Understanding the logics of racism in contemporary Europe

TOLERACE Research project
Booklet presenting key findings and recommendations

Project information

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Rassismus Braucht Schweigen - Break the Silence - Demonstration against racist police violence in Dessau, Germany (25 February 2012), following the death of Oury Jalloh, who was under 'protective detention'. © Theo Schneider

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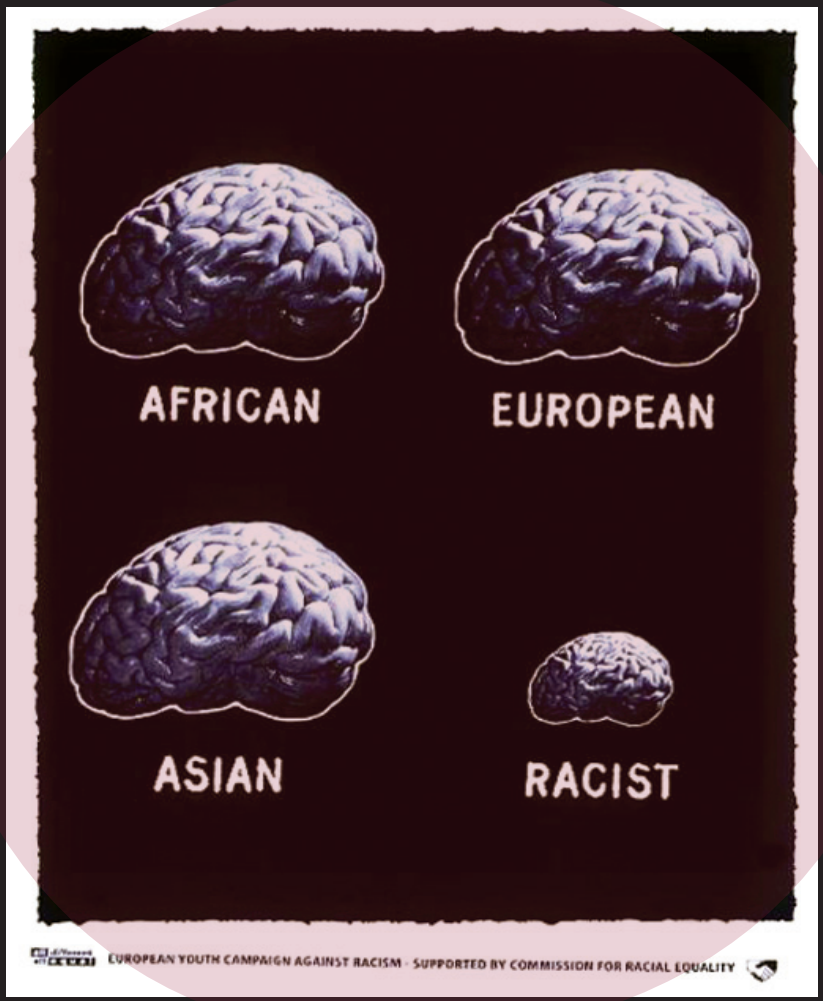


The depoliticisation of racism in dominant anti-racist awareness campaigns: racism as ignorance - 'Racist Brain', a European Youth Campaign Against Racism supported by the Commission For Racial Equality, developed at Saatchi & Saatchi London, UK (1996).

I Policy and research context

The **TOLERACE** research project (March 2010 - February 2013) - funded under the EU Seventh Framework Programme - has pursued a better understanding of the workings of institutional racism, that is, of the ways in which **racism - deeply rooted in the history of European democracies and their existing socio-economic and political structures - still persists** despite an apparent political commitment to eradicate it. Accordingly, the project focused on the meanings of racism and anti-racism in different European contexts **(Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom)**, exploring how they are shaped through the mediation of civil society organisations, public bodies and policies (at European, national, regional and local level).

TOLERACE proposes that **the persistence of racial discrimination across Europe needs to be seen as closely related to the inadequacy of existing interpretations of racism and anti-racism and the resulting policy frameworks.**

Background to the project

Since the early 2000s, there have been important advances in the implementation and mainstreaming of an anti-racist legal framework within the European Union, namely via the adoption of the **Racial Equality Directive** (2000/43/EC) and the **Directive for Equal Treatment in Employment and Occupation** (2000/78/EC) - the most comprehensive initiatives to date. Despite this, European monitoring agencies such as the *Fundamental Rights Agency* (FRA) and *the European Network Against Racism* (ENAR) have produced significant evidence on the inefficiency of the existing measures in tackling racism and racial discrimination. Official reports tend to confirm that policies do not always reflect the scope of the problem, failing to challenge deep-seated inequalities.

This was a crucial starting point for the **TOLERACE** project.

Recent reports on the persistence of racism in Europe

Fundamental Rights Agency

Discrimination on grounds of ethnicity and 'race' is part of social reality; however, much more research - especially cross-national and longitudinal - is needed to raise awareness and to understand and combat the phenomenon of discrimination in employment in a comprehensive manner (*Migrants, minorities and employment, Exclusion and discrimination in the 27 Member States of the European Union*, 2011, p. 79)

European Anti-Discrimination Law Review

Concepts and definitions used in the Racial Equality Directive largely reflected the experience of fighting discrimination and implementing equal treatment under gender legislation. However, in contrast to the profusion of decisions on gender, the Court of Justice of the European Union judgments discussing the two Anti-Discrimination Directives is marginal (No 12, 2011, p. 11)

European Network Against Racism

Throughout the year, racism and racial discrimination continued to affect the lives of ethnic and religious minorities across the EU. To varying degrees and under different guises, discrimination negatively impacted opportunities available to ethnic minorities, causing exclusion and hindering integration. Manifestations of racism and racial and religious discrimination came from various individual and group actors, ranging from the markets to state officials (*ENAR Shadow Report 2009-2010: Racism in Europe*, p. 4)

TOLERACE

a comparative and contextualised analysis

Engaging with broader European discourses on racism and anti-racism espoused by institutional bodies operating in this area (e.g. the *European Commission against Racism and Intolerance or the Fundamental Rights Agency*), **TOLERACE** developed a comparative analysis of seven **national contexts**: **Denmark**, **France**, **Germany**, **Italy**, **Portugal, Spain** and **United Kingdom**. In the case of Spain - more visibly marked by regionalised policy making and implementation - two **regional settings** were considered: **Andalusia and the Basque Country**. While a national/regional level of analysis was favoured for the study of public policies and initiatives, **TOLERACE** also engaged in a comparative analysis of local cases with a view to reaching a better understanding of routine racist structures, processes and practices.

The research combined both a historical approach to understanding racism and its relevance in the formation of European nation states with a micro view focusing **on current policy developments and interventions by mediation agents in two key sectors - employment and education**. The role of the media in reproducing and challenging racism was also considered. The analysis aimed to **explore** the **existing regimes of denial of racism** in the everyday workings of public bodies and civil society organisations.

The selection of national/regional cases

The European contexts analysed constitute a set of varied samples, enabling **TOLERACE** to engage with a diversity of historical, political and social processes, namely:

1) **Historical processes:** colonialism and nation and state formation; migration and population movements;
2) **The legacies of colonialism:** national imaginaries on ´race´;
3) **Political traditions:** public debate on racism and anti-racist struggles;
4) **Policies and initiatives:** management of diversity and the fight against racism (including racism in employment, education and the media);
5) **Public debates** concerning specific populations (e.g. Islamophobia, anti-Gypsyism and anti black racism) and the political use of categories (such as 'immigrants' and 'ethnic minorities').

The **comparative analytical strategy** followed was threefold:

1) **Critical analysis of public policies, initiatives and anti-racist discourses** at the European and national/regional levels, considering broader multicultural and intercultural political traditions;
2) **Empirical study of local cases,** focusing on how social integration measures in the spheres of education and employment are conceived, institutionalised and regulated at the national and regional level;
3) **Analysis of the role of the press** in the denunciation and/or reproduction of racism.

Everyday racism: the legacies of colonialism and slavery in contemporary Europe. Pictures taken in Italy, Spain and the UK (2011) . © TOLERACE

II Key questions for understanding racism in contemporary European democracies

The need to acknowledge the historical foundations of racism

TOLERACE considers that the enduring concept of racism as individual prejudice, often involving hostile attitudes towards the 'presence' of immigrants and minorities, results from neglecting the deeply-rooted historical foundations of racism in European societies and political institutions. **This evasion of history** has shaped dominant academic research and political initiatives mainly since the 1940s, evident in the well-known four *Statements on Race* (1950-1967) sponsored by UNESCO - a project that involved leading academics from different disciplines.

Mainstreaming a dominant understanding of 'race' and racism in modern societies: UNESCO's influential publications

FOUR STATEMENTS ON RACE

Statement on race (1950)
Statement on the nature of race and race differences (1951)
Proposals on the biological aspects of race (1964)
Statement on race and racial prejudice (1967)

OTHER RELEVANT PUBLICATIONS

Race, prejudice and education,
by Harold Cyril Bibby (1959)
Social aspects of the race question,
by Michael Banton (1967)

The emerging political agenda for the eradication of racism - mainstreamed in the 1950s and 1960s - aimed to provide answers to the perceived crisis of the West and Europe in the aftermath of two devastating wars, the acknowledgment of the Holocaust, the imminent triumph of anti-colonial political struggles and national liberation projects. However, the so-called 'race question' or 'race relations problem' was often framed as **an issue restricted to wrong or extremist doctrines and ideas about the inferiority of certain peoples based on the idea of 'race'**. This political and academic approach has had a long-lasting impact on the current concepts of 'race', racism and anti-racism. **TOLERACE** highlights the following:

Debates on racism tend to evade the fact that it is embedded in the history of Europe and, in particular, fail to consider the close relationship between the formation of nation states and the colonial enterprise. One contemporary consequence of this evasion is the **debate on the need to stress the 'positive aspects' and 'effects' of colonialism or the different national histories of 'benevolent colonialism'** that usually inform current policy developments (e.g. the idea that certain national societies are more welcoming to different cultures than others), as the following example illustrates:

PORTUGAL The legacies of ideas on 'benevolent colonialism' and national values in contemporary integration policies

General Regulations on Native Labour in the Portuguese Colonies (1914)

The Portuguese are, among all colonisers, those who best govern the African peoples, because we do not have that exaggerated prejudice of the separation between races and we are guided, by our way of being, to treat the indigenous with tolerance and kindness, respecting their customs and institutions as far as possible (in Meneses, Maria Paula *'O 'Indígena' africano e o colono 'Europeu': a construção da diferença por processos legais'*, e-cadernos ces, 7, 2010, p. 76)

Creation of the High-Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (2002)

The integration of immigrants into Portuguese society constitutes one of the goals expressed in the 15th Constitutional Government Programme. It is included in a broader plan for immigration policy that cannot but privilege the humanist values which are really the benchmarks of the Portuguese culture (Presidency of the Council of Ministers: DIPLOMA/ACT: Law-Decree n. 251/2002)

The focus on racism as merely amounting to prejudiced representations of immigrants, minorities and non-Western or non-European cultures has precluded a deeper understanding of this phenomenon that **acknowledges the core role of 'race' within ideas about what it means to be European - thus hindering the possibility of constructing more equal and just societies**. While dominant, the approach to racism as a matter of prejudice has failed to address the historical roots of certain established notions, such as seeing immigrants and minorities as 'non-assimilable' and 'unwilling to integrate'. These are related to widespread **ideas of minorities as a 'threat to national identity and national core values'**:

DENMARK The historical background of discourses on 'problematic minorities'

Editorial in the *Politiken* (1913)

Slowly the city's [Copenhagen] different authorities and inhabitants realize that the continuous immigration of Polacks and Russians, especially Polish and Russian Jews, will cause the municipality severe difficulties within a foreseeable future. [...] The high standards of our country are our honour. However, it would be a shame if these circumstances encourage other countries' proletariat populations to flood our shores, just because we have free access to healthcare, medicine, education and many other material and spiritual resources. . .They [the immigrants] are just very poor and in terms of spiritual and physical culture far behind. . .They lack assimilation skills and the assimilation urge: they do not care to learn Danish. . . We must of course be humane and hospitable. But there is a fine line beyond which the city must not give in. At the moment Polish immigration is assuming such proportions that the city cannot absorb the immigrants but is rather flooded by them (in Thing, M. *De russiske jøder i København 1882-1943*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2008, p. 47)

Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration Affairs (2006)

[the purpose of the 'Declaration on integration and active citizenship in Danish society' is] to make the values of Danish society visible to the individual foreigner and to make the foreigner conscious of the fact that Danish society expects the foreigner to make an effort in order to become integrated as a participating and contributing member of society on an equal footing with other citizens (*Integrationskontrakten og erklæringen om integration og aktivt medborgerskab i det danske samfund. Informationsmateriale til kommunerne*, Ministry of Refugees, Immigrants and Integration Affairs, 2006, p. 10)

- Mainstream scientific approaches to combating racism have over-emphasised the narrative of *possibility* to correct racism via the demystification of prejudices and biased attitudes towards minoritised populations. This has had two main effects: **i)** the reproduction of **a naive idea of the relationship between academia and policy making**, that is, one that sees researchers as seemingly providing neutral evidence for political decisions; **ii)** the **exclusion of an in-depth analysis of the complicity of academia in silencing racism as a historical and political process**.

- Finally, the dominant political and academic **debates in Europe have disregarded the enduring history of political struggles** (such as anti-slavery and anti-colonialism), and have also actively disregarded the **contribution of more critical anti-racist activist-intellectuals**.

Institutional racism and integration policies: the marginalisation of anti-racism

TOLERACE sees racism as a far more complex political phenomenon than the existence of 'wrong' ideas about people seen as 'different' and points to the historical and political roots of naturalised 'hostility' and 'fears'. Accordingly, the project considers that it is crucial to achieve a better understanding of **the ways in which institutional racism - extending beyond the acts and beliefs of specific individuals or groups - shapes everyday concepts of policy issues and the functioning of public bodies**. Institutional racism is thus a core concept that helps to consider prejudices and attitudes found within the 'majority' population as representing the *tip of the iceberg*.

TOLERACE's **analysis of policy discourse and implementation** - specifically in the spheres of employment and education - highlights the need to critically question the **assumptions behind discourses on *integration*, *social cohesion*, *interculturality* and *cultural difference***. These discourses, common to all the contexts analysed, hinder the possibility of addressing racism as a core social problem. Rather, **they constantly shift the focus to the minoritised populations and their presumed 'deficiencies'**. **TOLERACE** shows that the integration policies being implemented in Europe assume that **i)** one main problem facing societies experiencing demographic change is the inability to assimilate populations understood as 'non-modern' and culturally 'unfit'; **ii)** the failure to *correct* the 'cultural backwardness' of minoritised populations explains unequal access in key life spheres such as employment or education. These assumptions are operationalised through different discursive logics:

- Within an economicist approach to integration, minorities are seen as guest immigrant-workers that have to prove their contribution to the national and regional communities where they live, constantly having to show that they qualify to claim and benefit from the rights consecrated in existing legislation. This operates within a logic that classifies minorities according to their presumed distance from European or national cultural and political norms and values;
- The ideas of 'integration' and 'social cohesion' work within the assumption that there is a clear divide between a unified national society (the 'host society', ethnically unmarked) and the various minority groups (ethnically marked);
- Racism is misrecognised as related to specific 'events' and 'actions' that can be isolated from the general functioning of society, or trivialised as 'hostile' reactions to the different 'other' – obliged to show his/her 'willingness to integrate';
- Integration' and 'interculturality' are seen as positive approaches to diversity, whereas anti-racism is perceived to have a negative and polarising effect, threatening social cohesion.

> **[The fight against racial discrimination] has not been such a visible activity**, but there is a concern, and hence campaigns to raise public awareness. Nevertheless, and to be highly objective, in political terms it is not the best way to deal with questions related to integration. The best way to tackle this is through its positive aspects, rather than its negative ones, **otherwise it might end up stressing the worst that is happening in the process of welcoming [immigrants] and that still exists** (Representative of a Public Body responsible for Intercultural Dialogue, Portugal)

- Within the European context, strongly marked by discourses on tolerance and freedom of speech, denunciations of racism are often regarded with suspicion and the debate is reduced to questions of objectivity and intentionality;
- The ineffectiveness of anti-racist and anti-discrimination measures is usually discussed within a patronising discourse that considers minorities as victims who are unaware of their rights, whilst downplaying their experiences resulting from the inadequate responses of public bodies;
- The current prevalence of a comprehensive human rights approach throughout Europe tends to lump all forms of discrimination together (e.g. based on 'race', gender, sexuality, age, disability and so on), discarding the historical specificities of racism and anti-racist struggles within the context of slavery, imperialism and colonialism.

The main consequence of the arguments enumerated above is the **marginalisation of anti-racist measures and approaches within policy making**. The **TOLERACE** analysis illustrates this process in the spheres of employment and education, taking into account its consequences for the reproduction of existing structural inequalities and routine discriminatory practices.

Immigrants' political struggles: anti-racism and labour rights – Poster of the *French Democratic Confederation of Labour*, in the 1970s. Picture taken at the *National Museum of the History and Cultures of Immigration*, Paris, France (2011).
© TOLERACE

III Key issues and findings in employment

The **TOLERACE** research focused on analysing how public policies, bodies and social organisations are framing and tackling racism and discrimination in the sphere of employment. The empirical work explored one or two paradigmatic cases in each national and regional context. **The cases chosen refer to populations considered vulnerable to racial discrimination, or to situations and geographies that were the subject of policy intervention, the attention of the media and political discourses**. The aim was to analyse how public policies and bodies, as well as mediation agents (such as local authorities, social and community workers and trade union representatives), are framing and tackling questions of discrimination and racism in the sphere of employment.

TOLERACE identified two main problematic issues transversal to all cases and contexts analysed: **i) core ideas such as 'employability', 'social competences'** and **'vulnerability'** are shifting **the debate on racism** in the labour market and the workplace to **the need to assist and correct the perceived 'deficiencies' of minoritised populations**, hindering competition for jobs on an equal footing; **ii)** the **detachment from *institutional* racism** and the negative view of anti-racist struggles adopted by policy and decision-makers at national and regional levels, including mediation agents (such as local authorities, NGOs, local public servants) at local level, is paving the way for **the denial of the need for structural change** and for the inexistence or marginalisation of anti-racist policies.

The limitations of the focus on employability

Current integration and inclusion policies frame the problem as related to the 'characteristics' of minoritised populations, neglecting the discussion of institutional racism. The **TOLERACE** research shows that the agents in charge of policy implementation (e.g. local authorities, NGOs, local civil servants) tend to see their work as aimed at 'correcting' the perceived *deficits* (e.g. 'backward' cultural practices, 'passivity', 'unrealistic expectations') that constrain the integration of minorities and immigrants in the labour market. Consequently, discussions on racism and anti-racist approaches become peripheral or even irrelevant.

The focus on employability, that is, on ideas such as the 'activation of social competences' and the 'empowerment' of so-called 'vulnerable' **populations transform anti-discrimination measures into a question of *social assistance*.**

> The associations use the children as an alibi. You know, children provoke pity, and the associations know that. (…) the associations have mostly done harm and haven't helped the Roma much. So do you understand me? You have now begun to see and to be aware of how the system here works and how big the interest is in supporting the Roma question (Rom activist and cultural mediator, Italy)

The weakening of anti-racist policies and legislation within a strong rhetoric of 'cultural respect'. Tackling racist structures and practices in recruitment and professional training is replaced by a strong rhetoric on the need to respect *cultural* difference, diversity and identity. This discourse serves to legitimise racism as the 'unsuccessful inclusion' of immigrants and minorities in the labour market and their 'unfitness' to live among 'us'. Accordingly, conceiving of their 'presence' as mere *guest-workers* - anticipated as temporary - is seen as less problematic, since they do not present a 'threat' to the presumed original homogeneity of the 'autochthonous' population and the institutions that are based on that assumption.

A negative representation of anti-racism

TOLERACE found that most gatekeepers working in the sphere of employment acknowledge the occurrence of reciprocal prejudices and negative attitudes that may affect social relations in the workplace or recruitment processes. However, racism is not examined as a structural problem and **public bodies do not invest in a systematic monitoring of racial discrimination and how it affects the life chances of immigrants and minorities**.

Legalism is a common political approach, deployed in particular by public authorities who claim that the existing laws are not discriminatory and that ethnic and racial discrimination is an offence (for instance, in constitutions and penal codes). Thus anti-racism does not qualify as a specific policy strategy. Public authorities tend to see anti-racist approaches as potentially 'disruptive' and, in the end, unnecessary.

The negative representation of anti-racist policies, movements and struggles is also related to dominant depictions of immigrants and minorities as *problematic* in the labour market, that is, 'over-sensitive' or 'unwilling to integrate', within the horizon of (im)possible assimilation. Moreover, the prevailing policy interventions stress immigrants' and minorities' 'lack of knowledge' of cultural and social codes in the (national) labour market as the main barrier to equality.

All of the case studies examined in **TOLERACE** point to **an attendant understanding which perceives racism as the problem of *racist people*** (whether through delusion or ignorance). This means that proposed courses of action for policies are directed towards reforming individuals, rather than social and political transformation.

Local policy makers and public servants, as well as NGO professionals, often interpret discrimination as something that is self-inflicted and they tend to disregard denunciations of racism.

Case studies

The specific cases that were analysed reveal the aforementioned arguments within policy frameworks and implementation, resulting in the misrecognition of racism and the reproduction of discrimination in the labour market and at work. **Empirical research carried out in Copenhagen (Denmark), Paris (France), Berlin (Germany), Rome (Italy), Coimbra (Portugal), El Ejido (Spain), Seville (Spain), Rioja Alavesa region (Spain), Leeds (UK) and Leicester (UK)**, illustrate **how racism is being naturalised** through an emphasis on the presumed 'deficiencies' of immigrants and minorities - described as problematic - and trivialised by virtue of an understanding of this as the reactions of 'over-sensitive' minoritised populations.

Anti-Roma racism and Islamophobia

(case studies in Denmark, Germany, Italy, Portugal and United Kingdom)

- Employment gatekeepers implementing integration policies aimed at the Roma and Muslims regard racial discrimination as rare and exceptional. Specific anti-racist strategies in the employment sector are generally considered superfluous.

- Muslims and the Roma are perceived as problematic populations, who are 'unwilling' to integrate into the national society, thus naturalising a perceived need for *assimilation*.

> What is more important, wearing a headscarf or having a job? It is a very difficult question because it is a very deep one. One can ask the question the other way around: well, how would it be if I were looking for a job in an Arab country, maybe even as a woman? Would I be allowed to walk around in shorts with my hair loose, or would I be expected to adjust? (Representative of the Institute for Labour Market and Employment Research, Germany)

In the absence of a sound discussion on the impact of racism in society, ideas about 'cultural difference' and 'religiosity' reproduce the discursive construction of these groups as 'backward' and 'unwilling to integrate' and, at the same time, *threats* to 'social cohesion'.

> I'll tell you a little story about the early days of my job; one of the major public service providers (...) phoned up and said they wanted advice because they wanted a Muslim candidate to work in the call centre and they didn't want to give this person a job because they were Muslim; how could I advise them to do that but then still stay on the right side of the law? They said, 'should we employ this person and then say at the end of their probationary period that they haven't fitted in?' And I said, 'what is your problem with this person? Are they fit for the job?' And this was a person who was in charge of Human Resources in Personnel said, 'imagine from time-to-time you have a circumstance where due to staff illness or lack of cover there is only one person in the call centre, one person taking emergency calls, what would they do if that person is a Muslim candidate and was the only person on duty and somebody phones in but they were doing their prayers at the same time so they didn't take the call?' And I think my first thing was, 'could you say that again please?' So they thought that this person would spread their prayer mat in the place of work and be doing one of their five prayers of the day and a call would come in from somebody whose house was on fire or had been in a road accident and they wouldn't answer it because they were going off to say their prayers at that point and they thought that lives would be lost because of this and would be pinpointed that they had hired a Muslim for this job. [But if they did not hire that person] then they would get attacked as an institution because they thought the easiest thing would be not to hire any Muslims for the call centre. (Representative of the Leicester Council of Faiths, UK)

Employment gatekeepers occasionally acknowledge that discrimination occurs but the liability typically shifts to the minoritised populations, since they are seen as 'over-sensitive', and thus denunciations of racism are regarded with suspicion. Public bodies and social organisations are not held accountable and policy framings are rarely questioned. The assumed lack of knowledge on the part of minority groups of the 'national cultural codes' in the labour market, and their lack of formal education and skills are seen as the main barriers to access to the labour market.

> [Experiencing discrimination] makes people refrain from participating in society on equal terms with others, because they [immigrants and minorities] feel people assume they do not have the same possibilities. This is very much about feelings, and many have the feeling that discrimination is the reason why they have no job, but the reasons could be many (Representative of the Ministry of Integration, Denmark)

> I think that [the Roma] discriminate against themselves too much. That's my point of view. This happens all the time; they usually say: -'They didn't want to offer me that job because I am Rom; -'But did they say that they didn't offer you the job because you are Rom?'; -'No, they didn't, but I know it's because I am Rom'. That is, they assume they are different, and they assume their differences in order to justify some of the difficulties they face in life and in getting a job, and dealing with their resistance to frustration, which is very low (NGO representative; implementation of National Public Policy on employability, Portugal)

Normalisation policies and immigration interventions on 'illegality' and 'third-countries immigrant-workers'

(Case studies in France and Spain - Andalusia and the Basque Country)

- Broad-based policy developments and political commentaries are producing an ambivalent discourse on current immigration flows and their impacts on the labour market, viewing these either as a problem or an opportunity.

- ***Immigration as an opportunity'*** considers the 'immigrant-worker' in terms of needs and benefits for the national economy. Public bodies and social organisations produce routine representations that differentiate between the 'good/welcomed' immigrant and the 'problematic and potential criminal/fraudster' immigrant - a distinction also reinforced by political initiatives.

> Good practice should be addressed to ensure that contracts in origin do not serve as a laboratory to see which groups or nationalities work better and cheaper (Trade Union's technician, Andalusia, Spain)

> [The creation in France of a Ministry of National Identity and Immigration in 2007] reflects a phenomenon that runs deeper, that shows the institutional materialisation of a political culture, shaped by decades of xenophobic elites, including technocrats, but also politicians or intellectuals, who created the idea that the presence of foreigners is problematic by definition (Jérôme Valluy, *Xénophobie de gouvernement, nationalisme d'état*, 2008, p. 12)

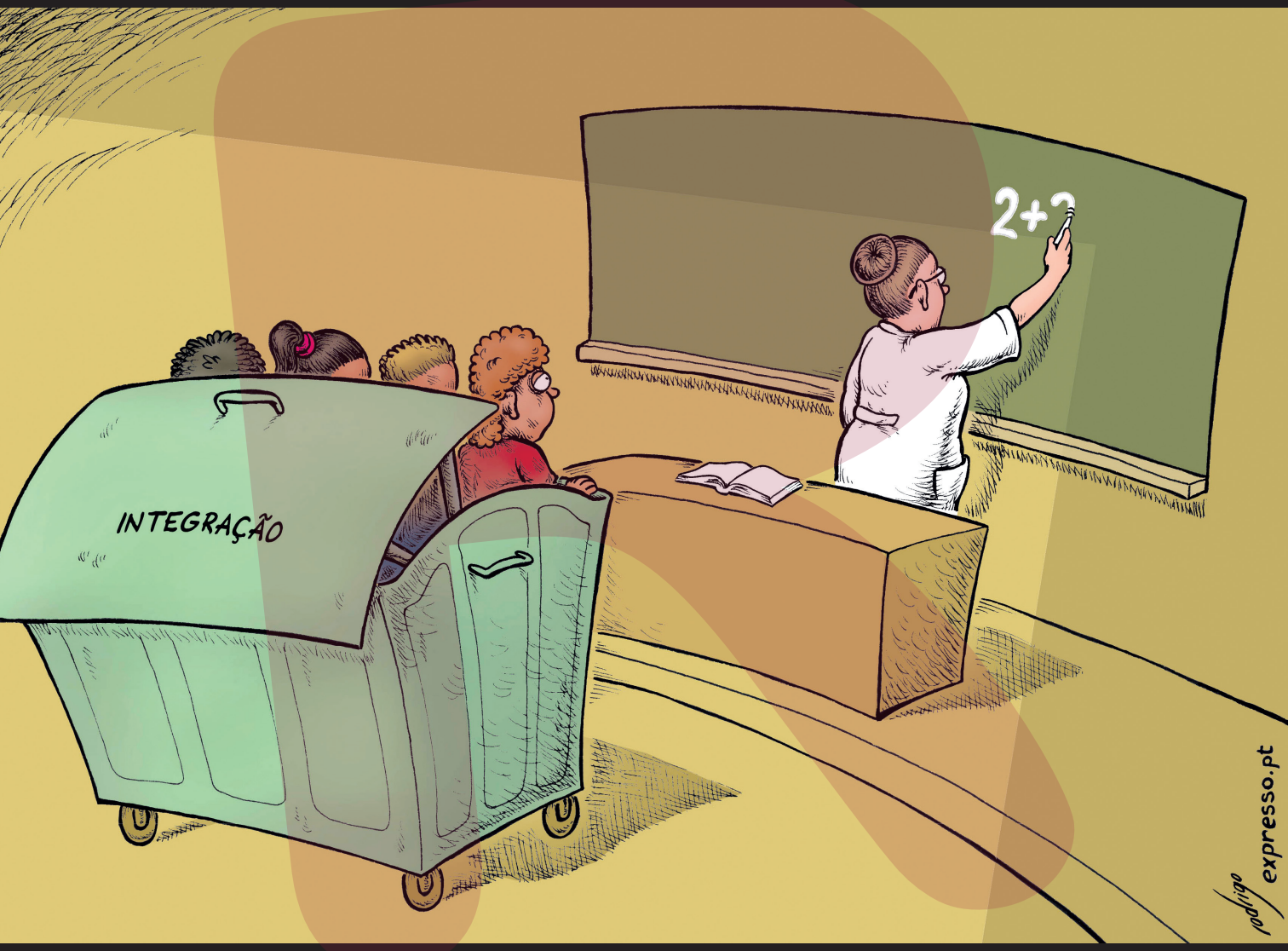
- ***'Immigration as a problem'*** perpetuates the idea that the so-called host society naturally and legitimately cannot accept 'all' immigrants.

- The *'immigrant'*, represented through discretionary and successive stages called generations, is under constant surveillance, especially after 'integration into the host society' seems to be, or has been accomplished.

> It is a time of economic crisis, so there must be expulsion, the 'guilty party' must be sought, and the 'guilty party' is 'the immigrant who has come and taken away our work', and on top of that 'they make themselves comfortable here' (NGO working on immigrant integration, Basque Country, Spain)

- Policies related to so-called 'third-country nationals' amplify the European/non-European divide which is rooted in the overriding idea that non-Europeans are 'unfit' to live according to the standards of national values and identity set by Europeans.

- Racism is downplayed as a natural reaction to difference, legitimised to some extent by the perceived 'contrast' between a (homogeneous and democratic) nation and the 'new habits and customs' brought into European countries by immigrants who may disrupt the way in which institutions work.



The school segregation of Roma pupils and the discourse of integration - Cartoon 'The school of discrimination against the Roma' published in the weekly newspaper ***Expresso*, Portugal** (2009). © Rodrigo/Expresso

IV Key issues and findings in education

In education, **TOLERACE** researched paradigmatic cases that illustrate how public policies and bodies (such as state-endorsed institutions, regional and local authorities, and schools), as well as mediation agents (for instance, teachers, cultural mediators, social and community workers), are framing and tackling cultural diversity and denunciations of racial, ethnic and religious discrimination in state schools. **Empirical research was carried out in Copenhagen (Denmark), Paris (France), Berlin (Germany), Rome (Italy), Coimbra (Portugal), Bilbao (Spain), El Ejido (Spain), Seville (Spain) and Leeds (UK).**

The **TOLERACE** research shows that **the debate on racism and anti-racism in schools has been almost non-existent**. Rather, the culturalist discourse on integration is shifting the focus to an a-critical 'celebration' of difference, leaving widely circulated assumptions unchecked. This reinforces the idea that minoritised populations are problematic but it is not just a matter of reproducing wider prejudices or biased social representations. Such stereotypes sustain the categories that continuously mark *difference* - reinforcing the 'us'/'them' divide. Although the celebration of cultures may be a positive way of addressing racism, the **TOLERACE** research indicates that **state-funded initiatives geared towards multicultural and intercultural education have mostly been inconclusive and inconsequential, serving only to legitimate existing school structures, arrangements and practices**.

The misrecognition of institutionalised racism

In the various contexts studied, **the debate on racism is being downplayed on the basis that it is potentially disrupting for the established status quo and only serves the interests of immigrants and minorities**. This view is aiding the misrecognition of racism, particularly in its institutional forms, and prevents measures from being implemented to effectively tackle the long-lasting effects of racism.

An analysis of the work by European monitoring bodies reveals **an inadequate approach to the logics of institutionalised racism**, resulting in the reproduction of problematic routine assumptions (racism as reactions to *difference*, deriving from *individual prejudices*) and thus ineffective solutions (public *awareness* as ensuring sufficient change).

> ECRI is especially concerned to learn that Gypsy children are occasionally faced with hostile reactions from parents of non-Gypsy children who do not wish Gypsy children to join their own children's classes. For example, ECRI notes the incident widely reported in the press of the transfer of ten or so Gypsy children from a school in Teivas to a school in Rebordinho at the start of the 2003 school year. The children were transferred apparently in response to pressure from non-Gypsy parents in the first school. Placards were put up in the new school stating 'No to Gypsies'. Nonetheless, the school officials reported the incident to the police and, according to ACIME [High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities], the authorities did everything to ensure that the Gypsy children could attend their new school under acceptable conditions. (*ECRI, 3rd Report on Portugal* 2007, p. 30)

In addition, European bodies working on racism have not been able to develop the necessary mechanisms for the **systematic and long-term monitoring of denunciations and responses by national Member States**. In cases involving school segregation (for instance, in Portugal and Italy), the **TOLERACE** research found that even after public denunciations were made and a political commitment to reverse such situations was announced, inter- and intra-school segregation persisted.

Schools and the logics of racism

Public discourses have often considered **education as crucial for the elimination of prejudice**. This is grounded on the assumption that discrimination can be prevented merely by challenging the stereotypical views of minoritised populations which prevail in society.

The case studies reveal that the very existence of discrimination is often played down and that racism is not considered a problem serious enough to be tackled by schools. Accordingly, they did not generally institute mechanisms to deal with cases of racial, ethnic or religious discrimination.

> I don't think it [discrimination] is a problem at our school. I actually think that the children sense from teachers and schoolmates that we stick together at this school, we are all children or adults. We are humans and that's what is important (Teacher, Denmark)

Moreover, the cases analysed reveal **the prevalence of perceptions of immigrants and minorities as cultural and educational *deficits***, sustained by wider education policies, school guidelines and practices. Intervention often shifts from occurrences of racism to the minoritised pupils and families themselves, who constantly need to show their 'willingness to integrate'. They thus become targets for increased surveillance:

> I can tell you what anyone can tell you about the Roma, which is a culture that it is very difficult to integrate in the school curriculum, because those that I know don't give any importance to education. At times we make jokes and laugh, saying, 'they're not going to come - certain Roma people - because there's no refectory (School Parents Association, Bilbao - Basque Country, Spain)

> What happens, not infrequently, is that our members [of a Muslim organisation] are confronted with discussions around the issues of the protection of the constitution or accusations of extremism. (...) This starts at school. We know this from cases where pupils have had our [institutional] logos on their pencil cases or notebooks and were questioned by their teachers about it (Association *Muslim Youth in Germany* representative, Germany)

- In the United Kingdom, for instance, Muslim children as young as 5 are being targeted by anti-terrorist measures, under the initiative 'Preventing Violent Extremism' (PREVENT).

- Negative views of minoritised populations are shared among teachers and other staff, and used to **rank students according to how closely they are perceived to meet established school expectations in accordance with the implicit notion of the 'ideal' European pupil:**

> The teachers, obviously... you gain experience and they establish rankings. That is, the immigrants who get on better and those that are better integrated, those who cause the teacher fewer problems... [It is easier with the Latin Americans] And amongst the Latin Americans, it's easier with the girls; with the boys there's the question of gangs and the question of things that are starting to appear in some places. Those from the East of Europe are the most valued. (…) because they learn Spanish at once, they learn Euskera, they learn English. (…) Many of them have a lot of qualifications and, besides, they have... they have a lot of faith in the school system and are highly motivated. So those kids progress fast and do very well in general. Then, there are the Latin Americans, because they can get by very well in the language and so on, and, of course, the last in line... or the Chinese kids are well considered, because they are also highly disciplined and very good; the last in the line are obviously the Maghrebis and the Africans
> (Basque School Council representative, Basque Country, Spain)

- Minoritised pupils are set up to 'compete' for the status of ideal pupil, even though at the outset most are not given the opportunity to perform well or on a par with other students due to their minority status.

- These types of **classificatory practices have an impact on education:** they inform academic assessments and future opportunities, as well as political decisions involving funding (including special needs classes and support for language learning), disciplinary procedures and school-parents relationships.

The legitimation of existing school structures, arrangements and practices

Negative views of minoritised populations are not just a matter of biased prejudices and stereotypes. Rather, by articulating a clear distinction between 'us' and 'them' - and conferring legitimacy on 'we Europeans' - they help to sustain the existing power relations and validate existing school structures, arrangements and practices.

The **TOLERACE** research that engaged with debates on the curriculum, bilingual teaching, and school arrangements for cultural and religious diversity shows how **demands by minoritised populations are constructed as problematic, while simultaneously rendering the privileged status of the so-called 'majority' population invisible.**

> From my point of view it is one thing to include it [interculturality], to consider it, but another thing to turn everything around, amongst other reasons because the teachers are not prepared, nor do they have the time… Otherwise it would become something else, and the curriculum content in Spain is the curriculum content in Spain ... and all of this leaves hardly any room for autochthonous things ... [Regarding cultural diversity] and as everything is already globalised, we celebrate Halloween ... and if you look carefully, now all children ask Santa Claus for toys whereas here we used to ask the Magi ... and, you know, there comes a time when you think: I have a great deal of respect for the culture of others but I'm losing my own culture ... what we need to find is a balance, things need to be there, we need to know them, to work on them, but without abuse and without losing sight of what we have to do, with our own and the others, and that's difficult (Teacher, Andalusia, Spain)

The shortcomings of multicultural and intercultural education

National and regional authorities have often invested in solutions such as ***multi*cultural and *inter*cultural education** - the former emphasising plurality and the latter dialogue. While distinctions have been made between these approaches, our research shows that **both are ambiguous, overemphasise culture and implicitly assume that racism will disappear once the 'other' is *known***.

> When we began our laboratories for the Roma children in schools, we tried to involve Italian pupils as well. So yes, by learning to know the other, we tried to deconstruct prejudices (…). The heart of these activities and the aim was, and is, to entertain the children (Human rights association member, Italy)

Some interviewees suggested that **these approaches conceal assimilation as a policy goal**, since they do not actually make use of different cultures and knowledges for the benefit of all:

> I think that in general we have a problem here, which is that what we aim to do is to integrate, assimilate the person who comes from outside, instead of creating physical spaces where everyone can feel recognised. (…) And I think that we don't achieve so much with these schoolchildren due to the starting point we take, as if they were people without culture, without language, without a way of doing things, without a previous life, from which you have to start to build something new and different (Basque School Council representative, Basque Country, Spain)

Within the political ambiguity concerning the meanings of inter- and multicultural education, the fact that it is not embedded in everyday school practices or canons of knowledge is evident in **the persistence of Eurocentric curricula**. This is most evident in research conducted within the United Kingdom.

> A few of us at school were talking about the curriculum recently and we were saying, 'isn't it really weird that when you think about science and history all we learn about is European contributions'… But there are always other things that have happened in other countries that we are not always aware of because that is just what we get taught going through school (Academic specialising in Education, Leeds, UK)

An illustration of current challenges to Eurocentrism can be seen in the debates in France studied within **TOLERACE** on the **teaching of colonialism** - including slavery - which bring these issues into the heart of **discussions on racism and anti-racism in education**.

> To say that one should tolerate differences is not efficient pedagogically, because these children are themselves the victims of differences. It is, in the same way, dangerous to attribute a slave ancestry to these students (mixing, in so doing, populations from the Antilles and Reunion Island with the Africans who are legally 'foreign'), a history of which they should be proud… In brief, there is a lot of confusion. […] However, the history of slavery remains an efficient pedagogical tool for fighting racism (Teacher, France)

(Anti-)racism and freedom of speech - Protest in Hong Kong (17 February 2006) against the publication of the Muhammad cartoons in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*. © Sam Graham

V Monitoring the press: key findings

Media agents, particularly those working in the press, play a central role as producers of meaning and collective representations within a shared cultural framework. One of the **TOLERACE** research strands focused on analysing **the role of the (national, regional and local) press in framing and constructing public issues** concerning ethnically marked populations and in **making racism (in)visible**.
The methodology used involved a qualitative monitoring of newspapers (both print and online) in seven European contexts: Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain and United Kingdom. The analysis focused on a common **monitoring period - October to December 2011**; in some cases, **a diachronic monitoring of specific issues** over the last ten years was also carried out. The database of the news gathered is available online on the project webpage.

The results indicate that the press is contributing in ways that create dominant representations. This is particularly evident in the main approaches to multiculturalism, interculturality, citizenship and the nation, reflecting the on-going difficulty in European societies in dealing with the challenge of racism.

The silencing of racism

In the news analysed, **TOLERACE** identified **a mainstream cultural sensibility revealing that serious racism is no longer believed to be present in developed European societies. Thus in reports of specific incidents, racism often tends to be denied or trivialised**.

Only a few news items suggested that structural racism should be considered serious. **The silencing of racism or discrimination against immigrants and minorities** is often accompanied by *softer* language, such as 'lacking equality' and 'insufficient integration'.

Broadly speaking, in the news the trivialisation of racism tends to shift from questions of discrimination to issues involving culture and development among immigrants and minorities, who are presented as responsible for social conflicts and inequalities. In sharing this approach, journalists and expert opinions are in fact contributing towards reproducing racism by misrecognising that a problem exists.

Case studies

The representation of Muslims as a threat to European democracies

Current representations of Muslims tend to foster **moral fears**. This is seen in the wider social and political discourses surrounding Muslims, who are represented as fundamentally problematic in Western democratic societies. For instance, in the case of **Spain,** many news items focused on the **construction of mosques** as a visible threat to democracy.

The news item 'SOS in Los Bermejales' published in *ABC* - Andalusia, Spain (15/05/2007) reports on the connection between Islamic fundamentalism and a planned mosque in Los Bermejales, Seville. The discussion is framed within continuous references to the Muslim 'invasion' and the Catholic 're-conquest', addressing the construction of the mosque as a threat and the prelude to a mass arrival of 'infidels'.

Newspapers in **Denmark, Germany and Spain** featured a large number of reports focusing on the relationship between **Muslims and fundamentalism**. Stories fostering hostility often dominated the press coverage of Muslims and Islam, and the analysis showed that most news stories were restricted to certain kinds of topics, such as **extremism**, terror, and the *sharia*. The alleged lack of democracy and freedom of speech and the absence of women's rights was also framed as endogenous to Islam.

The news item 'Schröder announces hotline for victims of forced marriages' uploaded on the *Süddeutsche* newspaper - Germany (9/01/2011), assumes the victims' affiliation with Islam, and their Turkish origin is highlighted. The text tends to state that educated Muslims are also problematic cases: they are unable to accommodate any notion of human rights and gender equality as outlined in German law and culture.

Other topics - such as the everyday life of the vast majority of Muslims, the value of ethnic, religious and cultural diversity, Islamophobia and discrimination against Muslims - were found to a lesser extent in the newspapers. Thus, **while topics and stories that foster moral panic were seen to be newsworthy, those related to the everyday life of Muslims and their struggles against discrimination were not**.

In **Germany and the UK**, **TOLERACE** found a significant number of news items that focused on gender-related issues, such as women's rights and 'forced marriages'. **Muslim men, often portrayed as the violent and barbaric aggressors** based on assumptions of a patriarchal-fundamentalist mentality, are deemed responsible for extreme violent behaviour (such as humiliating, beating, and killing women).

Muslim women are represented as powerless and voiceless victims in urgent need of empowerment and emancipation. Their dramatic fate is reduced to the assumed 'backward traditions' of their parents' culture and religion.

In the **UK**, aside from world news, the press focused strongly on the themes of t**he war on terror and fundamentalism**. The research found a clear divide between editorial lines in the tabloid newspapers based on speculation, sensationalism, Islamophobia, accusatory and inflammatory commentary (for instance, reinforcing the idea of Muslims as threats to British nationhood and British freedoms), and the broadsheet newspapers, which attempted to represent a more balanced and impartial account of events by offering a **diversity of perspectives,** including those from the perspective of Muslim populations and their representatives.

The news item 'Taliban's Xmas UK terror bid', published in The Sun - UK (25/10/2011), reports that the Taliban are planning a campaign of Christmas carnage in British cities and are ready to strike. The news item suggests that the so-called perpetrators will be liberal looking individuals, not bearded men or veiled women, and it is also claimed that they are also seeking revenge on Obama following Osama Bin Laden's death.

The Roma as victims of (self-)exclusion

TOLERACE found that, in the press, the **Roma were framed either as a problem or as victims.** Their characterisation as a problem follows a long-lasting pattern in the relationship between Roma and non-Roma, while their depiction as victims is relatively recent.

Allusions to their **precarious living conditions**, unstable or non-existent work opportunities, school absenteeism and dropout rates, criminality, and poor housing conditions were recurrent themes in most newspapers. The main social problem addressed by the press was **the process of *ghettoisation***, namely Roma communities concentrated in specific neighbourhoods and schools.

The research revealed **an ambivalent discourse in the news on processes of exclusion and discrimination directed against the Roma**, especially in education or housing. On the one hand, discrimination is denounced, giving a voice to the representatives of Roma associations and pointing out the state's responsibilities. On the other hand, the representation of the Roma as culturally unfit and unwilling to integrate is constantly emphasised, therefore holding this group accountable for its own exclusion.

Most of the news analysed in the newspapers published in the **Basque Country (Spain) and in Portugal** reflects this discursive ambivalence.

The interview with Itziar Zudaire, a member of the *Gypsy Secretariat Foundation*, under the headline 'We must avoid the temptation of thinking that an alternative educational system can help the Roma to improve', published in *Deia* - Basque Country, Spain (21/03/2011). The interviewee supports the education of the Roma within the mainstream school system, without segregation. She also cites women as a driving force for change and for promoting closer relations between school staff and families, key factors in ensuring early education and completion of compulsory schooling for all Roma pupils. Although this Roma representative indicates these political strategies, the interviewer frames the discussion in terms of the Roma's reluctance to 'integrate'. This is evident in questions like: 'Is there a clear willingness in this collective for real coexistence?', which already implies a certain suspicion about the Roma as resistant to coexistence with the rest of society. This is again emphasised when the journalist asks the interviewee to give 'Some example of integration…', assuming cases where the Roma cohabit with non-Roma communities without any conflict to be exceptional.

The news item 'Why is that the Roma…?', published in *Diário de Notícias* - Portugal (27/11/2010), starts by addressing the collective complaint against Portugal raised by the European Roma Rights Centre concerning their housing rights. Yet, an analysis of the specific contents of this complaint and of the specific public policies and institutional responses deployed is absent. It focuses instead on the Roma way of life and traditions, giving some Roma's representatives an opportunity to present evidence against several of the most common stereotypes, such as the idea that Roma do not want their children to attend school. Although the report denounces the poor living conditions of the Roma, the idea that their family life is very closed and self-contained is emphasised, as well as their suspicion of non-Roma populations. Regarding employment, the description of the situation underlines the importance of subsidies and market trading. The report also argues that most Roma pupils are not interested in formal schooling - which is seen as useless for future work as traders - although some 'exceptions' are noted.

RASSISMUS
BRAUCHT SCHWEIGEN
BREAK THE SILENCE

VI Recommendations

TOLERACE envisages its commitment to policy-relevant research on the grounds of providing **clarification of the contexts that harbour certain political options and prevalent policy framings associated with anti-racism, anti-discrimination and ethno-racial equality.**

Accordingly, the project has indicated four key aspects that merit clarification: **i)** the dominant understanding of racism that has informed public policies and the work of monitoring agencies; **ii)** the relationship between the mainstream framing of integration or inclusion policies and the reproduction of racism; **iii)** the increasing relevance, within policy implementation, of representations of mino ritised populations as 'problematic' and 'unwilling to integrate'; **iv)** the links between these negative images and the re-configuration of exclusionary ideas and practices of European and national political belonging.

Overall, the research indicates that it is imperative that public policies address the institutionalisation of racism in Europe, moving beyond understanding the phenomenon as amounting to extreme political ideologies or bigoted attitudes.

TOLERACE participatory workshops

Following the research work, **TOLERACE** organised **17 participatory workshops** in the different national and regional contexts to discuss the academic findings and propose policy recommendations. The participatory workshops were carried out with a total of **166 participants**, including policy and decision-makers, representatives of regional and local authorities, members of local associations, political activists, academics, school teachers, trade union representatives and journalists. The sections below present the main recommendations emerging from the **TOLERACE** research findings, as well as the joint dialogue with participants at the workshops.

Equality and monitoring bodies, and legal framework

EUROPEAN LEVEL

TOLERACE considers that it is imperative to effectively monitor the implementation of EU anti-discrimination directives in the different Member States. Additionally, policy strategies should tackle institutionalised racism, moving beyond an approach based on the 'awareness' of rights on the part of minoritised populations towards a clear political investment in the status of equality bodies for the protection of rights, thus allowing for a more systematic and in-depth monitoring of institutional racism.

- Apply existing laws and ratified conventions and treaties that protect the rights of minoritised populations (for example, the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities), and develop accountability mechanisms to ensure compliance by EU Member States;
- Regularly promote a broader debate at national level on the data for patterns of discrimination and segregation collected by European monitoring bodies, with the involvement of the various representatives of anti-racist organisations, grassroots associations, academics and public authorities;
- Ensure that anti-racist public policies consider the common yet shifting patterns of discrimination, while also engaging with the specific contours of racism in contemporary Europe - for instance, Islamophobia and anti-Gypsyism (e.g. common discourses on the 'Muslim woman' and the 'Roma woman' that reveal a historical pattern to the construction of the inferiority of non-white women).

NATIONAL LEVEL

TOLERACE findings indicate that it is imperative to guarantee the independence of the specialist bodies in charge of monitoring and combating racism and racial discrimination. Political independence from state authorities is crucial to collecting and providing reliable and systematic data, as well as effectively supporting the victims.

- Independently monitor the national implementation of European directives on racism and related discrimination;
- Guarantee the independent functioning of equality bodies, their high profile status, the transparency of the processes and the outcomes of denunciations;
- Independently analyse the impact of national measures and policy initiatives on anti-discrimination;
- Assess the effects of public policies for religious and ethno-racial equality in key areas such as education (including higher education), employment, health and housing, via regular monitoring at state and sector levels;
- Promote the effective participation of the various representatives of anti-racist organisations, grassroots associations, academics and national/local public authorities in the drafting of key policy documents and strategies, in addition to the consultation processes already in place.

Employment: (re-)centre anti-racism in policy design and encourage diversity in the workplace

TOLERACE recommends a comprehensive assessment of dominant policy strategies, particularly those focusing on the 'activation of social competences' and 'employability'. These tend to reproduce an individual-centred approach that regards minoritised populations as problematic, naturalising exclusion while side-lining discrimination from the labour market. Research findings also indicate the need to encourage diversity and anti-discrimination as social values in the workplace, both in the state and private sectors.

- Foster mechanisms that combat racism in the selection of applicants, professional advancement and career promotion;
- Tackle routine racist practices in the workplace that prevent existing legislation and policy recommendations from being fully implemented, both in the state and the private sector;
- Create and improve existing protocols for public inspection in order to prevent discrimination and to safeguard workers' rights;
- Formulate anti-racist campaigns that address questions related to the persistence of structural discrimination, moving beyond a strategy that merely aims to create 'awareness' of the problem among the 'majority population';
- Increase the amount and quality of critical training on institutional racism and anti-racism, mobilising the public sectors and intermediate agents, such as trade unions and professional associations;
- Create incentives for anti-racist programmes in the private sector via corporate social responsibility measures;
- Develop and implement a system for monitoring discrimination in collaboration with workers' unions and other organisations;
- Improve and speed up the process of validating academic qualifications (degrees, diplomas and certificates) and previous professional experience, and promote requalification programmes within an anti-discrimination strategy;
- Promote an informed debate on affirmative action policies, considering experiences in this field in other contexts and related patterns of discrimination, such as gender.

Education: commit to anti-racism in education and to changing the canons of knowledge in schools

TOLERACE recommends the development of a broader multi-level anti-racist strategy (at national, regional and local levels) that monitors and tackles inequalities in compulsory, further and higher education. Research findings point to an urgent need to develop systemic and systematic measures to fight racism in education systems that extend beyond culturalist discourses and initiatives (such as music or gastronomy festivals) which merely result in the exoticisation of minorities.

- Effectively include positive ideas about cultural and religious diversity in Europe, as well as anti-colonial and anti-racist struggles, in regular school activities, promoting informed debate amongst students and teachers on the history of minoritised populations and their historical contributions to European societies and identities;
- Mainstream debates and initiatives in this field, within an approach that sees diversity, multiculturalism and interculturality as related to changes in social and political imaginaries rather than simply a matter that concerns minoritised populations;
- Promote significant changes to existing canons of knowledge in schools - challenging Eurocentrism, the lack of representation and the misrepresentation of minoritised populations in the curricula and textbooks for different subjects - building strategies for participatory consultation and long-term monitoring of change;
- Foster an anti-racist approach to education that informs school structures and everyday pedagogical practices, and create in-school mechanisms to identify and tackle situations of ethno-racial and religious discrimination;
- Develop a systemic approach to cases of school selection and segregation that considers them within wider patterns of spatial and socioeconomic segregation - increasing under current arrangements that promote free choice of schools;
- Mainstream the discussion and understanding of (anti-)racism by organising debates at national and local level, prioritising the critical perspectives of grassroots associations and political activists that engage with, rather than eschew, the sensitive nature of racism in the contemporary political context;
- Build a sustainable debate outside school communities that extends beyond the pragmatics of everyday teaching and learning and involves representatives of institutional bodies, third-sector organisations and grassroots movements.

The media: ensure systematic and consistent monitoring of racism in the press

- Construct a positive view of diversity by drawing on a diverse workforce at all levels (not just in visible positions, such as reporters and presenters);
- Promote regular inquiries into racism in the media, making the results publicly available and encouraging accountability;
- Include anti-racism as a key issue in the codes of ethics for the press, and penalise and delegitimise hate speech on the basis of existing legislation and recommendations, fostering responsible practices (for example, in public broadcasting);
- Encourage anti-racist training for journalists, and their interest in learning other languages and cultures;
- Promote more analytical insight in news reports and include the views of independent anti-racist, human rights and grassroots association representatives. In high profile cases of racism, encourage the media's role to investigate and denounce similar situations, as well as inform the public about existing mechanisms and legislation to combat this;
- Establish a specific monitoring service for the blogosphere and social networks, as well as the comments sections of online newspapers, improving the denunciation mechanisms used by the public.

Better horizons?

The TOLERACE research has engaged in dialogue with policy-makers, academia, political activists and stakeholders at local, regional and national levels, enabling it to identify lasting patterns of inadequate problem-framing in public policies and academic debate. The findings have helped to map out the difficulties involved in discussing racism in contemporary European contexts and to propose a way forward by identifying approaches and key areas in which a sound debate on anti-racism can be constructed. In particular, contemporary movements for the memorialisation of slavery and anti-colonial struggles are helping to reformulate historical contexts and legacies within the current problematic framework of discussing and challenging racism in the everyday functioning of liberal-democratic institutions.

TOLERACE aims to continue the dialogue with policy and decision-makers, representatives of regional and local authorities, political activists, members of grassroots and local associations, academics, school teachers, trade union representatives and journalists.

Methodological annex

The **TOLERACE** research teams carried out a contextualised and historically informed analysis of key discourses on understandings of racism and anti-racism in current 'integration' policies. Most of the empirical work, including the participatory workshops, was completed between **October 2010** and **September 2012** and included an analytical appraisal of:

- public bodies and social organisations and their key policy initiatives;
- policy documents and political discourses;
- experiences and representations of key social actors in the field of policy implementation at national, regional and local levels;
- news reports in the press at national and regional levels.

All the teams studied *paradigmatic cases* that enabled the more general characteristics of the questions under study to be identified, thus highlighting the common and specific features of the national/regional contexts.
The analysis of empirical data was carried out in close dialogue with **TOLERACE**'s theoretical approach to racism. In particular, it built on race critical theories and critical discourse analysis that calls for an engagement with the histories and contexts in which power relations, discourses and representations are formed. **TOLERACE** also followed a loose version of *Grounded Theory*, in which concepts and theory constantly emerge from data analysis and influence the subsequent collection of data. Empirical data was collected using qualitative techniques: in-depth interviews, focus groups and participatory workshops. **TOLERACE** considers that research on racism is politically sensitive and therefore preserved the anonymity of participants.

Public bodies and key policy documents analysed

Country	Public body	Key documents
Denmark	*The Ministry for Refugees, Immigrants and Integration* *The Danish Institute for Human Rights*	Employment, participation and equal opportunities for everyone (2005) The Aliens Consolidation Act (2009) Action plan on ethnic equality and respect for each individual (2010)
France	*High Authority for the Fight Against Discrimination and for Equality (HALDE)*	HALDE Annual Report (2009)
Germany	*Federal Government's Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration* *The Federal Anti-discrimination Agency (ADS)*	National Integration Plan (2007) General Equal Treatment Act (2006)
Italy	*National Office Against Racial Discrimination (UNAR)*	One Year of Activities against Racial Discrimination (2005) Toolkit against Racial Discrimination (2005)
Portugal	*High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI)* *(former High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities - ACIME)* *The Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR)*	I Plan for the Integration of Immigrants (2007) II Plan for the Integration of Immigrants (2010) Choices Programme (4th Generation, 2010-2012)
Spain (Andalusia)	*The Government of Andalusia*	I Comprehensive Plan for Immigration in Andalusia (2001-2004) II Comprehensive Plan for Immigration in Andalusia (2005-2009)
Spain (Basque Country)	*Department of Housing and Social Affairs of the Basque Country*	I Basque Immigration Plan (2003-2005) II Basque Immigration Plan (2007-2009)
United Kingdom	*Equality and Human Rights Commission (former Commission for Racial Equality, Equal Opportunities Commission and Disability Rights Commission) (EHRC)*	Strategic Plan of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2009-2012)

Monitoring the press

Country/ Region	Newspapers	
Denmark	*Jyllands-Posten* / *Politiken* *Ekstra Bladet* / *Kristeligt Dagblad*	National daily newspapers
France	*Le Monde* / *Libération* / *Le Figaro*	National daily newspapers
	Marianne / *Le Point* / *L'Express*	National weekly magazines
	Arte / *France 2*	Daily TV news
	Médiapart	Online newspaper
	Causeur / *France Culture*	Collective blog / National daily radio news
Germany	*Frankfurter Rundschau* / *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* *Süddeutsche Zeitung* / *Die Welt*	National daily newspapers
Italy	*La Repubblica* / *La Stampa* / *Il Tempo*	National daily newspapers
	Il Messagero / *Il Sole 24 Ore*	National daily economic newspaper
	Nuovo Paese Sera	National monthly magazine
Portugal	*Público* / *Diário de Notícias*	National daily newspapers
	Diário de Coimbra	Regional daily newspaper
	Correio da Manhã	National daily tabloids
	Expresso	National weekly newspaper
Spain (Andalusia)	*El Mundo* / *El País* / *ABC* / *El Público*	National daily newspapers
	Diario de Sevilla / *Ideal* / *La Voz de Almería*	Regional daily newspapers
Spain (Basque Country)	*El País* / *Deia*	National daily newspapers
	El Correo / *El Diario Vasco* / *Gara*	Regional daily newspapers
United Kingdom	*The Guardian* / *The Independent*	National daily newspapers
	Daily Mail / *The Sun*	National daily tabloids

Fieldwork completed

Country	Interviews	Focus groups & participatory workshops	TOTAL PARTICIPANTS
Denmark	34 interviews	6 focus groups 2 workshops	77 participants
France	15 interviews	1 workshop	29 participants
Germany	40 interviews	1 workshop	59 participants
Italy	22 interviews	1 workshop	31 participants
Portugal	39 interviews	4 workshops	62 participants
Spain (Andalusia)	109 interviews	4 workshops	147 participants
Spain (Basque Country)	28 interviews	2 focus groups 3 workshops	75 participants
United Kingdom	29 interviews	1 workshop	40 participants
	316 interviews	**8 focus groups 17 workshops**	**511 participants**

Understanding the logics of racism in contemporary Europe

TOLERACE - The semantics of tolerance and (anti-)racism in Europe: public bodies and civil society in comparative perspective

Booklet presenting key findings and recommendations

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