# Portugal

# (Anti-)racism in Portuguese policies and institutions: the 'integration' and 'accountability' of immigrants/minorities as 'solution'

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> Rather than being inclusive, integration is seen as assimilation with a different label because it is unidirectional: integration de facto signifies an inward process, rather than an outward one that is transformative of the so-called 'host society'. Immigrants and their descendants are promised that by integrating they will no longer be treated as outsiders in the countries in which they live. However, this promise is increasingly tempered by conditions for citizenship that place the assimilation of what in the global age are increasingly indefinable national 'values' at the centre of the 'integration process'. As such, although the ideal outcome of integration is an undeniably attractive one, it remains for many unachievable. (Lentin, 2008: 490)

## Introduction

In this text we analyse public policies and bodies of the Portuguese government which are directed at taking action against racism and ethnic and racial discrimination. As we have stated within the TOLERACE project, we consider that the analysis of public policies and state institutions practices should go beyond considering their 'efficiency'. From this perspective, we find it essential to critically examine the dominant conceptualisations that guide them, and in this case, the crucial notions of **(anti)-racism and integration.**

In our analysis we aim at questioning the ways in which public policies and policy-making approaches have conceived of a relationship between the 'presence' of certain **immigrant** and **ethnic minority communities** and **racism**. Such relationship is framed in terms of **cause-effect**, but understood as an *unwanted* consequence, according to a logic that could be expressed, in the Portuguese context, as follows:

Portugal, traditionally a country of emigrants, has also become a country of immigrants, with increasingly diverse waves of immigrants. It is the responsibility of the State and that of civil society to promote the effective integration of these immigrant/minority communities in order to avoid marginalisation and resulting tensions and social conflicts, especially racism and xenophobia.

In this sense, dominant public policies and policy-making discourses are based on the constant drawing of **boundaries** between **minorities and immigrant communities** and **the *national* host society**. Thus racism and racial discrimination are mainly considered as a result of **prejudice**, of erroneous visions of reality that should be confronted through political intervention, i.e. through *educating* the majority. Nevertheless, it is assumed as *natural* that prejudice should be viewed as a **'reaction' of the *indigenous* society** to the 'presence' of immigrants or minorities. Consequently, discrimination is interpreted as a problem related to the (unsuccessful) *integration of difference* and to periods/situations of crisis (i.e. economic crises and unemployment). We argue that it is necessary to question these approaches and to consider the ways in which a large part of political technologies for the integration of immigrants (i.e. the figure of **the immigrant-worker**) and ethnic minorities (**the Roma community** is the only recognised ethnic minority by the Portuguese government)[1] *normalise* framings based on **the hierarchy between different 'types' of (non)citizens, cut across by a racial arithmetic.**

The 'normalised' definition of the border between the Portuguese society and the 'other' communities is placed at the centre of the government action, as it is expressed in the first *Plan for Immigrant Integration* (PII): 'reinforcement of social cohesion and a better integration and management of cultural diversity' (PII, 2007: 2964-(2)). **Employment** and **education** are considered two key life-spheres. As a result of this approach, despite the fact that action against racism and ethnic and racial discrimination are listed amongst the main objectives of public policies and programmes, they seem to be marginalised in practice. Seen as a *negative* consequence of a *deficient integration*, the government practice assumes as more efficient the focus on the *positive* aspects of policy, i.e. the **'active inclusion'** of the Roma and immigrant communities. Finally, the political consensus that sees the 'most explicit and violent' forms of racism as having been overcome leads to the ongoing concern about the so-called **'subtle racism'**, seen as difficult to *prove*. Accordingly,

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[1] In this sense, Portugal has maintained the position of not recognising the existence of "national minorities" in the way in which they are characterized in the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities of the Council of Europe (Council of Europe, 2009).

anti-racism policies are converted into an instrument that aims at contesting something that cannot, in fact, be contested.

The analysis that we present here is divided in four sections. In the first one, we analyse the first *Plan for Immigrant Integration* (PII, 2007-2009). In the second section, we focus on the work of ACIDI (*Alto Comissariado para Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural)* [High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue], the public body that incorporates and coordinates a considerable part of the integration policies and programmes, as well as the action against racism and xenophobia. In the third section, we describe shortly the *ESCOLHAS* project [Choices] which is currently an ACIDI's flagship programme. Finally, in the last section, we analyse key political and academic discourses regarding immigration, ethnic minorities and racism in Portugal.

## 1. First Plan for Immigrant Integration – PII (2007-2009)

> Being traditionally an emigration country, since the 1990s Portugal has also become a country of immigration. The statistics show that nowadays immigrants make up 9 per cent of the active population and 4.5 per cent of the national population. Given this, the migration phenomenon brings new features into Portuguese society. On the one hand, it makes an important contribution towards the demographic situation. On the other, it is a positive factor for economy growth, for a sustainable social welfare system and for the cultural enrichment of the country. Nevertheless, this reality also entails the government accountability for the integration of these citizens, in particular the importance of social cohesion and of a better integration and management of cultural diversity. (PII, 2007: 2964-(2))

In this section, we would like to discuss the social integration of immigrants by examining a public intervention perspective. That is why we selected for the analysis the *Plan for Immigrant Integration* (PII), resolution n. 63-A/2007, legislated by the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in 2007 and in place until the end of 2009.

The Plan is divided into three sections: an introduction that exposes the underlying rationale for government action; a part focused on the **political measures**; and the final part which specifies the **goals** and **expected outputs** for each of the measures. The PII aims to create a broad framework, being constituted by 122 measures that are then subdivided into 20 different areas. Each measure is associated with specific goals. Overall, the PII can be seen as a crosscut approach for immigrant integration.

Two interrelated arguments are used to justify the need for placing the PII in action: (1) the lack of a global programme with a specific focus on immigrant integration across different areas; (2) the required co-ordination between immigrant integration and 'the control of migratory flows' (PII, 2007: 2964-(2)). The PII emphasises that Portuguese society has faced, in the last years, a new reality in terms of the

importance and characteristics of migratory flows. This would require the creation of a framework for their integration. Hence the widely accepted, common-sensical repetition of the idea that Portugal is now both a country of emigration and of immigration.

The plan makes a distinction between **several categories of foreigners**, just as the Portuguese Constitution does. There are thus different relationships between citizens and the State defined by each person's legal position and by the existence (or not) of bilateral agreements between states. So the foreigner is someone who is not a national citizen (defined by the negative). Within the legal context of the categories created, such as *citizens of the European Union* and *third country nationals* – namely those from states where Portuguese is the official language (Torres, 2004), the PII constructs the specific category of the immigrant, as follows:

> Being aware that immigration policies will increasingly be shaped by the pillar of integration, duly articulated with the control of migratory flows along with the growing interest to aid the development of the countries of origin, we aim at defining, for the next three years, a programme of concrete commitments which assert the State as the main ally in the integration of immigrants. (Ibid: 2964-(2))

From this excerpt it can be seen that the PII refers specifically to the population coming from countries outside the European Union and from countries subjected to *development* aid – aka *developing countries*. Thus, this document does not view immigration in a global and broad way, being directed implicitly to immigrants from third countries, i.e. from outside the European context: **the specific figure of the immigrant- worker.** The construction of **this simplistic vision of immigration in Portugal reaffirms North/South, poor/wealthy dichotomies, substantiating the locus of Europe as a paradigm of modernity and development** (Vale de Almeida, 2006; Araújo, 2009).

It should be noted that besides establishing a connection between integration of immigrants into the host country and aid to developing countries, the government action also links these questions to the control of borders. It thus confirms and reinforces the fact that **EU citizens are not included in the government-constructed category of the 'immigrant'.** In the PII introduction, the idea of a direct link between the policies of integration and the regulation of migratory flows has been constantly reaffirmed:

> Along with the new Nationality Law and with the presenting at the Assembly of the Republic of a law proposal concerning the regime of conditions and procedures of entry, remaining, exit and expelling foreign citizens from the Portuguese territory, the Government presents now the Plan for Immigrant Integration […]. (PII, 2007: 2964 (2))

This link shows an evident tension between inclusion and exclusion policies which translates simultaneously into the view of the state as both *welcoming/receiving*, where it claims to be an 'ally of immigrants' and as *repressing/regulating*, where it asserts its sovereignty as far as their entry, exit and expulsion is concerned.

Another dominant idea underlying the PII is an evaluation of immigration processes in terms of **positive and negative effects** that the presence of immigrants might have on the national society. The PII conditions the 'contribution' of immigrants in Portugal to their integration, which should be induced by the state. The beginning of the following quote illustrates that integration is viewed as an essential condition to enable one to *benefit* from the desirable consequences of immigration:

> The positive role of immigrants in Portuguese society cannot be divorced from the need for policies and concrete measures that promote their reception and integration, which thus take on a priority nature in the context of immigration policies. (Ibid: 2964-(2))

One of the implications from this view of the contributions of immigration is that, ultimately, **the *unwanted* effects are produced due to the lack of integration of immigrants into the host society**. **This rationale forecloses the debate on social exclusion processes rooted in political and administrative structures**. The focus is thus on integration as a process that should help making use of the 'positive role' of immigrants. In this approach, the *integration* of immigrant communities is constructed through a framework of *acceptance* of foreign presence defined by the state (and also by the 'majority' society), becoming configured as a 'perverse game', according to Vale de Almeida:

> There is a perverse game played by the state to which it is called sovereignty. It is performed either in the surveillance of the coincidence between the territory, language and subjection to the state, or in the creation of culturally-competent individuals, as well as in the complexification of the procedures that enable the foreigner to have access to the table of the game of cultural competence (Vale de Almeida, 2007: 367)

The above-mentioned tension between the two roles of the state – hospitable and repressive – appears again in connection to the construction of the *interculturality*:

> A positive vision of immigration, that acknowledges its economic, social and cultural contribution and is committed to a good reception and the full integration of immigrant communities in the Portuguese society;
> Higher accountability in the design of integration policies of a country with a long history of emigration and therefore aware of the claims and aspirations of immigrants toward their destination countries;
> Reception with hospitality and integration with more citizenship as one of the fundamental pillars of immigration policies;
> Affirmation of the interculturality principle, a guarantee of social cohesion, taking aboard the cultural and social specificities of different communities and underlining their interactive and relational character, based on mutual respect and on abiding to the laws of the host country. (PII, 2007:2694 (3))

The two tendencies become clear as one is expressed after another. Firstly, the additional responsibility of the Portuguese is affirmed as of the people who would be particularly capable of understanding difficulties of immigrants due to their own historical past. This highlights the assumed hospitality and welcoming nature of the Portuguese, the construction of an image of a tolerant and indulging nation towards immigrants. However, the semantics of tolerance is immediately overthrown by the **affirmed principle of *interculturality*** that defines the abiding to the host country's law as the limit for cultural respect. The fact that there is a need to highlight this requirement indicates the need to define a framework of tolerance so as to construct the figure of the immigrant. The underlying assumption is that they seem to be a group of people who need 'supervision' on their performance as citizens. The border is thus re-drawn - as *distance* - between immigrants and national citizens:

> It projects a future in which the 'immigrant' minority will be indistinguishable from the national (e.g. ethnically unmarked) majority, but consecrates a present that permanently defers such possibility. (Hesse & Sayyid, 2006: 20)

Finally, as far as its legitimacy is concerned, the PII is defined as mirroring the 'sensibilities', the beliefs and feelings of the Portuguese society, as follows:

> The Plan for Immigrant Integration, developed jointly by all the Ministries, with contributions from civil society organisations and elaborated following a period of public discussion, resulted in a document that reflects the sensibilities of the Portuguese society. (PII, 2007: 2964-(2))

As far as civil society is concerned, the excerpt refers to consultations about the PII carried out with associations integrated within the *Conselho Consultivo para os Assuntos de Imigração* [**Consulting Council for Immigration Issues**] (**COCAI**).[2] However, it is only a consulting institution under the ACIDI authority with no decision-making powers. In this sense, it should be pointed out that there is work that demonstrates several structural limitations of the COCAI, particularly in regards to its weak impact on political matters (Peixoto & Figueiredo, 2008: 22). In sum, we can conclude that the PII legitimacy is open to debate and so is the state's willingness to carry out an effective dialogue with civil society organisations in general, and in particular with anti-racist associations.

In regards to the goals established by the PII, each and every one of its 122 objectives have their own way of assessment, with one or several outputs, always based on quantitative results. These results are fixed and in most of the cases they do not necessarily mean an improvement in immigrant 'integration' or taking action against

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[2] The process of consultation included a wider variety of civil society organisations but the discussion and diverse perspectives on the matter have had a small impact on policies such as the PII.

discrimination. In fact, it represents a model of evaluating public policies that easily allows showing that the goals were met according to the statistics.

In effect, this type of evaluation enabled the Minister of Presidency, Pedro Silva Pereira, to report to the Media some remarkable results in the PII measure accomplishment[3]. This does not necessarily mean substantial alterations in practices or political and administrative structures of the state or questioning their adequateness.

| Table 1. PII (2007-2009) – Policy measures |
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| **Racism and discrimination (measures 86-91)** |
| Effective equality in access to jobs, together with action against all forms of ethnic discrimination (PCM/ACIDI, I. P., MTSS.) |
| Taking action against discrimination and racism in access to housing (PCM/ACIDI, I. P.) |
| Promoting and training in action against racism and racial discrimination (PCM/ACIDI, I. P./IPJ, I. P./FDTI) |
| Preparing studies within the Immigration Observatory regarding discrimination at school, in housing and labour market (PCM/ACIDI, I. P., MAOTDR, MTSS, ME). |
| Reinforcement of the support to victims of racist acts and of discrimination (PCM/ACIDI, I. P.) |
| Legislation alterations to strengthen the capacity of the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (PCM/ACIDI, I. P.) |
| Consolidation of the law on religious freedom |
| Specific training of professionals in key sectors (MJ, MS, MC) |
| **Descendants of immigrants (measures 78-83)** |
| Reinforcement of educational integration and action against school failure and dropout (PCM/ACIDI, I. P., ME, MCTES) |
| Taking action against spatial segregation (PCM/ACIDI, I. P.) |
| Taking action against social exclusion of descendants of immigrants (PCM/ACIDI, I.P.) [ESCOLHAS Programme] |
| Access to professional training and jobs (PCM/ACIDI, I.P., MTSS/IEFP, I. P.):'Defend equal opportunities for young descendants of immigrants in the access to professional training and jobs by eliminating all forms of discrimination and racism] |
| Encouragement to civic participation (PCM/ACIDI, I. P.) |
| Campaigns to develop awareness of the public opinion toward integration of descendants of immigrants (PCM/ACIDI, I. P.) [Make public the success of the ESCOLHAS Programme] |
| Further development of scientific knowledge about descendants of immigrants (PCM/ACIDI, I. P.) |

Acronyms: FDTI: Foundation for Promotion of Information Technologies; IEFP: Job and Professional Training Institute; IPJ, I.P.: Portuguese Institute for Youth, Public Institute; MAOTDR: Ministry of Environment and Territory Planning; MC: Ministry of Culture; MCTES: Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education; ME: Ministry of Education; MJ: Ministry of Justice; MS: Ministry of Health; MTSS: Ministry of Work and Social Solidarity; PCM: Presidency of Council of Ministers

The theme of racial discrimination has some visibility in the PII, through a range of measures linked to its elimination in sports (measure 75: " Overcome and eliminate discrimination and racism in sports"), mass-media (measure 101: "Stimulate development of mechanisms of self-regulation of the Media, defined by professional ethics and deontology, as well as in the job access and professional training"), and also in the sections concerning integration of "descendants of immigrants" and specifically "racism and discrimination" (see Table 1).[4] In the latter section, the central role of the

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[3]www.lusofonia.com.pt/index.php?view=article&catid=7%3Anoticias&id=154%3Agoverno+de+portugal&option=com_content&Itemid=14 (Accessed 01/09/2010)
[4] In this context, indicators that would ascertain the level of accomplishment of these measures are restricted to event organization (e.g. 'seminars'), to 'awareness' campaigns of (e.g. the number of leaflets and brochures distributed; number of schools participating in contests organised around these topics or the 'number of produced studies') (PII, 2007: 2964-(20)).

*Comissão para a Igualdade e Contra a Discriminação Racial* (CICDR) [Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination] is reaffirmed, an aspect that will be analysed further in this text. CICDR is referred quite often in terms of the need to 'consolidate', 'reinforce', 'develop', and to 'make happen' this institution, and it is also mentioned the need to introduce some changes in the legal framework in order to make its work straightforward and efficient in regards to application of fines. Moreover, we would also like to point out that by the end of the three-year period of the implementation of PII **none of the structural changes that could confirm that intention were introduced.** This objective was stated once again in the first public draft of the second Plan for Immigrant Integration (2010-2013), published by the ACIDI in similar terms (PCM/ACIDI, 2010: 24).

Regarding strategies meant to promote equal opportunities in job access, the PII appeals to *awareness* of employers and calls for dissemination of *good practice* and the capacitation of NGO in the area. The plan takes a 'positive' stance that seeks to draw attention to development of equal opportunities (within a meritocratic discourse) instead of highlighting measures that could give visibility to racial discrimination. This approach is dominant in the context of the *Programa Escolhas* (PE) [Choices Programme] – focused on the *inclusion* of children and young people from 'vulnerable' socio-economic contexts, and especially that of 'descendants of immigrants'. This will also be further analysed below. Measure 83 (PII, 2007: 2964 (11)) frames specifically the idea of *disseminating* the PE successes regarding social integration. Communication and dissemination of the PE's 'trajectories of success' always show as important elements of public policies. The objective is to construct a (self-)perception of an inclusive society free from racism, both in particular cases and structurally.

## 2. 'Immigrant Portugal. Tolerant Portugal'[5]: the ACIDI and its precedents

> In regards to racism... on the one hand, there are more physical and visible effects of discrimination, and for that there is a reasonable level of legislation as well as a political will to take action against discrimination. Now, as things take place in Portuguese society, all the questions related to the so-called 'subtle racism', it is a question that does not have an easy answer. There are no uniform criteria that would allow assessing racism in different European societies. So, there is plenty of room for speculation and intellectual debate. The European Union conducted a few surveys and we looked well in that picture. In my opinion,

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[5] Part of the slogan for the ACIME awareness campaign launched in 2005, with posters displayed in public spaces, and with an informative leaflet on 'Immigration: myths and facts (ACIME, 2005). This campaign was intended to send a message of gratitude from the government and the Portuguese society to immigrants for their contribution, particularly in economic terms, and to oppose hostile 'attitudes' and 'opinions' towards immigrant communities.

when there are racist manifestations, they should be effectively fought; as for the rest, it is all in the open (José Leitão, former High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, interview published in the report INDE nº 5, s/d).

[The fight against racial discrimination] has not been such a visible activity, but there is a concern, and hence campaigns of awareness-raising within public opinion. 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 questions related to integration is through its positive aspects, rather than its negative ones, since it might end up stressing the worst that is happening in the process of welcoming [immigrants] and that still exists. We have to strive to find measures to fight [against racism and discrimination], but it is not what we want to highlight here. (ACIDI representative, interview: February 2010)

The creation in 2007 of the *Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural* [**High Committee for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue**] (**ACIDI**) represented the culmination of the series of institutional initiatives of the Portuguese state for the struggle against racism and xenophobia since the 1990s, closely linked to the configuration of *immigration* as a central topic in a political debate (see Table 2). ACIDI's mission is to collaborate in the design, implementation and evaluation of transversal and sectorial public policies which are relevant for the integration of immigrant and ethnic minorities, as well as to promote the dialogue between different cultures, ethnic groups and religions (Law nº 167/2007; *Diário da República*, vol.1 – no. 85, May 3, 2007: 2951). It should be stressed here that neither of the diplomas that sanctioned the creation of the ACIDI nor its precedents clarify the notion of 'ethnic minority'. It is used both in relation to ethnic and racial diversity of *immigrant* population and to the Portuguese autochthonous population.[6] The Roma community is the only minority which is recognized as such on the Portuguese territory, although it is never mentioned in these documents.

| Table 2. Creation of public agencies: integration of immigrant and ethnic minority communities; action against racial discrimination | |
|---|---|
| **1991** | Coordinating Secretariat of Multicultural Education Programmes [Normative Dispatch nº 63/91] |
| **1996** | High-Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities [Law Decreen.º 3-A/96] |
| **1999** | Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR) [Law nº 134/99] |
| **2001** | *Entreculturas* Secretariat [Between cultures] [Normative Dispatch n.º 5/2001] |

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[6] In the diploma that sanctions the creation of the High Commissioner in 1996, it was declared that: 'The protection of ethnic minorities has a great importance as a way of acting against intolerance and discrimination' (Law No 3-A/96). In the foundation document of the ACIME in 2002 it is said that 'the problem of ethnic minorities, although different from that of immigration, has gained more prominence due to cultural diversity characteristic of immigrant communities, along with inevitable mutual incomprehension and social conflicts from within the host society' (Law n.º 251/2002 (Rectifications)). Finally, in 2007, with the ACIDI foundation and the name change which privileged the notion of 'intercultural dialogue', a clear distinction was drawn between 'descendants of immigrants' and 'ethnic minorities' (Law n.º 167/2007, article nº 3, subheading l)). This topic will be analysed in more detail in WP2 and WP3, in the analysis of case studies.

| 2002 | High-Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) [Law-Decree n.º 251/2002] |
|---|---|
| 2003 | Local Support Centres for Immigrant Integration (CLAII); SOS Immigrant Line; Immigration Observatory (OI) |
| 2004 | National Support Centres for Immigrants (CNAI) |
| | Protocol between the ACIME and the Victim Support Unit (APAV); creation of the Support Unit for Immigrant Victim and of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (UAVIDRE) |
| 2007 | High-Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue – Public Institute (ACIDI) as a result of a fusion between the ACIME, the technical support structure to the coordination of the *Escolhas* Programme [Choices], the Structure of the Mission for the dialogue between Religions and the *Entreculturas* Secretariat [Law-Decree No 167/2007] |

These initiatives have been grounded on discourses that propose a positive association, or rather a *cause-effect* relationship, between immigration as a demographic phenomenon and the political visibility of state action (Araújo, 2009: 2), as well as on reproducing narratives (both from academic and institutional and political contexts) that envision Portuguese society as living *comfortably* with difference (*Ibid.*: 5). In particular, in regards with racial discrimination we observed a potential semantic tension between, on the one hand, the discourse that considers *integration* as a political answer to the growing presence of immigrant communities and ethnic minorities – so as to avoid xenophobic outbreaks; and, on the other hand, the narrative that highlights the idea of a welcoming and tolerant Portuguese society which is based on humanistic[7] principles and a pioneer in interculturality. So Portugal emerges as free from crises of co-existence, unlike those taking place in other European countries.[8]

Nevertheless, this potential tension appears to be successfully resolved by propelling a **conceptualization of racism and xenophobia as *derived* from unsuccessful *integration*** – i.e. racism as an 'unwanted' yet often inevitable consequence. At the same time, the more complex notion of racial discrimination as a practice underlying social relationships and political administration, and therefore one of the *causes* of 'marginalisation' of certain communities, is somewhat abandoned. The foundation documents of the ACIDI and its predecessors make this approach evident, as follows:

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[7] It should be noted that the ACIDI (and former ACIME) leaders have connections with the Catholic Church and the Jesuits, which favours the relevance of this approach.

[8] The ambiguity of the discourse is clear in the Normative Dispatch n. 63/91 that, within the Ministry of Education, founded the Co-ordinating Secretariat of Multicultural Education Programs (1991), which would become the *Entreculturas* Secretariat [Between cultures]. In the text, problems of intercultural co-existence and intolerance are attested, inclusively in European societies. However, such is clearly marked by the tone that reproduces a certain 'colonial mysticism' of *discoveries*, the historically tolerant and universalist character of the Portuguese culture: 'The Portuguese culture marked by a conscious and a claimed universal character and by multiple civilisational encounters that, over the centuries, have enabled it to welcome diversity, to understand the different 'other', to universally embrace the particular, it is an open and mixed culture, enriched by the mobility of a people committed to search for a a further dimension to its identity beyond its borders'.

> The increase in migratory pressures of the last years has led to aggravating social problems and which the Government Programme registered both at the level of the policy for cooperation and at the level of security and social inclusion. The new challenges for Portugal as a country of immigration demand implementing integration measures for immigrant families and ethnic minorities in general, so as to avoid situations of marginalisation leading to racism and xenophobia. The protection of ethnic minorities has a great importance as a way of fighting intolerance and discrimination. (Presidency of the Council of Ministers: DIPLOMA: Law-Decree n. 3-A/96).
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> 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. On the other hand, the problem of ethnic minorities, although distinct from that of immigration, has become more pronounced due to the cultural diversity characteristic of immigrant communities, with inevitable mutual incomprehension and social conflicts in the host society. (Presidency of the Council of Ministers: DIPLOMA/ACT: Law-Decree n. 251/2002).

We think that this approach to action against racism and xenophobia as a question of *integration* ends up **reinforcing an imaginary of the social as based on a *border* between the receiving national, *autochthonous* society, and immigrant communities and minorities that should therein 'integrate'**. As we have already seen in the analysis of PII (2007-2009), the state and civil society (with special emphasis on immigrants' associations) have the duty to ensure *effective* integration and welcoming of immigrants and ethnic minorities, while the latter are to be subjected to a continuous supervision of their cultural competence[9] (Vale de Almeida, 2007: 367). This supervision is nested within a certain racial arithmetic. As it has been analysed in the educational context (cf. Araújo, 2009), it produces a hierarchical classification between 'good' immigrants (i.e. students from China or Eastern European countries) and 'bad' ones (i.e. black; from the *PALOP* countries - African Countries with Portuguese as the Official Language; Roma).[10]

The demarcation of a line between the host society and immigrant communities/minorities shapes the ACIDI ideology of intervention throughout its different departments and programmes (see Table 3).

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[9] In the role of the High-Commissioner, both in the formulation in 2002 and in the restructuration in 2007, it is established that it should: 'Promote the knowledge and acceptance of the language, laws and moral and cultural values of the Portuguese Nation, among immigrants, as the conditions for their full integration' (Law-Decree n.º 251/2002); 'Encourage learning of the Portuguese language and culture among immigrants in view of their better integration in the Portuguese society " (Law-Decree n.º 167/2007)

[10] Regarding this theme, please see an interview with the researcher Joana Lopes Martins on the results of a national survey of 872 teachers in 2009 within the project "State, School and Diversity" (FCT funded). According to the researcher, when she asked the teachers about their perception of their students' school performance, they said: 'Surprisingly there was a total consensus on the students of certain backgrounds who simply had not appeared among the achieving groups. Some of the teachers pointed out that that was not due to their origin, but to the student's individual characteristics. However, other teachers mentioned ethnic origins of their students as determinant of their success or failure. More than 40 per cent of the teachers characterised students from Eastern European countries as achieving groups and 10 per cent – those from the European Union. When it comes to low achievement, the answers refer specifically to students from Africa, from the *PALOP* particularly (37 per cent) and from Brazil (16 per cent). (Interview published in *B-i* Nº 82, July 2010, pp. 14-17). For more information on the project please access the following website: www.fcsh.unl.pt/escola-diversidade.

| Table 3. Organic structure of the ACIDI (www.acidi.gov.pt) |
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| **Department of Immigrant Reception and Support** |
| National Centres for Immigrant Support – Lisbon and Oporto (CNAI)<br>Network of Local Support Centres for Immigrant Integration (CLAII) |
| **Department of Support to Associations and for Intercultural Dialogue** |
| Immigration Observatory (OI)<br>Office of Support to Roma Communities -  (GACI) - G9[11]<br>*Entreculturas* Secretariat [Between Cultures] |
| **Consulting Council for Immigration Issues (COCAI)** |
| **Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR)** |
| Support Unit to Immigrant Victim and of Racial or Ethnical Discrimination (UAVIDRE)(UAVIDRE)[12] |
| ***Escolhas* Programme [Choices]** |
| **'Portuguese for Everyone' Programme (Ppt)[13]** |

The understanding of racial discrimination as a consequence of deficient integration favours an approach that treats racism as a problem linked to *prejudice* or erroneous knowledge and visions of reality. The ACIDI activities represent a sort of a pendulum swing between the need of discovering the 'other' on the part of the *majority* and the highlighting active integration within the 'autochthonous society', mainly within the spheres of economy (immigrant contribution into the national economy) and culture (immigrants want, should learn and take part in the Portuguese culture). From this perspective, defying any forms of discrimination and racial discrimination specifically, as stated by one of the ACIDI leaders, is not considered a priority. Instead, the focus seems to be on ways to promote the integration of immigrant communities and minorities, which are seen as most vulnerable in regards to racial discrimination.

These conceptions and actions of the ACIDI will be analysed in more detail below, by looking at two examples. The first one is a brochure published and distributed in 2005 – 'Immigration: myths and facts'[14] – with the intention of contradicting certain

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[11] Prior to GACI, the Group of Work for Equality and Inclusion of the Roma was founded in 1996 as a consulting agency under the authority of the High-Commissioner (Resolution of the Council of Ministers n.º 175/96). The GACI was created at the end of 2006.

[12] As resulting from the protocol celebrated between the ACIDI and the Association of Support to the Victim (APAV) - the UAVIDRE was implemented in May, 2005.

[13] It is a joint initiative between the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, the Ministry of Labour and Social Solidarity and the Ministry of Education. It is included into the programme "Portugal Welcomes", which is part of the Intervention Programme among Unemployed Immigrants, within the responsibility of the Institute of Job and Professional Training.

[14] It should be mentioned that two events in June, 2005 triggered the debate related to discrimination and xenophobia in Portuguese society, seen as reactions to the increasing immigrant 'presence' in the country. Firstly, on June, 10 the Media announced a huge tumult that had happened in Carcavelos, driven by 500 black youngsters from slums, using the term 'Trawler', which is used to describe this type of collective assault in Brazil. Later on, it was however proved that the 'Trawler' had never in fact happened, having opened a public discussion about the situation of youth – descendants of african immigrants living in degraded neighbourhoods of the Greater Lisbon (cf. ACIME, 2006). Subsequently, on 19 June, the extremist right National Renewal Party (PNR) organized a large manifestation in the centre of Lisbon, calling for repatriation of immigration and appealing to the nationalist pride. See *Diário de Notícias*: "Tensão na maior manifestação xenófoba de sempre" [Tension at the biggest ever xenophobe manifestation] (www.dn.sapo.pt/inicio/interior.aspx?content_id=603289, accessed on August 31, 2010).

stereotypes of *the autochthonous* society regarding immigrant communities and of developing a positive image. Secondly, we will analyse the notions of racism and the question of denounciations within the work produced by the CICDR (Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination).

### 2.1. Immigration: myths and facts': depoliticization of 'integration'

In this document, scientific knowledge is considered as providing objective and 'rigorous' interpretations of 'facts' (in this particular case, mainly through the statistical data), that are set against ideologies that support a fallacious knowledge of reality – 'myths' – which may lead to 'wrong' interpretations (ACIME, 2005: 2). In this sense, the document aims to show the erroneous nature of many 'myths' that native Portuguese majority has on immigration in the country by contrasting it with the objective data to contradict the 'common sense'. However, the ways in which these 'myths' are constructed are not discussed and, in many cases their appearance is considered to be *natural.* This kind of rationale is clear in the first, second and third sections of the document which present the data on immigrant population and on their *performance* in the host society: these data are used in a positivist lens, to contradict 'myths', but it is not questioned the political legitimacy that sustains them. This aspect should be highlighted in the context of the TOLERACE project. For example, the presence of the idea that the number of immigrants in Portugal is excessive (immigrants are *invading us,* according to the common sense) is considered 'understandable' (*Ibid*.: 4). Two aspects are invoked to contrast the idea. Firstly, that available data do not support this affirmation: 'Portugal is far from being one of European countries with a high percentage of immigrants' and the ones who are in the country are positive for its economy growth. Secondly, the Portuguese society has been setting an example of 'tolerance' in the European context because of its capacity to absorb immigrant population without social or racial tensions (*Ibid*.: 5). A strategic comparison with other European countries has also been used in the argument of 'rejection of the majority by some immigrant communities, based on cultural and religious differences' (*Ibid.:* 19). It is stressed that the reality of countries such as the Netherlands, France or Germany, where young immigrants of second generation had some repudiation towards the host society, would not be possible in Portugal, at least with the same intensity. This is a view expressed to us by one of the ACIDI representatives in a recent interview:

> As I was saying, despite political views more to the left or to the right, we have managed to keep here a very, very consensual line in our country and I think that this is a consequence, not only of the Portuguese experience, or I would say, to the sense of responsibility by some politicians, but especially due to openness of the Portuguese who when they hear more

radical discourses do not identify with them. So politicians quickly fine-tune their pace to the public opinion. But also, there is a very responsible and active immigrant population who has also known how to give an important contribution to the Portuguese community. So, in this perspective we have had...we have been happy with immigrants for having learned how to live in this diversity. [...] our job has become easier here, because religion issues do not have to be considered, particularly the ones related to Islamophobia that in many European countries has been an issue. Both our... Jewish community and Muslim community are relatively well integrated, without big... without those kind of questions. (ACIDI representative, interview: February, 2010)

This context of discourse – linked to the one that argues for a special character of Portuguese colonialism due to its alleged tolerance and absence of ethnic or racial discrimination – should be questioned as it reveals a way of interpreting and concealing racism that helps its reproduction. Within the TOLERACE project, **we argue that we should be aware that the very construction of these 'myths', assumed as part of *common sense* of the Portuguese society, is shaped and permeated by racist and discriminatory political ideas and practices**. Those ideas and practices **view immigrants as 'the others' that should *prove* their contribution to the *national society***, to become integrated within the limits of tolerance traced by *the* 'host society'.

In a similar way, immigrants should prove their will to become part of the 'host society', and to aspire to have 'Portuguese nationality'. In this context, especially in the section that opposes the idea that immigrants 'reject Portugal' (*Ibid.*: 19-20), as well as in some other sections, the emphasis is placed on the idea that immigrants *show* that they want 'to take part in Portuguese society'. It is also highlighted that many of them 'aspire to Portuguese nationality for themselves and especially for their children'.[15] This is evident in many of the photographs that illustrate the document: on page 10 there is a man with 'Asian features' reading a book called 'Portugal and the Sea' about the so-called Portuguese 'Discoveries'; on page 20, there is a photograph of Francis Obikwelu, a Nigerian-born naturalised Portuguese, holding the Portuguese flag at a stadium at the Olympics in Athens in 2004.

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[15] The ACIDI provides great publicity to naturalisation processes by immigrant population, the 'new citizens'; see *B-i* nº 50 (June 2007): editorial by Rui Marques [High Commissioner]; an article on the 'Ceremony of attributions and acquisitions of the Nationality' at the *Jerónimos* Monastery where the ceremony was described as follows: 'At the ceremony these were handed to the new Portuguese citizens: a nationality certificate, a national flag and the Portuguese Republic Constitution. As the Prime Minister [José Sócrates] said on this occasion, more than five thousand immigrants had already solicited the Portuguese nationality since the law introduction. He also added that the fact that Portugal is attracting many immigrants should be a reason to be proud of for national community (*B-i*, nº 50; 2005, p. 7). At the same time, activities related to teaching of Portuguese to immigrant communities are highlighted. The ACIDI is developing a programme called *Português para Todos* [Portuguese for Everyone]: 'Portuguese language courses issue the certificate required for the access to nationality, permanent residence permit and/or to obtain a longer resident's status, as they issue certificates of A2 level (within the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages). Immigrants who were successful in the courses will be dismissed from doing tests to show their competence in Portuguese language (*B-i*, nº 82, p. 6, July 2010).

We find it important to unpick this approach that positions *integration* as a central question, also re-invoking **the figure of the immigrant worker** as the 'other' who wants and aspires to integrate (i.e. become a Portuguese), which can be proved by *assessing* one's contribution to the economy and his/her cultural competence, but always in a position of inferiority which does not represent a 'threat' to either the national culture nor to country nationals' employment opportunities. This approach uncovers how "**the immigrant imaginary**" (Sayyid & Hesse, 2006) reproduces the dominant idea of the immigrant worker as **a second-class citizen**, although with the promise of full integration as 'subject residents at the service' (Balibar, 2004:44). Finally, the absence of racism and racial discrimination should be pointed out within this approach. In fact, they are never mentioned in the document, thus assuming that although there could be consequences of marginalization, they should not be examined while *raising awareness* of the majority. We only found a reference to 'discrimination', when the association between immigration and crime is discussed, producing an interpretation of **immigrant population as patronised victims**:

> Deconstruction of the myth that associates immigration to crime might have been based on another perspective: social exclusion as a cause for criminality. Indeed, it is a result of a trajectory of discrimination in regards of available opportunities, and of a pronounced competitive disadvantage regarding most nationals – which often reduces to zero their future possibilities - some immigrants, particularly those of the second generation, end up in crime. Not because they are foreigners, but because they are excluded (Ibid.: 13).

### 2.2. The Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR): how to fight/prove 'subtle' racism

As soon as the Law 134/99 was passed, the CICDR was founded in 1999 as an independent agency for monitoring and inspecting discriminatory practices, and especially racist ones. The CICDR started its work in 2000, being always presided by the High-Commissioner of the ACIME/ACIDI and constituted by 17 commissioners. [16]

| Table 4. CICDR Competencies (www.cicdr.pt) |
| --- |
| Collect information about acts of discrimination |
| Issue a statement about sanctions to be applied by the High-Commissioner in the context of transgression processes for the practice of  discrimination acts |
| Recommend legal, regulative and administrative measures considered adequate for the  prevention of discrimination practices |
| Incentivize studies and research on the problem of discrimination |

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[16] Two representatives elected by Assembly of the Republic; two government representatives from the contexts of employment, solidarity, social welfare, and education; two representatives from associations of immigrants; two representatives from anti-racist associations; two trade union representatives; two representatives from business associations; two representatives from associations for human rights protection; and three people to be appointed by all the members.

| | |
|---|---|
| Make public, by all means available, proved cases of law infringement | |
| Elaborate and publish an annual report about the situation of equality and racial discrimination in Portugal[17] | |

CICDR is considered to be the *Equality Body* in Portugal, in line with the Directive for Equality of the European Union Council (Directive 2000/43/CE, which *applies the principle of treatment of equality to everyone, drawing no distinction of racial or ethnic origin*) – known as 'The Racial Equality Directive'. This directive should have been introduced into the Portuguese Juridical Order by July 2003. However, it was only brought into effect in 2004 by means of two legal instruments (see Table 4). The Directive forbids discrimination at a workplace, in education, social welfare and health, as well as in the access and *provision* of goods and services, including housing:

> The Racial Equality Directive required the creation of specialised Equality Bodies promoting equal treatment in each Member State. The Equality Bodies have an important function in providing assistance to victims of discrimination so as to make the legal system more accessible to them. Since experience had shown that 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, original emphasis).

| Table 5. European and the Portuguese Government legislation in acting racism and xenophobia |
|---|
| **The Portuguese Republic Constitution (1976)** <br> Art. 13.º: Principle of Equality. No one shall be privileged, favoured, prejudiced, deprived of any right or exempted from any duty on the basis of ancestry, sex, race, language, place of origin, religion, political or ideological beliefs, education, economic situation or social circumstance. |
| **Portugal: Assembly of the Republic (1998)** <br> **Law nº 65/98, September, 2 (Alterations to the Penalty Code)** <br> Chapter II: Crimes against humanity; Article 240º. Racial or religious discrimination. <br> 1 – Who: a) would create, organise or develop activities of organised propaganda that give rise to discrimination, hatred or racial and religious violence or that encourage them; or b) would participate in organisation or activities mentioned in the previous line or would assist them particularly by funding them <br> are punished with a prison sentence from 1 to 8 years <br> 2 – Who, in public meetings, or in a written form destined for dissemination by any Media resources: <br> a) would provoke acts of violence against people or group of people because of their race, colour, ethnic origin or nationality or religion; or b) would damage or insult a person or a group of people because of their colour, ethnic origin or nationality or religion, in particular through denial of crimes of war or against peace and the humanity with the intention of provoking racial or religious discrimination or encouraging it, <br> are punished with a prison sentence from 6 months to 5 years. |
| **Portugal: Assembly of the Republic (1999)** <br> **Law nº 134/99**, August, 28. It prohibits discrimination of rights on the basis of race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin <br> Article 1º; Object: The purpose of this law is to prevent and prohibit racial discrimination in all its forms and to sanction acts of infringement of any fundamental rights or of refusal or conditioning the practice of any of the economic, social and cultural rights to anyone due to their race, colour, nationality and ethnic origin. |
| **The European Union Council (2000)** <br> **Directive 2000/43/CE** June, 29. It applies the principle of equality to all the people, without distinction of racial or ethnic origin. <br> Article 1º; Objective: The purpose of this Directive is to lay down a framework for combatting discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, with a view to putting into effect in the Member States the principle of equal treatment. |

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[17] The report on the CICDR activities is included in the ACIDI annual reports. They are available on the ACIDI website. Despite having assumed in the statutes (Article n.º 13) an obligation to make its reports available, there is no information on the CICDR website about whereabouts of these reports.

The Racial Equality Directive aims to facilitate *reporting* both in terms of the legal and administrative processes and in terms of producing evidence by the victim. However, several reports by European monitoring agencies (ENAR, 2007; ECRI, 2007; FRA, 2008) as well as studies by Portuguese research centres (Númena, 2008) pointed out the scarcity of registered complaints[18] in the 10 years of the CICDR work, along with the lack of political independence, the inefficiency of policies in relation to discrimination of Roma communities, and the insignificant number of sanctions or sentences.

> It should also be pointed out that in almost ten years, there has been no conviction issued by the CICDR, the body in charge of punishing[19] racist crimes (ENAR, 2007: 25)[20]
> ECRI considers that ACIME's work with Gypsies has not measured up to the expectations of the organizations concerned and has so far failed to resolve the integration problems experienced by these communities. Admittedly, ACIME's activities are largely geared to the immigrant communities, although a number of initiatives, in particular those designed to combat racism and racial discrimination, benefit the Gypsy communities as well (ECRI, 2007:13).
> According to numerous sources, this procedure, which has been in place since 2000 and is designed to punish racial discrimination through fines, has been a major disappointment. After six years (review carried out in March 2006), 190 cases have been recorded in total, two of which resulted in a fine. Sixty cases were still pending at the time. Admittedly, this may be due to the mediation role played by the CICDR and the High Commissioner, which sometimes allows cases to be resolved without going through the administrative procedure. [...] Given the lack of effectiveness of the procedure as it stands at present, some thought could be given to changing it. One solution might be to reduce the number of bodies involved in the procedure, for example by assigning investigatory powers to the CICDR which could thus conduct its own inquiry into the alleged discrimination, in whatever field. The High Commissioner is the main actor in the current procedure (as chair of the CICDR with a casting vote in case of a tie and as the body which decides the penalty). The High Commissioner is not independent, however. As it explains in its General Policy Recommendation No. 2 on specialised bodies to combat racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and intolerance at national level, ECRI believes that a specialized body to combat racism and racial discrimination must be able to operate in a way that is both genuinely and clearly independent if it is to provide victims with effective support. The principle of independence is particularly crucial for the body which rules on individual complaints about racism and/or racial discrimination, especially complaints against the authorities. (Ibid.: 13-14)
> In Portugal, the complaints presented to the High Commission (ACIME) or the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR) or situations reported to them by the injured party or associations go through a complex and slow procedure that ends up causing very significant delays in the appraisal of complaints and decisions regarding the same. Even though complaints are documented (CICDR received 83 complaints in 2007), FRA

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[18] A complaint can be presented online on the CICDR website, by the means of filling in a form that would be processed by the Unit of Support to the Immigrant Victim and of Racial or Ethnic Discrimination (UAVIDRE): www.cicdr.pt/component/option,com_facileforms/Itemid,25/ (accessed on 1.09.2020).
[19] The CICDR is not a competent body for application of sanctions.
[20] Il faut aussi noter que, depuis presque deux ans, il n'y a eu aucune condamnation décrétée par la CICDR, l'organe chargé de punir les délits racistes.

could not detect any outcomes of these complaints procedures in the form of decisions or sanctions. However, three cases were successfully mediated in 2007 (FRA, 2008: 23)

Even though the number of complaints is increasing every year, having reached around 300 by the end of 2007, unfortunately the number of applied sanctions is still really low. The lack of convictions for racial discrimination introduces the risk of reinforcing the idea that the State is inoperative in this area and consequently of dissuading from making complaints. As a matter of fact, the number of complaints is definitely below the expected, given the real situation with discrimination in Portugal. A great number of victims who do not complain might simply be unaware of existing legal mechanisms, though there is a general understanding that these are punishable acts by the law.

Unfortunately, as it happens in other domains of social life, also in the case of racism an idea established among the population, particularly among immigrants and ethnic minorities, that although the law is adequate, its execution does not offer any guarantees of protection. (Númena, 2008: 15)

We would not be going into a detailed analysis of complaints and of the relations between *victims* and the CICDR.[21] However, we would like to point out two interrelated aspects that we find important for understanding the insufficient practice and lack of visibility of the Commission, and overall, the little relevance of anti-racism on the ACIDI agenda. Firstly, as we have pointed out, the relation between **integration** (mainly of immigrants and their 'descendants') and **anti-racism** should be taken into account. On the other hand, the existence of a consensual idea of the presence of a **'subtle' racism**, in the current Portuguese society, based on **the assumption that most explicit and violent forms have been already overcome**:

There is nevertheless a group for which the fate of reproducing their parents' social status is still a reality: descendants of immigrants and of ethnic minorities, particularly those from poor ghettoized neighbourhoods around Lisbon and Setúbal. To them, the simple reference to their address in Cova da Moura, Amadora, Belavista in Setúbal in their 'curriculum' means that they will never make it to the job interview. Their skin colour on the photograph may cause the same effect. The fact that they do not have the Portuguese nationality, despite having been born here, is another obstacle. This discrimination is quite often subtle, and it does not happen due to the lack of laws that forbid it. It is a 'glass ceiling' that even though invisible, they can feel it in a violent way. This discrimination does not allow them to go up level in social or professional integration, especially because of their ethnic and social background (Rui Marques, former High Commissioner of the ACIDI, March 2t 2007).22

There are problems, mainly of daily and little racism, but I am an optimist and I think that we are doing well. We are not heading the same path as some of the European societies, fortunately. (Celeste Correia, deputy in Assembly of the Republic, member of the Cape-Verde Association; the CICDR Counsellor of; B-i nº 79, March/April 2010, p. 12)

Although people keep saying that Portugal is a country of good-natured ways, we have evidence to the contrary. In fact, direct ways of racism and xenophobia have been disappearing, being replaced by the so-called subtle racism. Subtle racism comes about when a workplace rejects someone because of their belonging to a particular community. The Roma communities have suffered much, since their entry to the labour market has been completely barred. This form of subtle racism is the one that hurts more, because we cannot fight it in legal terms. It manifests itself in the entry to the labour market, in shopping, in buying and renting houses. (Bruno Gonçalves, Centre of Gypsy Studies, the CICDR Counsellor; Ibid.: 8)

Discrimination and racism are serious human rights violations and one of the great vices of our time, while immigrant and Roma communities the preferred targets. In fact, no country

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[21] Work Package 4 will be dealing with analysis of complaints and cases of great public importance

[22]"*Tectos de vidro*" [Glass ceilings], an article by the High Commissioner in commemoration of the International Day of Racial Discrimination Eradication,

(www.acidi.gov.pt/modules.php?name=Content&pa=showpage&pid=975; accessed 1.09.2010).

can declare itself to be free from racism, and Portugal is no exception. The main source of discrimination is looking at others and not seeing people with inalienable human dignity, but seeing instead images and stereotypes imprinted in our minds, a result of the accumulated prejudice due to years of ignorance. The road built towards education for intercultural dialogue is a road towards action against racial discrimination. Knowledge is therefore essential, because Portuguese social cohesion depends on the awareness of the value of interculturality as a factor of cultural and social enrichment. Awareness-raising campaigns carried out by the ACIDI's Bolsa de Formadores (Group of Instructors) have had a vital role in that sense. (Rosário Farmhouse, High-Commissioner of the ACIDI, Ibid.: 2).

**Anti-racism taken as a matter of integration (understood as *assimilation/learning* of the Portuguese values and culture, and also as a *demonstration/proof* of this 'ambition') reproduces, as we have been arguing, a notion of racism and racial discrimination as an *unwanted consequence*.** Unwanted – not due to public policies or ideological structures which they are engaged in – but due to the persistence of *prejudice* and *stereotypes* as well as due to immigrant and minority communities' own **deficiencies**. In this context, it would be relevant to remind the reaction of Rui Marques, the High Commissioner at the time, on the criticism of the ECRI (2007) report about the exclusion of the Roma communities and the lack of success of the ACIDI's policies in this area:

> The ECRI report points out that 'the Roma communities are still suffering from social exclusion and difficulties in their interactions with the majority, local authorities and the police'. So it recommends adopting a 'national strategy' to revert this situation. For example, the access to education, to employment and housing 'are still problematic' for the Roma. As he admits that the ACIME 'can and should do more', the High-Commissioner Rui Marques considers the criticism 'excessive', since it does not take into account 'the willingness to integrate' on the part of the community. 'We cannot be satisfied with 'it is them who do not want it', Marc Leyenberger retorted. (Público: 12.02.2007)[23]

We would like to point out how an interpretation of practices of racial discrimination as inherent in social structures and therefore determining one's personal life (for example, not getting a job, not being able to rent a house), has been labelled as *subtle racism*, or as the former High Commissioner puts it, as *'glass ceiling'*, and yet goes without mentioning institutional structures that produce those invisible and unacknowledged obstacles. This conceptualization is also dominant among many representatives of associations of immigrants and of Roma communities. As we have already stressed throughout the text, this kind of approach to anti-racism **makes 'the fact' that Roma and immigrants are subjected to racial discrimination appear natural and favours the marginalisation of anti-racism in public policies**, convinced that it is by the

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[23] "European Commision Report against Racism and Intolerance: The police and judges practice discrimination that is "improper within a democracy" (www.publico.clix.pt/Sociedade/policias-e-juizes-praticam-discriminacoes-improprias-de-uma-democracia_1285531, accessed 1.09.2010).

positive side, i.e. by 'active integration' of immigrants and minorities, that the 'prejudice' would be eliminated.

## 3. The *Escolhas* Programme: the *inclusion* of Roma communities and of 'descendants of immigrants'

The *Escolhas* [**Choices**] Programme (PE), created in 2001, initially aimed at "crime prevention and inclusion of the youth from the 'vulnerable' districts of Lisbon, Oporto and Setúbal which are listed here" (Council of Ministers Resolution nº4/2001, 2001: 1). The PE has changed overtime and so have its aims and its target group, so nowadays the PE has become a national level programme. Being constituted by stages ('generations') lasting three years each, it is now in its fourth generation (2010-2012) (see Table 6). It pursues five major objectives: (i) educational inclusion and informal education; (ii) professional training and employability; (iii) community engagement and citizenship; (iv) digital inclusion; (v) entrepreneurship and capacitation. In our analysis we would like to focus on the changes during the second and fourth 'generation'.

During its first generation, the PE aimed primarily at social support of children and teenagers from precarious contexts – problematic neighbourhoods- through a programme of *crime* prevention in urban contexts of Lisbon, Oporto and Setúbal. The work during the second generation stood apart because of the introduced structural alterations and changes in the target group. In 2004, the PE coordination integrated the ACIME and in 2007, which marked the start of the third generation, became fully integrated into the ACIDI structures, being indicative of its re-orientation. In this way, immigrant and ethnic minority children became the PE's main target group, which led to changes in the official objectives:

> The Escolhas Programme is a national level programme that aims to promote social inclusion of children and youth from most precarious socioeconomic contexts, mainly descendants of immigrants and ethnic minorities, with a view to advocate equality of opportunities and further social cohesion (Council of Ministers nº63/2009, 2009: 4771).

In this context, the concept of ethnic minority can be understood as implying the Roma community.[24] That is why José Leitão's (former High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (1996-2002) criticism should be mentioned. Even though the

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[24] The Roma community has been one of the main beneficiaries of the Choices Programme, by means of the *Gabinete de Apoio às Comunidades Ciganas* [Office of Support to Roma Coomunity] (GACI). The Office lists amongst its action guidelines engaging and enabling Roma communities and promoting social cohesion. The PE is seen as a strategic body where these objectives could be enacted. (www.portaldocidadao.pt/PORTAL/entidades/PCM/ACIDI/pt/SER_gabinete+de+apoio+as+comunidades+ciganas++gaci.htm?flist=s#Descri%C3%A7%C3%A3o; accessed on 9 September, 2010).

criticism represents a typical rejoinder of a member of the Socialist Party to a measure established by the right-wing coalition government (Social-Democrat together with Central Democrat and Social People Party), the argument remains relevant. Since the initial goal of the PE was to support socio-economically excluded children and youth, it should be pointed out that this situation is not exclusive to children of immigrants and ethnic minorities (that is, Roma community). José Leitão interprets this measure and the fact of the PE integration into the ACIDI as an implicit act of discrimination, since it links directly *crime, descendants of immigrants* and *ethnic minorities.*[25] This is what Rui Marques[26] writes about the target group of the PE:

> Indeed, so many children and youth live in contexts which cut them off from existent choices and determine future imprisonment: the children live 'closed off in the streets', children marked by extreme poverty phenomena, youth imbued with violence; children who would never be able to start the race on equal terms (Escolhas Magazine, 2006:3)

If we look simply at the vocabulary choice in that text we can see the actual connection between the target group of the Programme, which has been within the ACIDI since 2004, and crime ('*imprisonment*'), alcoholism ('*imbued*'), accommodation problems ('*closed off in the streets*') and precariousness ('*extreme poverty*').

However, it is important to note the persistence of a paradox related to the PE target group definition (see Table 6). Despite having established the link between social exclusion and immigration and ethnic minorities, the PE never tackles issues of racial discrimination or concrete cases of exclusion due to structural reasons. So, even though the Programme has been oriented towards a certain group, its approach does not examine that group's processes and lived experiences. Once the approach to diversity 'by the positive side' guides the movement against social exclusion, which is lived by the PE target population and beneficiaries, the topic of racial discrimination is never actually discussed or focused upon.

| Table 6. ESCOLHAS Programme (4th generation: 2010-2012) Normative Dispatch No 27/2009 |
|---|
| **Article 2.º – Objectives** |
| Promote social inclusion of children and youth from most vulnerable socioeconomic contexts, mainly descendants of immigrants and ethnic minorities, with a view to advocate equality of opportunities and further social cohesion. The *Escolhas* Programme is constituted by five major areas of strategic intervention: (a) Educational inclusion and informal education; (b) Professional training and employability; (c) Community engagement and citizenship; (d) Digital inclusion; (v) Entrepreneurship and capacitation. |
| **Article 4º – Target group and beneficiaries** |

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[25] Source: http://inclusaoecidadania.blogspot.com/2004/06/escolhas-em-risco.html published on 11/06/2004.
[26] National Coordinator of the 2nd generation of the PE and High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities in the period 2005 to 2008.

Children and youth, 6 to 18 years old, from the most vulnerable socioeconomic contexts, namely descendants of immigrants and ethnic minorities constitute the target group and are beneficiaries of the *Escolhas* Programme, with the priority given to:

    a) Early school dropouts; b) Youth with no schooling; c) Youth who are or have been in educational custody and/or assistance and protection measures; d) Children and youth who reside in territories with high indicators of exclusion and few institutional solutions.

Youth of 19-24 years of age could be exceptionally eligible as long as they accumulate the following conditions:

    a) Any youth of 19-24 years of age, exclusively within the area 2I;[27] b) Any youth who is 18 years old at the beginning of any of the areas/measures; c) Youth who have been previously engaged during the 3rd stage of the *Escolhas* Programme, within any of the areas.

Overall, it could be noted that the Programme, specifically by means of *Escolhas Magazine,* aims to highlight cases of *successful integration*, and is oriented towards advertising cases which are considered positive. This intervention *by the positive side* makes up the PE operational strategy in a pronounced way, seen as a means of achieving its objectives. This communicational mode coincides with an image of a programme for socioeconomic integration of a good quality.

Besides this, it should also be pointed out that the *Escolhas* Programme enjoys great visibility in the various mass-media. Firstly, the ACIDI produces and edits *Escolhas Magazine* or *B-i Magazine* – publications for internal communication – and largely oriented to the audience engaged in various ways in the ACIDI or the PE activities. Those two magazines are distributed freely during different events promoted by the ACIDI through various means, such as *«Diário de Noticias»* and *«Jornal de Noticias»,* which belong to the same group *Global Notícias Publicações, S.A.*[28] Besides these internal publications, we should also mention the ACIDI-produced TV programme *«Nós»* [We], used to disseminate the PE activities. Apart from the communication within the ACIDI, the Programme is also strongly present in the national mass-media. Nearly eighty articles were published in the Press about the Programme or PE–related projects in 2009[29]. We refer here the different means in order to show that the PE has a significant presence in the Media and that might have an impact on the way the topic of (anti)-racism is viewed. It is certain though that strong visibility results from the government actions included in the *Plano para Integração dos Imigrantes* [Plan for Integration of Immigrants] as the need to 'raise awareness in the population of integration of descendants of immigrants'.

> Communicate cases of successful social integration, as well as trajectories of success of children and descendants of immigrants, both using the ACIDI, I.P. channels and those of the Escolhas Programme, as well as by using the general Media.

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[27] This area covers action toward professional training and employability
[28] The existent relationship between this group and issues of racism, immigration and ethnic minorities will be analyzed in one of workpackages of the TOLERACE project.
[29] www.programaescolhas.pt/conteudos/escolhas-nos-media (accessed on 1.09.2010).

> Devise a Seal of Promising Practices for projects in the area of children and descendants' integration, encouraging visibility of innovative and effective solutions for their integration (PII, 2007: 2964 (11))

Taking into account this point of the PII, we realize that it represents a particular choice of communication policy and therefore a strategy which should be analysed in accordance with this positioning.

**As far as its contents are concerned, the *Escolhas Magazine* highlights the lack of integration as the main reason for the precarious socioeconomic conditions lived by the youth.** The problem of integration of the youth is viewed in two ways: on the one hand, **as a pathological effect of the immigrant presence in Portuga**l, i.e. exclusion is seen as a particular and local problem and not so much as a structural one. On the other hand, **there exists an understanding of social exclusion of immigrants as a natural thing on the part of national citizens**. The PE does not evoke a complex discourse about socioeconomic exclusion – which is necessary in order to contest it – or about possible structural reasons of those discriminatory practices. In the end, the PE half-achieves its objectives: to support the 'social inclusion' yet without contesting it nor trying to understand reasons for the exclusion, situating those **in a sort of a vicious circle of stating the presence of immigrant children and consolidating their status as that of 'vulnerable population' due to their 'immigrant condition'.**

So we could understand this attitude on the part of the PE through the construction of its target group, 'descendants of immigrants' or Roma families. The way those *communities* are viewed ends up stating systematically that a change within these groups is essential for their integration or, in other words, they **should change to assimilate.** This process of integration is clearly understood as a unidirectional process; just like Rosário Farmhouse, the High Commissioner and the current National PE Coordinator, confirms and illustrates the idea:

> Our proposals for work with Roma communities in different areas and the obtained results until now have been the driving force of this challenge. Above all, they confirm that the Roma, even though slowly, are opening up to change and that they are also capable of taking new roads in the times of change. (B-i Magazine, June 2010:2)

It should be noted that the PE is considered to be an important political measure within social intervention. Its status of the *policy of excellence* is constantly referred by different actors within (coordinators, youth, the director) and outside the project. External evaluation of the projects is done by the Centre of Territorial Studies that has stressed the high quality of intervention and of the approach taken by the Programme (*Escolhas* Magazine, September 2009, vol.13:8-11). Those accounts underline

unanimously the positive impact of the Programme, its continuous and innovative character. Seen as a quality intervention, the significant presence of the PE in the Media referred earlier represents a powerful contribution to a vision of a tolerant, open society which supports immigrants and produces successful public policies for social integration.

The innovations produced by the PE fourth generation confirm strategic choices made during the second and third generations. If in the past the PE projected the objective of advocating the support of *employability,* it has been re-affirmed within the area of 'entrepreneurship and training' introduced in 2010, with a view of professional training and employability. By the means of the new area, the PE re-affirms the central place of the workplace in socioeconomic integration. This notion of integration, illustrated by the following words of Rosário Farmhouse, is based on the logical assumption of making the most of immigrants' economic potential in order to strengthen the national economy, often perceived to be at risk, and justify its presence in this way.

> With this orientation we want to help overcome one of the biggest challenges faced by the Portuguese society: to increase the technical and scientific capability of human resources and trace new roads for social and economic development of the country.
> [...]
> The difficult socioeconomic situation lived by the Portuguese society and influenced by a deep international crisis of the last years, undoubtedly represents an obstacle on the way to success which is justly expected by the most youth of the target group of the Escolhas Programme, but also represents an opportunity to take a proactive stand, where capacitation and entrepreneurship contribute together to the victory (Escolhas Magazine, March 2010:1).

Another result of this notion of integration, clearly expressed in the concept of *entrepreneurship*, is autonomy and individual responsibility. For example, in the same publication entrepreneurship is defined as 'a lifestyle decision that could help reduce inequality' (*ibid*: 10), whose 'objective is to make the Programme-targeted youth increasingly take their own initiative for finding solutions to problems faced by their communities' (*ibid*: 5). This individual approach will result in personalizing both successful integration and also potential failure.

## 4. Discourses of political elites and of political and academic publications about immigration and racism

Political discourses and practices analysed in the previous sections are nested within broader discourses which reflect an actual consensus on the association between immigration and racism in Portugal. So, in this section we shall focus on the most

influential political discourses of the last decade within the topic. We shall take as a main object of analysis **publications which emerged from the two big political and scholarly events that took place in Lisbon**. The first one – entitled the *First Congress on Immigration in Portugal: Diversity, Citizenship and Integration* – was organized by the ACIME on December 18-19, 2003. Another one was called *Gulbenkian Forum on Immigration: opportunity or threat?* and took place on March 6-7, 2006, being supported both by the ACIME and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation. Those two events represent a special interest for our analysis since they establish a dialogue between the political sphere (institutional and political party affiliation) and academia, not only because they engage different types of actors but especially due to the profile of the actors as they operate meaningfully in both spheres. In fact, we can even state **the existence of a whole 'migration industry' from 1990s on**, the moment from which academic publications and political interventions moved away from focusing on Portuguese emigration to look into immigration to Portugal[30], and, moreover, on immigrants themselves and their integration into the Portuguese society. Nevertheless, it was not only academia that since then has started producing knowledge on immigration. At the political level this industry has also been actively promoted, especially by *centrist* political parties, as the analysed discourses reveal the significant contribution made by politicians affiliated to the Socialist Party and to the Social Democrat Party.

Our analysis of those discourses reveals the existence of some common views or **political consensus**. Firstly, the discourses are almost explicitly oriented around the idea of **'tolerance matrix'** (Teixeira, 2004:44) which Portugal constructed throughout its history (especially prominent in ACIME, 2004). That is why ideas of 'pilgrimage' of the Portuguese appear (Braga da Cruz, 2004:12), in order to refer to colonial expansion and the Portuguese as settlers (Sarmento, 2004:17) who were never afraid to build relationships with any other people in the world (Duarte, 2004:105) and who had humane inclination (*id.*: 103)

Secondly, those discourses are pervaded by the idea of **transition for Portugal from a country of emigration to a country of immigration.** This issue is normally viewed in two ways: on the one hand, by **persistence of the 'immigrant imaginary'** (Hesse & Sayyid, 2006). It operates by exaggerating the (assumed) ontological difference between immigrants and Portugal as a host society, thus overemphasizing

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[30] A few researchers have adopted the new academic agenda (for example, Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade and Maria Ioannis Baganha).

the country's modernity (Vale de Almeida, 2006) and devaluating the structural role emigration still has in Portugal (except for Jorge Sampaio, 2004: 205). Even though it is acknowledged that this perception which is 'deeply rooted in public opinion' (Vitorino, 2007:19), those discourses continue to stress *problems* and *challenges* faced by "one of the oldest nations in the world" which has 'high levels of ethnic, linguistic and cultural homogeneity' (Justino, 2007: 153). This helps **consolidating the *difference* – seen as distance – as the problem, rather than the very excluding nature of modern nation-states**. On the other hand, invoking the national *experience* of emigration (along with the difficulties of *integration* lived by Portuguese emigrants) is used to justify the fairness of the proposed measures for integration (cf. Beleza, 2004:41). So the view of Portugal as an immigration country is emphasized, where the state is in charge of developing remedial measures that would exonerate it: even though its institutions may not adapt well to challenges of actual diversity, the proposed measures project the figure of *the immigrant* as problematic, in a vicious circle that can be broken only by **assimilation.**

Thirdly, political discourses converge in the choice of **a positive view of immigration** which results from 'demographic dilemma' (Mota, 2007:7), i.e. the current context of demographic and economic vulnerability brought on by aging of population in Europe and by crisis of social welfare systems and the concurrent increase in immigration (Sarmento, 2004:16, 20). This **approach 'by the positive side', being recurrent amongst policymakers**, calls for the need to extend the positive discourse influence into schools, neighbourhoods, associations of immigrants (Duarte, 2004:104). Besides, this perspective views certain complex political phenomena in terms of their positive and negative consequences, and, as far as immigration is concerned, places emphasis on what is seen as a positive *contribution* to the national society as a way of 'appeasing' public opinion as well as on **making the so-called negative effects (namely, social exclusion, racism) appear natural**. In this way, the certain point of view (often institutional) which originates it is obscured and political contestation of those who reject such view is becoming problematic (which leads to presenting the emerging political character of immigrant movements as a form of victimization, cf. Duarte, 2004:104).

### 4.1. Immigration: more regulation for better integration

The migratory pressure cannot fail to face the limits the host societies have to receive and absorb those who come in search for a place to work or live. Those limits are also of different and complex nature, starting from the receiving capacity of labour markets to the scope of social welfare services, and including linguistic, cultural, religious barriers. In sum,

those limits have the origin in such a model of cohesion and solidarity within the territory that imposes the need to control entry and stay in a given national space. (...) In fact, the 'open door' policy would always trigger tension in host societies and in a short time would lead to racist and xenophobe rejection, as ineffective as the attitude of 'zero immigration' which is clearly affirmed as a counter-movement in the actual evolution of host societies, specifically given the decrease of active population and aging of the population of Europe (Vitorino, 2007:23).

One of the political convergences that emerge from the analysed discourses and that we consider worthy of particular attention is the view that more control over migratory flows is essential for better integration of immigrants, and especially for prevention of racism and xenophobia (e.g. Duarte, 2004:101; Teixeira, 2004: 43-44; Vaz Pinto, 2004:9). Within this view, the policy of 'open door' (Teixeira, 2004: 43-44; Vitorino, 2007:23) or even that of the 'door ajar' (Vaz Pinto, 2004:9) would lead to hostile reactions from public opinion:

> The truth is that in many countries immigration has provoked negative reactions to social transformations associated with integration of new arrivals. And even in developed democracies there have been hostile and even xenophobe manifestations against immigrants, meaning that for many they represent a real threat (Mota, 2007:7).

Politically, both the 'fear' and the 'hostility' have been used to justify restrictive measures in terms of immigration policy, as immigration was linked to increased violence. Martin Barker remarked, in the British context: "stop immigration and you will stop the National Front" (2002/1981:81). This effectively constructs racism as a *reaction* to new arrivals, to immigrants who evoke violent reactions in organised extremist groups. This is also visible in the words of Nuno Severiano Teixeira, a socialist who used to be the Home Office Minister and is now Minister of National Defence:

> I also think that there is some consensus in the idea that the open door policy will not be politically and socially desirable, a policy of complete and unregulated openness to immigration, since it indeed leads, as we have seen it, to the increase in racism and xenophobia in certain areas.
> That is why there is a relatively balanced position, which is the position of a regulated openness to immigration, which should be judged according to the receiving capacity of the labour market and that of social integration of immigrants (Teixeira, 2004:43-44).

If nowadays Portugal does not yet have the high number of immigrants (this fact has been repeatedly mentioned in discourses, and as it has been shown in the previous section, from the ACIDI point of view it allegedly presents the reason for racism), it will be necessary to restrain entry of new immigrants so as to prevent opinions which would undermine the generated social consensus about the positive view of immigration and which has also been politically promoted in the last decade. From this point of view, the restriction of entry into the country does not help create a 'decent way of life' to immigrants (Duarte, 2004:101) but serves mainly to reassure Portuguese

citizens by showing that the authorities have the situation under control (Vitorino, 2007:26), and by bringing about a 'sense of trust' which is important for social acceptance of the other (Beleza, 2004:39-40). So the restrictive association between immigration phenomena and racism becomes inevitable and, consequently, the notion of racism becomes linked to the *difference*:

> For a country that is internationally recognised as one of the oldest nations in the world, as the state that has maintained its unity and independence for eight centuries – except for the sixty years of the Dynasty union with Spain – and that is highly homogeneous ethnically, linguistically and culturally, the appearance of immigrant groups that differ from the nationals by their social and cultural characteristics cannot but trigger change in its social system and the way how citizens and institutions deal with the new reality (Justino, 2007:153)

Racism is therefore conceptualised as a natural reaction to the difference, somewhat legitimised by the contrast between a Nation which positions itself as homogeneous and democratic, and to the new habits and customs brought in by immigrants and that might question the way Portuguese institutions work. This pre-assumption of the difference, as well as its **subordination**, have been often evoked explicitly, linked to the appeal of 'tolerance with limits' in the early 2000s:

> There is a pattern of extraordinarily enriching cultural openness, a pattern of cultural tolerance that acknowledges the enriching potential of other cultures' contributions into the Portuguese culture and society. There is, however, a set, a firm core of values that make up the essence of our culture, values that are related mostly to respect for human rights, which I would not like to be influenced by multiculturalism in Portugal. I would not like to see in Portugal, to give an extreme example, such practices as female excision. That is, practices which originate in other cultures but which, in my opinion, are clearly against fundamental and universal principles of human rights. So the openness is necessary, tolerance is necessary which would favour some multiculturalism, though with limits. And the limits are indeed the fundamental values of human rights. It needs to be discussed publicly in Portugal (Teixeira, 2004:44-45).
> The problem of veil is connected with others which I cherish and would like to discuss here. One of the principles which we obviously accept and cannot renounce, which we have to practice with immigrants, is that of equality between men and women.
> Quite often, the veil issue is seen in a strange way amongst us. Why would the French worry so much about the veil issue? Why would it be so important? A few days ago I heard Mrs Shirin Ebadi - the Iranian Nobel Peace Prize laureate, who received it without a veil on her head, despite its imposition by the Iranian authorities—say in France that if the French insisted much on not letting girls come veiled to school, then fundamentalists would use it as an excuse not to let those girls become schooled and the result would be much more serious. Those words make me think what it really means to accept diversity; accept different ways of thinking and feeling and also about the limits that this acceptance has to face (Beleza, 2004:40-41).

We think it relevant to point out the implications of the way tolerance is described in these speeches: *not to renounce* what is *ours* in order to *accept* the different. According to Wendy Brown's analysis, tolerance would appear here as a political discourse that sanctions norms for *legitimating* and *regulating* practices and identities. At the same time as these identities are constructed as inferior or deviant, the *political* process (i.e. the historical context along with the shaping it power relations) of the identity construction is denied or obscured (Brown, 2006:13-16).

**In the Portuguese context, there have not been politically or socially visible manifestations or debates linked to acknowledgement of cultural rights**[31] **– of the type that, in other contexts, is sometimes used politically to suggest that immigrants have too many rights**. The emphasis of political discourses is nevertheless constantly placed on the duties. Especially so when talking about the duty to become integrated (or rather, assimilated):

> Even though there is no official definition of integration, it is assumed to be a two-way process. It is important not to forget that in the struggle for asserting the rights assigned to immigrants, rights that can be compared to those of European citizens, along with associated duties (that guarantee economic, social and cultural participation in civil society (citizenship)), the identity of the host society and its values and fundamental norms should be respected. Mutual respect should underlie the effort of integration. There should be respect for these values and fundamental norms (for example, freedom of religion and gender equality) as well as the idea of diversity should become more familiar. From this point of view, the compulsory teaching of native languages should not be ignored in the course of integration, because it brings future advantage for the immigrant (socially and on the job market) (Vitorino, 2004:37).
> Development of a 'first-line reception' strategy for immigrants should be paid special attention, namely in relation to the complex 'language/citizenship', as it constitutes the baseline for unlocking conditions for full integration in the host society. It is on this introductory baseline that the foundations of a continued process of integration should be started, which would combine the command of essential instruments of integration, such as learning the Portuguese language as well as habits and customs of the Portuguese society by immigrants, with the workplace and residence inclusion, simultaneously encouraging participation in the host society on different levels (Vitorino, 2007:30-31).

### 4.2. Immigrant screening and positioning of the un/wanted immigrant

In this section we shall tackle another idea that significantly emerges in the political and academic imaginary: that of immigrant screening, which operates both in discourses about border regulation and in the symbolical discourses of integration which position immigrants as un/wanted.

Firstly, the idea of setting contingents of immigrants depending on their profile seems to be shared politically both in Portugal and in the European Union. Setting quotas:

> It is based on the assumption that people admitted like that will have a better chance to find a job and consequently their rights will be duly respected. Otherwise, an admission policy that would not impose, as absurd as it may seem, any limits related to integration would be an irresponsible way of creating expectations in immigrants that the host society would certainly not be able to meet. In this way, we would be opening doors to a situation of systematic disrespect for immigrant rights under the cover of an apparently generous admission policy (Vitorino, 2007: 27).

This "screening of immigrants, done from the host societies and by their initiative" (Vitorino, 2007: 29) consists in recruiting contingents of immigrants to fill in certain sectors on the job market, often working in collaboration with home countries. This

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[31] For instance, we could point out here that **bilingual education is not permitted** in the Portuguese public schools, with an exception of a school we will study within the TOLERACE project, and which is part of a pilot project.

approach represents "a sustainable policy of recruitment, reception and legalization" (Justino, 2007:154) that advocates integration:

> The unregulated job market which feeds on the unprecedented and insatiable offer of ill-paid and mostly illegal jobs has become a catalyst of a social reality which stands out by the novelty and discrimination/exclusion it has originated (ibid.:154-155)

**In other words, arguments in favour of the 'screening' of immigrants are based on the idea of racism as a *reaction* that could be averted by recruiting immigrants of the *appropriate* profile**, generally those who are legal and whose qualifications correspond exactly to the job market needs – thus avoiding competition with the *nationals*. The following recommendation results from this conceptualization:

> Need to avoid confrontations and direct competition between Portuguese and immigrants, so that to eliminate potential social tension. An example would be the absence of special immigrant attendance sections in the places of general access (like job centres or others) (Peixoto, 2007:262).

Moreover, the screening also operates, though somewhat implicitly, in relation to 'immigrants' who live in Portugal, placing them at a symbolic level of *good* or *bad*, un/wanted immigrants. According to António Vitorino, there are two types of immigrants in Portugal:

> On the one hand, a more traditional immigration concentrated in the Greater Lisbon and in the urban centres of the Algarve and, on the other hand, a more recent immigration which is more distributed around the national territory (Vitorino, 2007:37-38).

At a first glance, this excerpt appears to be just a neutral description of territorial distribution of different 'migratory waves'. However, it becomes evident that there is a social meaning underneath the different territorial distributions, as follows from this fragment:

> Indeed, we are all aware of the special pressure which the migration reality places on the Greater Lisbon councils, along with the increased responsibilities of reducing the impact of the concentrated presence of immigrants as well as illegal ones (in terms of their access to housing and education in particular). (...) We should avoid creating ghettoes or sites of tension which could dangerously deteriorate in unacceptable confrontations (Vitorino, 2007:38-39).

More explicitly, in a public TV debate (RTP1, *Prós e Contras*: 'Os novos colonizadores' [Pros and Cons: 'The new colonizers'], May 8, 2006), where *cultural and social consequences of new immigrations* were being discussed, António Vitorino labelled certain immigrant communities as the good/bad immigrant. Namely, he characterized Eastern European and Brazilian immigrants as *good* immigrants, stating that they integrated well in Portugal as they distributed around its territory. This is where the idea of the *New Colonizers* comes from, because they could help avoid rural depopulation, thus being useful to the country while they take on roles which nationals do not want to

take. On the other hand, Africans (read: 'black') were held responsible for their own segregation, as they settle mainly in the Greater Lisbon Area with high unemployment rates thus causing 'discomfort' to the rest of the population. So, **the immigrant presence is not only interpreted as a reason for racism, but also its victims are held responsible and positioned as *bad* immigrants. From this perspective, the so-called *good* immigrant would be the one who creates fewer challenges for the State.**

Another example associates the efficiency of integration policies with the very type of immigrants:

> In the Portuguese case, the experience of the last thirty years shows that the progress achieved in receiving immigrants could not be dissociated from the different characteristics of successive migratory waves (Justino, 2007:153).

"Social background", "informal receiving networks on arrival" and, implicitly, the fact that they are not "ethnically distinguishable" (Justino, 2007:154) would be determinant in the integrating potential in the figure of immigrant. What these political and academic discourses do is **they highlight certain characteristics of immigrants, making them explanatory of their 'ability to integrate'**. Both the policies of diversity *regulation* and the role of racism in history move away from the debate, while ethno-racial discrimination is becoming normalized through the "lack of qualifications" of certain groups of immigrants (seen as a generalised whole).

### *4.3. Euphemisms of racism*

Within this frame of thought, racism is seen as inevitably associated to the (unwanted) immigrant, viewed as a natural reaction to the difference which represents the negative side of integration – implying that it should not be stressed as it might result in exacerbating latent social problems.

It would be interesting to point out how racism is tackled by the means of a set of **euphemisms**: **traffic, exploration, language, negative Media representations** (Vaz Pinto, 2004:9); **negative *stigmas*** (Fonseca, 2007:257); **being prone to conflicts and xenophobia** (Sarmento, 2004:19); **social marginalization, discrimination based on cultural difference** (Vitorino, 2004:33), **negative feelings** (Beleza, 2004: 39); **exclusion** (Nogueira Pinto, 2004:168); **Portuguese citizens' misunderstanding in relation to immigrants** (Sampaio, 2004:207); **social exclusion of certain ethnicities** (Justino, 2007:154). The use of these euphemisms to refer to the phenomenon of racism is accompanied with making it seem **banal and natural**, as illustrated in the following fragments:

> ... quite often, immigrants admitted for low qualified jobs turn out to be overqualified for their functions, which raises the issue of wasted qualifications on the part of host societies, apart from related personal frustrations (Vitorino, 2007:36).
> Immigrant groups with ethnic identification will always be confronted with discriminatory attitudes toward that identification (Justino, 2007:165)

Use of these euphemisms for racism also denies its relevance as resulting from contemporary social relations (viewing at as a mere equivalent to social exclusion and something to be contended with). **As it is not named**, it fails to trigger an array of symbols that calls for a different type of political approach that would touch upon deeper foundations of national states. The fragment that follows, even though lengthy, illustrates the idea:

> Marginalization and exclusion of immigrants are largely parts of broader social dynamics, where feelings of not-belonging and alienation from the society result from objective social conditions which affect equally both immigrants and non-immigrants in host societies. From this perspective, we could say that future public policies and solidarity actions should not be oriented toward the background of their beneficiaries, as they could possibly create the idea of a preferential treatment of immigrants due to their specific situation. This could provoke, in its turn, hostile reactions of other groups in similar circumstances" (...) Therefore, policies of struggle against poverty, marginalization and social exclusion should be horizontal and universal (...) If any distinction should be introduced in relation to immigrants, it should stress mostly the intensity of those risks in immigrants vs. other vulnerable groups or the especial exposure to those social risks. Moreover, it should address the instruments to be adopted in order to come closer to these people and to understand that objective social marginalization includes a distinction of immigrants or those of immigrant origin from within the cultural imaginary and which would require specific solutions. This is undoubtedly the case of the weakened feeling of belonging to the national community, present in sizeable groups of immigrant youth, just like this forum debates manifest (Vitorino, 2007:33, added emphasis)

This conceptualization of racism as a symbol of a *weakened feeling of belonging to the national community*, places the figure of immigrant into the spotlight by questioning the attachment of the immigrant to the Portuguese society (always seen as two distinct entities), thus **exonerating the state from the need of acting upon its structures.**

### 4.4. Knowledge for appeasing public opinion, teaching immigrants their rights and ensure social cohesion

The last question we would like to address in relation to political and academic discourses is the central role given to knowledge in taking action against racism and xenophobia. First of all, the shared need to become more informed about immigrants themselves follows logically from linking the problem of racism to immigrant populations. In this sense, "to learn, study and share, reflect upon and understand the immigrant reality" (Sarmento, 2004:18) becomes essential for the "better action" (Braga da Cruz, 2004:13).

> Only by enhancing the knowledge both about concrete living conditions of immigrants and about representations constructed by them and national citizens of the Different Other would it be possible to find measures for taking effective action against marginalization of this social group (Sampaio, 2007:207).

So knowledge seems to be associated to action, which is not questioned in these discourses, as well as the notion of politics as proposed and ruled with the *good will* rather than within complex power relations. In other words, **knowledge is left to scholars, who are asked to produce more studies,[32] and politics to politicians – who are expected to develop fair measures as soon as they become better informed**.

Secondly, there is an idea that public opinion constitutes a social sector where prejudice resides.

> It should be noted that the debate about these processes (of social integration) is not absent from value judgement based on common sense and prejudice, and dominant representations of immigrant integration. The idea that immigrant integration is positive to both parts should underlie the debate about it. In other words, that more justice in the access and distribution of resources, more participation and a less limited citizenship contribute to better social integration and is beneficial for the social cohesion hoped for. If political and academic discourses tend to come closer to this idea, the observed practice not always reflects it (Justino, 2007:158).

Given that, an evidence which is free from prejudice and would oppose the mass-media representations would be a decisive contribution to ensure social cohesion:

> An informed and committed public opinion (...) a touchstone for ensuring society cohesion (Mota, 2007:7)

That is why racism is understood as a result of ignorance, thus exonerating the role of politics and academy in consolidating and producing racism.

The last aspect we would like to point out in relation to the issue of knowledge in the analysed discourses is the increasing importance attributed to improving the distribution of information about rights (Duarte, 2004:102) and duties of immigrants (Cruz, 2007:254). This idea appears to be quite prominent in the political sphere, both national and European, and it shall be analysed in further detail through concrete case studies at the subsequent stages of the TOLERACE project.

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[32] In this context, the Immigration Observatory (OI), which is integrated within the ACIDI, has established protocols with several research centres in Portugal and actively promotes research publications of different nature. It issues several antologies (for example, Communities, Intercultural Portugal and Migrations Magazine). The PII (2007-2009), which we analyzed in the first section, lists "Promotion of in-depth scientific knowledge about descendants of immigrants" among policy measures geared toward this group (see Table 1).

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**§§§**

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