Portugal

"There are no simplifications, there is conviction": racism and the Media in Portugal

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Summary

This working paper focuses on public issues and denunciations of racism in the Media in Portugal. In particular, the research aimed to analyse the role of the Media in the construction of public issues, in making racism visible as a key social problem, and the effects of the Media's issue framing on agenda-setting in institutions and civil society organisations. Issue framing concerns how a (news)story is packaged by using specific words and sentence constructions that are open to specific interpretations and closed to others. As such, issue framing acts as a filter, and has an important impact on public opinion.

The analysis of the news in Portugal was divided into three sections: (1) how complaints of racism and the problem of racism are given meaning in the Media, (2) a specific analysis of news items covering the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population in Portugal (3) the ways in which journalists and experts make sense of racism and the role of the Media in shaping, denouncing or countering racism.

The first analytical sub-division, concerned with complaints of racism and racism in the Media, centres on news that deals with different social institutions' reports of racism and discrimination. This is the only type of news in Portugal that addresses racism and the public bodies that monitor and combat it. The analysis shows that the Media in Portugal does not make racism visible as a political technology (Hesse 2004:13). Even though some of the salient elements of racism as a political technology are addressed,

they are not conceptualised as such. Instead, they are presented as sporadic and coincidental events that are not connected. In addition, the analysis shows that in this category of news items racism is described as 'prejudice'. Finally, a few news items fleetingly mention 'institutional racism', a concept consistent with the understanding of racism as an aberration, since it implies that racism may exist in some institutions. Thus, the concept of institutional racism turns structural problems into problems that are found only in a few institutions,.

The second analytical sub-division, concerned with Media representations of cases involving the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population, looks at three different kinds of news reports. First it considers the internationally/nationally-focused items which produce the Roma/Gypsy population as voiceless victims without agency, and as people "outside" Europe, "outside" history, and "outside" relevance. Secondly it examines news items that report specific cases of segregation. These have applied a dominant perspective to the problem, and constructed the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population as a problem pertaining more to misunderstandings between the majority population and the Roma/Gypsies than structural and institutional practices involving social exclusion and segregation. Finally, it analyses news items which reported criminal acts committed by Roma/Gypsy individuals. In contrast to the news items dealing with segregation, these reports were characterised by their emphasis on the 'severity' of the facts (criminal acts).

Finally, the third analytical sub-division is concerned with analysing the ways in which experts – journalists, legal authorities and scholars – interpret the problems of racism and the Media, and the extent to which links and connections are made between frames (definitions, issue framing, conceptualisations) and specific cases of racism, such as the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population. The analysis shows that the experts operate with an inadequate appreciation of racism, in which racism only seems to exist insofar as someone voices it – as a kind of paranoia in the minds of susceptible citizens, or an easy pretext for making an otherwise nonexistent case. This appreciation is often coupled with the idea of a subtle racism, an idea closely linked to the denial of racism. The idea of subtle racism concurs with the view that racism is a pathology, not a constitutive political technology of the state. The experts' notion of news objectivity and newsworthiness concurs with the idea of a subtle racism. Thus, any attempt at addressing the structural elements of racism is deemed biased. Finally, due to an inadequate appreciation of racism, the experts proved unable to make connections between frames and cases.

Introduction

In an interview with an expert and public authority in Portugal on journalism, news-making and discrimination, we commented on what we saw as a lack of nuance in a news report about Portuguese colonialism in Goa (Silva, 2011, Dec 17). We did so because the interviewee was expressing the opinion that if there was racism in the news, it would be in the short items and not the major reports. His idea was that the simpler the news item, the greater the risk of it reproducing racism. The answer he gave to this question, reproduced partly in the title of this working paper, was the following:

> There are no simplifications. There is conviction. What you can perhaps say is, "How is it possible after all these years that people still think like this?" Wasn't it discussed in the newsroom? If there had been some discussion at least... But sometimes journalists don't even discuss things. And that's why I say that it is a problem of resignation. And this shouldn't make us think that nowadays all the Media and the whole of society must always have anti-colonial and anti-racist views. Because society is plural and there are other points of view. There are other points of view, even in science, as you know. The first racist exhibitions were justified by science.[2] (A. Journalist, authority on journalism. January 2012)

The words of the expert illustrate some of the key elements that will be discussed in this working paper. These elements are related to a Eurocentric understanding of what racism is, and hence also to a disregard for its real dimensions and historicity. In the quotation, the expert first proposes that racism might be connected to (a group of individuals sharing a) 'conviction', then he stresses that racism might be connected to a lack of (individual) reflection, and finally he implies that racism must coexist with anti-racism if we are to speak of plural societies. The expert suggests that, as a "point of view", racism must be tolerated. In the following pages we will show in more detail why and how this conceptualisation of racism is simultaneously representative of the official Portuguese discourse, and deeply problematic – indeed racist. For now, it is only necessary to state that we have used the first two sentences of the quotation in the title to highlight an element that is central to understanding racism – racism is not, in fact, a question of simplification. It is complex and embedded in society to such an extent that it partly operates as conviction – if what is meant by conviction is consent – (see Castro-Gómez 2008: 282, see also Goldberg 2002) and, first and foremost, as a

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[2] Ali não há o simplismo. Ali há a convicção. O que tu podes talvez dizer é assim: "Como que é possível esses anos todos passados as pessoas ainda pensarem assim?" E se calhar, será que houve discussão lá na redação? Ao menos se tivesse discussão… As vezes os jornalistas não discutam sequer. E é por isso que digo que é um problema de demissão das pessoas. O que também, não pode nos levar a pensar que agora todos os meios de comunicação e toda a sociedade há de ter sempre uma visão anticolonial e antirracista. Porque a sociedade é plural e porquê há outros pontos de vista. Há outros pontos de vista, até na ciência, como tu sabes. As primeiras exposições racistas com fundamento foram da ciência.

practice which is so deeply ingrained that it saturates both the everyday and the structural components of social life.

The position of the expert quoted above also confirms the findings of previous research carried out within the TOLERACE project. Whereas previous analyses have studied (anti)racism in academic production (Maeso & Araújo 2010), in Portuguese policies and institutions (Maeso, Araújo & Guiot, 2010), in public policies and employability in relation to the Roma/Gypsy[3] population (Maeso & Araújo 2011) and in the segregation of Roma/Gypsy pupils in Portuguese compulsory schooling (Araújo & Maeso 2012), the research presented in this paper aims to analyse the role of the Media in the construction of public issues and in making racism visible as a key social problem. In addition, we addressed the effects of issue framing on agenda-setting in institutions and civil society organisations. The paper is divided into three sections: (1) how complaints of racism and racism itself are given meaning in the Media, (2) a specific analysis of news items reporting on the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population in Portugal (3) the ways in which journalists and experts make sense of racism and the role of the Media in shaping, denouncing or countering racism.

The first section focuses on how the discussion of racism in Portugal is imbued in specific frames of understanding and definitions. It also provides insights into the role of some of the legal tools used to address racism, as well as the operational definitions involved in making complaints of racism visible, and in expert and state authority conceptualisations of the problem. The second section provides an analysis of news items reporting on the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population in Portugal. Finally, the third section is concerned with the ways in which experts – journalists, legal authorities and scholars – interpret the problems of racism and the Media in order to analyse the extent to which links and connections are made between frames (definitions, issue framing, conceptualisations) and specific cases of racism, such as the one we focus on in our case study. The final section is also useful in discussing and illustrating the complex configurations of racism and anti-racism in Portugal today.

The analysis of how the Media reports cases of the segregation of an *ethnically marked* population (Sayyid, 2004), the Roma/Gypsy population, is an extension of the previous work packages produced within the framework of the abovementioned TOLERACE project (Maeso and Araújo, 2010, 2011; Araújo and Maeso, 2012; Maeso,

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[3] Although the commonly used term – and the one considered politically correct – is the term Roma, we have opted to use Roma/Gypsy in order to take into account the official designation in Portugal: 'Portugueses de etnia cigana' or 'Portuguese ciganos' (Portuguese of Gypsy ethnicity; Portuguese Gypsies). Thus, we use the term Roma/Gypsies, except when translating directly from empirical material, where the term 'cigano' is translated as Gypsy.

Araújo and Guiot, 2010). This analysis draws on these previous findings, adding in a specific Media-orientated analysis of the meanings attached to tolerance, racism and anti-racism. The TOLERACE project has already unravelled some of the complexities of contemporary racism in Portugal. Significantly, the investigation has shown how the *denial of racism is paradoxically connected to the adoption and deployment of a racist definition of racism*. In other words, the dominant definition of racism followed by public bodies, academics and civil society actors prevents the magnitude of the problem from being recognised. Essentially, this dominant definition is too narrow and imprecise, thus ignoring the most important constitutive elements of racism and neglecting some of the more significant racist practices. Operating within a Eurocentric framework, this racist definition of racism is typically articulated around the Holocaust, and regards racism as an exceptional and extremist *doctrine*. As Barnor Hesse has stressed,

> the emphasis on the Holocaust providing the paradigmatic experience [upon which racism has been conceptualised] has underwritten a liberal critique of the political extremism of fascist racism, obliging the foreclosure of a radical critique of the social conventions of colonial racism. It has rendered inviolable the vaunted western ideal of a universal liberal political culture, only aberrantly fascist and benignly colonial. (2004: 15)

Many scholars investigating racism have shown how the racist governmentalities of the Nazi regime were a variation on practices reflecting the hierarchical organisation of humans which emerged during the early years of the 'discovery' of America, and was designed to govern and control.[4] The hierarchical organisation of human beings was closely connected to the political and economic interests of the European elites, who sought to find philosophical and legal legitimacy for their governance, exploitation and control of the colonised populations (Anghie 2004). This hierarchical organisation implies that certain humans can discuss whether other humans are human, how human they are, or what they lack in order to become full human beings (understood as western, Eurocentric, male, white, Christian, property-owning), and it remains a basic characteristic of racism. Although discussions concerning the humanity of the 'other' were relevant in the 16th century in relation to the Indians in the Americas, they still have a central place today – for example in academic and Media discussions about whether democracy can be achieved in non-western countries (Huntington, Fukuyama), or in questions concerning whether women played a role in the Arab Spring revolutions (Suárez-Krabbe, 2012, see also Adlbi Sibai 2011).

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[4] See, for instance Cèsaire 2006, Grosfoguel 2009a, b, Hesse 2004, Goldberg 2002, Quijano 1992, 2000a, 2000b, and Wynter 2007.

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The Portuguese Media operates within these frames. The news Media is known to be a central actor in the social realm because it provides and disseminates information about events taking place near and far away, playing a crucial role in the (re)production of racism (Van Dijk 1991) and mirroring general political and public opinion trends in society. The news Media provides a "mass of speculation, commentary and information", and constitutes a "cultural archive, which provides an immense store of knowledge, values and images that have assisted in the maintenance and reproduction of both racist and anti-racist ideas, which fuse in both historical and contemporary forms of racial ambivalence." (Law 2002:11). Today, the narratives of the press are among those that form the basis of our discussions, and they frame what is considered important and what is insignificant, and what is seen as positive or negative. However critical our everyday approach to the news Media might be, we are all acquainted with its narrative forms. This is partly due to the Media's use of shared ideas – ideas that are common and thus make sense to most of its public – and partly due to repetition. In a sense, the Media works metaphorically;

> The literal meaning of the word *metaphor* is to "carry over"; metaphor symbolically transfers aspects of one object to another, even if the objects are originally in no way connected. Through this transference, metaphor shifts ideas or meanings from one thing to another to achieve "a new, wider, 'special' or more precise meaning. With repetition, this happens so adeptly that the transference is invisible and comes to seem inevitable. When the Media repeatedly return, therefore, to similar patterns of image and language, these patterns begin to appear both familiar and natural. (Steuter and Wills 2008: 4).

1. Methodology

We collected material mainly from the press. The news items came from three national daily newspapers, one local daily newspaper, and two national weekly newspapers.[5] We operated within a narrowly defined monitoring period, and another brief period using broader criteria. In the *first period*, from the beginning of 2010 until November

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[5] These newspapers were: (1) The *Público, a* daily national newspaper based in Lisbon, founded in 1990. Considered an elitist, quality and centrist liberal newspaper with extensive text, analyses and political reporting, it is directed by Bárbara Reis. The Público is financed by the Sonae Group, the largest private employer in Portugal. (2) The *Diário de Notícias, a* daily national newspaper based in Lisbon and founded in 1864. Considered an elitist, quality, right-wing newspaper, it is directed by João Marcelino, and owned by an important national Media holding company; Controlinvest. (3) The *Expresso,* a weekly newspaper founded in 1973 in Lisbon, with a broad national and international coverage characterised by numerous political editorials from different perspectives. Directed by Ricardo Costa, the *Expresso* is part of a Portuguese Media conglomerate, Impresa, representing dozens of magazine publications in Portugal and a national television channel (SIC). (4) The *Diário de Coimbra*, a local daily newspaper directed by Adriano Callé Lucas, and part of the most important local news group in the centre of Portugal. Created in 1930, the *Diário de Coimbra* is considered a quality regional newspaper. (5) The *Correio da Manhã*, a daily popular newspaper. It is the most widely-read publication in Portugal and is considered a sensationalist tabloid, with little investigative reporting and a focus on crime and sports. It is directed by Octavio Ribeiro and is part of the Cofina Media group.

2011, we monitored the Media for news items concerning the segregation of Roma/Gypsy pupils, complaints/denunciations of racism and police abuse. This part of the press monitoring searched for news on these themes disregarding the publication date. A few news items produced prior to the monitoring period therefore appear among the material collected. The *second period* of monitoring was carried out simultaneously by all the teams participating in the TOLERACE project, and aimed to provide a basis for a comparative perspective. Between 5th and 19th of December we monitored the Media for news items about racism, colonialism, segregation, denunciations, police abuse, migration, immigration, extremist violence, etc. Finally, interviews were held with key actors concerning the news Media and racism in Portugal. The experts work, or have worked, as journalists with a special focus on racism and discrimination, as legal authorities in the country, or as academics specialising in racism and the Media.

The analysis of the material operates within the frames outlined in the introduction, combining race critical theories with discourse analysis approaches to the Media. Significantly, the analysis has been inspired by the tools and analytical devices associated with framing, ideology, and representation (Downing & Husband 2005), and seeks to "identify and address the ways in which the privileging and silencing of key themes operates in race news" (Law 2002: 12). The analysis takes each news item's issue framing, minority bias, and the degree to which the minority actor's voice is included into account. These elements, as well as the (positive, 'neutral' or negative) use of language allow for an assessment of whether the news contributes towards defining the problems as negative, positive, serious or insignificant, whether their approach to the minority population is one of proximity, distance, paternalism or authoritarianism, whether negative stereotypes of minority populations are reproduced and the majority-bias maintained, and whether credibility is given to the minority population or the majority actors/ authorities.

Although all these analytical elements were taken into account, predominance was given to issue framing. In brief, issue framing concerns the ways in which the Media implicitly or explicitly contributes towards categorising specific problems by representing them in specific ways. For example, a news item on urban crime can be framed as being about economic issues, social issues, cultural issues psychological issues, etc. The ways in which the Media frames events are important in terms of how they are understood in the public sphere. Issue framing is a selective process (a certain narrative necessarily needs a frame, and therefore the selection of what is 'relevant' rather than 'irrelevant'), but this selective process is neither coincidental nor

accidental. As suggested above, the Media in Portugal largely presents news on racism within a framework of understanding that actively produces the denial and perpetuation of racism. When the Media frames news events in particular ways, it participates in a social process of sense-making, and also becomes involved in political processes, not only by highlighting specific problems at the expense of others, but also by framing certain problems in specific ways. This practice is also known as 'spin' when it includes attempts to frame issues in the news to the advantage of politicians or political projects. Issue framing thus considers the ways in which a story or narrative is 'packaged' in specific ways, employing rhetorical devices which encourage or discourage specific interpretations (Scheufele 2000, Gitlin 1980). Combined with race critical theories, issue framing is useful for analysing racism in the Media because it allows us to take into account not only the ways in which some issues are rhetorically dealt with, but also what is left out of the frame, which is thereby constructed as irrelevant or inexistent. Hence, the research also considered whether the news operated through explicit definitions of racism, whether the definition of racism could be read between the lines in the text, and whether particular forms or expressions of racism were denied, justified or legitimated. Indeed, much of what is actually stated in the news is absent from the news – the more the news is able to speak to normative and dominant frames of thinking in society, the more reader-friendly it is considered. In Van Dijk's words:

> Much of the information in discourse, and hence also in news reports, is implicit, and supplied by the recipients on the basis of their knowledge of the context and of the world. […] thus, many meanings are merely implied or presupposed and not explicitly stated. Because of social norms, and for reasons of impression management, for instance, many negative things about minorities may not be stated explicitly, and thus are conveyed between the lines. (1991: 40)

The analysis is not concerned with how populations interpret and select the news (i.e. its reception), but seeks instead to investigate the extent to which the Media in Portugal plays the same game and reinforces the same racist practice as the other public institutions analysed within the TOLERACE project.[6] Although the photographs published in the material analysed are an important part of the message, and also convey plenty of information about the ways in which the Media shapes (anti-)racism, we have not taken these into account in the analysis. This is partly to do with reasons of time and space, but predominantly with the fact that the images, when they appear, are consistent with the picture portrayed in the text.

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[6] See Maeso & Araújo 2010, Maeso, Araújo & Guiot 2010, Maeso & Araújo 2011 and Araújo & Maeso 2011.

2. Complaints of racism: Media framing and agenda setting

This section focuses on how racism is (re)presented in the Portuguese Media and in particular on complaints of racism. The reports on complaints of racism cover a range of different themes – from discrimination in football, a few specific complaints by ethnically marked populations (Brazilians, Angolans, Ukrainians, Roma), to the treatment of different social institutions' reports on racism and discrimination. In this sub-division of the analysis we focus specifically on the latter type of news, as it is the only type that addresses racism and the public bodies monitor and combat it. It should be noted that these reports do not address the ways in which racism is generally seen as a series of isolated events with no connection to society in general. Some of the news (5 out of 22 news items), however, can be read as insinuating what is otherwise termed 'institutional racism' – an idea coherent with the all too narrow definition of racism detailed above which makes racism an exception or an aberration, rather than a system of practices and a form of governance (Hesse 2004a).

The Media in Portugal does not make racism visible as a political technology (Hesse 2004:13). Instead, in the few cases where some of its salient features are addressed, this happens in a very fragile way – racism is usually suggested between the lines and described as 'prejudice'. In another case, 'institutional racism' is mentioned explicitly in one line with no apparent connection to the rest of the article. This lack of coherence in the use of the idea of 'institutional racism' is, however, consistent with the phenomenon of racism *per se*. Since the news items fleetingly mention a concept which is consistent with the understanding of racism as an aberration, they simultaneously enact the very racist governance that sustains the understanding of racism as exception. In other words, by representing racism in this way, including the cases that mention 'institutional racism', the news is engaging in the very practice of racism by covering it up.

For example, an article in the national newspaper *Público*, published in the context of the International Day against Racial Discrimination (Público 2006, March 21), centres on complaints of complaints of racism in Portugal. The article makes explicit the fact that, out of 190 complaints received by the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR)[7] between 2000 and 2006, only two have

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[7] The CICDR was created in 1999 under Law No 134/99, 28 August, and is presided over by the High-Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities.

produced results (in the form of fines), and 60 have still to be investigated. The article mentions that:

> [...] the main obstacles to the activities of the Commission are the slowness of the legal system and the type of problem in question. Luís Pascoal [secretary of the CICDR] says that many of the cases are archived because it is very difficult to establish or prove the facts referred to in the complaints, but also because the lengthy process involved in dealing with particular complaints, which takes between two and three years, makes the work of the Commission difficult.[8]

While this description points towards structural problems in addressing and processing complaints of racism (the political technology mentioned above), the rest of the article shifts focus to cite the objectives of the CICDR and describe how it functions (how often it holds meetings, who composes it). In this way, a news report that has the potential to deal with how racism is intrinsic to the state – including the unwillingness of official institutions to adapt legal frameworks and procedures to the realities of the problem – ends up describing an institution (the CICDR) as the solution to the problem of what is represented as isolated acts of racism. This is, in fact, the general picture that the Media paints of the CICDR in Portugal, namely the prevailing image that this body is at the forefront of the fight against discrimination. This specific news item is therefore no exception.

Another news item, also published in the context of the International Day against Racial Discrimination (Neves, 2009, March 21), announces that the European Community "warns of the risk of racism and xenophobia" due to the economic crisis. The article further cites "European organisations" stating that "European history shows how economic depression can lead to social exclusion and persecution". In addition, the article mentions an increase in public denunciations of racism to the Support Unit for Immigrant Victims and Victims of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (UAVIDRE)[9] of 17% between 2007 and 2008, and a decrease of 8.6% in the same kind of denunciations to the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR). Finally, the news item mentions two individual cases of public denunciations – a Brazilian woman rejected for a PhD scholarship by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) despite being well qualified, and the harassment of a female Cape Verdean public functionary in the workplace. This news item clearly links racism with the (European) economic crisis, and constructs it as an isolated and

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[8] Os principais obstáculos à actividade da comissão são a morosidade da justiça e o tipo de problema em causa. Luís Pascoal referiu que muitos dos protestos são arquivados, porque é difícil estabelecer ou provar os factos relatados nas denúncia, mas também o tempo que demora o processo de instrução de uma queixa, que é de dois ou três anos, dificulta o trabalho da comissão.
[9] The UAVIDRE was created in 2004.

dangerous social *possibility* in times of crisis. With its implicit references to the Second World War quoted previously, the news item reflects a dominant imaginary concerning the Second World War that constructs it not as a continuation of the racisms perpetuated in colonised territories (see Césaire 2006, Hesse 2004), but rather as a kind of 'social malaise' that may appear as a result of difficult times. In this way, a structural and historically rooted problem is constructed as a social phenomenon that emerges periodically.

All the news items analysed that deal with racism on an institutional level share some basic characteristics:

- they begin by mentioning the number of complaints of racism and the increase or decrease in these figures in comparison to previous years
- they mention the 'different kinds of racisms' addressed in these complaints (at work, in education, legal, at the hands of the police, etc)
- they quote an expert – typically a representative of the entity whose work they are citing
- they mention a few (usually two) isolated cases of denunciations

This concurrent pattern in the news items analysed here, which deal with public bodies in relation to racism, is consistent with the use of 'neutral' language – a tendency noted by Van Dijk in his analysis of news and racism in the 1990s, in which 'majority agents tend to be more often associated with neutral and positive predicates' (1991:61). It is significant to stress that in our conceptualisation, 'neutrality' is an idea which is seldom neutral – and far less so in practice:

Words manifest the underlying semantic concepts used in the definition of the situation. Lexicalization of semantic content, however, is never neutral: the choice of one word rather than another to express more or less the same meaning, or to denote the same referent, may signal the opinions, emotions, or social position of a speaker. (1991: 53)

The news items fail to define and address racism explicitly. Hence, the definition that remains must be read between the lines, taking into account the ways in which the articles are constructed. As the articles centre on the work of specific organisations regarding complaints of racism, and since they typically present only a few cases, racism is constructed as a series of isolated events. The 'neutrality' of the news reports of complaints of racism is also connected with the idea of 'objectivity' and the "blindness of the law" (Maeso & Araújo 2011) – and hence the idea of the objectivity of state institutions in regulating crime and discrimination, whereas the state is indeed

racist (see Goldberg 2002). The articles consistently tend to equate racism with discrimination, disregarding the fact that whilst discrimination is an aspect of racism, racism refers to much more than discrimination.

In line with the above, in cases concerning racial discrimination, the prevailing idea in Portugal is that a distinction can be made between a 'subtle racism' that is difficult to prove, and what might be termed 'racism proper', which is almost extinct. While the idea of subtle racism, which will be examined further in the section on the views of the experts, relates to an idea of racism on ethnic or cultural grounds, or a historicist racism (Goldberg 2006, 2009, see also Maeso, Araújo & Guiot 2010), the idea of 'racism proper' relates to cases of discrimination on the grounds of racial belonging (colour) as the 'real' racism – to the extent that the victim can objectively provide proof that she/he was discriminated against on the grounds of her/his 'race', under the legal framework of the 'principle of equality' (see also Petrova 2000). Indeed, the only news item which mentions racism and expresses indignation in the text concerns the case of two Angolan men arrested by the police because of the 'suspicious nature' of their skin colour (Gomes, 2011, May 31): the two brothers were arrested near their home in an upper class residential neighbourhood in Lisbon. In the news report, the police officers admitted that they were looking for two black men responsible for a robbery, and arrested the brothers because of their 'characteristics', their clothes, and 'nervous and hostile behaviour'. Having been cleared of any charges, one police officer refused to accept the documents the Angolan men were carrying as valid, and forced them to return to their residence to prove they were actually living in the neighbourhood and were staying legally in Portugal. The news quotes the victims, who say that the situation is the result of racist behaviour by the police. However, they did not submit a complaint against the police, arguing that it would be useless.

In this context it is important to emphasise that the European Racial Equality Directive, which came into effect in 2004 in Portugal, intends to address the problem of burden of proof, which was seen as one of the main obstacles to the implementation of sanctions against racial discrimination:

> Since experience had shown that it is difficult in practice to prove discrimination, the directive stipulated that victims need only bring forward facts 'from which it may be presumed that discrimination has occurred'. The burden of proof then shifts to the defendant: the court will assume the principle of equal treatment has been breached, unless the defendant can prove otherwise (FRA, 2010:7).

As argued in a previous study (Maeso & Araújo 2011), there has been an increase in denunciations of racial discrimination in Portugal. However, the problem is that the European Racial Equality Directive only addresses part of the problem, connected with

the presentation and handling of complaints of racism; burden of proof does not address the fact that racism is understood in a very limited way in the first place. This limited understanding of racism means that, in practice, problems of racial discrimination are categorised as being about everything *but* racial discrimination. Thus, there are no frameworks within which the reversal of burden of proof can operate, and such the initiative is, in fact, ineffective. This is linked to the paradox of the denial of racism mentioned in the introduction, and the ways in which it comes into play in practice are perhaps best illustrated in the final section of this paper which analyses how legal authorities and experts understand racism.

An article published in the *Expresso* (2009, March 17) refers a study produced by Amnesty International and reports on the annual increase in complaints of racism and the rise of the extreme right in Portugal. It is important to highlight the fact that the news item mentions, in a couple of lines, that the Amnesty International researchers "emphasise 'the invisibility of racism'" in Portugal which 'is less a result of the racial violence carried out by skinheads and more of the everyday discrimination at work, housing, education, which is rarely assumed as racist", a view which does not challenge the idea of racism as aberrant, but only changes the actors (from skinheads to employers, teachers, landlords, etc). In other words, Amnesty International's understanding of racism as reported in this news item is in fact consistent with the Eurocentric, liberal understanding of racism, which blames the individual. The news item puts 'everyday racisms' to one side in order to deal with the problems of racism together with the problem of the rise of the extreme right (the title of the news item being "Racism: more complaints, few cases in court and the extreme right organises – Amnesty International-Portugal"). In constructing a link between complaints of racism and the extreme right, it frames racism as being tied to the extreme right. This is yet another tendency of the dominant concepts of racism, namely to link racism to certain segments of society which are constructed as deviant and uninformed, thus particularising it once again. It is a tendency firmly inscribed in the Eurocentric notion of racism which, as mentioned in the introduction, takes fascist racism as a worrying aberration or pathology, and covers up colonial racism (cf. Hesse 2004).

3. Case study: News reports on the segregation of Roma/Gypsy populations in Portugal

What follows is a general overview of the themes covered by the news items analysed and the levels on which they operate, as well as the ways in which they frame the

problems addressed and the voice they give to minority actors – in this case the Roma/Gypsy population. A total of 22 news items covered the problem of the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population in Portugal during the research period for press news. In 18 of these 22 news items, the voice of the Roma/Gypsy actors was completely absent, 3 items contained weak representations of their voice – mostly in the form of indirect quotations - and 1 item contained several direct quotations from Roma/Gypsy actors. 12 of the 22 items analysed explicitly mentioned the problem of school segregation, while other items covered aspects such as spatial segregation and discrimination in relation to employment, health and housing. Of these 22 news items, 5 explicitly constructed the Roma/Gypsy population as criminal, dangerous, and violent (Nogueira 2011, Oct 29; Diário de Notícias 2011, March 29; Dias 2011, July 13; Navarro Pedro 2000, October 21; Neves 2010, March 8), and all the newspapers were represented – both the tabloids and the more respected and 'nuanced' ones. In addition, 18 of the 22 news items centred on specific cases of segregation taking place in different locations in Portugal and seldom referred to the relevant legal and political frameworks or to international or EU regulations concerning the problems of racism. 4 news items were internationally oriented, presenting news concerning denunciations of racism against the Roma by international organisations such as Amnesty International (Expresso 2010, April 7) and European institutions (Público, 2011, Nov 8; Miranda 2011, Sept 21; Correio da Manhã 2011, Nov 21). Finally, one of the news items referred to the Portuguese state's strategy to integrate the Roma (Pereira, 2012, Jan 15). In the last five news items mentioned, which deal with the problem of segregation on an international or national level, the minority actor's voice is absent.

The analysis is divided according to the scope and content of the news relating to the Roma/Gypsy population. The internationally/nationally-focused articles are therefore analysed first, followed by the news items that deal with specific cases of segregation. Finally, the analysis briefly addresses the news items that explicitly construct the Roma/Gypsy population as dangerous and violent.

3.1. International/national level

As mentioned in the overview provided above, none of the news items that deal with the segregation of the Roma/Gypsy population on a national or international level include the voice of the minority actors, or organisations such as the European Roma

and Travellers Forum (ERTF).[10] One of the news items (Pereira, 2012, Jan 15), published in the daily newspaper *Diário de Noticias*, refers to the creation of a 'National Strategy for the Integration of the Roma/Gypsy Populations' by the Portuguese state, which is expected to form part of a 'broader European strategy'. The initiative follows pressure from the European Union on the Portuguese state to address the problem of the 'integration' of the Roma/Gypsy population more effectively. The news item is constructed mainly around quotations from Feliciano Barreiras Duarte Assistant State Secretary to the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, reported by the news agency *Lusa*.[11]

As we will see in the final analytical section of this working paper, Barreiras Duarte's quoted words are representative of the experts' views on the Gypsy/Roma population and their conceptualisations of the problem they are addressing. To Barreiras Duarte, the Roma/Gypsy population is the 'real ethnic minority' in Portugal, and several problems are attached to their way of life; they are "very nomadic", their children do not attend school, and their customs are deficient in terms of integration in employment and schooling. In addition, 'their social and economic structure' is deficient and the stereotypes that surround Roma/Gypsy populations in Portugal have to do with the behaviour of this population, as 'they are people who are often involved in criminal and offensive acts'. In face of this, the objectives of the Portuguese government are to integrate the Roma/Gypsy population following 'a logic of respect for their differences'. Additionally, Barreiras Duarte hopes that these communities will change their lifestyle in the future, to include becoming more settled and making a greater investment in schooling, work and private property.

In this narrative, the Roma/Gypsy population is represented in terms of what they allegedly lack in order to become like 'everyone else'. Note that this approach adopts a specific standpoint which presupposes that Portuguese society is perfect. Thus, according to this logic, the causes for the marginalisation of the Roma/Gypsy population cannot be found within Portuguese society. If some people do not 'fit' into the society perceived as perfect, the problem must therefore lie in the 'unfit' population, and not in society. This rationale is what Lewis Gordon refers to as the 'secular form of theodicy' found in modern societies, which creates 'problem people' and is inherently racist (Gordon, 1999). As previously mentioned, the discourse adopted by Barreiras

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[10] www.ertf.org
[11] Lusa is a Portuguese news agency 50.1% owned by the Portuguese state. Created in 1986 through the merger of NP (*Notícias de Portugal*) and ANOP (*Agência Noticiosa Portuguesa*), the Lusa agency is highly internationalised, namely in Europe and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, Asia and America.

Duarte and reproduced in the news item is not exceptional; this frame is also common to most of the academic production on racism and on Roma/Gypsies in Portugal (Maeso & Araújo 2010). Moreover, it is a frame that depoliticises/evaporates racism by shifting the focus onto the 'characteristics/deficits' of the 'other' (i.e. there is a basis for the prejudices against the Roma/Gypsies in their own behaviour) (Araújo & Maeso 2012).

The news item mentioned above can be regarded as a follow-up to a report that appeared the day before in the *Público* (2011, Nov 8) concerning a critique by the European Commission for Social Rights of the Portuguese state for not respecting the Roma/Gypsy population's right to be protected against poverty and social exclusion, especially in relation to housing. The news item states that the Commission's criticism emerged after following up a complaint filed by the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) which focused on the relocation programmes for the Roma/Gypsy populations, revealing that these programmes often result in "spatial segregation" and limited access to public services. The ERRC therefore concluded that the Roma/Gypsy population was segregated, excluded and marginalised. The news item, edited by the news agency *Lusa*, cites some of the main points of the Commission's decision and states that the institution ruled that Portugal had violated articles pertaining to 'discrimination, proper housing, the right of the family to social, economic and legal protection, and the right to protection against poverty and social exclusion'. Finally, the news item mentions that the Commission required Portugal to pay two thousand euros to cover the cost of the legal process.

It is important to note that this news item – analysed in more detail in the next subsection – presents the news in a seemingly 'neutral' language without condemning the problem or quoting any social or political authority for condemning the problem. This aspect is significant, given that this is the exact opposite of the situation when the news reports cases of violent conduct or criminal acts committed by Roma/Gypsy individuals. This predisposition will be taken up in the last subsection of this analysis. In addition, the news item constructs the Roma/Gypsy populations as victims without agency or voice, and hints at the inconsequential denunciation of the European agencies. The news item under scrutiny here is a clear indication of the effects of the absence of a comprehensive anti-racist policy which departs from the Eurocentric definition of racism detailed above, and which could enable the news Media to acknowledge and analyse racism as a historical legacy that permeates the everyday functioning of public bodies and civil society organisations.

In the material analysed, the idea that the Roma/Gypsies are 'Europe's other' (Goldberg, 2009: 155) is most clearly reflected in two news items (Expresso 2010, April 07; Miranda, 2011, September 21). Before turning to these items, it is essential to examine the historical antecedents for the framing of the Roma/Gypsy population as 'problem people'. The secular form of theodicy that applies in contemporary racism is not a-historical. It is, instead, rooted in the ways in which European nation-states established themselves as the beginning and end of history, and thus the perfect prototypes of 'civilization'. In this process, the Reconquest of Al-Andalus in the Iberian Peninsula, the colonisation of the Americas, the transatlantic slave trade, and the subsequent colonial endeavours, were pivotal. All these events allowed for the modern configurations of political belonging in Europe, as configurations that depended on the construction of the 'imperfect', 'uncivilised', 'sub-human', or 'non-human' 'other' (see Grosfoguel 2009c, Wynter 2003) inside and outside Europe's borders. In fact, although the Roma/Gypsies are European citizens, they have been historically produced as not belonging to Europe/Europeanness (Maeso & Araújo 2011, Araújo & Maeso 2012). Current discourses, public policies and initiatives in European Member States concerning the 'inclusion' of the Roma/Gypsies are rooted in the legacies of 'race' and racism, as legacies which allow for the existence of a secular form of theodicy that marks specific populations as not belonging, and as problem people. The following news items illustrate this clearly.

On the 7th of April 2010, the *Expresso* published a news item entitled "Europe must end discrimination against Roma/Gypsies", provided by the official Amnesty International blog. In this news item, Amnesty International (AI) urges the European Union and its Member States to adopt concrete initiatives to put an end to discrimination against Roma populations before the European summit on the inclusion of Roma/Gypsy peoples. AI argues that the EU has been incapable of confronting Member States when they do not respect their obligations, and points to numerous cases of discrimination all over Europe. According to AI, European leaders must adopt political measures to fight against racism and the growing discourses of hatred. AI has documented several cases of the complete failure of political initiatives in Europe, mostly in relation to segregation within the school system and poor housing conditions or market access. The news item does not mention Portugal. This is in line with the Portuguese state's tendency to construct the problem of the segregation of Roma/Gypsy populations as a problem of the new European Member States (see also Petrova 2000). Drawing on a historicist notion of 'race' that presupposes its disappearance (Lentin, 2008), the news item instead presents examples of 'bad' cases

from Bulgaria, Greece, Italy and Romania. As Maeso & Araújo (2011) have argued, paraphrasing Akermark,

> the Eastern/Western political imaginary has played a significant role in the application of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM), and certain Western states, such as Portugal, do not regard themselves as being affected by it" (Maeso & Araújo 2011: 19, see also Council of Europe 2007 and 2010).

Another news item which operates on a national/international level is concerned with the proposal by the mayor of Matosinho, (near Oporto), and the president of the European Forum for Urban Security (EFUS) to create an "Erasmus programme" to secure continuity in schooling for Roma/Gypsy youngsters who "transit through European cities" (Miranda 2011, Sept 21). The proposal will be presented to the Council of Europe. The news item consists almost entirely of quotes from the Mayor, who considers that the measure proposed would improve Roma/Gypsy inclusion and provide support for their education. His argument is that instead of having a system in which the different nation-states are the main guarantors of the rights of the Roma/Gypsies and thus also the main recipients of EU funding for this cause, the system should be based on the recipient-cities. Thus, the proposal implies that each city receiving Roma people would have to guarantee them access to education and receive financial support from the EU directly. The Mayor also emphasises the importance of defending women's rights, arguing that communities that strongly discriminate against women are incompatible with a Europe characterised by its struggle for the liberation of women. Finally, the article mentions that the possibility of creating a new European Commissioner specifically to solve problems associated with the Roma/Gypsies is also being discussed. This news item is concerned with legal frameworks on a European level, and adopts a highly paternalistic approach in which the Roma/Gypsy population is to be monitored and managed through initiatives that allegedly take their "nomadic" nature into account. The news item not only represents the Roma/Gypsy population as nomadic but also as male chauvinists alien to European values, and as a group of people who need to be educated and civilised. As with the other news items analysed in this section, the voice of the minority actors is not represented.

The last news item from the material that ideals with legal frameworks on a national/international level is entitled "Roma/Gypsies victims of labour discrimination" (Correio da Manhã 2011, Nov 21), and is mainly constructed around the decision by the European Commission for Social Rights mentioned earlier in this section regarding a complaint filed by the ERRC about housing conditions. It refers to the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC), which claims that the Roma population faces

discrimination and social exclusion on every level. The news item mentions poor housing conditions, low attendance in compulsory schooling, discrimination in employment, and police violence as some of the significant problems faced by Roma/Gypsy populations in Portugal. It reports that the situation in Portugal regarding the Roma/Gypsy populations is preoccupying, and that the ERRC has criticised Portugal for paying too little attention to these problems; although some Roma/Gypsies have access to social security or housing relocation programmes, such as the Income for Social Integration (RSI) or the Special Programme for Relocation (PRE), no specific inclusion policies have been implemented in the country. In addition, the ERRC points out that the National Plan for Integration (PNAI) created in 2008 has never been implemented. Answering the complaint presented by the ERRC, the European Committee for Social Rights (ECSR) also considered that Portugal was not providing basic housing conditions for the Roma. According to the news item, the National Pastoral Care of Gypsies (Obra Nacional da Pastoral dos Ciganos) also argues that Portuguese inclusion policies have produced no results and instead foster social exclusion. The news item denounces the lack of political action in Portugal and the flawed implementation of policies at EU level. It aims to maintain a 'neutral' tone, but constructs the Roma/Gypsy population as voiceless victims without agency and without a voice. Yet again, we are faced with a news item that reinforces the general tendency to regard the Roma/Gypsy population as people "outside" Europe, "outside" history, and as a socially unfit burden.

3.2. Specific cases of segregation: The case of Beja

As mentioned earlier, among the 22 news items analysed, 12 cover specific cases of segregation. Five of these deal with problems in the municipality of Beja (in the Alentejo region) (Dias 2011, July 12; Dias 2011, July 13; Neves 2010, Nov 27; Santos 2010, Aug 16; Dias 2010, Aug 21), 2 in Albufeira, a city in the south of the country, 2 in the city of Barcelos in the Braga region in northern Portugal, 1 in the city of Aveiro in the district of Aveiro, 1 in Viana do Castelo, the capital of the district of the same name, and 1 in both Sesimbra and Pontinha, in Setubal and near Coimbra, respectively. The following analysis focuses mainly on the case of Beja which, in addition to being the case most widely referenced in the material collected, is also illustrative of other cases of segregation.

In 2006, the municipality of Beja constructed a neighbourhood called Pedreiras in order to relocate about 50 Roma/Gypsy families. The municipality also constructed a concrete wall around the neighbourhood, – approximately 100 metres long and 3

metres high. The wall has segregated the Roma/Gypsy families, who are forced to make a 3 kilometre detour to get to the centre of the city of Beja. In some instances, the families confined behind the wall have made holes in it but the local authorities have filled them in again. Together with other similar cases of disrespect for rights, social segregation and exclusion, the European Roma Rights Centre (ERRC) denounced the case of the wall in Beja in a complaint submitted to the European Committee of Social Rights (ECSR) in April 2010 (the case is mentioned explicitly in ERRC 2010: 3.2.1 – 67, 3.2.2 – 71, 75, 79, 82, and 3.4.1 – 109). Specifically, the complaint concerned the "housing rights situation of the Roma in Portugal, raising in particular concerns regarding Articles 16, 30, 31 and E of the RESC (Revised European Social Charter)" (ERRC 2010: 1.2). The RESC was signed by Portugal on the 3rd of May 1996 and ratified in May 2002, entering into force in the country in July 2002. The legal articles mentioned in the complaint concern housing conditions;

> The right to housing is guaranteed explicitly by Article 31 of the RESC. Furthermore, the right to housing is treated as a means for securing the social, legal and economic protection and full development of the family (Article 16), as well as the right to protection against poverty and social exclusion (Article 30). (ERRC 2010: 2.1 – 9)

On the basis of the complaint filed by the ERRC, the CEDS presented the criticisms mentioned in the previous section concerning the failure of the Portuguese state to guarantee basic social rights for the Roma/Gypsies. As we have seen, these criticisms were reported in the Portuguese Media, where the quality of the news items and therefore their impact, was very low. The news items concerned with cases of segregation all follow a similar pattern.

Three months after the complaint was filed in Brussels by the ERRC, the *Público* newspaper published an article which focused on the wall in Beja (Dias, 2010, Aug 21). This news item is based mainly on quotations from social authorities, in particular the criticisms raised by the Bishop of Beja, Vitalino Dantas, and also on statements made by the Minister for Social Solidarity, Helena André, and Maria Manuel Coelho, a local authority functionary involved in the construction of the wall. The voice of the minority actors has little representation in the report – and it ends by quoting the Romani Union threatening to mobilise if the problem is not addressed properly. According to the news, Bishop D. Vitalino Dantas argued that the wall was only one of several things that inhibit the integration of the Roma/Gypsy community which, he reminds the reader, "will take time and effort to achieve". The article also reports that, despite the complaints procedure concerning this case and the Media coverage of it, the Minister for Social Solidarity, Helena André, said that she was not aware of the situation in Beja, and that from now on the Ministry would pay more attention to the situation. She is also

quoted as saying that Portugal is one of the states that pays the most attention to the integration of minorities. Former Beja councillor Maria Helena Coelho is quoted as saying that after the construction of the neighbourhood in 2006 the wall was built in order to protect the population from lorries circulating close to the neighbourhood – thus, the objective was not segregation, as the Roma/Gypsies claim. Finally, the report records that the Romani community had always opposed the wall, and that the Roma Union declared that they would organise a demonstration in front of the Council to demand the demolition of the wall and better housing conditions.

Like the news items that deal with complaints of racism, this report adopts supposedly 'neutral' language, drawing on several sources and perspectives. As previously mentioned, notions of neutrality and objectivity often go hand in hand. In fact, when analysed in relation to racism, they often acquire a very different meaning: in instances where the victims of racism point to racism, there is a tendency to consult several sources, assuming that this will correct the bias of those complaining about racism. The adoption of a 'neutral' or 'objective' discourse is often not 'neutral' or 'objective', but rather the adoption of the dominant viewpoint of the state institutions. It only takes common sense to see that if the dominant viewpoint of the institutions is regarded as being 'objective' and neutral – implying that they somehow stand outside the power relations which are constitutive of the state – there is very little chance that the realities of racism will ever be acknowledged as anything other than just 'minority bias'.

This relationship between ideas of 'neutrality' and 'objectivity' vis-à-vis the white constitutive governmentalities of the state is clear in the news item analysed here. Despite the fact that the voice of the Roma Union is included, more importance and weight is given to the voice of the majority actors – all of whom adopt a paternalist attitude towards the Roma/Gypsies. For example, the news item constructs doubts regarding the severity of the problem of segregation by quoting the Minister as saying that "Portugal is one of the European countries that pays the most attention to the integration of minorities". It also quotes the Bishop as saying that "in spite of the integration problems concerning the ethnic minority, the authorities have to show a lot of patience [towards the minority]", and gives the former councillor some credibility by quoting her as saying that the wall was constructed in order to protect the population from the traffic in the road nearby. In this way, the perspective adopted in the news item is the one held by the dominant population, and the problem is presented more as one of misunderstandings and less as the structural and institutional practices of social exclusion and segregation. In light of this predominant tendency in the news item, the

voice and perspective of the minority actors that is included is not only weakened, but the substance and severity of the problem raised in the complaint by the ERRC is lost.

In an interview with the High Commissioner for Integration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI), Rosario Farmhouse, entitled 'The end of the wall in Beja was not the solution, but it was the first step' (Santos, 2010, Aug 16), the case of Beja is presented as a 'poor case' amongst both good and bad cases of integration. In addition to quoting the Commissioner as being surprised that the wall had not been demolished, the interview continues to discuss integration in Portugal and the measures that could be taken in this area. In this context, the Intercultural mediators programme (Araújo & Maeso, 2012) is highlighted as a significant achievement which helps to eradicate the 'prejudice' of 'different communities'. The news item is concerned with problems of "integration", the challenges to the integration of the Roma/Gypsy populations – and also with whether the Portuguese state is better or worse than other European Member States in this regard. In this way, the problem is constructed as relative, mostly pertaining to the prejudice of some Portuguese populations or the ignorance of the ethnically marked Roma/Gypsy population, and the problem of social exclusion and segregation is thus made invisible. This is clearly illustrated in the following quote, which ends the interview:

> it will suffice to travel around the country to see that there are extremes. A year ago I went to Castelo Branco and to Guarda, and I found situations in which the population accepted the Roma/Gypsy community in a very positive manner. And in the Alentejo region [whose capital is Beja] there are other identical cases. But that does not rule out the possibility that there may be some tensions in a neighbouring city which indicates that integration is less successful. That is why I prefer to talk in general terms in order to be able to say that in Portugal there are still problems, but also signs of hope. (Farmhouse, cited by Santos 2010, Aug 16).12

The reluctance of Farmhouse to address the specific problems of segregation and exclusion, and the emphasis on integration and cultural mediators reflects the tendency mentioned in previous work packages to dissolve racism within the rhetoric of 'intercultural dialogue'. The deployment of 'intercultural dialogue' frameworks obstructs the debate on the structures and everyday functioning of public bodies that (re-)produce racism. Additionally, precisely due to its focus on 'interculturality' and 'dialogue', ideas which in Portugal presuppose 'tolerance' and the absence of unequal power relations, racism is constructed as irrelevant and even corrosive – a discourse

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12 basta viajar pelo País para perceber que existem extremos. Há um ano fui a Castelo Branco e à Guarda e deparei-me com situações em que a população aceitava de forma muito positiva a comunidade cigana. E no Alentejo há outros casos idênticos. Mas isso não invalida que na cidade vizinha já não exista uma ou outra tensão, sinais de uma integração menos conseguida. É por isso que prefiro falar no geral para poder dizer que em Portugal há ainda problemas, mas também sinais de esperança.

too hostile and too far removed from reality. In the light of this specific interpretation, the Portuguese public authorities advocate a focus on 'integration' that looks at the 'positive side' (see Maeso, Araújo & Guiot, 2010).

In November 2010, the journalist Céu Neves published a news report in the *Diário de Noticias* (Neves 2010, November 27). This unusually large report focuses on the exclusion of the Roma/Gypsy population in Portugal, and is divided into the following themes: housing, lifestyle, education, family, labour and culture. The report explicitly mentions that it was written after the ERRC's complaint was submitted to the Council of Europe. Each section of the report starts with a popular prejudice regarding Roma/Gypsies, framed as a question (for example: "Do they have their own values? Do they want to integrate?"). Each section then 'objectively' examines the situation, seeking to understand whether the prejudice is based on reality or not. It is important here to note that the 'objectivity' of the investigation conducted by the journalist is highly questionable if we take into account the perspective from which the questions are formulated, and thus the values that the Roma/Gypsies are measured against. In fact, these are dominant *white* understandings and framings.

Concerning the housing situation and segregation, the article refers to the difficulties experienced by the Roma/Gypsies in gaining access to credit and fighting discrimination or the lack of housing policies. In terms of their lifestyle, the report centres mainly on the alleged nomadic daily life of the Roma, mentioning that statistics show that a small minority of Roma/Gypsies are nomadic, and those who are have not chosen this way of life but are regularly forced to move on. A large part of the report covers denunciations of poor living conditions. The family life of Roma/Gypsy populations is described as being very closed, self-contained and highly suspicious of non-Roma populations. The description of the situation regarding employment underlines the importance of subsidies and local market trading. Finally, in terms of education, the text argues that the majority of Roma/Gypsy pupils are not interested in school activities and regard school as useless to their work in the local markets.

While the news item seems to attack 'prejudice' against Roma/Gypsy populations head-on, it actually reinforces racism. This is closely connected to the issues concerning the (*white*) normative frames adopted as the point of departure – and arrival – of the enquiry. The journalist herself moves within the racist frames of thinking that she seeks to address. In fact, racism is not an issue addressed in the report – as previously mentioned, it focuses instead on 'prejudice'. The journalist also takes a paternalist position, analysing the perceptions of both the majority and minority societies, constructing the minority actors as problematic, background and inferior, and

particularising the problems of segregation and exclusion. Although the Roma/Gypsy population's voice is strong in the report, the message is no different from the other news items analysed. The discourse adopted in this report is very similar to that of Rosario Farmhouse, in particular, presented above.

The last two news items that deal with the case of Beja (Dias, 2011, July 12; Dias, 2011, July 13) do not centre on the problem of the wall, but on school segregation and white flight in schools attended by children living in the walled neighbourhood. In 2010-2011, these children were attending school in military facilities in Beja. The news item published in the *Publico* on the 12th of July 2011 reports that the 70 Roma pupils were to be relocated to three different schools in Beja, but that some of the schools were reluctant to accept the new students. The local authorities responsible for the three schools concerned had held a meeting with the Alentejo Education Board, but no solutions had been found, and the report announces yet another meeting the following day. The parents' association organised a demonstration in front of the place where the meeting was held, claiming that the Roma students were to be distributed among the three schools in order to avoid a high concentration of Roma pupils in a single institution. Non-Roma pupils had already abandoned the school close to the Roma neighbourhood, increasing the risk of segregation. Due to their geographic location, representatives from the two schools without Roma pupils argued that they had neither the vacancies nor the appropriate facilities to accept more pupils. The local education authority argued that it would be better to distribute the 70 Roma pupils between the three schools, but refused to assume any responsibility.

Another account published in the same newspaper the following day (Dias, 2011, July 13), reports that an agreement had been reached between the three schools to distribute the Roma pupils between these institutions. It also states that, according to the Roma community, they had not been informed of the discussions concerning the relocation of their children and a Roma/Gypsy mother is quoted as saying that their children should go to school with the other children, 'otherwise, it's racism'. According to the news item, the agreement implied the gradual and equal distribution of most of the 70 pupils amongst the three schools. In concrete terms, two elementary schools would receive approximately six Roma pupils the following next year. The parents' association did not assume any position on the agreement because they were not aware of its contents and had been excluded from the negotiations.

Both news items present the problem of (school) segregation as one of 'integration'. They construct the Roma/Gypsy population as socially *unfit* and therefore the reason why the authorities adopted 'aggressive' integration measures. In fact,

although the news presents the problem of school segregation, it not only emphasises the problem faced by the Roma/Gypsy pupils and their parents, but also that of the pupils and parents in the majority population. The Roma/Gypsy population remains the abnormal, unfit-to-be-made-fit, and the news does not present the general frames of exclusion and segregation but instead tends to construct the problem as a specific, local issue for which the authorities are incapable of providing proper solutions. As in the other news items, the voice of the minority actors in this report is very weak and the emphasis is on the local authorities and the parents of non-Roma pupils.

3.3. Criminality and the Roma/Gypsy in the news

Some of the news reports concerning the Roma/Gypsy population did not deal with segregation, but constructed the Roma/Gypsies as criminal and violent. It is important to take these representations into account because they operate within a rather different framing of the news. In fact, although the news concerned with the problems of segregation – whether internationally, nationally or in relation to specific cases – dilutes the seriousness of the problem, the news concerned with criminal acts committed by the Roma/Gypsy population does exactly the opposite, emphasising the 'severity' of the facts (compare with McVeigh 2010). This kind of news, which is often attributed to the tabloid press, was represented in all the newspapers analysed. In October 2011 the tabloid *Correio da Manhá* reported two cases of schoolteachers "violently attacked" by Roma/Gypsy pupils (Nogueira 2011, Oct 29). In relation to this news, the relevant authorities expressed zero tolerance – the Ministry of Science and Education is quoted as classifying these cases as "totally inadmissible and intolerable verbal and physical aggression towards teachers, functionaries and pupils". Other news items report violent crimes and the use of firearms with the same intolerant framing (e.g. Sousa & Laranjo 2011, Dec 15;) or connect the Roma/Gypsy population with drug-trafficking, highlighting 'savage' forms of hiding the drugs, such as a news item in the national daily newspaper *Público* which stated that Roma/Gypsy women hid drugs in their babies' clothes (João, 2011, Dec 16).

These reports are also noteworthy because they do not make any reference to the problems of racism, social segregation and exclusion of the Roma/Gypsy population, and the lack of mechanisms to address these problems effectively. Some of these items may mention poor housing conditions, but tend to do so in such a manner that the conditions appear to be the 'cultural' or 'ethnic' traits of the 'problem population' rather than the results of structural practices of segregation. One example of this tendency is found in a news item which reports how the police arrested a man named

in the press as "Paulo 'Cigano'" (*cigano* being the Portuguese term for Roma/Gypsy) and how the man injured a police officer (Sousa & Laranjo 2011, Dec 15;). A small news item entitled "Degradation in violent neighbourhood", reminiscent of early anthropological descriptions of "savage villages", follows this report. The report also adopts an "objective" form of presentation which, as we have seen is the tendency with 'objectivity', is full of racist normativities. The text is reproduced here at length:

> The neighbourhood of Tardariz, in Sao Pedro da Cova, is a residential area associated with violent crime. About two years ago, other police operations led to the detention of several firearms traffickers. The low houses, with an area of only a few square metres, are in very poor condition. Rubbish has piled up in the yards and the street that runs through the neighbourhood is partially destroyed. Nearby is a dense forest area.13

4. Making sense of racism and the Media: the experts' views

This section draws mainly on interviews conducted with experts concerning (denunciations of) racism and the Media, and focuses on identifying the ways in which journalists and experts make sense of the role of the Media in shaping, denouncing or countering racism, as well as on their understanding of racism. As mentioned in the introduction to this paper, the material collected reflected an inadequate appreciation of what racism is, and therefore a reluctance to take its historicity into account. At best, the overall understanding of racism produces contradictory evaluations of the problem. The interviews held with experts for this work package reproduce this pattern. Although a completely different genre, studies on racism and the Media in Portugal follow the same configuration – they do not acknowledge racism but refer instead to 'immigration', 'migrants', 'ethnic minorities' and 'diversity' in the Portuguese Media, using language consistent with the general tendency to dissolve and depoliticise racism[14]. Reflecting the overall theoretical approach of the TOLERACE project, the aim of this section is to analyse the extent to which links and connections are made between frames (i.e. definitions, issue framing, conceptualisations) and specific cases of racism. This analysis allows us to discuss and illustrate the complex configurations of racism and anti-racism in Portugal today. The analysis in this section is organised around the recurring themes, categories and conceptualisations in the expert

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[13] O bairro do Tardariz, em São Pedro da Cova, é uma zona habitacional conotada com o crime violento. Há cerca de dois anos, outras operações policiais levaram à detenção de vários traficantes de armas. As casas, baixas e com poucos metros quadrados, estão bastante degradadas. Nos pátios, há lixo acumulado, e a estrada que atravessa o bairro está parcialmente destruída. À volta, há uma densa área florestal.

[14] See for instance Capeloa Gil 2006, Costa 2009, ERC 2008, Ferin 2006, Ferin et al 2008, Valdigem 2006. For a thorough review of how racism is involved in academic studies in Portugal, especially concerning the Roma/Gypsy population, see Maeso & Araújo 2010.

interviews, as well as those in academic material on racism (discrimination) and the Media in Portugal. These interlocking issues are the *denial of racism* through an emphasis on "plurality" and "diversity", the *idea of a subtle racism*, and the notion of *news objectivity and newsworthiness*.

4.1. Denial of racism

When asked about the ways in which she analyses the representation of ethnic minorities in the Media, one of our interviewees' answers illustrated an idea that is representative of the positions of the experts interviewed. Reflecting on the dominant imaginary of the Portuguese nation as homogeneous, the individual concerned, who is an academic and an authority on news and discrimination, stated that, in her view, there was a lack of acknowledgment of diversity in Portugal. In order to address this, she distinguished between news that treated diversity as a theme, and news that used diversity as an angle. According to her, when diversity is handled as a *theme*, the focus is on the 'other' and the advantages or disadvantages that he or she might experience or face in Portugal. In this way, the 'other' is still an 'other' – a deviation, something different which does not really belong. When diversity is used as an *angle*, the news itself is formed by taking the different perspectives in Portuguese society into account. If the news was about the price of cabbages in the supermarket, she explained by way of example, using diversity as an angle would imply asking Brazilian, Roma/Gypsy, Angolan, and Portuguese citizens about their views. Thus, it would seem, the problem of racism would disappear by representing the news on cabbages from different perspectives. The invisibility of ethnic minorities in the Media is explained here as a matter of journalistic perspective, and the solution proposed reflects the idea that racism disappears if we ignore race, and hence also racial inequalities. In both cases, the secular form of theodicy mentioned earlier, which presupposes that nothing is structurally wrong with Portuguese society, still functions as the framing device. As we have stressed concurrently in the research for the TOLERACE project, this perspective does not resolve the problem – instead, it covers it up. In doing so, it is also implicated in it.

As in other instances in the material recollected from the interviews, this expert sets her idea of a plural nation to one side when reflecting on Portugal and colonisation. Instead, she claims that journalists, like the Portuguese people in general, like the idea that they are;

> the colonisers who respect the colonised. The colonisers that mix, who are part of the colonised peoples. There is a clear construction of a nationality with this perspective, of a people who include, a people who integrate, a people who welcome, a people who adapt, a

This reflection is followed by an example of this "inclusive", "mixed", "involved" nature of Portugal in relation to its colonies, comparing Portugal vis-á-vis Brazil, and Spain vis-á-vis Latin America (see also Maeso & Araújo 2010). It is through this shift – from a seemingly critical reflection towards the illustration that, in fact, Portuguese colonialism is characterised by some 'exceptional' features with positive implications – that the interviewee reveals that she shares this view. The idea of Portugal as an inclusive and tolerant nation emerged frequently in our interview material. This idea is mixed with the equally recurring fact that *none* of the interviewees see any racism in the Media. Significantly, this appreciation must be characterised as an active negation, taking our previous analysis into account.

Throughout this paper, we have suggested the ways in which racism is reproduced in contemporary Portugal through its denial. This is clearly reflected in an exchange of ideas between two legal authorities whose work is concerned with complaints about racism and discrimination. In this case, the conversation was based on a question about denunciations of racism by the Roma/Gypsy population and the difficulties in filing complaints about practices that are regarded as having nothing to do with racism (such as the problem of school segregation). The exchange goes as follows:

> Legal authority 1: As Mr. NN was saying, what we often find is that a complaint is justified, but 'I am Black' is highlighted or prioritised to strengthen it. Yet the circumstances surrounding the complaint are exactly the same as those in a complaint presented by a white citizen, simply a person complaining of being in the same circumstances, and subjected to the same behaviour at the hands of the police... They always include their race to reinforce a claim that is exactly the same as any other.
> Legal authority 2: It is self-discrimination. They discriminate against themselves on the basis of race.
> Legal authority 1: Exactly, they allege discrimination in order to strengthen the complaint. This is common. (Interview conducted in January 2012. Min 48:58-49:09).[16]

Racism is attributed to the victims. Consistent with the position of the expert cited above, racism seems to exist insofar as someone voices it – as a kind of paranoia in the minds of susceptible citizens, or an easy pretext for making an otherwise

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[15] "…os colonizadores que respeitam os colonizados. Os colonizadores que se misturam que fazem parte do povo colonizado. E ali, há uma construção clara de uma nacionalidade com essa perspetiva, de povo que inclui, de povo que integra, de povo que acolhe, de povo que se adapta, de povo que é flexível."
[16] JA1: Temos, como o doutor NN dizia, é que muitas vezes a queixa tem uma causa mas para reforçar acrescenta-se, ou pôs-se até em primeiro lugar, eu sou preto. Mas a queixa é exatamente igual do que uma outra queixa de um cidadão branco, simplesmente aquele que queixou-se de estar nas mesmas circunstâncias, sofreu o mesmo comportamento por parte da autoridade policial… Junta sempre a sua raça para reforçar a queixa que é exatamente igual ao outro. (48.58)
JA2: É discriminação própria. Eles próprios discriminam-se em função da raça. (49.04)
JA1: Exatamente, alegam a discriminação para reforçar a queixa. Isso é frequente. (49.09)

nonexistent case. Significantly, the victims of racism are seen as having too much at stake to articulate an unbiased judgement – instead, they *misuse* the legal frameworks to their advantage. These authorities additionally construct themselves as committed, unbiased professionals with no particular interests to defend – and the reason why they can construct themselves as such is precisely because they presuppose the inherent goodness of Portuguese society and its legal frameworks. This secular form of theodicy corresponds to a tacit acceptance of white privilege (King, 1991: 135) and the banalisation of racism (Sayyid, 2004).

4.2. 'Subtle' racism?

> I got the notion – also from my previous professional experience – that, in general terms, our laws in Portugal offer many guarantees and are very much in favour of... From a legal point of view, this is not where the problem lies. The laws usually protect... and there is no discrimination there […]. But, that is not to say that, on an everyday basis, there are no problems at all (Legal authority 3, January 2012. 11:27)[17]

Another recurrent idea in the interview material, which is also reflected in the studies on racism and the Media, is that of 'subtle racism'. The idea of subtle racism is closely connected to the denial of racism detailed above, the Eurocentric understanding of racism and the prejudice paradigm. The idea of subtle racism concurs with the view that racism is a pathology, not a constitutive political technology of the state. Thus, according to our material, the idea of subtle racism is that of "day-to-day" problems and, in relation to the Media, refers to a kind of unintentional 'Freudian slip' which occurs in the news, reflecting stereotypes and prejudice (see also Ferrin et al 2008: 41, Costa 2009: 25, 51, 93, and ERC 2008: 127). Together, these ideas create a perspective, which calls for 'balanced' analyses of the Media and racism in general:

> Racism is as much a part of Portuguese structures as anti-racism is. […] They go together, like God and the Devil are always together. For this reason I find that this cannot be read in black-and-white terms. Yet there are things that we have to resolve. (A. Journalist and authority on journalism, January 2012 – approx. min 01:27:57)[18]

The recognition of racism as discrimination on the basis of skin colour depoliticises racism and negates many of its constitutive elements by highlighting what corresponds to one of its configurations through history – biological racism. Discourse on subtle racism seems to imply that the 'bad' racism was biological, and constitutes a

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[17] Já: tenho a noção até dos outros trabalhos onde tive e a nível geral, é que as nossas leis em Portugal são muito mais garantística e muito mais a favor de… A nível da lei, não é por aí que poderá haver o problema. As leis normalmente protegem… E não há discriminação (…) Depois, não quer dizer que depois no dia-a-dia não aconteçam problemas. (10.43)

[18] Mais complexa do que isso. O racismo pertence tanto a essa estrutura profunda portuguesa como o antirracismo. (…) E acho que isto se juntou como Deus e o Diabo que estão sempre junto. Portanto eu não acho que há nem preto nem branco. Agora há coisas que nós não resolvemos ainda.

legitimisation of contemporary configurations of racism whose technologies of governance are justified by the argument that race does not exist, and that racism is a matter of contingency, not continuity. The idea of subtle racism is consistent with the Eurocentric approach to racism as a matter of individual prejudice (Henriques, 1984; Hesse, 2004). In this context it is worth reviewing the quote from the introduction. As previously mentioned, when reflecting on how short news items are more prone to be racist, and how it might then be that a long report published in a recognised national newspaper depicted the Portuguese as the victims of the Indians in the context of the liberation of Goa, our interviewee stated that, underlying this news report:

> There are no simplifications. There is conviction. What you can perhaps say is, "How is it possible after all these years that people still think like this?" Wasn't it discussed in the newsroom? If there had been some discussion at least... But sometimes journalists don't even discuss things. And that's why I say that it is a problem of resignation. Also, this shouldn't make us think that nowadays all the Media and the whole of society must always have anti-colonial and anti-racist views. Because society is plural and there are other points of view. There are other points of view, even in science, as you know. The first racist exhibitions were justified by science. (A. Journalist and journalistic authority, January 2012)[19]

When understandings of racism are based on the Eurocentric concept, racism becomes a question of individual dispositions, including conviction and lack of discussion/reflection. This idea, of course, is consistent with liberalism, and draws on a contemporary historical narrative that has 'democracy' at its centre. The historical outlines of this limited idea of democracy are equally restricted – although represented as universal – and the narrative invoked in this context is one that runs 'from Plato-to-NATO' (Gress, 1998). The idea of 'democracy' is linked to the idea of freedom of speech – and thus to the notion defended by the expert quoted above that all points of view must be tolerated. It is crucial, however, to note that, consistent with the limited understandings of 'racism' (as biological), of 'democracy' (liberalism), and of 'history' (the Plato-to-NATO sequence), the idea of plurality - the 'all' to which the expert refers here - is equally limited. It refers to *white* ways of viewing and acting – again, white privilege remains unquestioned, it remains the rule – and so does racism. It is precisely the adoption of a privileged perspective of racism that allows the experts to speak of it as being 'subtle'.

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[19] Ali não há o simplismo. Ali há a convicção. O que tu podes talvez dizer é assim: "Como que é possível esses anos todos passados as pessoas ainda pensarem assim?" E se calhar, será que houve discussão lá na redação? Ao menos se tivesse havido discussão… As vezes os jornalistas não discutam sequer. E é por isso que digo que é um problema de demissão das pessoas. O que também, não pode nós levar a pensar que agora todos os meios de comunicação e toda a sociedade a de ter sempre visão anticolonial e antirracista. Porque a sociedade é plural e porquê há outros pontos de vistas. Há outros pontos de vista, até na ciência, como tu sabes. As primeiras exposições racistas com fundamento foram da ciência.

4.3. Objectivity and newsworthiness

When we look specifically at the ways in which the experts conceptualise the Media in relation to racism, the salient features are the ideas concerning objectivity and newsworthiness. In this context, the experts highlight the business aspect of the news and the often very limited time frames within which journalists work. The experts use the idea of 'newsworthiness' to explain racist representations of minorities in the Media. Thus, racism in the Media has to do with certain features of how the Media operates – but not with socially organised structures. Within this frame, the idea of newsworthiness consists of the following:

> News making is especially interested in having all the ingredients that make an event newsworthy. In newsgathering; in the process of selecting and producing stories, journalism assesses the newsworthiness criteria of events, what makes an event news. And [the criteria] are well-known: negativity, a negative event is more likely to be news than a positive event, the question of scope, the issue of elite individuals or nations, maybe also elite cities. This is reported when it is in Lisbon, where the largest bodies of ethnic minorities are concentrated. And so all this converges to make these events news (C. Scholar, national expert and authority in discrimination, ethnicity, migration and the Media. January 2012 – 00:20:46)[20]

In addition, many of the experts referred to the newly-adopted journalistic principle that seeks to make journalists reflect on their deployment of national or ethnic categories when presenting a news report. To our experts, the rule of thumb is that the journalist does not mention the nationality or ethnicity of a person in the news unless this specific category represents information that is required in order to understand the news. A journalist well known for writing about ethnic minorities explains how she uses the principle:

> I am always careful with this: if the question of ethnicity is important to the news, then I have to state it. There is a lot of discussion about the issue of Russian mafias who have come to Portugal and tried to develop their work here. Maybe it's important for me to say that this person is of a certain ethnicity. Now imagine it was a bank robbery and the individual in question belonged to a certain ethnic group, that is not important, I mean, I don't have to mention it... It's not relevant. But now imagine that I write something on arranged marriages that has to do with, say, a network of Pakistanis [...]. Then I have to mention the nationality, so I must be careful.[21]

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[20] Ao jornalismo interessa sobretudo ter os ingredientes todos para tornar o acontecimento noticiável. O jornalismo tem no *newsgathering*, no processo de seleção e produção das notícias são avaliados os critérios de noticiabilidade dos acontecimentos. Aquilo que faz com que um acontecimento se torna notícia. E são aqueles que são conhecidos: a negatividade, um acontecimento negativo tem mais probabilidade de ser notícias do que um acontecimento positivo, a questão da abrangência, a questão das pessoas ou nações de elite, se calhar dizia aqui também as cidades de elite. Isto é noticiado quando se passa em Lisboa, onde estão lá concentradas as maiores massas de minorias étnicas. E portanto, tudo isso converge para que esses acontecimentos sejam notícias

[21] E eu ali tenho sempre um cuidado que é o seguinte: se a questão da etnia é importante para aquela notícia eu tenho que a dizer. Fala-se muito na questão das mafias russas que vieram para Portugal e também aqui tentaram desenvolver os seus trabalhos. Se calhar é importante de eu dizer que essa pessoa é de determinada etnia. Agora imagina se for um assalto a um multibanco e se essa pessoa é de uma determinada etnia, isso não é importante, quer dizer, não tem que estar a dizer… Não é relevante. Mas agora imagina que faço uma coisa sobre casamento de conveniência que tinha a ver com uma rede

We have already criticised the practices that seek to dissolve 'race', and the discussions on whether or not to mention the ethnicity or the nationality of people in the news falls within these frames. Arguably, the initiative is to avoid an easy equation between 'migrant'/'minority' and crime and, in general, to counter the Media's involvement in the construction and reproduction of 'stereotypes'. It seeks to follow principles of 'objectivity', and thus bring these into play when assessing whether ethnicity or nationality is relevant. The problem with this idea is that it is, itself, already framed within the limited Eurocentric perspective that defends the practices of racism and *white* privilege. This is why the expert above uses these specific examples to illustrate the 'difference', without seeing that she, in fact, follows a racist logic when citing the 'Russian mafia' (the criminal 'other'), and the 'Pakistani network' (the male-chauvinist savage). Why, one might ask in response, does the expert not use the example of the Eurocentric racist? The point here is not that we need to attach a specific ethnicity to the different 'evils' in society – the point is that some 'evils' are disproportionately highlighted whilst others are not even considered but are covered up instead. The limits of 'objectivity' are exactly this – they require the individual to remain within the field (or frame) that defends white privilege, because white privilege is 'naturalised'. This was also the case in the one expert interview that rejected the idea of objectivity:

> But it is the thing I want to do, to try to understand these people. Because one thing is certain, we journalists are not machines, so we are influenced in one way or another. Therefore there is the question of objectivity ... but in the end, it does not exist. What I can do is do a more or less honest job. (CN,00:07.23)[22]

According to this interviewee, one way to do a 'more or less honest job' is to represent the positive side of minorities. We have noted this 'positive side' approach throughout the research for the TOLERACE project, which is indeed a method deployed by the Portuguese authorities. Paraphrasing Maeso, Araújo & Guiot (2010: 36) this tactic aims to support the 'social inclusion' of 'marginalised minorities'. However, it does not contest exclusion and marginalisation, and does not attempt to understand the reasons for this exclusion. Instead, this approach locates those excluded and marginalised in a kind of vicious circle of exclusion whereby their status as a 'vulnerable population' due

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com paquistaneses (? 00:07.23) digamos assim. Ali tenho que dizer a nacionalidade, portanto tenho que ter essa preocupação.

[22] Porque há uma coisa que é verdade, nós jornalistas não somos máquinas, portanto dalguma forma nós somos influenciados. Portanto a questão da objectividade… Enfim, isto não existe. Mas o que posso fazer é um trabalho mais ou menos honesto.

to their 'immigrant condition/ethnic belonging' is consolidated (see also Maeso, Araújo & Guiot 2010). In the interview quoted above, the expert conflates objectivity with honesty, but leaves out any reflections on how her notion of honesty itself is determined from white privilege. Thus, the problem is again incorrectly identified and addressed: it presupposes that the excluded are a problem that need correction (a pathology within the body of the nation) instead of acknowledging that, in order to guarantee real and substantial inclusion, racism in its structural, political, legal and historical dimensions, needs to be addressed (Maeso & Araújo 2011).

Conclusions

As we have continuously underlined within the context of the TOLERACE project, in order to understand racism one must engage with its structural and historical aspects, meaning that racism is closely linked to processes of nation-making and the idea of citizenship, that is, to Eurocentrism as a paradigm of interpretation. As the Media items analysed and the experts interviewed work within a Eurocentric paradigm, they fail to address the problem of racism, even though they sporadically refer to it. Consequently, most of the studies and expert assessments operate through the idea of a *homogeneous nation* which has, in recent years, seen an increase in migration – and thus also in stereotypes and prejudice against migrants. We have named this tendency the *prejudice paradigm*, referring to the idea that racism is a problem connected to the 'wrong' ideas individuals have about others (Maeso & Araújo, 2011). Most of the studies, expert assessments and monitoring of the Media in Portugal are framed by this notion. They are shaped by flawed attempts to address racism, partly because they operate by following definitions and issue framings endorsed by a specific privileged position – although this is rationalised within the grammar of objectivity/bias rather than that of politics and power. Moreover, they reduce the solution to one related to particular individuals who need to learn how to 'accept' other cultures. Additionally, they operate within an idea in which people's 'individual prejudices' – including those of journalists – need to be countered by activating *people's positive side.* This idea is linked to the idea of the Portuguese nation as an inclusive and open nation, and comes to the fore in relation to ideas of 'inclusion'. It is based on the secular form of theodicy - the racist idea that the one to be 'included' (the 'migrant', the Roma) needs to be 'corrected' in order to 'fit' into society. Thus the problem is again misplaced and wrongly addressed: it presupposes that the 'migrant' or the Roma represent a problem that needs correction (a pathology within the body of the nation).

The material analysed not only shows the ways in which different social actors express and practice racism, but also how racism is reproduced in the Media, and among Media experts. Racism is attributed to the victims and exists only to the extent that someone voices it. The case in which the legal authorities argued that 'Blacks apply racial discrimination against themselves' is illustrative of this. This position also voices the generalised idea that racism and races do not exist – thus to denounce racial discrimination is to be biased *a priori*, and this again can only be explained by representing the victims of racism as having too much at stake. The material also reflects the ways in which white privilege is accepted and defended.

The larger picture that the experts and the Media create combines the denial of racism, the idea of 'subtle' racism, and the idea of objectivity and newsworthiness within a narrative which reduces racism to something more to do with everyday contingency than historical and structural problems. The problem is, in other words, that they make the exception the rule, and the rule the exception (Gordon 2006: 17). Accentuating the seemingly fortuitous and fragmented nature of racism implies attenuating the continuity and the whole. It is one specific way of framing the news amongst other possible frameworks available. Choosing this framing above others inherently constitutes an ethical and a political stance in favour of racism.

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