence. They have gone to European schools, grown up with non-Muslim European friends, speak the country's language, mostly without any accent, and have childhood memories from the same streets, malls and cinemas. They are frustrated when society does not treat them as equals with their English, French or German peers. This discrimination occurs in all spheres of life - from employment opportunities, to being able to enter a dance club as easily as a native would. (Youth Views~ Islam in modern Europe: revivalism or alienation? by Talajeh Livani, 05 June 2007)

Impact of Intolerance against Muslims on Muslim Youth

In the Wilton Park Conference on 'Engaging with Muslim Youth in Europe and North America', Ambassador Ömür Orhun already stressed some crucial points that we will have to discuss again today, in the light of the developments since 2006 in the OSCE countries, where these remarks were made. At this conference, some general observations were made that are still valid. However, I also want to take the opportunity to question some others.

In this previous conference and statements regarding Muslim youth in Europe, it was stressed that they were becoming more and more alienated from the societies in which they lived. I would like to question this assumption. There is no reliable, valid long-term and internationally comparative data to show scientifically based evidence for this development. We only know about the current state with regards to satisfaction about conditions of life for Muslim youth. We know that Muslim youth, especially young men, are facing suspicion about their reliability as citizens of European states in the aftermath of 9/11. Several well-educated university students have research experience, even if data from the National Security Services of several countries prove that only a very small minority of young Muslims are involved with extremist groups. As a result, frustration about their acceptance as equal citizens of European states has increased in the post 9/11 period among Muslims – but this is true for the elderly as well as young people. There is no evidence that Muslim youth feel more alienated than the elderly generation.

We can identify causes for frustration, as Ambassador Ömür Orhun did:
1.   Disaffection caused by humiliation, mainly through negative media stereotyping and political discourse,
2.   Discrimination and manifestations of racism, at times resulting in hate crimes.
In this context, exclusion and lack of recognition is experienced as well as educational under-achievement and higher levels of unemployment. But the latter this does not necessarily relate directly to their religious affiliation as Muslims. Muslim populations in the US or Canada show that educational underachievement need not have anything to do with religious orientations or belonging to a specific religion, but is more closely connected to the families cultural and financial situation, which can be addressed to support the next generation's upward mobility.

I also have to disagree with Ambassador Ömür Orhun's analysis on another point he made in the Wilston Park Conference. There, he stressed that one of the crucial problems of Muslim

youth was a "lack of a real sense of community or cultural identity; being in between two cultures/systems, thus leading to an identity crisis." The theory of clear-cut cultural identities underlying this analysis does not apply to the reality of identity building processes among immigrant Muslim youth in multicultural Western societies, where the urban context is the determinant factor for the Muslim youth. As you said, Ambassador Orhun, "Today, Paris, London, Berlin, Amsterdam, etc. are now Muslim cities also". This also results in the emergence of forms of artistic and popular entertainment and consumption that find their inspiration in Islam, and attracts more and more Muslim youngsters.

A German researcher, Julia Gerlach (2007), spoke of a hybrid construction of "Pop-Islam" attracting young urban Muslims in search of an authentic youth movement versus the religiously rigid "Dschihad-Islam", which only attracts a minority among them. Here I want to point your attention to an ongoing research programme at the ISIM-Chair at the University of Amsterdam (Annelies Moors), which will run from mid-2008 through 2011, that investigates whether the emergence of Islamic cultural practices and performances contributes to the development of a transnational Muslim public in Europe, while, at the same time, paying attention to how the public may be fractured by nationality, ethnicity, class, gender, generation, and religiosity.

Rather than in the context of Islamic extremism, the situation of Muslim Youth should be discussed in relation to contemporary debates on multiculturalism, identity politics and cultural citizenship. This is the framework, which should be the focus of studies on Muslim Youth in OSCE-Member states, not the security issue.

The lack of acceptance for their particular hybrid identity can lead Muslim youth in Europe to feel alienated from both non-Muslim and Muslim communities. They often feel that European communities discriminate against them. But "Muslim communities can also increase the alienation of youth by being too fragmented to offer positive role models to Muslim youth" (Ari Greif 2007, United States Institute of Peace).

Here, I want to stress the role of parents and their need for advice, training and coaching in questions of education in order to gain mutual understanding and tolerance in multicultural societies.

Again, I cite Ari Greif from the United States Institute of Peace: "Parental pressure can lead Muslim youth to feel alienated because some parents may only accept one option of identity for their children. If parents try to force their children to behave in any particular way, their children may react by hiding their actions, thus cutting themselves off from the bonds of supportive parents." (Ari Greif 2007)

Younger Muslims seem to be less interested in maintaining the divisions between the various ethnic groups, but are in search of a more globalized perspective on Islam. In Sweden, for example, the largest youth organisation, Sveriges Unga Muslimer (Sweden's Young Muslims, SUM), is based on the Islamic faith, not on a specific ethnic affiliation (on this organisation, see, for example, Larsson, 2003c, Schmidt, 2002, and Schmidt, 2004). This organisation was started in 1995. It has approximately 10,000 members, and consists of 40 local organisations" (Report on Muslims in Sweden of the Open Society Institute from 2007).

Initiatives like this can be found in most of the Member states of OSCE, and they show that the essential question for Muslims living in Germany, France, Sweden or Britain is, like the charismatic scholar Tariq Ramadan, puts it, "to find a way "to be both Muslim and British or German or Swedish". This reflects one of the leading ideologies in the Muslim youth movement in Europe.

In the eyes of John Esposito, Professor of Islamic Studies at Georgetown University, the Muslim youth of Europe are taking part in a silent revolution. Although they are European, young western-born Muslims do not let national allegiances bind them.

They feel free to experiment and adopt different identities, often adopting multiple allegiances to suit their needs. At the same time, they are rejecting the old ideologies of the last generation and the polemics of nationalism. They are creating entirely new structures of thought and are comfortable with their multiple identities. "Muslim youth are offering new pathways for the interaction of religion and politics in European societies, largely by challenging the limits of public expression of faith. While their parents had a personal and internal faith, the Muslim youth of Europe subscribe to an external faith that "links their tradition with political and social structures" (Identity Crisis: European Muslim Youth Search for a Place: *Usman Mushtaq,* February 11th, 2008: in: PPT (Pitt Political Review, Volume 6, Fall 2007)

Studies, based on qualitative data, show that it is not the most pressing problem for Muslim youth to live multiple or hybrid religious or national identities in these cities. However, it is a

challenge to develop and cultivate such identities and be accepted with these identities by the societies of residence. This seems to be much easier in countries that define themselves as multicultural like Britain, Canada, the Netherlands or Sweden, in comparison to exclusive Nation states like France or Germany.

On the other hand, the multicultural ideology is not a guarantee that this feeling be integrated on the side of members of ethnic, racial or religious minorities. For some countries of residence it seems more problematic to accept this process of identity building as an integral part and result of the era of post-modernity. This can lead to alienation by the country they live in (Ari Greif, 2007, http://www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2007/0821_muslim_youth.html).

As a result, identification with the country of birth or residence is very different within the community of young Muslims in Europe. While 70 % of young Muslims in Britain identify themselves as British only a minority of Muslims would say this, for instance, in Germany (6% in a recent study on Muslim migrant girls in Germany, Boos-Nünning/Karakasoglu 2006). Not to identify with the surrounding nation does not necessarily mean that young Muslims in Germany or in Austria don't feel at home in their country of residence. The same survey shows that young Muslims in Germany feel like members of the country of origin of their families, and they also feel at home in Germany, and they are interested in fitting into the general framework of society. This difference between self-identification among British and German young Muslims is closely connected to the specific migration history of the Muslim community in the different OECD countries. While the presence of a respective large amount of Muslims in Germany dates back only 50 years, Muslims in Britain or in France have a longer history of migration because of the colonial ties between their countries of origin and the countries of residence.

Again, at the Wilston Park conference, it was said that the labour market is – somehow – segmented because of Muslim youth are looking for jobs in service sectors, construction, and farming, but not in white collar professions. I would like to stress that this is not a matter of choice, but a matter of qualification, on the one hand, and discrimination, on the other hand.

In addition, it is often said that not knowing the language of the country is one crucial point in entering into the labour market. But alienation is not only a question of language or professional skills. Most of the Muslim youngsters are fluent in the language of the country they live or are born in. In most cases, it is their first or second mother tongue. But this does not reveal their

achievement in education. Granato revealed, that even if success in education is achieved, it does not necessarily lead to a successfully integration into the labour market, as we can see from recent surveys in Germany. Even those Muslim students achieved the same grades in secondary education as their non-Muslim peers, migrant students are discriminated against in their access to the labour market (2007).

Europe-wide, Muslims are 15 to 40 percent less likely to be employed than the average European (Report of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia on Discrimination against Muslims in the European Union 2006).

"Disaffection and alienation is commonplace among all young people and over generations. It is part of growing up; a rite of passage, it is argued. The Muslim Youth Helpline, recently set up in the UK, deals with the variety of problems faced by all younger people relating to relationships, sexuality, depression, etc. There is an issue, however, about whether depression amongst some Muslims might be caused by, or exacerbated by a feeling of humiliation fuelled by negative media stereotyping about Muslims, by discrimination, and by racism. Fear, anger, isolation, frustration, rootlessness, vulnerability, and despair are all emotions which, when experienced by young Muslims, could contribute to alienation and exclusion, which then can be exploited by others.

A lack of recognition of their religious identity, marginalisation and deprivation, educational under-achievement, higher levels of unemployment, concern over local and national policing and the handling of arrests, over-representation in prisons (in the UK 8-10% of the prison population is Muslim), and endemic racism have contributed to a sense of frustration and resentment amongst many Muslim youths."(Robin Hart, Wilton Park Conference WPS05/3 Muslim Youth in Europe: Addressing alienation and extremism: 7 – 10 February 2005, p.3)

Discussions about whether or not Muslim youth 'fit in' and 'identify as European' tend to focus on small minorities within Muslim communities who can be identified as orthodox or pious young Muslims, which make 15% of the young Muslim population and a much smaller groups of extremists among the fundamentalists, ready to use violence to achieve their goals. They only make 1% of the whole Muslim population in Germany (according to German Ministry for the Interior).

But public discourse on Islam that focuses on its so-called anti-democratic character lead to more rigidly expressed attitudes towards Islamic life style. For instance, a panel survey among Turkish immigrants in the German Land of Northrhine-Westfalia showed that in a time span of three years, young Turkish interviewees, in 2004, where twice as often convinced of the idea that women should wear a headscarf in public than in 2001 (24%).

Solutions

I think, again in this conference, we have to stress, as you did in the Wilston Park Conference, that the Muslim populations in general and the Muslim youth in particular, should not be seen as a security risk or threat, they simply aren't such. Therefore, soft solutions rather than police measures need to be preferred in order to give Muslim youth a realistic chance to become an active and integral part of the society. And additionally, here I also agree with you Ambassador Orhun, "necessary resources must be allocated."

The existing activities of Muslim youth organizations to help in the identity finding process of young Muslims in Europe help fight frustration and alienation and, as a consequence, also hinder radicalisation. These groups need to be strengthened.

In this respect not only youth itself should be the focus for example with the expanding opportunities for youth mobilization, such as youth movements and student exchange programs, but also the public discourse on Muslim youth in Europe has to be enriched by practical examples of successful young Muslim individuals who manage to create new European Muslim identities. They can serve both as role models for Muslim youth, and as images that diffuse wide spread prejudices against Muslim youth in the country of residence.

I agree with Ambassador Orhun in the call for governments to work with Muslim communities to increase their sense of belonging and participation. Especially the young Muslim generation should be assisted and encouraged to engage in mainstream political activities.

Other requests he made in Wilston Park (Ömür Orhun 2006) are still valid, some of them should be – in a widened version - stressed here again:

a) Civic education for all members of society, which addresses issues of identity, and fosters respect for diversity. This includes inter and cross-cultural education to increase understanding, and an inclusive education about the world and its peoples,

b) media literacy training,

c) religious education, so that we can get to know one's own and other's surrounding religions,

d) A focus on the educational and professional formation of Muslim youth in those countries where their religious affiliation is closely connected to belonging to a subproletarian part of the society. Here, individualized educational an professional training programs are needed to meet the needs of very different groups of Muslim migrants

e) Training for teachers and law enforcement officials on the vivid Islam in Europe and other member states of the OSCE, to foster an understanding of identity building processes of Muslim youth in secularized societies. And – in addition – training programs for Imams and Muslim authorities on the conditions of multicultural socialisation of youth in European cities.

There are examples for Muslim Youth initiatives that follow these principles. I cite Ari Greif and we will hear from more initiatives already established in different member states of the OSCE later on in this conference:

1. The Muslim Youth Helpline was formed by a young British Muslim woman who gives advice to other Muslim youth;

2. The Emel magazine publishes fashionable articles friendly to a conservative audience involved in European culture

3. The Digital Halal Network's "The Muslim Blog" in Denmark holds open forums for Muslim youth to discuss relevant issues of the day.

4. The digital journal for Muslim youth in Germany "ufuq.de", which is sponsored by the Federal Center for Politicy Education (Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung)

These burgeoning communities are starting to help Muslim youth, but their efforts could be broadened to reach more people. Muslim youth can also create programs on issues of concern that cross religious groups. British Muslim participants suggested that Muslim youth work with other UK youth who are against the war in Iraq in lobbying efforts. Such cross-religious efforts will make Muslim youth feel that they are constructively engaged in influencing policy, and a part of a larger European community. An existing model is the French organization Ni Putes ni Soumises ("Neither Prostitutes Nor Submissives"), comprised of Muslim and non-Muslim girls

from Parisian suburbs, who promote awareness of physical and sexual violence against girls."
(Ari Greif at Wilton Park 2007)

Useful sites

1. Ecumenical youth council Belgium http://www.eyce.org/
2. ODIHR-Zusammenfassung der Wilson-Park Konferenz: http://www.osce.org/documents/pr/2007/02/26903_en.pdf
3. Sehr guter Artikel von Olivier Roy (2007): http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2007-05-03-roy-en.html
4. Wiss. Artikel über Muslimische Jugend in Europa 2008: http://www.pittpoliticalreview.org/?p=24
5. http://www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2007/0821_muslim_youth.html (Ari Greif)
6. http://www.eyce.org/ECUMENICAL YOUTH COUNCIL IN EUROPE
7. Garbi Schmitt, Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
8. http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713433220
9. Islamic identity formation among young Muslims: the case of Denmark, Sweden and the United States (Garbi Schmidt Online Publication Date: 01 April 2004

Keynote Speech Concerning the Education Sessions (Extract)
Jeremy Henzell-Thomas, Association of Muslim Social Scientists

Dear Participants and OSCE representatives

In this presentation, I would like to focus on practical rather than conceptual issues. My understanding is that the key purpose of this session is to identify good practice as part of the general mapping exercise aiming to examine educational approaches, methodologies, curricula and teaching resources which can help to combat intolerance against Muslims.

To give myself time to do that, I will take some broad assumptions as my point of departure. You may of course want to discuss these during the session.

1. Intolerance against Muslims exists in the education system.
2. This intolerance perpetuates alienation, exclusion, marginalisation, discrimination, educational underachievement, and even violence against Muslims.
3. Long–term education is an essential component of any strategy to combat such intolerance. It may well be the most important remedy of all.
4. Educational initiatives to promote mutual respect and understanding of Muslims across the OSCE region are limited. As a result, there is a lack of guidance for educators to accommodate the needs of Muslim students, a lack of comprehensive policies, programs or strategies to deal with intolerance and discrimination against Muslims, and a lack of teaching materials on anti-Muslim stereotypes comparable to existing teaching materials to counter anti-Semitism and general racism.

You will forgive me for drawing heavily on what I know about the British educational system in what follows. In doing so I try to identify examples of good practice which may be applicable more widely in Europe, and at the very least they point to the major issues that need to be addressed. The examples may not often appear to address the problem of Islamophobia directly, but they indicate ways in which existing good practice in diversity education could be extended to make more explicit reference to intolerance against Muslims.

Of course, there are many others present here who are familiar with other systems of education within Europe, and I look forward to learning from them. We all need to put our knowledge together so that we can form a comprehensive picture of the situation within the OSCE region.

I believe strongly that the problem of intolerance against Muslims within the education system cannot be dealt with solely by focusing on the correction of negative depictions of Muslims. It is imperative that we make such corrections, of course, but our task is greater than that. Intolerance is the outcome of an essentially impoverished education, one that does not teach young people to think critically, or to develop other higher-order cognitive, affective, moral and spiritual faculties, such as empathy. Most current education systems are geared to a utilitarian agenda which places disproportionate emphasis on those functional skills which are designed to benefit national economic development goals. As a result, there has been a marked decline in the holistic education that can realize full human potential, including the higher faculties, virtues and human values with which we are all innately endowed and which the educational process is ideally intended to unwrap.

I would therefore like to situate the themes before us within a wide holistic context, ranging over the following 12 topics, though referring to some only very briefly:

1. Citizenship in the School Curriculum
2. Critical Thinking Skills and Dialectic
3. Moral and Spiritual Development
4. Education in the Humanities
5. Text Books
6. Bilingualism/Multilingualism
7. Pupil Voice
8. Teacher-Training
9. Inter-cultural Exchange
10. Community Links
11. Educational System Infrastructure
12. School Leadership

I would also like to highlight one very important principle. This is the imperative to engage with others and contribute to society as a whole, and not only to demand and complain. The

existence of Islamophobia should not justify the use of the word as a label to fend off criticism, to cease striving for greater excellence, or to isolate us from other people of goodwill.

I will return to this theme in my brief discussion of textbooks and, in particular, the work of the Council on American Education (CIE) founded by Shabbir Mansuri. By all means, examine textbooks and expose their limitations, but our task should be to replace them with better ones. We can only do this effectively by understanding the detailed process by which textbooks are produced and accepted as resources within a specific curriculum, and engaging positively with all the stakeholders in the system. This is a long-term process which requires professionalism, tenacity, communicative competence, and a spirit of positive engagement. Above all, real change comes about through convincing others that we have superior knowledge, not just by shouting about what offends us.

1. Citizenship

The Citizenship component of The British National Curriculum requires teachers through its diversity strand to foster understanding and respect for cultural, racial, ethnic and religious diversity and provides well-developed principles and programmes of study to support this strand.

For example, at Key Stage 4 (age 14-16) the scheme of work giving guidance on teaching about diversity includes Unit 3, "Challenging racism and discrimination". This scheme of works prescribes that pupils should be taught, amongst other things, "the origins and implications of the diverse national, regional, religious and ethnic identities in the UK and the need for mutual respect and understanding", as well as "use their imagination to consider other people's experiences and be able to think about, express, explain and critically evaluate views that are not their own." The non-statutory guidelines for Key Stage 4 Personal, Social and Health Education also provide a context within which pupils can learn, for example, "to challenge offending behaviour, prejudice, bullying, racism and discrimination assertively and take the initiative in giving and receiving support" as well as "to work cooperatively with a range of people who are different from themselves."

At Key Stage 3 (age 11-14) one of the key concepts in the Programme of Study is that "Diversity, toleration, respect and freedom are values by people with different beliefs and traditions within a democracy".

I would like to look at two important resources for teaching Diversity and Citizenship in the UK.

The first is a detailed 70-page practical guide entitled *Education for Citizenship, Diversity and Race Equality: Individuals engaging in Society* (ECDRE) produced by the Citizenship Foundation and the anti-discrimination charity *me too* in the UK and updated in 2003. This is designed to support teachers, youth workers and others working more informally with young people in a variety of settings.

The second is the *Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review* (DCCR) published in 2007. This runs to 126 pages.

ECDRE identifies two approaches:

1. The multi-cultural approach, which seeks to promote positive images of the range of cultures in contemporary Britain.

Common elements of this approach include:

a) Introducing pupils to elements of local cultures in any given area such as food and clothing, making visits to places of worship or arranging talks from members of the local community.

b) Encouraging the view that expressions of cultural identity are natural, desirable and enriching and that they should be regarded with respect;

c) Helping students to appreciate that cultures are not fixed, that they interact and influence each other and, further, that individuals should not be stereotyped or regarded as confined by one particular culture but are free to choose forms of identity and culture through which to express themselves as individuals and as members of different – and increasingly multiple – communities.

d) Ensuring that the curriculum as a whole and subjects in particular avoid a white, anglo- or Euro-centric view on issues where other national, ethnic or religious perspectives should properly be acknowledged as relevant and legitimate;

e) Encouraging good relations with all ethnic groups represented in the community;

f) Ensuring that equal opportunities policies across the whole school are in line with a 'respect for all' curriculum policy, encouraging young people to feel that they can achieve their full potential in society irrespective of their racial or cultural background. [I suggest that it would be appropriate to add "religious" to this list of backgrounds].

2. The anti-racist approach, which criticises the 'softly softly' approach of multi-culturalism as too conservative and argues that education should be a more powerful tool for social change.

Common elements of this model include:

a) the need for whole-school policies to ensure the rights of all students to equality of opportunity and treatment irrespective of race, colour, nationality, ethnicity, culture of religion;

b) the need for teachers, schools and educational practices to be sensitive to the dangers of institutional racism; [and to that we might add, "institutional Islamophobia"]

c) the need to be aware of the dangers of stereotyping students along racial lines, which can create self-fulfilling prophecies as far as educational attainment is concerned; [again, we need to add, "stereotyping students along religious lines"]

d) the need for the whole curriculum to reflect the reality of our multi-cultural society and to recognise the hidden messages about power and influence sent out by an anglo- or Euro-centric curriculum [and to that we might add "Judeo-Christian civilisation" which excludes or minimises the contribution of Islam to Western civilisation]

According to ECDRE, it is generally agreed today that both approaches need to be present within the overall educational framework if it is to promote knowledge and understanding between people of different cultures [and we might add, "religions"], and also upholds various principles which have been "widely accepted within the teaching profession in the UK".

These include the following:

a) The school curriculum should not be seen as a way of imposing a single view of what it means to be English or British;

b) The subtleties of institutional racism [to which we should add "Islamophobia"] are increasingly being recognised, including the fact that the teacher's own views can influence the extent to which they take seriously incidents such as racial harassment;

c) Awareness is rapidly growing that pupils themselves can contribute a great deal towards the improvement of their own schools, including the appropriateness of the curriculum, through the use of questionnaires and school councils.

Since the publication of ECDRE, a third approach has emerged, and is still being debated. This is what could be called the "Shared Values" approach, now apparently favoured by the British government as the preferred way to build social cohesion. This approach has been described in the recent book entitled *The Home We Build Together* by the chief Rabbi, Jonathan Sacks. Here, Sacks calls for a new approach to national identity, one that is based on a coherent national narrative embracing shared interests and values instead of the multi-culturalism that was intended to reduce social friction but is only (according to this model) producing a society of conflicting ghettoes. He describes a new model of citizenship based on responsibility to a society connected by the ideas of giving and belonging instead of individual rights or pressure groups demanding special treatment. This new paradigm sees society as "the home we build together", bringing the distinctive gifts of different groups to the common good.

I will leave aside any discussion of this new model, which, despite its strengths, has provoked certain suspicions as well as considerable soul-searching and argument about what the shared values are supposed to be, because I want to return to the practical agenda laid out in the ECDRE.

This proposes that diversity can be promoted through seven teaching approaches, as follows:

1. Knowledge and understanding approach
2. Legal and human rights approach
3. Moral reasoning approach
4. Public discourse (controversial issues) approach

5. Empathy approach

6. Modelling good anti-racist practice

7. Experiential approach

For each approach, it specifies aims, methods and advantages, gives specific examples and refers to available materials.

I have copies of the seven pages from the guide detailing all seven approaches.

For example, for the first approach (Knowledge and understanding) it specifies the following:

Aims
To improve inter-cultural understanding and to challenge racially motivated rumour, prejudice or stereotype.

Methods
Factual input from the teacher, talks from visitors, interviewing, pupil research etc.

Advantages
Encourages pupils to value rationality over prejudice, to question unjustified statements, to challenge bigotry. It allows the sociological examination of racism and its detrimental effects on people's lives.

Examples
1. Teaching that many immigrants were invited to Britain to do jobs white people were reluctant to do (this counters the notion of immigrants as 'scroungers');
2. Looking at successive episodes of incoming peoples from Roman times to the present day to counter the notion of Brutishness as ethnically pure or that immigration is a recent phenomenon;
3. Teaching about customs and practices which many pupils may not be familiar to all pupils, such as those associated with Ramadan.

Materials

The website of the Council for Racial Equality with its materials on ethnic diversity.

Part 2 of ECDRE (pages 29-70) is a detailed guide to Resources, including textbooks and classroom resources covering racism, multi-cultural education, inter-cultural understanding, migration of peoples, and religion and culture; media-based resources; teaching guides; further reading; and other resources such as magazines and exhibitions. Further reading suggestions include the influential report *Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All* prepared by the Runnymede Trust in 1997.

I have some copies here of the description of one such resource presented on page 41 of ECDRE. This refers to a booklet of 36 pages produced by the Minority Rights Group International in London and entitled *Forging New Identities: young refugees and minority students tell their stories – views from London and Amsterdam*. This is suitable for secondary school pupils. It is based on a year-long exchange between two schools and features young people with origins in many countries, including Afghanistan, Kurdistan, Morocco, Pakistan and Somalia. Now based in London or Amsterdam, they give first hand accounts of their backgrounds and their memories of the countries they have been forced to leave behind. They also talk about their experiences of being at their new schools and their hopes for the future. The booklet includes notes and worksheets for teachers. It enables pupils to listen to the authentic voices of a diverse group of young refugees and to see them as human beings in a way that refugees are not always portrayed. It is only one of many resources described in the guide. It shows the format for all the resources described in the Guide, giving title, description in a nutshell, date, author, publisher, format, target students, price, where available from, and a summary.

Now let us briefly look at the second major resource on citizenship and diversity, *The Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review* (DCCR) published in 2007.

Some of the key findings of this report are as follows:

1. Despite much good practice in trailblazing schools, the quality and quantity of education for diversity are uneven. [I would add that we need to determine how uneven such education is

within Europe, for if it is uneven within the UK, as it surely is, it may well be nevertheless that the UK is in many respects far ahead of many European countries].

2. Several crucial factors impede the realisation of our vision:

- Not all school leaders have bought in fully to the imperative of education for diversity for all schools, and its priority is too low to be effective [I take up this crucial point in the final section of this presentation].
- Some teachers lack confidence in engaging with diversity issues and lack the training opportunities to improve in this area.
- Pupils' voice is not given enough consideration in this area.
- Links with the community – a rich resource for education for diversity – are often tenuous or non-existent.
- The resource of minority ethnic teachers for supporting education for diversity needs to be nurtured.
- Schools do not always recognise the clear link between the promotion of education for diversity and the raising of standards.
- There is insufficient teacher-training, in Initial Teacher Training (ITT), Continuing Professional Development (CPD) or in the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH)

In relation to Citizenship, some of the key findings were as follows:

- There is a huge variation in the amount and quality of Citizenship provision in schools, partly because of the flexible or 'light touch' approach which schools interpret widely.
- One of the biggest challenges to delivering Citizenship education was having it taught by non-specialists
- Much Citizenship education in secondary schools is not sufficiently contextualised for pupils to become interested and engaged with the local, national and international questions of the day.

A full summary of the Key Findings and 24 major recommendations is presented on pages 6-13 of the report.

2. Critical Thinking Skills and Dialectic

We need to be able to help young people to examine critically the issues that are facing them and which they see on their TV screens and in their own communities.

Clearly, effective diversity education which fosters mutual respect and understanding needs to be linked to education in a range of thinking skills, culminating in the higher-order skills associated with the process of dialectic – that is, the critical engagement (often though discussion) with alternative viewpoints which enables us to advance in knowledge and understanding through refining our ideas and correcting our prejudices. One of the founding principles of Western civilisation is based on Plato's affirmation that the process of philosophical dialectic (that is the testing process of critical enquiry through inquiry, discourse, dialogue and discussion) is immeasurably superior to rhetoric, which, if not firmly subordinated to knowledge and reason, is roundly condemned as emotional manipulation.
Dialectical thinking is regarded by many cognitive psychologists as the highest stage of cognitive development.

But let us not attribute this founding principle of Western civilisation solely to the Greeks. As I shall suggest in due course, we need to improve textbooks by ensuring that they faithfully represent the enormous contribution of Islam to the shaping of Western civilisation. [...]

It might be hoped that with so much teacher talk in our schools, a good proportion of it might be directed towards the development of creative and critical thinking, inquiry and problem solving. Not so. In fact, a wide-ranging survey of British secondary schools reveals less than ten percent of teacher talk is concerned with the development of higher order thinking skills. Most of it is directed to mere control and management, including keeping order and giving instructions. The rest of it (apart from the paltry amount involved in getting students to think) is low-level transmission of facts and information. Roland Barth, Professor of Education at Harvard University, reports the estimate of John Goodlad and others that 85 percent of lesson time in American schools is taken up by a prevailing pedagogy based on teachers talking and students listening, occasionally interspersed with teacher-directed discussion. Barth calls this the 'Transmission Model of Knowledge' (or 'Sit and Git'), the dominant instructional regime with a disproportionate amount of didactic teacher-talk.

If we want young people to be able to deconstruct prejudice and bigotry, then they need to be taught to think critically for themselves. We need to map out to what extent European schooling systems are teaching students how to think and identify what programmes exist, and where the best practice is. We also need to evaluate not only those approaches which rely on specific thinking skills programmes but also those which attempt to embed thinking skills throughout the whole curriculum.

A promising approach promotes "philosophical enquiry" amongst children in the classroom.

Unlike so many "critical thinking" approaches which focus almost exclusively on techniques of logical reasoning, this approach tries to include some aspects of the moral dimension as a key element of teaching thinking. "Ideal critical thinkers display a number of intellectual virtues: seeking truth (they care that their beliefs are true; they therefore seek alternatives, and support views only to the extent that they are justified by available information), being honest (with yourself and other people), and respecting the dignity and the worth of others (listening attentively to the views of others, avoiding scorn and intimidation of others, and showing concern about the welfare of others)."

3. Moral and Spiritual Development

We need to evaluate what provision exists in school systems for the moral and spiritual development of young people, for it is obvious that the development of higher virtues must play a big role in fostering respect for diversity. This extends beyond daily acts of religious worship and the provision of religious education as a school subject to the way in which moral and spiritual values are embedded across the curriculum and in the ethos of the school.

[…]

It is important to realise that such a framework of key themes needs to be presented to pupils and students "not only directly, as part of the explicit content of the curriculum, but also implicitly and incidentally in the exemplars, materials and cultural reference points that are used to illustrate abstract ideas; the texts, activities, materials and assignments that appear in skill-based subjects, for example ICT, design and technology, literacy and numeracy; the stories,

subjects and situations explored in art, dance, drama and music; displays, exhibitions, signs and visual materials in classrooms and public areas; the use of visiting speakers, artists, musicians and storytellers; assemblies and collective worship; journeys and visits to places of interest; involvement in national projects; links with schools in other countries or other parts of Britain; and – not least – casual comments and conversations."

4. Education in the Humanities

A vital element in education which fosters mutual respect and understanding has to be the opportunities it gives young people to understand the human condition in all its diversity and complexity. We must resist the trend in modern utilitarian schooling systems to marginalize or trivialise many humanities subjects such as history, geography, and modern languages. This impoverishment of the curriculum will only ensure that ignorance of the richness of human heritage and diversity is compounded by incompetence in cross-cultural communication, and this will remove our young people even further from that rich educational experience which is a prerequisite for truly human development.

5. Text Books

The 1999 Berlin Declaration (Agenda for Future Action) adopted at the close of the International Conference on *Dialogue of Cultures: The Future Relations between Western and Islamic Societies* set out some concrete aims of intercultural dialogue which included (amongst others) the elimination of stereotypes from school text books.

According to the 2006 Wilton Park conference report (see note 4)"There is widespread agreement that greater knowledge about Islam is needed in Europe, and equally about the West in Muslim majority societies. This requires commitment and long-term planning. Some cite the positive results of the UK experience in introducing multi-faith religious education into schools, begun some 30 years ago. This requires not only a gradual change in the content of text books and other teaching materials, and the structure of syllabuses. It also involves training a new generation of teachers. Many European countries retain church-controlled forms of religious education, and some have no religious education at all."

The same report refers specifically to the need to improve the teaching of history in Europe and the Islamic world. "The achievement and contributions of Islamic civilisations to the progress of mankind should receive greater recognition in the teaching of history in the West. The Research Centre for Islamic History, Art and Culture, based in Istanbul, is undertaking a project of random sampling of history textbooks, in cooperation with other organisations. The Council of Europe has a longstanding involvement in this area. In the USA, the Council on Islamic Education…reviews public school books from a multicultural perspective to prevent use of stereotypical depictions."

The British Council is currently developing an ambitious project entitled *Our Shared Europe* in response to what they describe as "one of the major cultural challenges facing our continent today – the growing mutual mistrust between Muslim communities and wider European society". The project seeks to "find common ground and build shared values, perspectives and behaviours that are based on mutual respect and trust. In particular, it is about how to acknowledge the contribution of Islamic communities and cultures – both in the past but also in the present – to the shaping of contemporary European civilisation and society. This means recognising the rich and diverse roots of our culture and society and using this recognition to build a more inclusive view of the continent that we all share."

In relation to this need to build an inclusive view of our common heritage, there is growing recognition of the need to initiate a comprehensive process of historical reconciliation between Islam and the West.

A model for the transformation of text books is provided by the work of the Council on Islamic Education (CIE) in the USA founded and directed by Shabbir Mansuri. This pioneering work was initiated by Shabbir when he was confronted by stereotypes in American textbooks, one of which apparently represented the entirety of Islamic civilisation in one image – that of a camel. CIE developed into a national resource for educators, textbook publishers, education officials, curriculum developers and other education professionals. It draws on the knowledge and expertise of scholars of history, religion, education and other disciplines at major universities and institutions throughout the USA, as well as curriculum developers and teachers. It works with textbook publishers during the development of new history and social science instructional materials, conducts in-service workshops for schools and school districts, and produces

supplementary resource materials for educators to help them teach about Muslim and world history.

Example units include a 350-page thematic collection of cross-cultural teaching resources entitled *The Emergence of Renaissance: Cultural Interactions between Europeans and Muslims,* and a 175-page sampler of literature from Muslim civilisation entitled *Beyond a Thousand and One Nights.*

The material is linked to required learning standards and links texts and activities to topics in a way which enables the teacher to select material for middle school, high-school or mixed ability students.

The key to the success of CIE is its inclusive approach which set out to understand every detail of the process by which educational materials are produced, disseminated and utilised. This required positive engagement with all stakeholders. The ethos was not "Look, you have offended us Muslims – what are you going to do about it?" but "Look, your materials are not up to the mark – we will work with you to improve them." The entire process was driven by standards of professionalism, cooperation and mutual respect, not tribalism or emotionalism.

I cannot emphasise strongly enough that co-operative endeavours such as this, crossing cultural boundaries for the greater good, are surely the way forward. I commend also the proactive work of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS) in the UK in working with others in this way. In 2006 the AMSS and the British Council jointly produced an excellent publication, *British Muslims: Media Guide,* as a resource to help journalists and others understand the diverse nature of British society. The AMSS followed this in 2007 by publishing jointly with Lambeth Palace the text of the first Zaki Badawi Memorial Lecture *(Islam, Christianity and Pluralism*) by Dr Rowan Williams, Archbishop of Canterbury.
Producing joint publications with iconic British institutions such as the British Council and Lambeth Palace (the home of the Church of England, the established church in the UK) is a major step in the right direction.

6. Promotion of early Bilingualism/Multilingualism

Promotion of early bilingualism was one of the key recommendations of the Berlin Declaration.

Research by the University of London Institute of Education, which brings together a number of studies on bilingual and trilingual children, shows that children who speak at least two languages do better at school than those who speak only one. [...] Despite these findings, Sneddon's study also showed that even where schools had positive attitudes about multilingualism, some teachers often persisted in underestimating the skills of multilingual children and wrongly believed that even bilingualism (let alone trilingualism) was a problem rather than an asset. Dr. Charmian Kenner, who researched six-year-olds growing up in London and learning to write Chinese, Arabic or Spanish as well as English, concludes: "The price of ignoring children's bilingualism is educational failure and social exclusion." In this regard note the final statement in the Executive Summary of *Muslims on Education: A Position Paper* (op. cit.): "Opportunities to study community languages such as Arabic, Bengali, Hindi or Urdu would better reflect the linguistically diverse nature of communities".

7. Pupil Voice

DCCR recommends that "all schools should have mechanisms in place to ensure that the pupil voice is heard and acted upon. Schools should consider the use of forums, school councils, pupil questionnaires or other mechanisms for discussions around identity, values and belonging."

8. Effective Teacher-Training

The 2007 Diversity and Citizenship Curriculum Review (DCCR) reports the finding of the Training and Development Agency for Schools (TDA) in 2006 that only 36% of Newly Qualified Teachers felt their training had been better than satisfactory in equipping them to teach in multicultural schools.

The Head of Personal and Social Education (PSE) at a DCCR case study schools commented: "If you look at the teaching staff, it's predominantly white and I think that if you haven't got

experience of different cultures, then it can be quite uncomfortable trying to teach it. 'Am I offending anybody because of my own ignorance?' I think some staff fell that."

One of the key findings of the DCCR report was that "some teachers lack confidence in engaging with diversity issues and lack the training opportunities to improve in this area."

DCCR makes 3 recommendations to improve teacher training, one of which is that Advanced Skills Teachers (ASTs) should be developed with a specific brief for education for diversity. Another way to encourage excellence in a specific area of teaching like education for diversity is to offer financial incentives through the pay structure.

Another key recommendation is the evaluation of the effectiveness of the training offered by Initial Teacher Training (ITT) providers. I would add to this the need to evaluate the range and quality of Continuing Prfessional Development (CPD) offered to teachers by schools.

[….]

9. Intercultural Exchange Programmes

One of the concrete aims in the Berlin Declaration was the implementation of intercultural exchange programmes for school children, scholars and journalists. The Declaration highlighted the pressing importance of developing "techniques" to enhance the "ability to deal positively with otherness" and to develop "a global intercultural community of learning which offers cross-cultural education" for the betterment of future societies.

10. Community Links

DCCR Recommendations 7-9 address the importance of harnessing local context and building community links.

For example, Recommendation 8 advises schools to "build active links between and across communities, with education for diversity as a focus".

a) This might range from electronic links (local, national and global), to relationships through other schools (for example as part of a federation), links with businesses, community groups and parents.

b) These links should be encouraged particularly between mono-cultural and multicultural schools.

c) Such links need to be developed in such a way as to ensure that they are sustainable.

d) Such work between schools must have significant curriculum objectives and be incorporated into courses that pupils are studying. This will help avoid stereotyping and tokenism.

A further recommendation advises that in planning for extended school provision, schools should seek to make contact with as wide a range of diverse community groups as possible, including supplementary schools.

11. Educational System Infrastructure

DCCR recommendations 13-16 include the following ways in which schools can be supported so to improve education for diversity:

1. The use of the schools inspection system and School Improvement Partners to ensure standards;
2. Working closely with awarding bodies to ensure that education for diversity appears in syllabuses and exam questions;
3. Embedding education for diversity across the curriculum.

One major issue is that there is of course no monolithic system of educational infrastructure within Europe as a whole. In the UK, a centralised Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) exists which can offer guidance to all schools on how education for diversity can be embedded in the whole curriculum through cross-curricular links. The means by which this can be achieved will presumably vary considerably within the OSCE region. A clear understanding is therefore needed across the region of how the educational infrastructure can support education for diversity, encompassing the inspection, school improvement, examining and curriculum guidance systems.

12. School Leadership: creating and sustaining a unified whole-school culture

It can be strongly argued that the most important factor of all in the educational process is that of school leadership. The role of the school principal is crucial in developing a whole-school culture of inter-cultural and inter-faith respect, because without such top-down leadership teachers may feel unsupported in their own personal attempts to change the culture themselves. This was powerfully brought home by the rebuke by the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) to Wake County (North Carolina) public school after anti-Muslim literature was openly handed out in class. What struck me most about this was not so much the bigotry of the visiting Evangelist who distributed the pamphlets, nor even the prevalence of Islamophobic views amongst teachers in the USA, but the justification of it by the principal, who clearly failed to understand the difference between bigotry and informed dialogue. As CAIR said in its statement, the school had created a "discriminatory, hostile environment". By the same token, a good principal can create a non-discriminatory, amicable and respectful environment which can encourage all teachers within it to live up to the highest ideals of the teaching profession.

One of the key findings of DCCR, as we have seen was that *not all school leaders have bought in fully to the imperative of education for diversity for all schools, and its priority is too low to be effective.*

This is a crucially important finding. You can have the best curriculum for diversity education in the whole world but if you do not a school principal/headteacher who can create and sustain a whole-school culture and ethos which actively supports such a curriculum, very little use may be made of the excellent resources which may be available. Such a leader can also compensate for poor Initial Teacher Training amongst his or her staff by providing concerted opportunities for Continuing Professional Development.

One of the key problems may not be that programmes based on good textbooks do not exist but that teachers do not generally have the time to deliver them. The whole system is in the stranglehold of an assessment system which values content and functional skills above all else. In this climate, education in diversity may come very low on the list of priorities.

DCCR recommends that, in the case of the UK, the National College for School Leadership (NCSL) should ensure that training in diversity and citizenship is an essential component of its programmes. In particular, the revision of the National Professional Qualification for Headship (NPQH) should include understanding education for diversity in relation to the curriculum, school ethos, pupil voice and the community. Part of the mapping exercise of practice within Europe needs to include the evaluation of the training of school leaders and the extent to which it includes training in diversity and citizenship.

[...] Whether of the East or the West, their impoverished mono-cultural attitudes, masquerading as superior civilisational principles, dichotomise reality into the either/or of competing worldviews and fixed unilateral positions, and ultimately into the isolating pathologies of religious exclusivism, civilisational narcissism and cultural autism. This self-righteous attribution of goodness, truth or civilisation only to a single perspective is a sclerosis of the spirit, a failure of the heart, and we owe it to our children and their children to expose it for what it is. It is a dying paradigm, and the people who try to sell it to us are people of the past, not of the future.
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Look up, and not down; Out and not in; Forward and not back; And lend a hand. Edward Everett Hale.

I want to head off into the future with the children of Uphall Primary School, and I urge this conference to do the same.