Invisible
Visible
Minority

Confronting Afrophobia and Advancing
Equality for People of African Descent and
Black Europeans in Europe

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The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) stands against racism and discrimination and advocates for equality and solidarity for all in Europe. We connect local and national anti-racist NGOs throughout Europe and act as an interface between our member organisations and the European institutions. We voice the concerns of ethnic and religious minorities in European and national policy debates. For more information on our work: www.enar-eu.org

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Authors' Descriptions[1]

Congressman Alcee L. Hastings

Congressman Alcee L. Hastings represents District 23 in Florida. He was first elected in 1992 and is currently serving his 11th term in the US Congress. He earned his undergraduate degree from Fisk University in 1958 and received his law degree from Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, both historically Black colleges. Appointed by President Jimmy Carter in 1979, he became the first African-American Federal Judge in the state of Florida, and served in that position for ten years. Throughout his lifetime, Congressman Hastings has championed the rights of minorities, women, the elderly, children and immigrants. Known throughout the world as an expert in foreign policy, Congressman Hastings has introduced legislation advocating diplomacy before military action to settle disputes with established and emerging nations and to advance diversity in the US government. Among Congress' most respected voices in international affairs, Congressman Hastings served as President to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Parliamentary Assembly. In 2007, he became the first African-American to Chair the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, where he held the Commission's first hearings on Black Europeans and Racism in Europe. In 2009, he co-hosted the first Black European Summit and helped to found transformative transatlantic diversity and inclusion initiatives such as the Transatlantic Minority Political Leadership Conferences and Transatlantic Inclusion Leaders Network.

Dr Mischa Thompson

As a Policy Adviser at the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (U.S. Helsinki Commission), an independent government agency based in Washington DC, Dr Thompson's responsibilities

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[1]   The order in listing the authors is in accordance with their location within this publication.

include monitoring human rights issues within the 57 European and North American countries that make up the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), with a focus on anti-discrimination, integration and inclusion issues. She also serves as the lead US Policy Adviser at the Commission on annual programmes for diverse policy makers, including the Transatlantic Minority Political Leadership Conferences and Transatlantic Inclusion Leaders Network young leaders programmes, in addition to representing the US government at international meetings on issues related to socially disadvantaged populations in Europe and the United States. Prior to being appointed to the Helsinki Commission, she served as a Professional Staff Member and Congressional Fellow within the US House and Senate working on foreign policy, defence/security, trade, economic development, and global racism, tolerance and anti-discrimination issues. Dr Thompson has served as German Marshall Fund Fellow, German Fulbright Scholar and National Science Foundation Fellow. Dr Thompson earned her BS from Howard University and her PhD from the University of Michigan, where her research focused on intergroup relations and socially disadvantaged populations in the US and Europe.

Dr Michaël Privot

Dr Michael Privot is the Director of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) and an expert in Islamology. He has worked at ENAR since 2006. Previously, he worked as a FNRS Research Fellow at the University of Liège (Belgium). He also has several years' experience in community building of Muslim communities in Belgium and Europe, and served as a consultant on related issues. He holds a BA in Oriental History and Philology (Islamology), a specialisation in Comparative History of Religions and Arabic (Damas), and a PhD in Languages and Literature from the University of Liège (Belgium). Privot is the author of several books and has published a wide range of articles in both academic journals and mainstream media.

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Dr Clarence Lusane is a Political Scientist, an activist-scholar, and a well-respected expert in the areas of human rights, global race relations, US elections and politics, and international relations. He has lectured on these topics in over 70 countries and taught in Asia, Europe, Africa and Latin America. He is the author of more than 100 scholarly articles and eight books on human rights, US and Black politics, globalisation and European history. His latest book is *The Black History of the White House*. His current research is focused on race and the global economy; and a study of Martin Luther King, Jr., Barack Obama and the Nobel Peace Prize.

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Dr Philomena Essed has a PhD from the University of Amsterdam (1990) and an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Pretoria (2011). She is Professor of Critical Race, Gender and Leadership Studies at Antioch University (US). Her work on *everyday racism*, a concept she introduced in the 1980s, has been used in many countries. Recent publications include the volumes: *Clones, Fakes and Posthumans: Cultures of Replication* (2012) and *Dutch Racism* (2014). Essed has a life-long commitment to social justice and has been an adviser to governmental and non-governmental organisations, nationally and internationally. In 2011 the Queen of the Netherlands honoured her with a Knighthood.

Dr Allison Blakely

Dr Allison Blakely is Professor of History Emeritus at Boston University. He is the author of *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society* (Indiana University Press, 1994); *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Howard University Press, 1986 - a winner of an American Book Award in 1988); several articles on Russian populism, and others on various European aspects of the Black diaspora. He is on the editorial board of the Phi Beta Kappa Society journal *The American Scholar*. In 2010 President Obama appointed him to a six-year term on the National Council on the Humanities.

Mitchell Esajas

Mitchell Esajas studied Social and Cultural Anthropology. He is co-founder and Chairman of the New Urban Collective (NUC), a network of students and young professionals with the mission to empower youth from diverse cultural backgrounds and contribute to a more just and equal society, with a special interest in youth of African descent and Black youth. NUC is a member of the Decoloniality Network, the European Network Against Racism and active in the anti-Black Pete movement by raising awareness, producing decolonial knowledge and mobilising young people in pursuit of emancipation, freedom and equality.

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Dr Terri Givens is a Professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at Austin. She has conducted extensive research on the politics of immigration, radical right parties and anti-discrimination policy. Her most recent publication is the book *Legislating Equality: The Politics of Antidiscrimination Policy in Europe* with Oxford University Press.

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internationalisation of higher education in small states; and the development of new approaches to institutional development and evaluation in vocational education and training. He has engaged in policy advice and evaluation research for a range of national and international organisations and is currently most active in work for the South African Department of Higher Education and Training, UNESCO and the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Dr Juliet Thondhlana

Dr Juliet Thondhlana is a Lecturer in Education and Applied Linguistics at the University of Nottingham. She is a member of the Centre for International Education Research (CIER) in the School of Education. She is currently researching the complex interplay between higher education, migration, employability and language focusing on Zimbabwean migrants in the UK and has presented papers on these issues at international conferences. She is also currently teaching on an international Post Graduate Certificate in Education programme and in Applied Linguistics.

Jamie Schearer

Jamie C. Schearer studied Political Science, North American Studies and Cultural Anthropology. She is a Board member of the Initiative Black People in Germany (ISD). Her working fields are racial profiling, language and racism, community building as well as national, European and international networking. She is co-founder of the Twitter project #Schauhin that aims to raise awareness of everyday racism in Germany and brings together perspectives of people of colour and Black people in Germany on racism. Since 2014 she is also a Board member of the European Network Against Racism (ENAR), a pan-European network which provides advocacy for racial equality and facilitates cooperation among civil society anti-racism actors in Europe. She is also a movement worker with the Bewegungsstiftung.

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Hadija Haruna works as a journalist and writer in Frankfurt, Germany. She won an award as part of the Kausa Medienpreis in 2012. She studied Political Science at the Goethe University of Frankfurt. She is also a Board member of the Initiative Black People in Germany (ISD). Her working fields are discriminatory discourses in the media and racial profiling.

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Dr Lauren Monsein Rhodes is currently a Visiting Lecturer in the Cultural and Social Anthropology Programme at the University of Latvia. She received her PhD in Anthropology from the University of Washington in 2012. Her dissertation entitled "Being Latvian: Discourse and Identity Among Individuals of Black African Descent" was based upon research conducted in Rīga, Latvia in 2008, 2009 and 2010-2011. She is a recipient of an ACLS East European Studies Travel Grant, NSEP Boren Fellowship, Boba Summer Research Fellowship, Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS), and a Gordon C. Culp Fellowship. She holds a MA in Anthropology from the University of Washington, a MSEd in Museum Education from Bank Street College of Education, and a BA in Anthropology from Oberlin College.

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Dr Nicole Grégoire is a Belgo-Congolese Fulbright Postdoctoral Fellow and Belgian American Educational Foundation Honorary Fellow in Florida International University's African & African Diaspora Studies Programme, Miami, US. She holds a BA in Social Sciences, an MA in Anthropology and a PhD in Social and Political Sciences, all obtained at the Free University of Brussels (ULB), Belgium. She defended a PhD dissertation in February 2013 on African diasporas' associational life and forms of collective action in Belgium. As a Postdoctoral Fellow, she plans to explore the ways in which recently settled Black African immigrants in the US connect with African-Americans' Black nationalist movements and/or with other Black immigrants' associational initiatives.

Denise Hansen

Denise Hansen is a freelance writer based in Toronto, Canada whose interests include comparative immigration/integration policies across North America and Europe and race relations within Western societies. She has regularly written for Canadian publications including Canadian Immigrant, Canadian Dimension, Sway, THIS, and the Media Co-op on such topics as mixed-race identity, Black History Month, and the social and cultural function of the Doner Kebab for Turkish migrants in Germany. Her intentions for her writing are to bring ideas of social justice, socio-historical and cultural context, and fairness to conversations about immigration, migrants, race and the West vs. the Rest relationship.

John Kellock

John Kellock is the Adviser on Fundamental Rights Issues and Policies at the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights located in Vienna. He is a former Head of Department at the Agency and was Head of Unit at the Agency's predecessor the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia which he joined in 1999. Prior to that, he worked for Amnesty International for ten years. He has over 25 years' experience on a broad range of human rights issues including work on migrants and integration; racism and anti-Semitism; equality, diversity and discrimination in the EU.

Momodou Jallow

Momodou Jallow is Vice-Chair of the European Network Against Racism, the founder and Chair of the Pan African Movement for Justice and spokesperson for the National Association of Afroswedes in Sweden. Since 2007, he is the Chair of the Swedish Centre Against Racism's ad hoc committee on Afrophobia, which is responsible for the Centre's overall advocacy efforts on issues affecting people of African descent both nationally and internationally. In 2011, he led a landmark campaign against Afrophobia and hate crimes against people of African descent, leading to the first guilty verdict for hate crimes against people of African descent in

Sweden. He was also actively involved in the negotiations at the Durban Review conference in Geneva in his capacity as civil society representative and expert on issues affecting people of African descent.

Julie Pascoët

Julie Pascoët is a Policy Officer at the European Network Against Racism, and is responsible for ENAR's work on Afrophobia, anti-Gypsyism, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. She has been trained in human rights education and non-formal education by the Council of Europe. She has also collaborated on different projects dealing with social inclusion of Muslims, at the European, national and local levels. Previously, she worked as a communication and advocacy assistant for the humanitarian and development NGO Islamic Relief Worldwide and for the Assembly of European Regions, in their Brussels offices. She has a degree in European Politics and International Relations from Paris 8-Saint-Denis University (France) and Southampton University (United Kingdom).

Foreword
By Congressman Alcee L. Hastings

Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Aiyana Jones, John Warner, Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Stephen Lawrence, Oury Jalloh, Mark Duggan, Zyed Benna, Bouna Traore, and I could go on…

These are only some of the now nationally and internationally known American and European youth whose deaths have sparked a call for equality and justice from Black communities around the globe. Theirs and similar stories dictate a transatlantic movement to address racial injustice and inequality in our societies.

I have travelled to Europe for more than five decades in various roles – as a Member of the US Congress and U.S. Helsinki Commission, President of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Parliamentary Assembly, and as a tourist.

On my travels I often meet other Black people living or travelling in Europe. Our conversations typically focus on comparisons of our uniqueness of being Black. However, they also often focus on our everyday bouts with racism and discrimination, ranging from my European experiences being called the n-word and being refused service at European establishments, to colleagues being stopped and erroneously accused of drug trafficking at a European border.

Sadly, my experiences as a Black American, and those of Black Europeans, are far too similar in nature. Inequalities in healthcare, employment, education and housing are longstanding issues only epitomised by the life or death issue of personal safety for people of African descent on both sides of the Atlantic. These countless similarities between the Black European and American experience have

led me to expand my efforts to combat racism and discrimination in America, to Europe.

On 29 April 2008, I chaired a U.S. Helsinki Commission hearing entitled *The State of (In)visible Black Europe: Race, Rights, and Politics*. The hearing was the first of its kind in the history of the US Congress and focused on bringing to light the daily challenges of racism and discrimination encountered by Black Europeans and commonalities with the African-American experience. That hearing sparked the 2009 *Black European Summit: Transatlantic Dialogue on Political Inclusion* and minority political empowerment efforts throughout Europe and the United States, from the United Nations to the European Union. Black and other European legislators now convene annually at *Transatlantic Minority Political Leadership Conferences* and follow young leader initiatives such as the German Marshall Fund-led *Transatlantic Inclusion Leaders Network*. This European Network Against Racism (ENAR) publication focused on people of African descent was also born of these efforts.

At the 2009 Black European Summit, former ENAR President Chibo Onyeji discussed how his calls for civil society and government initiatives specifically targeting anti-Black discrimination in Europe had been challenged. The public was simply not informed about the increasing hate crimes, racial profiling and other issues impacting the lives of Black Europeans. And the political will to act was lacking.

We discussed a joint publication as an initial effort to reintroduce the world to a centuries-old Black population that has existed in Europe, more recent arrivals, and their experiences. Foremost was revealing the prism of stereotypes and prejudice through which Black people are so often viewed, and recommending corrective action for how they are treated. Looking back we could not have predicted how timely this publication would be given the spate of wrongful Black deaths on both sides of the Atlantic, and a

mandate to address these and other injustices and inequalities during the United Nations International Decade for People of African Descent 2015-2024.

This publication and other efforts highlight that the protections, rights and opportunities of our democracies do not wholly include us. Further, efforts are not in place to include us even as enormous demographic shifts are leading our societies to become more racially, ethnically, religiously and otherwise diverse, and we are increasingly becoming the labour force and thereby economic mainstay of our nations. Worse, we are not adequately represented in centres of power – be it parliaments or boardrooms – to make the necessary changes to include ourselves. Protests and riots on the streets of Manhattan, Ferguson, Brixton or Paris cannot be our only mechanisms for change.

This is why working with diverse legislators and civil society leaders from across Europe, I have called for the United States, OSCE, European Union and United Nations to adopt and implement concrete strategies to address racial disparities in our societies, including through the adoption of a Joint US-EU Equality Action Plan to allow our governments to work together on anti-discrimination and inclusion efforts. These strategies should include distinct and explicit plans for people of African descent taking into account global legacies of enslavement, colonialism and racism. Much in the same way our nations have explicitly developed concrete strategies for the inclusion of women, the disabled and others, our nations are equipped to do the same for people of African descent.

Also, much in the same way that I choose not to allow racism to define my existence here in America, it must not define the Black experience in Europe. The notion of Europe being a mono-racial, mono-cultural society must be challenged, especially in a globalised world.

"(…) largely unknown Blacks have made significant contributions to European history and culture, including Spanish poet Juan Latino, Italian Duke Alessandro Medici, French novelist Alexandre Dumas, German scholar Anthony William Amo, French Composer Le Chevalier de St. George, British abolitionist Oladuah Equiano, and Russian General and Governor Abram Hannibal, great-grandfather of Russian poet Aleksandr Pushkin."

This is but one paragraph from an effort I have led each US Congress to introduce legislation recognising people of African descent in Europe, in an effort to remove the cloak of invisibility that for so long has veiled the numerous contributions Black people have made to Europe and the world.

How European countries choose to define themselves and their peoples, and whether Black and other folk are included in those definitions, affects us all. At a time when questions are being asked about who is and is not European and who should and should not be allowed to become European, the knowledge that these individuals were of African descent – *not to mention the immeasurable contributions of the colonised and enslaved* – should be etched in the European psyche and made commonplace in European history, textbooks and museums, not to mention our own.

Eric Garner, Tamir Rice, Aiyana Jones, John Warner, Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, Stephen Lawrence, Oury Jalloh, Mark Duggan, Zyed Benna, Bouna Traore…

These names of lost souls, who are now synonymous with the unbearable pain of our global history, must too remain etched in our collective memories. To tell our history is to bring forward the truths, lies and missed steps of humanity that for so long have been collectively ignored. The fact that police, courts, legal and other institutions were not originally designed to protect us, and for much of history did the opposite, must be remembered and addressed.

Further, the truth of what colonialism and the 'Peculiar Institution' – slavery, has done in the shaping of our collective lives both in America and across the world must be discussed. The example of Madiba – Nelson Mandela and others in South Africa teach us that injustice must be labelled, justly exposed and finally condemned, even if there is no correction for the past. It is the actual exposure of light and air, from the dark and hidden that leads to change. To see and speak truth is what allows for reconciliation, and the ability to avoid repeating past injustices and to move forward. In my most humble opinion, we are stuck in time until we use history to lead us.

For centuries, we, of African descent have called out for change through marches, protests and the like. At the start of the International Decade for People of African Descent, it is not only time for specific efforts to address the situations of people of African descent detailed in this publication, but also to ignite a transatlantic movement to highlight and extinguish the legacies of racial injustice.

Introduction
By Dr Mischa Thompson

"As an Afropean, I wanted to find a Europe beyond the stereotypical (…) I wanted to present the people I encountered as elegant lead actors in their own play. I tried to show the life, the struggle, the love, the hope, the frustration and the bittersweet experience …"
- Johny Pitts

This quote by Pitts, the photographer of the captivating images of 'Black' life in Europe at the centre of this book, encompasses one of the central aims of this publication to dismantle stereotypical and biased perceptions of people of African descent or Black people in Europe. The images along with the written contributions of this publication also serve to raise awareness of Europe's Black population, their histories and contributions, and prescriptions to long-standing racial issues.

Section One
Section One of the book offers a broad overview of who people of African descent in Europe or Black Europeans are, and how they are viewed and subsequently treated across Europe. Four papers by Privot, Lusane, Essed and Blakely respectively, detail the size and make-up of Europe's population of African descent. Additionally, the papers offer discussions on the self-determination process of the communities, including whether 'Afro-European', 'Black European', 'European of African Descent' and so on will be the prevailing terminology to describe this burgeoning population. The papers also address how historically disparate parts of Europe's African descent population are increasingly coming together within and across borders to address common experiences of prejudice and discrimination based upon their race. As the third author Essed writes, "Probably the only common European

experience among many if not all Afro-descendants is their ex-
posure to (…) racism and systemic discrimination, regardless
of country, socio-economic conditions, gender, age, or level of
education".

Privot's article reflects on the invisibility of Afrophobia as a topic of
concern for ENAR, the wider anti-racism field and society at large,
despite the longstanding and ongoing reality of racism and dis-
crimination faced by Black people. He analyses the path to recogni-
tion of Afrophobia as a specific form of racism and the tectonics it
generates in the broader anti-racism, equality and Human Rights
fields, including concerns about the fragmentation of the anti-racist
struggle.

The Lusane paper provides a backdrop for ENAR's advocacy ef-
forts by focusing on what the response has been to the inequality
experienced by Europeans of African descent over time. The pa-
per terms the struggle of today's political and civil society efforts
to realise equality and justice 'Black activism'. Further, the author
locates these efforts within the historical struggle against slavery
and colonialism commonly known as the Pan African movement.
The *Berlin-Afrika-Konferenz*, which brought people of African
descent from Europe, Africa and the Americas together in 1884 in
Berlin, Germany, in particular is identified by the author as a his-
torical catalyst for change for Black populations across the globe
and a possible model for current day activism. The author argues
that today's organisations are ripe for a pan-European approach to
address common issues of exclusion and discrimination much in
the same way Black populations worked together across borders
to address issues of colonialism and enslavement centuries ago.
Current efforts from a 'Black European' political agenda present-
ed to political candidates ahead of the 2014 European elections
to pan-European meetings amongst groups of African descent are
identified by the author as indicators that Europe is ripe for a new
Black Movement.

The Essed paper provides a unique presentation of the 'Black European' experience in the form of an encyclopaedia. In doing so, the author covers historical and present day issues ranging from immigration to quotas as a remedy against discrimination, and offers a multi-faceted view of Black life in the form of an easily understandable primer. Importantly, the author identifies how the denial of racism, myth of tolerance, and 'pathologising' of Blackness has hindered efforts to combat racism and ultimately the inclusion of people of African descent in Europe.

The Blakely paper provides a country-by-country analysis of Black populations, including historical references. The author specifically focuses on the American Presidency of Barak Obama as a catalyst for Black identity formation and political action in eastern and western Europe. Further, the author details the role of African descent political actors as past and present change agents for Europe's Black communities at a time when racial discrimination is at a historical high.

Section Two
Section Two of the book provides a view of African descent populations and political action through national lenses.

Esajas offers a startling analysis of Dutch culture, in a paper detailing the struggle to combat the blackface tradition of Black Pete in the Netherlands. Through a description of advocacy efforts to fight the Christmas phenomenon that leads the entire country to participate in blackface activities, Esajas highlights continuing racism in the Netherlands. In detailing the Black activism that has emerged to address blackface and other issues, Esajas also highlights the Dutch resistance to change in a country typically heralded for its liberalism.

Givens provides a historical and expansive view on race in France, including the ramifications of its colonial history on immigration,

race relations and human rights. Through an analysis of how French culture has chosen not to explicitly address race, Givens discusses the paradox of human rights institutions, legal provisions and policies put in place to address racism in the absence of race. Givens questions the recent gains of anti-migrant political parties that negatively impact growing Black and other French minority communities that are leading French society to become more diverse. Whether recent anti-discrimination laws and other efforts put in place will be adequate to address employment discrimination and a host of other racial disparities in France is questioned by the author, noting that French politics are increasingly moving to the right.

Authors Madziva, McGrath and Thondhlana use the experience of skilled Zimbabwean migrants to highlight ever present employment disparities in the United Kingdom. The authors challenge the notion that there are equal employment opportunities in the United Kingdom for skilled labourers by highlighting how changes to the asylum system for African migrants, pervading stereotypes of inferiority and poor intellect that White workers have towards Black workers, and preferences by White people to hire and promote other White people, hinder employment of Black people. The authors surmise that these biases harm not only the United Kingdom's labour force, but also bilateral relations with Zimbabwe. As such, racism undermines Britain's economic and international affairs interests.

Schearer and Haruna's paper provides insight into the personal and collective struggle of Black identity and empowerment in Germany. In particular, the paper chronicles the growth of Black German organisations and their evolution from cultural to political organisations in their efforts to combat racial profiling and other forms of discrimination.

The author Rhodes' paper on Latvia continues discussions from Section One of the publication on Black identity formation. Specifically, the author chronicles Latvians' application of

African and African-American stereotypes to Black people in Latvia. The author further explains how these stereotypes and related prejudice can be restrictive in terms of identity formation and opportunities for Black people in Latvia. Various methods of coping with prejudice, including in some cases embracing stereotypes, are also discussed.

The author Grégoire details the path African communities in Belgium have taken from 'migrant' to realising full citizenship. Belgium's history as a colonial power and ensuing migration from former colonies is described as the impetus for the formation of African migrant communities in Belgium. The transition of African communities from cultural organisations to politically active associations is further explained as a desire to not only improve life in Belgium for migrant communities, but also in Africa through development efforts based in Belgium.

Section Three
Section Three of the book provides in-depth discussions on European-wide pervasive issues for people of African descent, from racial profiling and hate crimes to poor health outcomes, including strategies for addressing these problems.

The author Hansen, in the craftily named paper *An Apple a Day, Keeps the Doctor Away… but so Does White Privilege*, uses research findings from Black populations across Europe and comparisons with African-American and African populations to argue that a focus on racism is the cure for health disparities. Hansen presents how poor health outcomes are problems for not only Black populations but our societies as a whole. Reasons that place blame on Black populations for their own poor health, such as eating unhealthy cultural foods and poor exercise are masterfully analysed and dispelled. Hansen identifies the lingering effects of racism as the true culprit of Black health, calling for just some of these following prescriptions, "serious and well-funded research, led by researchers and other professionals from

the Black community; a concerted effort to recruit medical students and ultimately doctors and other healthcare professionals of African descent; recruitment of senior managers from the Black community who can influence policy at the health facility level; more data collection on race and ethnicity in Europe (…) and what we need most of all are anti-racism strategies in public health policy".

The author Kellock provides evidence that has been long lacking in substantiating racial profiling towards Europe's Black community. The paper discusses how racial profiling impacts Black populations and has increased in part due to counter-terrorism efforts. Notions of police as protectors of Black communities are questioned, with recommendations of how to address these and other issues often raised in attempting to address discrimination by law enforcement authorities. As Kellock notes, "there is general recognition that policing in diverse societies requires a wider range of skill sets and a more diverse recruitment base than has traditionally been found in the police services. As societies became more diverse these skill sets will be important in order to meet new and evolving situations".

A contribution from Thompson details efforts to address the situation of people of African descent within the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) region, which encompasses eastern and western Europe and the United States and Canada. Utilising OSCE hate crimes reports for 57 countries that identified a pattern of death and victimisation for African descent communities across Europe, the submission also provides testimonies from African descent civil rights leaders on the situation in Europe and recommendations for addressing human rights abuses ranging from trafficking to hate crimes.

Conclusion

Together the authors of this publication offer a multi-faceted view of the Black experience in Europe. The papers convey that there is a richness and diversity to Black life in Europe that is often

overshadowed by prejudice and discrimination. Further, they recommend that there should be targeted efforts to address biases associated with what the author Essed terms "everyday racism" in the greater struggle for 'Black' rights.

As such, in addressing anti-Black prejudice and discrimination, several considerations are warranted based on the findings of this publication. First, Europeans of African descent, including migrants, are striving to be viewed and treated as full participating citizens of Europe in contrast to efforts to perpetually ascribe all people of African descent to unlawful migrants irrespective of their status. Consequently, equal opportunities, free from bias, in employment and education sectors are strongly desired.

Second, in applying remedies, the authors convey that attention to gender is sorely needed. Schearer and Haruna write, "Black people living in Germany have to familiarise themselves with these police measures, even more so if they are male. For Black boys, growing up in Germany means being increasingly seen as being a 'threat' to society – being reduced to stereotypical images". The author Rhodes finds that while both Black men and women are stereotyped as being 'oversexualised' and 'exotic', these stereotypes play out differently for men and women. While women are often viewed as prostitutes, men are viewed as sexual predators.

In addition to stereotypes, the author Essed catalogues a number of other gender specific issues impacting Black life, from high rates of teenage pregnancy among Dutch Antillean women, to the skin bleaching of Ghanaian women and circumcision among African descent girls in certain populations. The impact of stereotypes, European beauty standards and culture are all issues that have implications for how Black European women and men are viewed and treated, and identity formation. Missing are issues around sexual orientation that may be further impacted by race, and warrant further discussion.

The author Hansen further suggests that health outcomes may be related to these and other issues associated with gender and race. In terms of mental health, Hansen identifies that African-Caribbean men in the United Kingdom for example have been found to have high rates of mental illness, while African-Caribbean women were generally in poorer health than any other group in the country. For example, issues impacting Black women in the UK, the Netherlands and other countries ranged from high rates of premature labour and breast cancer to diabetes. Given the author's premise that racism is one of the greatest predictors of Black health, how racism impacts men and women differently seems a necessary area of focus for improving mental and physical health conditions of Black people.

Youth and generational differences are a third area of consideration in attempting to apply solutions. Authors such as Schearer and Haruna and others indicate that increased migration and other population growth in Black communities means it is less likely that African descent youth in Europe will grow up in isolation as in the past in many European countries. Further, the author Essed suggests that youth are also "easily switching between various cultural systems, across generations and across racial-ethnic borders". The author Esajas also notes the role of student groups, international support and social media in the blackface protests in the Netherlands. Schearer and Haruna detail the efforts of an Afro-German youth to combat racial profiling laws in Germany as an impetus for national campaigns. As such, current generations of Black Europeans may have more numbers, support from peers and global reach in the attainment of rights than past generations. Other findings by Essed, such as Afro-descendant girls from Caribbean and African origin families outperforming males in school in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, raise further questions on how race might impact education and other outcomes for Black youth.

The authors Blakely, Givens, Lusane and Esajas further highlight the role of leadership in decision making roles at local, national and

global levels in the European struggle for rights. Political figures discussed include former Minister Rama Yade in France, Baroness Valerie Amos in the United Kingdom, Congressman Alcee L. Hastings in the United States, in addition to civil society leaders and scholars such as Claude Ribbe in France and Verene Sheperd working with the United Nations Working Group for People of African Descent on anti-blackface efforts. Their visibility and work in front of and behind the scenes has been noted as critical to supporting and advancing grassroots efforts for change within and across borders. As more African descent organisations come into being and grow, the role of people of African descent in leadership and decision making positions, from government to the private sector, is a further area in need of examination in the realisation of rights.

This publication concludes with a rationale for recognising Afrophobia as a specific form of racism, and with ENAR's call for a European Union (EU) Framework for national strategies on combating Afrophobia – a comprehensive effort that would require EU Member States to develop and implement national strategies to protect and advance the rights of Black Europeans and people of African descent in Europe. The effort should include a focus on recognition, data collection, equality and empowerment, and would serve as the foundation for actions to address prejudice and discrimination, and other issues negatively impacting Black life in Europe. The question now is – will Europe act?

People of African Descent and Black Europeans in the European Context

Afrophobia and the 'Fragmentation of Anti-racism'
By Dr Michaël Privot

For the last thirty to forty years, in Europe, 'racism' has been the only category largely accepted to refer to the racialisation and essentialisation of entire sets of populations, leading to discrimination, exclusion and violence. The recently coined term Afrophobia – structural racism and discrimination targeting Black people or people of African Descent – is probably one of the most interesting and challenging forms of racism due to the interesting tectonics it generates in the broader anti-racism, equality and Human Rights fields. One of its most striking features is its invisibility[2] as a topic of concern in the political, media but also anti-racist fields, despite the longstanding and ongoing reality of racism and discrimination faced by African descendants. Paradoxically, while anti-racism is perceived to have been grounded in the promotion of equality between Black and White people (see the plethora of anti-racist logos/symbols, publications, etc. mixing black and white), prejudice and discrimination towards people of African descent has been one of the most challenging forms of racism to address, yet one of the most necessary for realising Europe's internal human rights struggle. This paper explores some of the causes and effects of the recognition of Afrophobia as a specific form of racism on the wider anti-racism field and society at large.

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2   By invisibility, we mean in the following paper not that the issue of Afrophobia remains wholly unaddressed, but rather that it is being consistently considered as a secondary issue, as an issue of lesser importance. A typical example is the Black Pete (*Zwarte Piet*) debate in the Netherlands. Demands by Black Europeans and people of African descent activists for solidarity in their struggle to denounce the racist and colonialist underpinning of this tradition are regularly met by dismissive comments such as "we should not focus on this tradition, there are much more serious problems to be dealt with in priority, such as discrimination in employment or education".

Confronting Afrophobia

The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) was founded in 1998 by approximately 150 anti-racist civil society organisations from the then fifteen countries that made up the European Union. ENAR's mission was to fight racism, anti-Semitism and xenophobia – the accepted categories of the anti-racist struggle at that time. Despite people of African descent making up one of the largest minority groups among the representatives of ENAR's member organisations, it was only in 2011, in the wake of increased anti-Black violence and discrimination, that Afrophobia became a core *and* explicit concern of ENAR, similar to longstanding efforts to address anti-Semitism and more recent efforts to address anti-Gypsyism[3] and Islamophobia.[4] Following ENAR's General Assembly's strategic decision to make Afrophobia a visible area of its work in 2011, a long-term lobbying and advocacy strategy formulated and supported by prominent Black activists and academics was launched. In particular, ENAR led a call for European Institutions to adopt an integrated strategy to fight Afrophobia and foster the social inclusion of people of African descent and Black Europeans in European societies, modelled after the EU framework strategy for the social inclusion of Roma.

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3   ENAR started to officially focus on anti-Gypsyism/Romaphobia in 2004, mainly due to the policy shift generated by the enlargement of the EU to eastern Europe, where the dire situation of the Roma was – and still is – a major concern largely due to the realisation by European institutions that the economic cost of their exclusion was much higher than the economic cost of their inclusion within society – and not for the sake of Human Rights. For an in-depth discussion of anti-Gypsyism as a specific form of racism, see Nicolae, V. *Towards a Definition of Anti-Gypsyism*. Available at: http://www.ergonetwork.org/media/userfiles/media/egro/Towards%20a%20Definition%20of%20Anti-Gypsyism.pdf.

4   The issue of Islamophobia, which had also never been formulated as a key concern for the organisation, was also added to the list of specific forms of racism that ENAR would deal with on a permanent basis in 2011 at the same meeting. For an exploration of the different layers of meaning of Islamophobia as a specific form of racism, see Privot, M. *Islamophobie? Retour sur Impact M*édiatique, chapter '*L'Islamophobie Est-elle un Racisme?'*. Available at http://www.enargywebzine.eu/spip.php?article288&lang=en.

ENAR's strategic advocacy efforts have resulted in the concept of 'Afrophobia' being increasingly mainstreamed at the European level, including a 2014 ENAR supported hearing held in the European Parliament,[5] and noted by international human rights organisations[6] as a key impediment to the social inclusion of people of African descent and Black Europeans. Additionally, the US government with particular support from the U.S. Helsinki Commission, US Members of Congress and the State Department have supported the human rights efforts of Black Europeans. South Africa and other countries through the European External Action Service have also provided support to these efforts. At the national and grassroots levels, Black-led civil society organisations within and outside of ENAR have strengthened their transnational representative structures and articulate, within European, national and international policy spheres, their own demands – which have in turn been supported by ENAR. Engagement with and empowerment of Black-led organisations has been key to the success of these efforts.

These relatively recent initiatives by ENAR to address Afrophobia have highlighted not only an interesting disconnect between the size of a constituency, its representation and the emergence of the concerns of that specific constituency within ENAR, but also European society at large. In part, the failure to recognise the struggle against Afrophobia is rooted within the socio-economic status of the community and its restricted means to engage in the development of a meaningful power relationship with relevant authorities. Although Europe's Black population is estimated at close to 15 million, a high percentage

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5   See http://www.greens-efa.eu/afrophobia-in-the-eu-11564.html.
6   For instance, the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) has replaced the term 'Sub-Saharan African' with 'People of African descent and Black Europeans', in its surveys to designate that Black Europeans represent diverse groups of citizens and migrants of European, African, Caribbean, and other backgrounds, some of whom have been citizens of EU countries for generations.

of the members of the population are first generation migrants, of lower economic status and still struggling to establish themselves in Europe. While an estimated 30% of African migrants are considered to be highly skilled, and many of whom are highly politicised, others are experiencing innumerable difficulties in securing basic living conditions for themselves and families, as is the case for most first generation migrants. This may have contributed to a delay in community organising, political articulation of specific demands and an earlier focus on Afrophobia within the anti-racism field.

However, I strongly believe it is the challenge that addressing Afrophobia places on the European psyche that has primarily hindered a substantive response to the problem by ENAR and others in the anti-racism field until more recent times. In addition to more recent migration, Europe has long had a 'Black' population. And, for centuries, Europe has engaged in the production of theological and philosophical justifications for the enslavement and trade of Black people and the persistent denial of their humanity ranging from relegating Black people to animality to an ongoing denial of rights. Such efforts are at odds with the civilisational values or fundamental freedoms of self-determination, liberty, due process of law, expression, association and so on that Europe cherishes as its epitome. For all these reasons and many more, Afrophobia is a symbol of Europe's collective failure to live up to its proclaimed principles and to come to terms with that part of its fabric. It is therefore no surprise that the majority of European societies, with a few notable efforts, have been extremely reluctant to engage in a reasonable conversation about Afrophobia, its manifestations and impact on people of African descent in all walks of life, including its own citizens.

This is all the more important when a sizeable part of curing/healing a specific form of racism rests not only on unpacking shared tragic histories, but reconciliation and reparations.

Recognition of the devastating role of slavery, the slave trade and colonialism (old and new) are key elements in overcoming Afrophobia. However, European States, businesses, families and others who benefited massively from these historic practices have been fiercely opposed to even opening a debate on this issue, in part due to the fear of having to pay reparations.[7] It is therefore no surprise that some in the anti-racist field are not at the forefront of the struggle and are greatly influenced by those who view a discussion of Afrophobia as a threat or a means of fragmenting instead of strengthening anti-racism efforts.

Fragmentation…

Paradoxically, one of the consequences of the emergence of Afrophobia in particular, coupled with the emergence of other forms of racism such as Islamophobia and anti-Gypsyism, is the rising concern that it will lead to the fragmentation of the anti-racist struggle. The increasing visibility of Afrophobia as a concern primarily articulated by Black-led civil society organisations and supported by more mainstream/generalist anti-racist organisations such as ENAR and some of its members has been correlated with accusations of 'communitarianisation'[8] or 'fragmentation' of the anti-racist struggle. These calls have

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7   Reparations and financial compensation have only been provided for instance to members of the Jewish community following years of activism and by harnessing political and financial leverage over States and companies that collaborated with the Nazis. For example, the French railway company (SNCF) apologised in 2011 for their role in assisting the transportation of Jews to death camps after United States officials threatened the companies' access to contracts and other business opportunities. For in-depth analysis and discussion of the whole process of despoliation by the Nazi regime and the restitution and reparation processes by European States, see Goschler, C. et al. 2007. *Spoliations et Restitutions des Biens Juifs en Europe. XXe siècle*, Paris,:Autrement. On the issue of reparations for slavery and colonialism, see, among others, the enlightening work of Tin, L.-G. 2013. *Esclavage et Réparations, Comment Faire Face aux Crimes de l'Histoire*. Paris: Stock.

8   Based on the French term 'communautarisation', meaning the fact that communities are closing up on themselves and rejecting any connections with outside groups.

particularly come from majority/White-led anti-racist organisations or individual activists or researchers.[9]

Within the anti-racist and equality fields that have often been White-led, 'fragmentation' and 'communitarianisation' are in some instances code words to express a fear of loss of White entitlement to partake in the struggle against racism. Discourses about Blackness and exclusion imply, as an implacable and logical corollary, discourses about Whiteness and structures of privileges. While in some cases there are minority organisations that exclude the very idea of collaboration with White activists because White activists would inextricably be part of the structure of privileges that have brought them to be where they are today, the vast majority of anti-racist organisations and activists do not share this view. Whatever their background, the majority of anti-racist organisations clearly formulate the need and the expectation to work together transversally, as every form of racism impacts all communities, including the majority. Additionally, most subscribe to the belief that systemic change will only come from large all-community mobilisations. The danger in not forming and nurturing partnerships in the fight against racism as noted by late anti-racist activist Mouloud Aounit[10] is that tribalisation of the anti-racist struggle may occur whereby groups will seek redress and salvation alone, for their own sake, to the detriment of theirs and other communities.

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9   An interesting recent example of this rhetoric is the work of the famous anthropologist Amselle, J.-L. 2014. *Les Nouveaux Rouges-Bruns, le Racisme qui Vient*. Paris: Editions Lignes. He ends up lumping in the same category of 'red-brown', organisations such as the *Parti des Indigènes de la République* (PIR, Party of the Indigenes of the Republic) or the *Conseil Représentatif des Associations Noires* (CRAN, Representative Council of Black Organisations) and fascist movements. He bases his analysis on the fact that the PIR or the CRAN are constructing specific communities that do not exist de facto according to him, and by doing so are fragmenting the French population, similarly to fascist movements which are constructing an ideal French White people. In both cases, these groups would be against the idea of universal belonging to the French people. He further argues that the claim for community based recognition has usefully obliterated any mention of the struggle of classes to the sole benefit of the ruling class.

10   See http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mouloud_Aounit.

As such, accusations of 'fragmentation' may be more of a defence mechanism to preserve the current status quo of majority-led anti-racist efforts, as there is so far no evidence that focusing on specific forms of racism to unearth and bring remedy to the complex patterns of discrimination inexorably leads to a loss of relevance, support or impact to the anti-racism struggle. ENAR's recent history would be rather proof of the contrary, as concrete discussions on the impact of racism have resulted in practical methodologies and tools for redress, instead of abstract discussions that often result in moralistic debates disconnected from reality and no action. Additionally, of note is that the emergence of anti-Semitism as a specific category of racism within the anti-racist sphere, has not generated similar concerns about the fragmentation of the anti-racist struggle. Instead, the recognition of anti-Semitism has resulted in the development of specific measures to fight against prejudice and discrimination impacting Jewish communities.[11]

Conclusion

Avoiding the pitfalls of tribalisation and the fragmentation of the anti-racist struggle is one of the many reasons why ENAR has decided to explicitly take on board and dedicate the necessary resources to fight specific forms of racism affecting particular communities, while simultaneously developing strategies for collective and trans-community mobilisation. This does not mean that ENAR is immune to internal debates about claims of real or perceived race politics within the Network, but there is an internal collective strong conviction that we are also a laboratory testing how far increased awareness and open and rational debates about these sensitive issues are driving towards appeased societies.

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11   Outside of the anti-racist sphere, the recognition of the Holocaust as a defining moment of European history, of its long-standing ripple effects on Jewish communities and the majority society and of anti-Semitism as a specific form of racism has been difficult, slow and scattered with regressions.

Of course, there is still a long way to go before good intentions
and policy recommendations are transformed into concrete pol-
icies, but the simple fact that focused advocacy efforts based
on explicit demands produce measurable outcomes is telling.
Foremost, it demonstrates that a general approach to combat-
ing racism has led to the invisibility of Afrophobia within the
mainstream (often White majority-led, but not only) anti-racist
field, and more largely within society and the institutions (i.e.
academics, media, policy makers, human rights organisations,
etc.) often charged with addressing the problem.

Far from advocating for entirely dismissing concerns about frag-
mentation, we must understand them and see their relevance
in the broader context of the reconfiguration of the anti-racist
field, in particular due to the specific challenges generated by
Afrophobia both within this particular field and the broader so-
ciety. Far from always being at the cutting edge of progressive
social transformation, anti-racism is riddled with debates reflect-
ing the tensions present within the broader society – often with
more acuity, as any consensus reached between all the actors
of the field would have far-reaching effects on the broader so-
ciety. The day all anti-racist activists, whatever their political
affiliation, community and ideological backgrounds, decide that
Afrophobia is one of the core priorities of the movement, major-
ity community proponents of the status quo will have no other
alternative than to admit that time for change has come.

Pan Africanism and the Black European Moment
By Dr Clarence Lusane

"Always bear in mind that people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children." (Cabral, 1969: 86)

Pan Africanism, as a philosophy, an ideology, a concept and a movement, is a direct outgrowth of the experiences and resistance of people of African descent to European and western imperialism, slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism, White supremacy and capitalist domination. As theorist and revolutionary leader Amilcar Cabral notes in the epigram above, people struggle for real change in their lives and circumstances. Those struggles against racism and oppression, whether expressly articulated or not, have been and are often guided by a range of ideologies, theories and discourses including that of Black nationalism, Marxism, liberalism and, perhaps most consistently, Pan Africanism. This argument is echoed by writer Bernard Magubane who states that Pan African consciousness "was a revolt against the white man's ideology in culture, politics and historiography" (1987: 230).

Pan Africanism, however, is not uniform, consistent or fixed. It is complicated by dimensions of time and space, i.e. manifest in various forms depending upon the historic era and national or regional setting. It is nuanced by relations of gender, class and nationality, i.e. race functions interactively with other dimensions of identity. It is problematised by asymmetrical goals, strategies and objectives beyond Black unity. The notion of one people united by one transhistoric political, cultural and even genetic continuity is contested terrain. The idea of a global Black community, in the words of

political scientist Benedict Anderson (2006), is an "imagined community", a social, cultural and political construct shaped by not only the relationship between and among African descent peoples, but also in direct conjunction with the forces of non-African systems of economics and politics.

This paper focuses on a particular contemporary case: the role and meaning of Pan Africanism within the present-day Black community in Europe. There has been a Black presence in Europe going back centuries. While it is difficult to precisely define and quantify exactly who is Afro-European, as noted by scholar Allison Blakely and researcher Amy Clarke (2009; 2012), it is estimated that there are at least seven million people of African descent living throughout Europe (Blakely, 2008).

This includes over one million each in the UK and Spain, 300,000-500,000 in Germany, and perhaps as many as 2.5 million in France in addition to hundreds of thousands more in Italy, Belgium, Poland, the Netherlands, Russia and virtually every country in Europe. Increasingly, these communities are coming together to address issues of marginalisation, social exclusion, overt racial discrimination and human rights.

The effort here is, first, to provide a brief historiography of Pan Africanism. This necessarily short rendering is to frame a context for identifying fundamental elements of Pan Africanism, some contradictory and problematic, which remain today. Second, the goal is to examine the ongoing challenges faced by Pan Africanism as a liberating ideology. While there is debate over what defines Pan Africanism – a dispute that will not be tackled here – the constitutive elements that have been embedded in the philosophy since its inception are finding opposition even among those who most embrace its tenets.

Third, I analyse the situation facing Black people in Europe in this moment and the utility of the philosophy and practice of Pan

Africanism as a means by which to address their concerns, status and aspirations. The debate over Pan Africanism in Europe has become key regarding which strategies are most effective in the struggle for social justice and human rights for Black people in the region.

The experiences of African descendants in Europe have been a part of both the general global history of Black oppression and resistance as well as of the specificity of that region's inter- and intra-state politics, economics, social life, culture and history. European incursions into Africa, which built Europe into an economic behemoth, had negative repercussions on people of African descent on both continents that would last for centuries up to the present.[12]

In the end, I argue that while Black unity as advocated by the philosophies of Pan Africanism and Black nationalism is desirable in the abstract, gender, class and national identities must also be taken into account in fashioning a politics of resistance. Ultimately, unity must be based on a more clarifying ideological framework that considers and explains not only the multitude of identities that exist among Black people in Europe but also Europe's location within an international system that is in economic and political transformation.

A Historiography of Pan Africanism

In his masterful work on the political unity of African descent peoples, *Pan Africanism in the African Diaspora: An Analysis of Modern Afrocentric Political Movements*, scholar Ronald Walters asks two pivotal questions: "What forces drive African-origin peoples to continue identifying with the source of their cultural origin? And how do these forces affect the quality of relationships both among Africans in the diaspora and between them and Africans on the continent?" (1993: 14). To the first question, he answers that the key forces have been slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the racial vicissitudes of modern capitalism that have relegated Black people to the margins of society in

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12   For a detailed analysis of European invasion and colonisation, see Rodney, 1974.

virtually every nation. Walters contends that the situation of people of African descent reflects "a pattern of stratification worldwide, with the Africa-origin community at the bottom of the social ladder in most societies" (1993: 32).

Pan African philosophy and the global Pan African movement have sought to not only correct the material, social and political damage inflicted on Africa and its descendants, but also the psychological and cultural injuries that also handicapped their ability to alleviate and resolve the oppressed and exploited conditions they faced. In 1919, for example, *The Crisis*, in a statement that can be linked to Pan African thought and repairing Black consciousness, called for "Pride! Pride in ourselves as individuals, pride in our race all over the world. Utter belief that what any man has done we can do – this and nothing else is our salvation" (Du Bois, 1919: 217).

The philosophy of Pan Africanism, in general, argues that the commonality of the historic and current struggle against racism and White domination are uniquely unifying experiences of African descent peoples. This applies to people on the African continent as well as those who were taken away during slavery and those who either left voluntarily as emigrants or involuntarily as refugees.

In this framing, African descent peoples in their struggle against racism and for inclusion, equality and human rights experience and often embrace a general philosophy of Pan Africanism even if they do not consciously articulate it. This praxis has sometimes been used to draw a dichotomy between the informal and formal dimensions of Pan Africanism. However, as scholars Sidney Lemelle and Robin D. G. Kelley (1994: 4) note, given the closeness and interdependency between the practical and ideological dimensions of Pan Africanism as well as the integrated lives of Black people through the prism of global racism, trying to draw a line between them is meaningless and even counterproductive.

At a more conscious level, Pan Africanism is a historically-derived and informed ideological construct that has flowed theoretically and rhetorically from W. E. B. Du Bois (1980), Marcus Garvey (1978), Amy Jacques Garvey (1977), C. L. R. James (1969), Kwame Nkrumah (1964), George Padmore (1972) and many other scholars and activists for more than a century. Their efforts would transform the idea of Pan Africanism into a global movement of Pan Africanism. Black people in Europe would be central to the birth of this growth. According to Walters (1993), the term 'Pan African' first emerged in 1894 from Henry Sylvester Williams, a London-based lawyer of Trinidadian heritage.[13] Williams would go on to organise a Pan African Conference in London in 1900.[14] From there, the movement would grow primarily as a result of the activism of two committed but opposing forces: Du Bois and Garvey.

In 1919, an empowering political event for Black people took place when Du Bois organised the first Pan African Congress in Paris where people of African descent assembled to discuss the effect colonialism had on their countries and to petition European and Japanese leaders, who were meeting at the Versailles Peace Conference, for home rule for Africa. According to Du Bois, 57 individuals from as many as 15 countries attended the conference including, of course, a number of activists and intellectuals based in Europe. Nine African countries were represented with 12 participants. Despite opposition from the US government and its refusal to issue passports, 12 delegates were from the United States. The West Indies sent 21 delegates. The rest were individuals who resided in Europe, mostly in France (Du Bois, 1947: 15). Attendees from Europe included French Chamber Deputy Blaise Diagne and at least ten others living in France as well as representatives from Great Britain.[15]

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13   It should be noted that Du Bois had used a similar term, 'Pan-Negroism', in a paper in 1897. See Du Bois, 1978: 243.

14   While many consider the 1900 conference the first of the Pan African international gatherings, the 1893 Chicago Congress on Africa may rightfully hold that claim. See Esedebe, 1982: 45.

15   See 'Lists of addresses and titles of Pan African Congress participants, ca. 1919'.

Locating the conference in Europe was significant in a number of ways. In that period, all of the European colonies were facing rising anti-colonial movements as C. L. R. James (1969) documents so extensively in *A History of Pan-African Revolt*. Thus the activists at the conference were bringing the struggle in the colonies to the doorstep of the European powers. The location of the conference also reflected the positioning of Black people in Europe who were settled and settling there and building communities that would fight for equality in that context. However, it is important to note that there was often little separation between those who came temporarily or sporadically to raise political issues and those who had immigrated permanently.

Pan Africanism had enthusiastic supporters amongst the Black diaspora in Europe and the United States. In a certain way, developments at that time in Europe even seemed to inspire Black people in the United States in terms of equality issues. *The Crisis* reports on a French government event to acknowledge the achievements of Black soldiers during World War I. The magazine writes, "The day was given to honor the black men and yellow men who gave their lives for a country they are proud to call theirs and which is equally proud to claim them" (Du Bois, 1919: 215). In a later passage, it reads "…the honor is yours, Men of Africa! How fine a thing to be a black Frenchman in 1919 – imagine such a celebration in America!" (Du Bois, 1919: 215).

At that time, representatives of the US government who observed the Pan African Congress became well aware of the power behind the public discussion of the injustices Black Americans experienced. This discourse and political activism represented a danger to the established order in segregated America. Even though many Black Americans were denied their passport and therefore could not attend the conference in person, their voices and issues were represented by Du Bois and other African-Americans who were among

those who attended the gathering.[16] Black people with different citizenships who had been to the United States (e.g. a participant from Haiti who worked with Marcus Garvey's journal *The Negro World*) and who could speak about the conditions Black Americans lived under were also present. As a consequence of the critique these participants expressed, the event's messaging was portrayed as dangerous and radical by the US government, which sought to discredit contributors such as Du Bois and others (Journal of Negro History, 1970: 140).

This first Congress would impact Du Bois' views on race for the rest of his life. In 1958, he referred to the first Pan African Congress during a speech in Berlin (Du Bois, 1958). There he described as one unifying factor for Black people the fact that they received negative treatment by White people in Europe, the United States, the Caribbean and elsewhere. Discrimination, according to Du Bois, was one major factor that brought Black people together under the umbrella of Pan Africanism as a means of resistance. He also described ways in which White people from the very beginning of the slave trade attempted to prevent Black solidarity and unity during the Middle Passages by mixing African people of different regions in order to prevent them from speaking one common language and planning a revolt. Slave traders, he argued, understood the power that could be wrought if the enslaved engaged in conscious activity to search for commonalities and did not allow distinguishing but superficial factors to establish themselves as separating forces, tenets associated with the Pan African philosophy.

Following the 1919 meeting, there would be seven more gatherings in 1921, 1923, 1927, 1945, 1974, 1994 and 2014 organised under the Pan African Congress banner. Du Bois was a leader and

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16 African-American attendees included John Hope, Addie W. Hunton, Roscoe Conklin Simmons, Rayford W. Logan, George Jackson and Ida Gibbs Hunt. White Americans in attendance were Joel Spingarn, William English Walling and Charles Edward Russell. See Blackpast.org: http://www.blackpast.org/?q=perspectives/pan-african-congresses-1900-1945.

organiser of the first four and although he did participate in the 1945 assembly in England, he played a very minor role as a number of future African leaders, such as Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta who would later become presidents of Ghana and Kenya respectively, took over. They and activists from Africa and the Caribbean called for a more radical agenda of independence, liberation and even socialism (Sherwood, 1995; Ali and Sherwood, 1995).

The 1974 gathering in Tanzania was the first to be held in Africa. It took place in a context in which most African nations had won independence and liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies were gaining victories. However, the conference was marked by the conflict between official government delegations and local movements that opposed them, as well as ideological struggles between those with a class-oriented critique and those more traditionally Black Nationalist or Pan Africanist. Both intellectual powerhouses C. L. R. James (1984: 236-250) and Walter Rodney (1996: 729-739) wrote searing critiques, with Rodney refusing to participate although he was in Tanzania at the time.

Much smaller, poorly attended and less impactful Congresses were held in 1994 and 2014. The 1994 meeting in Uganda unsuccessfully attempted to institutionalise the conferences. Mostly, it passed a wide range of political and ideological resolutions (Campbell, 1996: 1-9; African Journal of Political Science, 1996: 113-133). Twenty years later, an eighth Congress was held in South Africa with about 160 attendees according to the *Africa Sun Times* (Conyeani, 2014). The conference focused on the unification of Africa, controversially, specifically not including Arab-African nations of Northern Africa (Conyeani, 2014).

As the first Congress was unfolding after World War I, Marcus Garvey was also mobilising around a Pan Africanist programme. Garvey and the Garvey movement, under the slogan "Africa for Africans", argued that the Black diaspora had to return home to a

liberated Africa. In contrast to Du Bois' promotion of the leadership entitlement of the so-called 'talented tenth' of middle-class Black people, he focused on building a mass-based organisation with roots among working-class Black people led by working-class Black people. His Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) would grow to over one million members worldwide by 1920 (Garvey, 1977: XVI). UNIA generated chapters and supporters in Europe including in Germany. While Du Bois focused primarily on political issues and public policy, Garvey used cultural symbols as tools of mobilisation and education. Like Du Bois' NAACP, which published *The Crisis*, the UNIA produced a newspaper, *Negro World*, which reached millions of readers.

The Pan Africanisms of Du Bois and Garvey, however, embodied the limits of their political eras. While women were active and even leaders in their movements, neither developed a comprehensive politics that addressed the broad interests of Black women, particularly poor and working-class women who were subject to sexual violence, labour discrimination and other gender-based forms of exploitation.

In addition, neither (the early) Du Bois nor Garvey confronted the class issues that existed among and external to African descent people not only in the United States but globally. Both accommodated themselves to rapacious capitalist models of development that were at the root of global oppression, although Du Bois would later become a communist and explicitly argue for socialism and against imperialism. At best, they opposed a White-dominated capitalism but not a Black version.

Finally, much of the leadership and focus of the movement prior to the 1960s was on Africa, the Caribbean and the Black struggle in the United States. The effort of Black people in Europe to win racial justice, equal rights and political inclusion was marginalised by a narrative that privileged Black American, Caribbean and African middle-class male leaders.

Yet there were a wide range of organisations and activists in the pre-World War II period. In Great Britain alone, according to scholar Marc Matera (2008: 11), this included the Union of Students of African Descent, African Progress Union, Gold Coast Students Union, Nigerian Progress Union, West African Students Union and the League of Coloured Peoples. Matera (2008: 164-227) also notes the important role played by women such as Una Marson, Constance Horton (later Constance Cummings-John) and Amy Ashwood Garvey in organising and, de facto, leading the efforts of WASU and LCP.

A highpoint of Pan Africanism occurred in the late 1950s and 1960s when African and Caribbean independence efforts and the Black Power Movements in the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and elsewhere once again sought to focus the political energy of Black people on building transnational Black unity that would assume hegemony over other strategies and forms of struggle. Self-identified Pan Africanists and Black nationalists contrasted their liberation stratagems with those of the Civil Rights Movement and socialist camps both viewed as too accommodating to White people. Among the former, Black nationalists Malcolm X, Kwame Ture, nee Stokely Carmichael, (the early) Amiri Baraka and many others in Europe, Africa and the Americas called for a race-based politics and mobilisation against domestic and global White supremacy. Africa, and its freedom, figured prominently in these ideological discourses.

On the other side, civil rights activists such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Fannie Lou Hamer, Jesse Jackson and Ralph Abernathy sought to build alliances with anti-racist White people who wanted to reform the systems of White privilege and Black exclusion. More leftist activists and theorists, who held internationalist sentiments, such as Angela Davis, Huey Newton, Claudia Jones, Walter Rodney, Nelson Mandela, Samora Machel and others argued that a class-oriented, anti-capitalist approach was necessary in the long run to

construct new societies that would not only be free of racism but class exploitation as well. They pursued a revolutionary restructuring of the nation-state.

Importantly, these categories were much more fluid than they appear or have been generally discussed. Baraka would turn his back on Black Nationalism and become a hardline Maoist and Marxist; King began to discuss the merits of Democratic Socialism in his final years. In a May 1965 speech before the Negro American Labor Council, King stated, "Call it democracy, or call it democratic socialism, but there must be a better distribution of wealth within this country for all God's children" (Jackson, 2007: 230).

Black Activism in Europe Today

While in conflict over how deep and permanent racism was among White people, whether states could actually be fundamentally changed or not, the nature of capitalism, and what political-economic system was most effective in creating democratic, inclusive and progressive policies, there were areas of overlap between the competing ideologies. Both Pan Africanists and their opponents agreed that racism needed to be eradicated and human rights (and reparations) were owed to African descent peoples. There was also agreement that there was a global struggle underway although how to and how much to engage varied.

A wide range of Black organisations and groups are active in Europe today in the struggle for racial justice. This includes the Collective Black Peoples Movement, SOS Malta, FATIMA, *Diaspora Afrique*, Initiative Black People in Germany (ISD), Black European Women Congress, Pan-African Movement for Justice, and Café Pan Afrika to name a few. While these organisations have a wide variety of goals, interests and strategies, they are united in identifying racial injustice and discrimination as pervasive experiences for African descent people in the region. Membership includes both citizens and individuals who are immigrants with varying status. The latter

must also take up the struggle against the rising anti-immigrant forces in Europe who have in many instances converged anti-immigrant with anti-Black politics.

There are also region-wide anti-racist organisations such as the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) and Internet Centre Anti-Racism Europe (ICARE) that have active Black members and leaders. These groups have focused attention on the regional policy institutions such as the European Union, the Council of Europe and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe. They analyse and offer alternatives to policy directives and initiatives from these bodies.

The internet, social media and blogs have also become vehicles for Pan African discourse and analysis. The online platform "Black Europe" is such a key tool that assembles information on diaspora Black communities in Europe based on the notion that knowledge is a tool for empowerment and as such strengthens the position of Black people in European societies.[17] While early advocates and organisations of the Pan African movement, such as Garvey and Du Bois, published magazines that helped to establish links within and between countries, today's communication through the internet, Skype, Facebook and other media is essential to building networks among Black organisations globally. Knowledge about regional Pan African movements can be easily known outside the respective countries and support can be provided by Black contributors living in different countries but speaking the same (political) languages. At the same time, social media mobilising provides enhanced possibilities for addressing issues of injustice. In 2009, the 125th 'anniversary' of the 1884 *Berlin-Afrika-Konferenz* [Berlin-African conference] was used as a platform by Black activists assembled in Berlin to call for reparations. The event was followed from abroad through modern and instant means of communications.

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17   See http://afroeurope.blogspot.com/.

In February 2014, the Initiative Black People in Germany (ISD) and the European Network Against Racism (ENAR) convened a meeting in Berlin to bring together Black political activists from around Europe to "sustainably strengthen the interconnectedness of Black advocacy groups and activists in Europe as well as to draft a demand catalogue for the European level during the network meeting".[18] The goal was to put collective pressure on the European Union to specifically address anti-Black racism. Following the meeting, participants issued a document, *Demand Catalogue by People of African Descent & Black Europeans* (2014), that demanded that people of African descent and Black Europeans "be recognised as affected by a specific form of racism across the European Union", that coherent, reliable and comparable data be collected, and that the European Commission push for European Union Member States to adopt a European Union Framework for national inclusion strategies for Black people in Europe. The document was signed by the African Union – African Diaspora Sixth Region (Germany), Fight Racism Now (Sweden), African Platform (Belgium), Working Group Panafricanism (Germany), Afro-Swedish National Association (Sweden), Operation Black Vote (UK), AFROTAK TV cyberNomads (Germany) and Multicultural Centre (Sweden) among others.

Outlook for Pan Africanism in Europe

Today, a number of competing ideologies have arisen that can be placed under the broad rubric of Pan Africanism but have widely different notions about goals, strategies, alliances and interests. This would include different variables of Black nationalism, Afrocentricity, several forms of (Black) socialisms and different emphasis on politics, economics, religion and culture. The various Pan Africanist ideologies have generated a wide number of social and political movements in Africa and in every country where African descent people reside. While there has been a general agreement among many Black activists on the need and urgency of

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18   See Call for Network Meeting for People of African Descent, Initiative Black People in Germany (Initiative Schwarzer Menschen in Deutschland Bund e.V.): 2.

Black unity, the path to that unity has been debated under several ideological banners.

In addition, other ideological frames challenge the fundamental tenets of Pan Africanism. Black feminism, conservatism and traditional leftist theories push back against 'race unity at all costs' approaches to Black liberation. The masculinist-driven narrative that has defined Pan Africanism through most of its history seems painfully out-of-date in the 21st century. In addition, there are very real differences between those who have legal status and citizenship and those who do not, differences that are sometimes elided by activists but felt deeply by those affected.

Movements for empowerment by African descent peoples in the 20th and 21st centuries outside of Europe have included the National Black Movement in Brazil, the Black Power and Civil Rights Movements in the United States, the anti-Apartheid struggle in South Africa and the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica among others. In Europe, the Carnival movement in the UK, the *Sans Papiers* movement in France, the Pan African Congresses in Germany, and countless others continue to seek unity within country borders as well as across national lines. These efforts have taken place both inside and outside of formal politics. The creation of a short-lived Parliamentary Black Caucus in the UK and the rising number of Black elected and appointed officials across the region can be seen as another way to establish Black representation on the political level.

The Black freedom struggle has and continues to have many vocalisations. While some Black nationalists have argued that Black unity should supersede any other identity whether that is class, gender or nationality, others theorists and activists have identified the capitalist mode of production as the source of racial oppression that will not end until the establishment of socialism. Pan Africanism, in much iteration, will continue to play a role in the struggle for racial equality and justice in the immediate future.

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A Brief ABC on Black Europe[19]
By Dr Philomena Essed

There is a growing volume of work and social media focusing specifically on the Black presence in Europe. Some publications cover the history of Black emergence across Europe.[20] The majority address current issues, often grounded in the experience of a particular country and its relationship to Africa or people of African descent. Emerging are also social media websites, bringing together the European Black diaspora,[21] and with the same purpose in mind, occasional scholarly publications (see Hine et al, 2009). In this very concise overview I touch upon key concepts picturing what it means to be Black in Europe. In some cases comparative reference is made to the United States. This is not meant to make the US the normative, but in acknowledgement of the fact that due to mass media people across the world are often (somewhat) more familiar with race and racism in the United States than in other places. The structure of this essay is simple: a presentation in ABC order. The letters of the alphabet represent key concepts or notions relevant to understanding social conditions and experiences of Afro-descendants in Europe. It is not my intention to pretend completeness, but to provide a hopefully practical introduction to a complex theme.

A
Afro-European
The notion of Afro-European has gained a degree of popularity in the new millennium. But as a possible equivalent to the notion of African-American, it does not have any legal, demographic or political application. Being European and having brown/black skin

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19   An earlier version of this paper was presented as expert witness account to the U.S. Helsinki Commission. *Hearing on 'The State of (In)Visible Black Europe: Race, Rights & Politics'*. Capitol Hill, Washington, 29 April 2008.
20   A well-known pioneer in documenting the history of Black people in Europe is African-American scholar Allison Blakely.
21   See for instance http://afroeurope.blogspot.com/ and www.euromight.com.

colour are generally perceived as mutually exclusive categories. Afro-descendant immigrants do not merge or integrate into any broader category or community of 'Afro-Europeans'. 'Afro' refers to a variety of communities and individuals, originating from different continents and countries, speaking different mother tongues and/or different European languages according to the country in which they reside.

The (historical) relation to specific European countries forms another variant. The majority are the descendants of colonised people from Africa, directly, or from historically enslaved Africans transported to the (former) European colonies in the Caribbean and South America. Many came to Europe in the course of the 20th century as workers from North and Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean and South America in search for a better future. There are individuals who migrated as students in the context of development cooperation, for instance African students, at the time invited to former communist countries. Political refugees from a range of countries, including Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and other war conflicted areas, settled in various European countries. Economic refugees from across the African continent continue to risk and lose their lives in overloaded small boats crossing the Mediterranean Sea in desperate attempts to reach Italy or Spain.

An increasing number of people of Afro-descent are born in Europe from parents who immigrated to Europe, or from Afro-descendants and White partners. In addition, African children have been adopted into White European families.

Some people of Afro-descent live in communities of national/ethnic origin while others did not form racial communities. They live dispersed throughout the country of residence and have been assimilated culturally into White communities. A case in point, Afro-Germans might be the children of White German women and African students. Their fathers could have been from African and

US troops who were stationed in Germany after World Wars I and II. Many of these children grew up with their mothers or in foster families. They are culturally German and racially Black.

There are significant numbers of culturally assimilated middle-class Afro-descendants in north western Europe. But Afro-descendants are also overrepresented among the European poor and marginalised. Depending on the context or their lives, conditions of birth, arrival and national backgrounds, different needs and goals may be the focus of their struggles: citizenship, legal status, language acquisition, religious rights, economics, dealing with traumas of war, adopted children's search for the identity of biological parents, homelessness, unemployment or glass ceilings.

To label individuals and groups who are as heterogeneous and unconnected as the above with the one label of 'Afro-descendants' is not uncontroversial. Many share only (some) phenotypical, or if you wish, racial resemblances. Probably the only common European experience among many if not all Afro-descendants is their exposure to (a certain degree of) racism and systemic discrimination, regardless of country, socio-economic conditions, gender, age or level of education.

B
Black European
Different than in the US, Black as a notion is not always exclusively used to refer to people of African descent. In particular among critical scholars and community activists the indication of 'Black' has been applied indiscriminately to targets of discrimination on the basis of race, culture, ethnicity, religion or a combination of these factors. This inclusive interpretation has been contested, among others by Asians who do not want to be seen as 'Black', by Ethiopians who feel they are not 'Black', or by Afro-descendants who protest against the co-optation by others of 'their' 'Black' identity. In the new millennium a cross-European movement has

emerged claiming 'Black European' as their experience and identity. This diverse group of people tends to be inclusive beyond Afro-descendants. The last word has certainly not been said about the question of 'Who is Black?'.

C
Colonialism
For many people of Afro-descent, the historical contexts of reference are colonialism and post-colonialism rather than slavery, even when they might be descendants of enslaved Africans (Caribbean, South American backgrounds). Many came to the so-called motherlands in Europe with European passports (for instance, immigrants from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles to the Netherlands, French immigrants from French Guiana or Martinique to France). Colonialism and its economic, social and psychological implications and consequences are largely ignored in the European canons.

Colonial relations continue to exist, including the inequalities involved. The Dutch Antillean territories, for instance, are a popular tourist attraction for (White) Dutch. For the local population the reality is different. Extremely high unemployment numbers in the Dutch Antilles, unrealistic ideas about 'rich lives' in the Netherlands, or the desire to reunite with emigrated family, have caused high numbers to migrate to the Netherlands. Insufficient care, social indifference, lack of schooling and job opportunities, racial prejudice and a sense of anonymity in the Netherlands contribute to alienation, violence and criminality among young, foremost male, Antilleans. Among Antillean women teenage pregnancies are a problem, often the result of a combination of factors, including physical or emotional abandonment at home, racial discrimination and ignorance.

The consequences of colonialism have not been dealt with in Europe. This holds true for the dependency mentality (passivity and sense of powerlessness among formerly colonised) as well as for the

remnants of the European colonial mentality (paternalism and the creation of second class citizens).[22]

D
Denial of Racism
One of the most difficult problems Black people face in their struggle for equal acknowledgment of their humanity is the denial of racism. In the course of the 1990s, racial discrimination was placed on the agenda of European Union Member States. But in most policy and public discourses, the application of the word racism has not moved beyond the 1950s model of explicit race hierarchies (exceptions are a number of critical scholars and anti-racism activists). Since many European countries reject the idea of race hierarchies on moral grounds, it is assumed that 'therefore' there is no racism among their respective populations. In this view racism is an aberration of a few extremist groups only. The many subtle and cultural forms it takes (sense of European cultural superiority) are either ignored or not considered to be expressions of racism. When it comes to accountability, each and every EU Member State looks the other way: racism might be out *there*, but never *here*, not in their specific country.[23] A frequently used, but misleading argument is that racism is an American thing.

E
Everyday Racism
Racism is integrated in the routine practices of everyday European cultures and institutions resulting in informally segregated neighbourhoods (United Kingdom (UK), France, Germany), formally sanctioned segregated schools, so-called Black and White schools (the Netherlands), neighbourhood harassment of refugee families (for instance Spain, Greece or the Netherlands), police violence (for instance in Austria) and so on. Among the most damaging forms of everyday racism are those involving individuals in positions of

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22   In this respect the work by Frantz Fanon and Albert Memmi remain timelessly relevant. See Fanon, 2008 and Memmi, 1965.
23   See among others Teun A. van Dijk. 1993.

authority, whose decision making power has the potential of making or breaking study careers or professional opportunities. Racial codes and barriers keep the highest levels of the labour market White. In some countries, like the UK and the Netherlands, Black people have been represented in political parties and parliament, however not without exposing them as well to forms of everyday racism (Puwar, 2004).

Due to the public taboo on mentioning racism and emotional if not aggressive response to accusations of racism from the side of White Europeans, many Afro-descendants are neither aware of racism, nor sufficiently equipped to resist. Frequently, those exposed to racism experience a sense of powerlessness in the face of accusations that they are 'just oversensitive'.[24]

Systemic exposure to racial discrimination is stressful, which can take a toll on the (mental) health of victims (Bhui, 2002). Whether or not directly related, there are indications in the UK and in the Netherlands that disproportionate numbers of people of Afro-descent are diagnosed with schizophrenia.[25] It remains unclear whether this is a result of misdiagnosis, an increase in mental health problems or an increase in the number of people of Afro-descent visiting mental health clinics.

The impact of everyday racism on the lives of Black and Brown people continues to be a neglected issue among European policy makers.

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24   Everyday racism was first introduced in my own work of the 1980s and 1990s including: Essed, 1990 and Essed, 1991. A more recent book on this theme is from the hand of Afro-German Noah Sow: Sow, 2008. These are among the few comprehensive studies focusing in particular on racism in the everyday lives of people of Afro-descent in Europe. In the case of Essed in comparative perspective with the US.
25   www.anoiksis.nl/print/content/groter-risico-op-schisofrenie-door-tegenspoed. See also Pinto et al, 2008.

F
Fortress Europe

Increasingly tight borders since the Schengen Treaty are not preventing economic and war refugees from risking their lives in search of a better future in Europe. Many die prematurely in the passage between North Africa and southern Europe: young men, women and children. In the meantime middlemen are making blood money.

The construction of 'illegality' has different impacts on men and women. Little is known about the particular conditions of undocumented immigrants who try to survive as street vendors (mostly male, mostly in southern Europe), domestic workers (mostly women) or in prostitution (mostly women, but also including young Moroccan men).

G
Gender

Race is not gender neutral. Perceptions of Afro-descendants, men and women, are shaped by many factors, including histories of colonialism (White males, native mistresses), imagined exoticism (female warmth, sensuality and active sexuality), recurrent media images of African wars and poverty (male aggression), and African-American images through the media (excelling in sports and music).

The sex trade and abuse of African women have been reported, among others in Belgium. In the Netherlands, where prostitution is legal, women of Afro-descent end up in the lowest paid and most risky sectors of sex work. Beauty norms are another gender issue. Little is known in Europe about the impact of White beauty norms on women of Afro-descent. Skin bleaching has been found to be a problem among women of Ghanaian background in Europe. Circumcision of girls also occurs, for instance, among refugees from Somalia. Policy makers have not been successful in including the women of these communities in endeavours to put an end to this practice.

In schools Afro-descendant girls from Caribbean as well as African descent families are outperforming male counterparts, for instance in the Netherlands and in the UK (BBC News, 2004).

H
History
The historical relation between Africa and Europe is hardly an area of interest in school curricula. The historical presence of Africa in Europe has been the object of study among a few experts (Hondius, 2009), but it is certainly not part of general knowledge among populations in Europe, and far from being considered a constitutive part of European history proper.

I
Identity
Even when they can be formally categorised as people of Afro-descent, not all individuals and groups identify with 'colour' or 'race'. Many identify foremost in terms of their country of origin. It should also be noted that in cosmopolitan cities such as Paris, London, Amsterdam there is an increasing African-American presence (students, immigrants, tourists).

J
Jews
Very little is known about Afro-Jews in Europe, including, for instance, mixed race descendants from the (former) Dutch colonies of Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. There is reason for concern about sections among (North African) Muslims whose critique of Israeli state politics often is considered to transform into anti-Semitism against Jews in Europe.

K
Ku Klux Klan
Europe does not have a Ku Klux Klan, but neo-Nazi and White supremacist groups are active. Violent attacks are a regular phenomenon

in some parts of Europe. For instance, in 2011 a German family received death threats – their only sin is that they are a racially diverse couple – he a White, middle-aged professor from Germany, she from Africa, their two children the product of both. They speak anonymously to the newspaper for fear of retaliation. The police did nothing to protect them. A first threat letter came and then a second one in which "the sender spent far less time on it. He simply drew four crosses on a sheet of white paper – one for each member of the family" (Reimann, 2011).

L
Laws

The European Union anti-discrimination laws adopted in 2000 have been important in creating procedures to deal with discrimination in organisational contexts. Different European countries have organised their own government funded, independent anti-discrimination agencies. In the Netherlands there is the Institute for Human Rights (formerly Dutch Equal Treatment Commission), the mission of which includes promoting, monitoring and advising on compliance with the Dutch equal treatment legislation. One of the services is to investigate cases, where both the petitioner (the one who feels discriminated against) and the respondent (the party who allegedly has discriminated) are heard. In spite of the so-called reversal of the burden of proof, racial discrimination – because often subtle and part of an everyday process of accumulating incidents – remains difficult to 'prove' with legal instruments. Many Black people remain hesitant about using the services of anti-discrimination agencies. They are sceptical about the outcome or fear victimisation, even when victimisation is against the law.

M
Muslims

A not insubstantial number of people of Afro-descent in Europe are Muslims. Therefore racial discrimination cannot be seen as disconnected from old and renewed religious antagonisms between

Christians and Muslims. In the same way, everyday (verbal) aggression against Muslims probably includes a mixture of racial, cultural and religious racism. In some countries, politically sanctioned anti-Islam campaigns (for instance against Moroccan-Dutch) are taking extreme forms. Freedom of expression is too often taken as the right to offend (Essed, 2009).

N
Negro
In the Netherlands, Sweden and other Scandinavian countries, the local term for 'negro' (for instance, *neger* in Dutch) is still commonly used to refer to dark skinned people of African descent. Only recently, after years of protests, has the main Dutch dictionary included a qualification that some might take offense to the word as derogatory. In northern European countries, including Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands, there have been controversies over a traditional chocolate covered mousse pastry called 'negro kiss' or 'negro head' (Hübinette, 2012). Some of the countries eventually altered the name of the sweet.

O
Opposition
In a number of countries, opposition against racism is organised in cooperation with other communities of colour and with (White) anti-racism organisations, including those in the UK, the Netherlands, Germany and France.

Political backlash has followed anti-racism movements of the 1980s (UK, the Netherlands) and Sweden (late 1990s), often a result of changes in governments. In the new millennium, there is growing Black (Afro) consciousness among young people, for instance, in the Netherlands, Germany and France. Urban Black cultures are developing, often influenced by African-American sports, arts and street cultures.

P

Pathologisation

The pathologising of the Black body (as sexual object, as animalistic, and of Black culture (as primitive and uncivilised) is rooted in the colonial encounter. Early examples in Europe include the 19th century exhibition of the enslaved woman Saartjie Baartman from South Africa in British and French museums, where Europeans could ogle at what were perceived unusual buttocks and private parts. Arguably, African-American Josephine Baker reinforced the narrative of primitivism with her creative performances, in early 20th century Paris. Contemporary versions of the humiliation of the Black female body can be found as well. An example is an extremely popular Dutch, biographically inspired, novel (2008),[26] later turned into a movie (2012), featuring the Black female body through the lens of a White (Jewish) protagonist obsessed with what he calls "Negresses" with "oversized boobs" and "fat buttocks". At the same time, the movie generalises Black lower class culture as alienated, violent and money obsessed. Earlier the same year, an event dubbed the 'racist cake' caused international outrage. It concerned an art event where the Swedish Minister of Culture took a slice from the vaginal area of a life-size cake sculptured as the naked torso of a big Black woman (Memmot, 2012). The Black body is also regularly the object of mocking during football matches, where fans produce jungle sounds or throw bananas at Black players from the counter team. The problem used to be local in the UK during the 1980s, but has surfaced today all over Europe, from Ireland to Italy and from Russia to Spain.

In the second half of the 20th century, with mass migrations from the colonies to the countries of the former colonisers, Black culture and in particular the Black family came to be subjected to the pathology paradigm. One of the early critical European publications about Black cultural pathology was included in the seminal book *The Empire Strikes Back: Race and Racism in Britain's 1970s*

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26 The book is called 'Only decent people' (*alleen maar nette mensen*) by Robert Vuijsje.

(Lawrence, 1982). Similar to the US in the 1960s, scholars problematised Black households in tandem with the societal criminalisation of Black youth. Structural racism, Eurocentric policies, the underestimation of Black kids in schools, and discrimination in the labour market remained unchallenged. The British situation foreshadowed similar developments decades later, among others in the Netherlands and France.

Q
Quotas
Occasionally, the quest for quotas is suggested among activists as a remedy against social disadvantages and racial discrimination. Apart from the stigmatising consequences, quotas do not solve the underlying problems of discrimination in the workplace, glass ceilings, racialised networking or automatic preference for White candidates even when highly qualified Afro-descendants apply. Positive action policies of the 1980s (defined as: in case of equal competency between a White and a Black candidate, preference should be given to the Black candidate) seem to have reduced open discrimination in some cases, but did not lead to any preference for Black candidates.

R
Race
Race is a legal category in European law (anti-discrimination legislation). But race does not translate explicitly into policy making. For instance, race is not a formal policy category in Dutch or French political discourse. Many (western) European countries avoid using the term 'race', because they feel the very term is giving in to racism. Here the frame of reference is often the Holocaust. In some countries there is no local language equivalent for the term 'race'. In most European countries there is no formal registration on the basis of race, colour or ethnicity. That does not mean that implicit understandings and images of race are absent from cognitions and ideologies. In public discourse references to

ethnicity, culture and religion (Islam) dominate; however, often notions of colour are implicit.

S
Slavery

It is significant to notice that, in contrast to the US, slave plantation systems were established outside of Europe, in the Caribbean and South American territories. Slavery had to remain invisible to Europe, which also wanted to keep its population White (Hondius, 2009). The silencing of slavery in the national consciousness has led to a disconnection, in the European mind, between current anti-Black racism and histories of colonialism and enslavement. In the US, knowledge about slavery and resistance has been transmitted from one African-American generation to another. This is not generally the case among Afro-descendants in Europe.

The enslavement of Africans brought enormous wealth to Europe. Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, Britain and France were among the major slave trading countries. Countries such as Germany and Sweden have yet to come out of the closet as profiteers of the slave trade. Increasingly, activists and organisations across Europe are demanding that states apologise for the injustices of slavery. The French originated European Memorial Foundation for Slave Trade successfully pressed for the French law declaring slave trade and slavery a crime against humanity (Constant, 2009). Other countries are starting to integrate slavery into national histories (slave monument in the Netherlands). But they stay clear from offering compensation (AFP, 2010).

T
Tolerance

Tolerance is a feature of many cultures, but it has been claimed by various European states as their national trait (for instance, the Netherlands and France). The much-overstated myth of tolerance, which mounts to either paternalism or indifference towards racial

minorities, has often been used to deny racism. In the new millennium there is increasing support, among White majorities, for active intolerance against Islam.

U
Unification
The unification of Europe has many political and economic purposes. But the racial dimension has not often been addressed. Unification can also be seen as the process of integration of White Europe. European identity builds (implicitly) on old racist theories of cultural hierarchies: from barbarian Moor to Muslim terrorist today; from Black African cannibals at the height of colonialism to current media representations dominated by famine, corruption and warlords.

Dominant perceptions of Europeans are implicitly or explicitly 'White'. The idea that Europeans can be Muslim, Brown or Black should not be shunned any longer.

V
Violence
In eastern Europe neo-Nazi and White pride physical violence against people of Afro-descent and other people of colour has been rampant for decades. When the iron curtain fell in the early 1990s, the world celebrated what were seen as new freedoms for eastern Europeans. Two decades later, European maps have changed, old countries have disappeared and new states have emerged. The triumph of capitalism has created small, extremely rich elites and struggling populations eager to join the consumer society but often without the economic means. Corruption and frustrations fed into the spread of extreme right networks and neo-fascism all over eastern Europe. Many areas are no-go for people of colour. People of African descent who benefited from solidarity programmes during communist times now fear for their lives. More than half of Africans in Moscow have been the target of physical attacks, get beaten up in

trains and in the street (Greene, 2010). The economic crisis has also led to soaring racism in Greece and Italy, for example.

Urgent policy interventions and international attention are needed to provide better protection for Afro-descendants in eastern Europe.

W
Whiteness
Unlike the one-drop-rule[27] in the US, biological determinism in Europe has not led to formal racial segregation. White is not a formal category and in most western European countries explicit self-identification as 'White' is felt as something awkward because of the racial undertones. Ideologies of racial purity seem to have been less significant in some countries, including France and the Netherlands, where the emphasis has been more on cultural superiority. More research is needed, however, to make any definitive statements in this respect. It seems that systemic racial discrimination in the European public sphere can go together with a high degree of racial mixing in the private sphere.

X
X-ing
Crossing racial borders through interracial relations is more common in western Europe than in the US. The Netherlands is an interesting example, where substantial numbers (I believe 30% or more) of Caribbean immigrants of Afro-descent – in particular the generations born in the Netherlands – have White Dutch partners. There is a long tradition of acceptance of racial mixtures, in particular among immigrants from the Caribbean former colonies (Suriname a case in point), where many before immigration already had integrated racial backgrounds (African, European, Asian, native American). As a result, it is not taken for granted that people of mixed racial descent identify as 'Afro' (only). It may

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27   The one-drop rule refers to a principle of racial classification that was historically prominent in the United States, asserting that any person with even one ancestor of Sub-Saharan-African ancestry ('one drop' of African blood) should be categorised as Black.

well be that sections among Afro-descendants in the Netherlands follow the route of Indonesian immigrants, where next generations of racially mixed people gradually assimilate racially and culturally into the White dominant group. In this respect too there is a difference with the US.

In the UK, Germany and in other countries new generations are claiming recognition of their identity as 'mixed race'.

Y
Young People
In the 1970s and 1980s, much has been written about second generations being 'in between cultures'. New insights insist that 'in between' is not accurate in describing the experience of young people born in Europe, often of parents who were at least schooled in Europe. These are people who are living with, and easily switching between various cultural systems, across generations and across racial-ethnic borders, especially in the larger cosmopolitan cities. In the Netherlands, for instance, new languages occur among young people of all racial-ethnic backgrounds. High school Dutch – in particular in the larger cities – is heavily influenced by Afro-Surinamese words and accents, occasional Berber words (Moroccans), overlaid with African-American rap codes, American-English expressions, and anglicised Dutch words.

A notable number of young writers of Afro-descent are contributing to local and international literature in the UK, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Italy and possibly other countries as well. The same holds true for the performing arts and music.

Z
Zwarte Piet
Zwarte Piet is Dutch for 'Black Pete', the servant of Saint Nicholas. This Sambo-esk looking figure, in fact a White person with blackened face, enlarged red painted lips, woolly wig and often with big

round fake gold earrings, is close to representing the Dutch *national pet*, or Saint Nicholas *mascot*. In the Netherlands and in Belgium, Saint Nicholas' birthday is celebrated on the evenings of 5 and 6 December. In the month leading up to 6 December, *Zwarte Piet* images can be found in schools, climbing ropes in shops or jumping and dancing around in other public spaces. Many, but not all, people of Afro-descent experience exposure to these images as denigrating, offensive, if not racist. Some are called '*Zwarte Piet*' at this time of the year by Dutch children. Attempts to ban this 'Blackened Pete' image have been met with fierce objections and aggressive responses from White Dutch who feel this is an attack on their culture. They claim that *Zwarte Piet* is their tradition – nothing to do with racism. Saint Nicholas' birthday celebration is an older tradition, but the Black servant figure, at the time resembling a 'Moor', was introduced to the celebration only in the early 1850s, a decade before the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies (1863).

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Black European Responses to the Election of Barack Obama
By Dr Allison Blakely

Introduction
For nearly a century Europe, especially major cities such as Paris, Amsterdam and Copenhagen, enjoyed a reputation as a refuge for African-Americans from racism and colour bias at home. However, the election of Barack Obama as President of the United States has evoked awe and envy in Europe among the growing Black segment, challenging European democracies to live up to their own ideals. The historical developments that account for this sudden reversal in perspectives and the question of its validity merit further reflection.

Black Identity in Europe
A major question that could inform consideration of such a reversal in perspectives in Europe today is whether in the face of an unprecedented level of a conspicuous Black population, a blanket 'Black' identity is emerging comparable to that of African-Americans in the United States. The definition of 'Black' is inherently ambiguous in its usage, because the related concepts have always been ambiguous and arbitrary, and we should keep in mind that this definition was originally imposed on people of Black African descent by others. I am not here proposing a new definition, only offering observations on how the most prevalent conventional one may be becoming operative in Europe. With respect to France and other countries that discourage formal stipulation of racial or ethnic categories by law or tradition, I am simply counting those who within those societies routinely suffer personal indignities and adverse discrimination due to their skin colour or known Black African ancestry, regardless of census categories. While the total population of Black people in Europe may be no more than 8,000,000 (as contrasted with the Roma, the largest of what are considered

the minority groups there, which is almost twice that large), it is becoming increasingly visible and vocal.

Another good way to illustrate the parallels with the Black experience in the United States quickly is to look at the current discourse on Black identity taking place all across Europe. France, for example [with what I consider a conservative estimate of around 3 million Black people out of a total population of around 65 million],[28] now features an exceptionally lively discussion of issues reminiscent of the African-American experience.[29] Actual use of ethnic categories in France has been and remains somewhat taboo because of French pride in not having the United States' notorious 'Negro problem'. As recently as French media coverage of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, a tone of self-righteousness could be heard in criticism of American neglect of the poor and powerless. Yet, later that same year some of those same voices were in psychological denial

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28   The following is a representative sample of sources that may be employed to arrive at estimates of the current Black population across Europe. All of Europe: http://www.oecd.org/home/0,2987,en_2649_201185_1_1_1_1_1,00.html (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development); http://www.migrationinformation.org/GlobalData/countrydata/data.cfm (Migration Policy Institute). France: http://www.ined.fr/fr/pop_chiffres/france/immigres_etrangers/pays_naissance_1999 (Institute national d'études démographiques); http://www.insee.fr/en (National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies). United Kingdom: http://www.statistics.gov.uk. The Netherlands: http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/home/default.htm (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek). Spain: http://www.ine.es/jaxi/tabla.do (Instituto Nacional de Estadistica). Italy: http://demo.istat.it/str2006 (Instituto Nazionale di Statistica). Germany: http://www.destatis.de/basis/e/bevoe/bevoetab10.htm (Statistisches Bundesamt Deutschland). Belgium: http://www.statbel.fgov.be (Statistics Belgium). Czech Republic: http://www.czso.cz/csu/2008ediciniplan.nsf/engkapitola/1414-08-2008-0900 (Foreigners in the Czech Republic). Finland: http://www.stat.fi/til/vrm_en.html (Foreigners in Finland). Ireland: http://www.cso.ie (Central Statistical Office). Portugal: http://www.ine.pt (Instituto Nacional de Estatistica). Switzerland: http://www.swissinfo.org/eng/swissinfo.html?siteSect=108&sid=6293285&cKey=1133861757000 (SwissInfo).
29   See for example: Ndiaye, 2008; Cottias, 2007 [professor of history at EHESS]; Yade-Zimet, 2007 [born in Senegal, previous State Secretary for Human Rights under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]; Lozes, 2007 [pharmacist, born in Bénin, first President of CRAN, the most prominent Black consciousness organisation]; Onana, 2007 [studied law, university instructor in urban planning]; Taubira, 2007 [member of the National Assembly representing Guiana, her birthplace, member of the PRG, Presidential candidate in 2002, author of the law declaring French participation in slavery a crime against humanity]; Durpaire, 2006 [professor of North American History at the University of Paris]; Kelman, 2004 [writer, private consultant on socio-cultural issues, born in Cameroon]; Ribbe, 2001 [historical writer, serving a three-year term on the Commission on the Rights of Man, born in Paris of Caribbean parents]; Faes and Smith, 2006 [journalists, historical writers].

concerning the possible root causes of the violent outburst in Paris' *banlieues*. And it was of course this explosive social unrest (whose participants included a significant proportion of Black people) that finally made this public discussion unavoidable. My findings suggest that it is precisely this type of collective blindness and deafness in the prevalent French attitudes on such matters that gnaws most painfully on the sensibilities of Black people experiencing the French reality. The tone of the discussion in France is like that of all the countries that had significant colonies, resulting in current populations with a claim to full citizenship and national identity – in the case of France actually being told officially that they are to be French in culture. This is different, for example, from countries where Black people have come into the European sphere mainly for work or education, although many of the issues are the same due to the fact that European societies are democracies promising equal opportunity and treatment for all. The French commentary as well as that in other European countries considers this question in very comparative perspective, in their discourse casting an eye at and drawing examples from not only other parts of Europe, but also the United States.

A sampling of the arguments in Europe on various sides of the issues can provide a sense of the similarities with the United States. Rama Yade-Zimet (2007) (originally from Senegal), who occupied two successive posts in the Nicolas Sarkozy presidential cabinet, relates in her autobiography that nevertheless she is not allowed to feel fully French nor African, finding society constantly pointing a finger at her skin colour. Christine Taubira (from French Guiana, a prominent candidate for President in the 2002 election, former parliamentarian, appointed as the Minister of Justice by François Hollande) recalls crying at the age of seven upon seeing pictures of the Nazi concentration camp victims, but feels deprived by never having seen in school images about the slave trade or slavery, and of ever shedding a tear about that, or allowed to feel pride over the forbearance of the enslaved, their uprisings against their masters

and the success of the various Maroon communities. She is among the most militant voices and is dedicated to exposing what she and others like-minded consider the Republican myth of integration and equality, and to uniting Africans and Antilleans. The discourse in France just barely touched upon here echoes similar ones in all the European societies with a significant Black population. Important differences in the respective histories make for very different details in the discussions; but the question of Black identity is a common thread precisely because of the pervasive persistence of social exclusion, poverty and racism and the physical and psychological consequences of these. Space limitations will not permit a full survey here; but I will mention just a few illustrations in passing.

The United Kingdom, perhaps as a consequence of having had the most far-reaching colonial empire, and having that reflected in its current population [1.8 million people of Black African descent out of a total population of 63 million] is the most advanced European society in terms of accepting multiculturalism. By the 1990s, Black culture seemed to have become accepted in the mainstream in British life. But in the final analysis this seeming public acceptability is not an end to racism. The data of a 2007 study found Black people six times more likely to be stopped by the police; and it happens that the practice of racial profiling was one of the underlying causes of the violent outbursts of the 1980s in some British cities (Taylor, 2007: 1; Lucassen, 2005: 129). Also, my research suggests that there is a phenomenon of what might be described as 'conspicuous acceptance' of high profile Black celebrities and elites all across Europe, and the United States as well, that leaves out the mass of the Black populations, leaving them still discriminated against and frustrated.

In the Netherlands [with around 500,000 Black people in a population of around 16.8 million], an assertive Black consciousness dates

from the early 20th century in the Antillean colonies.[30] There too the question of how to relate to the slavery and colonial past has been one rarely talked about. This is an especially thorny issue in a country so famous for tolerance and democratic principles. And there are examples in Dutch society too of looking to the United States for models (Oostindie, 2001). Germany today is still at a less advanced stage in defining 'Blackness' than the other major powers due to smaller numbers [270,000 out of around 82 million] and lack of concentration of the Black population; but the past decade has witnessed a growing body of literature on the subject (Oguntoye et al, 1992; Campt, 2004). There, as in the United Kingdom, it has allied those of Asian as well as African descent; and in Germany also draws support of those opposing discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender.

Spain, with a Black population of around 228,000 out of 46 million, while a one-time colonial power with subject Black populations, experienced a pattern of post-colonial immigration different from the others because she had lost nearly all of her colonial holdings in the 19th century, and migrants from Black Africa began coming there in significant numbers only in the 1980s, mainly from West and Central Africa.[31] In the 1990s they formed over 100 nationalistic and cultural support associations, though none politically oriented. However, it was also in that decade that a more vocal and public Black consciousness movement against racial discrimination

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30 For a comprehensive overview of the various groups of Black people in the Netherlands, see Blakely, 2004.

31 Spain is a society where it is especially difficult to arrive at a figure for the Black population. Not only is it among countries that resist employing statistics that would indicate race or colour; the problem is further compounded by the fact that tens of thousands of Black people in Spain from Ibero-American countries such as Colombia and Cuba are even more difficult to capture from census data than those from Black Africa. Professor Antumi Toasijé, Director of the Centro de Estudios Panafricanos in Madrid, estimates that the true population figure of those of Black African descent is between 700,000 and 1.6 million, allowing for variation in definitions. He derived this from assessing official government records and those of non-governmental migrant organisations. Pending more precise documentation of this from his continuing research, I am here as elsewhere in my essay using a conservative figure hewing closely to my own research from available official data. See Toasijé, 2010.

and police brutality emerged, inspired by the African-American experience and rap music, and borrowing liberally from the ideas of such figures as Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, as well as Nelson Mandela and others from the African liberation struggles. A particularly inspirational leader of their own was the Haitian-born physician Alphonse Arcelin (1936-2009) who became a Spanish citizen and waged vigorous public critique of racism. There has never existed in Spain any precept comparable to the popular mythology in France alleging that full adoption of the dominant culture makes one an equal member; so it is not surprising that the main sentiment in the Black consciousness movement in Spain is simply the desire to organise to advance the cause of equal rights and acceptance.

Portugal is another country interesting for comparison [over 100,000 Black people out of 10.5 million]. The Black population there has come mainly from Cape Verde and other former African colonies finally relinquished only in the mid-1970s, after years of liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau (Della Piana, 1999-2000; Batalha, 2004).[32] An interview with one Cape Verdean is very revealing of awareness there of the African-American historical experience:

> Portuguese society doesn't see them (youth) as Portuguese because of skin colour. The mentality that exists is: "they are Black therefore they are African". On the other hand, the young generation doesn't know Cape Verde and they don't identify with their parents' version of being Cape Verdean. As a result, they end up not knowing who they are and how to define themselves, and because of that, they start searching for an identity and end up finding it in other forms of being African, primarily in Afro-Americanism. (Sardinha, 2005)

As for the rest of Europe, as stated earlier, the engagement with the question of Black identity is much different in societies where

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[32] Bartalha thinks the second generation of Black Cape Verdeans are doing themselves a disservice by giving priority to race and colour over class in understanding their place in society.

Africans have come mainly for education or work, therefore laying no historical claim for European identity; seeking only equal treatment as citizens or residents; but even in such cases, they are still unable to escape European perception of them as Black. The situation in eastern Europe merits special mention because of the unusually high racial tension in that region. Russia [where I estimate a Black population of around 40,000 out of 140 million] provides a particularly glaring example of extreme Black awareness of a negative sort, and ill treatment by the dominant society. For example, human rights organisations have documented hundreds of apparently racially motivated murders of Black and Asian peoples over the past several years.[33] In eastern Europe in general, because of the level of skinhead and ultra-nationalist activity it is dangerous, especially for Black males, even to go out in public alone, particularly on Adolf Hitler's birthday. In no other countries are racism and xenophobia so rampant. Further complicating all of these issues are underlying demographic patterns showing declining birth rates among Europeans. Continued economic needs for immigrant labour will likely heighten tensions as the proportion of newcomers rises.[34]

The Obama Effect

President Obama's election immediately inspired articles in France with titles like Anne-Marie Rocco's *Où sont les Obama français*? [Where are the French Obamas?] (22 January 2009). Pap Ndiaye, one of only a few Black scholars in France who treat this subject, expressed the opinion that an Obama can come about in France only with some form of affirmative action.[35] On the other hand, Claude

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33   For example, see Thereport.amnesty.org. While currently the main aspirations of Black people in Russia centre on societal tolerance and humane treatment, there have historically been some who have considered themselves to be Russian. This can be seen in recent memoirs from two generations of one Afro-Russian family: Golden-Khanga, Lily. 2002. *My Long Journey Home*. Chicago: Third World press; and Khanga, Yelena and Jacoby, Susan. 1992. *Soul to Soul; the Story of a Black Russian American Family* 1865-1992. New York: W.W. Norton.

34   For thoughtful reflections on the broader parameters of this question, see Holt, 2000.

35   Ndiaye in interview with Anne-Laure Barret, 'Ndiaye: "Pas d'Obama sans action positive"', 2 November 2008.

Ribbe, a Black writer more conservative regarding the idea of a Black community in France, counters in his blog that *Nous sommes tous des Obamas* [We Are All Obamas] (16 June 2009).[36] Many among Black intellectuals, like Ribbe, prefer to agree with the dominant, official outlook opposed to ethnic categories, and deny that there is a need for such designation. And other signs of the Obama fascination abound in France as well: Black cultural events organised already during the Obama campaign; upon his election teenagers on the streets of Paris wearing Obama caps; and a special issue of *Le Point* on Black thought appearing in April 2009, a first for a major periodical in France. A highly detailed 62-page report on the situation of Black people in Austria, published in 2010, concludes one chapter with the following appeal to those with hopes for a political career:

> …Yesterday is gone; we can make tomorrow a different story. Without the courage of Rosa Parks and the dream of Martin Luther King and countless other civil rights figures in the United States, Barack Obama would not be the 44th President of the mightiest country in the world. (Achaleke and Inou, 2010: 55)

In other parts of Europe as well, even in Russia, elections involving Black candidates have raised the question as to whether this is their Obama. Some said this of Jean Gregoire Sagbo, who was elected to the City Council of Novozavidovo, a village 60 miles north of Moscow in July 2010 (Greene, 2010). In Germany the election of John Eret as the first Black mayor in German history, in the village of Mauer near Heidelberg in June 2012, prompted some observers to speculate about an 'Obama effect' (The Grio, 2012). Ehret's father was an African-American soldier and his mother a native German. Then in September 2013 two Africans became the first Black members of the German Parliament: Karamba Diaby, a chemist originally from Senegal; and Charles Huber, an actor born in Munich to a Senegalese father and German mother (Jordans,

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2013). An even more surprising electoral breakthrough in eastern Europe was the election of two Africans to the Polish Parliament in 2010 and 2011: John Abraham Godson, originally from Nigeria; and Killion Munyama from Zambia (Odindo, 2012). It would be a mistake, however, to view occurrences such as these as directly connected to the election of Barack Obama. After all, the first Black mayor in Ireland, Rotimi Adebari, was elected to that post in Portlaoise in 2007 (BBC News, 2007). It is also important to note that a pervasive negative racial climate all across Europe has persisted notwithstanding these apparent political gains. The most dramatic evidence of this in the political sphere is the experience of Cecile Kyenge, an immigrant from Congo to Italy, who became the first Black cabinet minister there when appointed Minister of Integration by Prime Minister Enrico Letta in 2013, and suffered such incredible indignities as having bananas thrown at her, and being publicly compared to an ape by one conservative senator (Scherer, 2013). In some ways her experience in Italy was the closest parallel to the type of irrational racist abuse Barack Obama suffered in the media, and constant questioning of his citizenship throughout his terms.

Black Community Formation in Europe

Meanwhile, seemingly quite independent of all the heated debates, there are silently emerging increasing signs of Black community formation in Europe. And some within these Black communities in Europe, like Patrick Lozes, the founding President of a national civil rights organisation and aspirant candidate in the 2012 French Presidential election, acknowledge American influences. Lozes deliberately emulated the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People under W.E.B. Du Bois' leadership as a model. In particular, through the *Conseil Représentatif des Associations Noires* (CRAN) he has sought to unite some sixty French organisations for Black people into a federation to fight racial discrimination that aims to involve political parties, unions and other bodies in fighting discrimination (Lozes, 2007; Sachs, 2007; Taubira, 2007).

And there are other examples of Black Europeans looking to the North American Black experience for organisational models. For instance, borrowing from the African-American celebration, there are Black History Month celebrations in over a dozen European countries, including the United Kingdom, Germany, the Czech Republic and the Netherlands. Black communities in several of the countries have staged Black beauty contests and fashion shows. African shops, hair salons, restaurants and nightclubs abound not only in London and Paris, but also Ireland, the Netherlands, Russia and Denmark. A small section of Parnell Street in central Dublin has been dubbed 'Little Africa', an appellation also applied to the Brussels neighbourhood of Matongé in Belgium, and a town near Naples in Italy where 7-8,000 Black people live, and has recently been the site of recurrent violent clashes between Africans and local Italians.[37] Published guides (yellow pages) to all sorts of Black establishments can be found in Paris and Amsterdam. Majority Black churches are springing up within all of the sizeable Black communities.

Conscious formulation of concepts of Black identity is in progress both in academic circles and among Black professionals in the community. Most of the organisational efforts in Europe surrounding the identity question reject a narrow focus on Blackness and emphasise alliance with others suffering from ethnic or racial discrimination, and educating the general public about the plight of immigrants. The Internet now hosts countless websites of community associations and other organisations all over Europe addressing these matters.

The Shared Western Tradition of Racism

Returning now to my original question about the recent reversal of perspectives on whether Europe or the United States has a more positive record on racial and colour prejudice, I would submit that

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37 See National Public Radio three-part series by Sylvia Poggioli, 'Obama's Election Prompts Soul-Searching in Europe', beginning 9 January 2009.

while the earlier perception of Europe as a haven had some validity in relative terms, it tends to obscure the centuries-old, shared tradition of colour prejudice and racism in Western Civilisation that is far more essential for an understanding of what is happening now in Europe. A longer view of the history reveals that the caricature of the Black slave as happy-go-lucky, lazy and irresponsible, which is usually associated with 19th century North America, was already popular in 16th century Europe. While there were instances of admiration for individual Africans who distinguished themselves in various pursuits, pervasive colour prejudice tended to ensure that these would simply be viewed as exceptions to the merits of Africans in general. The denigrating images of Africans in Western Civilisation overshadowed others also present that might have allowed for a more balanced picture of the roles of Africans in the events of the time. While there were many Black servants, slaves and even some executioners in early modern Europe and the European empires, there were also many free among the ordinary populace, working in such occupations as musicians, soldiers and sailors.

Moreover, the various European elites occasionally included Africans who were nobles, government officials, intellectuals, priests and even saints. The invoking of the mythic 'Curse of Ham', on the one hand, as a basis for enslaving Black people, did not alter the veneration of Black Madonnas in hundreds of churches in Europe and Latin America on the other. While travel literature and the graphic arts at times reinforced misleading stereotypes about Africa and Africans, the arts also in other instances featured beautiful representations of Africans, for instance the Black king in countless renditions of the Adoration of the Magi. And while folklore, music, poems and plays carried some negative images, they also at times demonstrated admiration for qualities thought of as African. The actual history thus provided ample material for a predominance of positive images; the chosen course of socio-economic and

intellectual developments determined otherwise.[38] By the end of the 18th century, the claim that Black people were naturally inferior became the prevalent justification for the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in European colonies in the Americas, and this legacy has continued to show its impact on both sides of the Atlantic. Modern capitalism found profit in popularising debasing stereotypes, for example in brand names for products alluding to Black people as exotic or erotic. All the way into the 21st century, light-hearted racism has supported the sale of both staple products and such pastries as the *Negerkuss* or *Negerzoen* [Negro's kiss] and *Mohrenkopf* [Moor's head] in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Scandinavia and Switzerland (The Local, 2005; De Telegraaf, 2006). A comparative look at the image of Black people discernible in Western popular culture on both sides of the Atlantic reveals deeply seated, shared prejudices that represented fertile soil for the rapid spread of the sort of racialised social tensions now evident across Europe.

The American 'Exception' in the Significance of Colour Prejudice

It is, therefore, truly a closely shared tradition of racism and colour bias that is operative in considering Europe and the Americas. But, at the same time, there is one exceptional trait in the United States' tradition of colour bias that needs to be acknowledged here. Of all the world's societies, only the United States of America has featured a definition of Black identity that meant anyone with known Black African ancestry. European societies, those in the remainder of the Americas, Africa and the rest of the world placed more significance on varying shades of colour. Hence the resort to such terms as *mulatto, black, Ethiopian, African, moro, nero, negro, negre, preto, indiani* in Europe, and the extreme case in Brazil where dozens of terms eventually came to be adopted to describe degrees of colour and related social status. This results in great ambiguity concerning who might even be considered Black, and admittedly

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makes generalisation about Black people in Europe problematical. This is also what accounts for the grain of truth in the earlier African-American impression of being more readily accepted as full human beings in Europe. But it is important to note that the Black American intellectuals whose initial impressions in Europe in the period between the World Wars were later tempered by a fuller understanding of how they were regarded after longer residence (Stovall, 1996; Edwards, 2003; Leininger-Miller, 2000).

A key element here is the traditional European respect for social class distinctions, which has always been more powerful than characteristics such as physical traits or even wealth. Black people in Europe fell into European societal categories based on occupation, patronage or legal status. Thus, African-American intellectuals, for example, could fare well in Paris due to the traditional French extraordinary respect for intellectuals and artists. This did not mean that their colour was disregarded, nor that racism did not affect them; it did mean that it would not be expressed in the same manner as in the United States, where slaves had been defined by law as property and not human.

Also, only in the United States was there never legislation allowing for the status of a child born to a slave mother and White father being free at birth. This difference in attitude allowed for a striking number of occurrences of Black people in high positions in Europe going all the way back to the period of the Renaissance. On the other hand, proof that this was not evidence of the absence of prejudice in Europe is the fact that France and England, for example, strictly limited residence of Black people in Europe, even when accompanied by their masters – Queen Elizabeth in 1596 famously demanded the expulsion of all Black people from England. Although this was never carried out, the fact that it did represent very real sentiments against those considered 'outsiders' is that from the 14th to 17th centuries, Jews were officially banned there, a ban that was implemented to a great degree.

The 'Pot Calling the Kettle…'

It should be rather apparent by now what my own conclusion is regarding who bears the greater burden of guilt regarding racism between Europe and the United States. There is more than enough blame to go around. I would submit that in fact it is a waste of precious time and energy to engage in the blame game in this instance. What is really needed is for all in the Atlantic world in general to channel human energy and resources toward resolving these issues once and for all. I think the Black Europeans' temptation to view the United States as a role model on race relations at this point is a good example of the old saying that "the grass always looks greener on the other side of the fence". An African-American journalist, Roi Ottley (1951), spending time in Europe in the 1940s stated it well in the reverse in the very title of his book *No Green Pastures*.

Part of the Afro-European misperceptions in both negative and positive directions result from a lack of knowledge of their own history as well as that of the United States regarding this subject matter. They also seldom are aware that in the election of Barack Obama the White vote favoured his White opponent John McCain by twelve points. The type of infusion of Black history into school, which began with great effort just a generation ago in the United States, is starting only now in Europe and very grudgingly at that, as is also the increase of Black people attaining college level education.

Most Europeans in general are surprised to find just how widespread participation of Black people had progressed in Europe even before Barack Obama. A quick glance at the historical record across the entire continent would show that the achievements in this regard had been impressive, which I would submit are due precisely to difference in the significance accorded to colour, and the respect for class privilege and patronage in Europe. One striking example of this is the fact that Lady Valerie Amos served as leader of the British House of Lords from 2003 to 2007, that is, before Barack Obama's first election as President.

There are now initiatives in progress aimed at increasing incorporation of this subject matter into European school curricula. Examples that stand out are the Black European Studies Centre that was housed for three years at the University of Mainz from 2004 to 2007, and sponsored conference there in November 2005 and another in Berlin in July 2006. Middlesex University for a number of years also offered a Summer School course entitled "Black London". Initiated in 2004 in a programme co-sponsored by the Black and Asian Studies Association and the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, it focused on London's African, Caribbean and South Asian populations in exploring issues of cultural diversity in modern Britain. There is also a Summer School on Black Europe that has run in Amsterdam for the past seven years.

Collaborative efforts are also now underway by global institutions and elected representatives to advance equal rights and end discrimination. The United Nations has designated 2015-2025 the 'Decade for People of African Descent'. Following the 2009 Black European Summit, US and subsequently European Parliamentarians have met periodically for a Transatlantic Minority Political Leadership Conference to discuss viable transatlantic policies to combat discrimination and advance inclusion, including a joint agreement between the European Union and United States. Many of these initiatives are supported by the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe also known as the Helsinki Commission (Thompson, 2008; Johnson and Thompson, 2008, 2010). Such global attention and partnerships dedicated to social justice should do much to improve understanding on both continents about just how far the struggle has come as well as the challenges that remain.

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Experiences of People of African Descent in Select National Contexts

Beyond Blackface: Emancipation Through the Struggle Against Black Pete, Dutch Racism and Afrophobia
By Mitchell Esajas

A Dutch children's holiday, institutional racism and emancipation are related to each other through 'Black Pete', a figure in one of the most important Dutch holidays called '*Sinterklaas*'. The figure is loved by many Dutch people but has become increasingly controversial due to its racist characteristics. Since 2013, Black Pete has become the subject of a national debate exposing the Dutch's struggle to acknowledge their colonial past and its present legacy.

What Is 'Black Pete'?
Every 5 December, the Dutch celebrate *Sinterklaas*, a celebration rooted in Middle Age folklore. According to legend, Saint Nicholas travels from Spain to the Netherlands every year on his steamboat to reward the children who have behaved well with presents and punish those who have misbehaved. The old, wise and kind White saint, dressed in his red and white robe and cloak, moves from chimney to chimney on his loyal white horse to distribute presents and delicacies to the well behaved children. The saint, however, does not have to do all of this work by himself. He is accompanied by an army of helpers, the 'Black Petes' [*Zwarte Pieten*], a crew of clownish and acrobatic figures dressed in Moorish page suits, who supposedly have become black because they climb through the chimneys at night secretly giving out the presents while the children sleep.

When Myth and Reality Meet
The controversy begins where myth and reality meet. A few weeks before the actual holiday, *Sinterklaas* and his Black Petes are welcomed by a national fanfare and parade. Dutch children and parents prepare for this event for weeks through games and assignments in schools, children's TV shows and shops filled with *Sinterklaas* and

Black Pete imagery. The Black Petes, however, are played by White people who paint their faces black, wear Afro wigs and golden 'creole' earrings, and thicken their lips with red lipstick. Indeed, these are White people dressing up in blackface, who play their role as the subservient, unintelligent, childish and clownish caricatures, helping the old, wise and kind White Saint carry out his work. For the majority of Dutch people, this 'innocent children's holiday' is a period of pleasure and bonding between friends and family, as the tradition involves writing and exchanging poems, giving and receiving gifts and spending time with loved ones. To others, especially Black people, however, Black Pete reflects a painful colonial history during which White men who considered themselves superior subjugated, dehumanised and enslaved Black people who they deemed inferior. Critics of this Dutch tradition are met with verbal and, in some cases, even physical aggression by its staunch defenders. As a result, the controversy surrounding the Dutch tradition has sparked activism and a national debate about the Dutch colonial legacy, identity, citizenship and institutional racism.

An Invented Tradition Rooted in Racism

Although the *Sinterklaas* tradition is rooted in Middle Age European history, the Black Pete figure appeared for the first time in the mid-19th century (Smith, 2014). Research has shown that the Black Pete figure was introduced by Jan Schenkman who wrote the popular children's book *Sinterklaas en Zijn Knecht* (1848) ['Saint Nicholas and his servant'], in which the Saint travelled from Spain to the Netherlands on a steamboat accompanied by Black servants. As the Black Pete figure became more popular and prominent in the tradition, its appearance evolved throughout time. It was introduced at a time when racialised images of Black people were produced as part of a larger narrative involving racial hierarchies and a global colonial/racial formation (Grosfoguel, 1999). At the time the Black Pete figure was produced, the Netherlands was a global colonial power involved in slavery and the slave trade for more than 200 years. From the late 16th century to the abolition of slavery in 1863, the

Dutch had traded 554,000 African men, women and children across the Atlantic and enslaved millions more (Hira and Small, 2014). To justify the enslavement of African people, 20th century racist ideologies encouraged colonial expansion and segregation. During this period *biological racism* was the dominant discourse justifying the 'Other' as genetically inferior beings. This dominant discourse was adopted by Western natural/social scientists and philosophers such as David Hume, who wrote: "I am apt to suspect the negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation" (In Garrett, 2000).

This hegemonic discourse of biological racism was translated into stereotypical representations of Black people as stupid, ugly, childlike, primitively impulsive, and genetically closer to apes than people. On the other hand, White people were represented as good looking, trustworthy and civilised, ruled by reason and intelligence. These racial ideologies and stereotypes about Black people were materialised, visualised and communicated to the general population through myths, folklore and (children's) books. The books *White about Black: Images of Africa and Blacks in Popular Western Culture* by Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2009) and *Black: The Image of Black People in the Dutch Illustration Art* 1880 – 1980 by Jeroen Kapelle and Dirk J. Tang (2008) show how the visual images and stereotypes about Black people in Western art and popular culture developed over time and were rooted in Eurocentric racist thought. Stereotypical images of Black people were popularised through minstrel shows in the US and Europe, in which White people dressed up in blackface to entertain White audiences through stereotypes of Black people as "happy-go lucky, dancing, singing, joking buffoons" (Dormon in Brienen, 2014: 185). These blackface traditions reinforced notions of Black inferiority, inhumanity and White supremacy. As Otoo (2012: 62) stated: "it was designed for and by white people to reinforce the message: 'they' are not like 'us'". Blackface became a popular expression of this dominant

discussion about biological racism (Brienen, 2014: 185). In the UK, Golliwog, an old black 'nigger' doll, became a popular image; in Germany blackface traditions arose in the East German film industry to entertain predominantly White audiences. The development and popularisation of the Black Pete figure, which has similar characteristics to other racist characterisations of Black people, cannot be divorced from this historical and cultural context.

Dutch Innocence

The most common argument given by the Dutch to defend their tradition is to say "it's just an innocent children's holiday". Indeed, the Dutch believe in their own innocence and good will. Furthermore, the tradition is deemed as one of the most popular aspects of Dutch culture and identity, an essential tradition to be or become Dutch. Ethnologist Helsloot (2012) stated: "every Dutch child is socialised into the ritual, at home and in schools, producing a strong emotional attachment that continues to hold sway in later life". In the recently publicised collection of critical essays and articles *Dutch Racism* (2014), Essed and Hoving state that *Dutch Racism* can be characterised by a claim to innocence, a sense of moral superiority and a strong sense of entitlement. Despite a long history of slavery and colonialism, the Dutch have constructed a self-image of "being a tolerant, small and just ethical nation and that foregrounds being a victim rather than a perpetrator of international violence" (Wekker in Essed and Hovinga, 2014: 21). The Dutch have created a historically inaccurate self-image and pride themselves on being a centre of commerce, science and art during the 'Golden Age' from the 16th to 17th century while denying, downplaying or misrepresenting their participation in the African slave trade, colonial wars in Indonesia and oppression of colonised people. The former Prime Minister Balkenende passionately urged Dutch citizens to be proud of their culture and history by taking up the good old Dutch East India Company (VOC) mentality – but the Dutch multinational VOC was involved in the colonisation of parts of Asia and the transatlantic slave trade.

This statement by a prominent political leader of the country does not come as a surprise when one takes into account how Dutch identity, history and culture are shaped through the education system. In a study on school textbooks, Weiner (2013) showed how the Dutch involvement in slavery and colonialism is either ignored or diluted to fit the dominant narrative that Dutch experienced slavery and includes sentences such as "the Dutch had a very hard time on the plantations".[39] This narrative constructs a Dutch national identity based on Whiteness, innocence and 'being good', making it hard to have a meaningful discussion about racism, the legacy of slavery and colonialism in the Netherlands. Ignorance prevails in discussions about the shared history of White Dutch people and Dutch people of African descent. In March 2014, the current Prime Minister Rutte caused more controversy after making the following comment when confronted with a question about Black Pete at the Nuclear Security Summit:

> It is an old Dutch children's tradition, Saint Nicholas and Black Pete. It is not about a green or brown Pete and I cannot change that. I can only say that my friends in the Netherlands Antilles are very happy with the Saint Nicolas celebration, because they don't have to paint their faces. When I play Black Pete, I am for days trying to get the grime off my face. (Daily Herald, 2014)

Black Protest Meets White Denial and Aggression

Ever since Black people have been in the Netherlands, there has been protest against the racist element of the national tradition *Sinterklaas*. Protesters and accusations of racism, however, are met with aggression and denial as the Dutch tend to associate racism with overt racism such as Jim Crow in the US, Apartheid in South Africa and Nazism. Racism is something the Dutch don't do, as it opposes the national image and culture of 'innocence', tolerance and liberalism. The majority of White people and mass media continue

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[39] See http://africasacountry.com/hiding-in-plain-view-dealing-with-the-legacies-of-dutch-slavery/.

to dismiss protesters against the blackface tradition as being 'over-sensitive', 'whining' and 'trapped in the past'. In many cases the protesters are confronted with aggressive counter reactions, ignored or ridiculed. Denying the existence of race and racism reflects the 'politics of colour blindness' and dismisses people of colour's feelings and perspective while claiming the authority to decide whether Black Pete is racist or not. It reflects the unequal balance of power embedded in the structure of Dutch society and *White privilege*.

Since the 1960s, progressive White people contested the blackface caricature Black Pete via relatively small scale protests. These protests intensified in the 1970s and 1980s when a large number of African Carribean people migrated from former colonies, Suriname and the Dutch Antilles, to 'the motherland'. In the 1960s, M.C. Grunbauer proposed a "White Pete plan" and in the 1980s an organisation of Surinamese migrants set up the campaign "White claus and Black Pete? This is no party! Stop racism, Stop *Sinterklaas Blanke baas"* [Santa Claus, white boss]. In the 1990s, Surinamese youth from Amsterdam Southeast created the action committee *Zwarte Piet = Zwart Verdriet* [Black Pete = Black grief] (Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover, 2005). Several schools in the predominantly Black neighbourhood of Amsterdam Southeast introduced 'Coloured Petes' as an alternative to the Black Petes and in 1993 the city of Amsterdam experimented with 'Coloured Petes' at the official *Sinterklaas* parade of the city. The latter were met with aggression and dismissal by the majority of White people and the changes were quickly cancelled as a result.[40]

The impact of these protests remained relatively small and local. A change took place in October 2011. Two Black artists – Quinsy Gario and Kno'ledge Cesare – attended the official *Sinterklaas* festivities in the city of Dordrecht, which were broadcast on national television. About 60,000 people were expected and more than 1.8

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million viewed it on television. They were engaged in an art project which aimed to foster dialogue about issues of racism related to the figure Black Pete by spray painting t-shirts with the slogan 'Z*warte Piet Is Racisme*' [Black Pete is racism] on it. They visited festivals and events to spray paint and sell the t-shirt, engaged in dialogue with thousands of people and photographed them for the website zwartepietisracisme.tumblr.com. To foster dialogue, the two artists went to the festivities accompanied by a Danish student wearing their '*Zwarte Piet Is Racisme*' t-shirts. When they wanted to put up a banner with the slogan, the police forbid their plans as 'demonstrations' were not allowed that day. The artists agreed and silently stood at the side of the parade wearing their t-shirts when a few policemen subsequently arrested them using violence and force, dragging Quinsy Gario into an alley while he was screaming "but I haven't done anything!". The police force was filmed by a bystander; the video was uploaded on Youtube and went viral immediately. The artists were fined and set free after a few hours in custody, but they refused to pay. On the following day, a few other Black people such as artist-activists Kunta Richo and Miss Kitty voiced their concerns by spraying their t-shirts with the slogan '*Zwarte Piet Is Racisme*' at the festivities in the city centre of Amsterdam and were arrested as well. These incidents were but merely two-well known examples of aggression and deep-rooted racism when people protest and voice their views on this 'Dutch tradition'. In August 2008, two artists from the van Abbe Art Museum in the Netherlands aimed to organise a 'performance' protest march to "voice critique against Black Pete" as part of a long-term project called "Read the masks. Tradition is not given". The management of the museum had to cancel the activity because of violent threats received by email and public opinion condemned them after the media took notice of the event. It must be noted that these events were not picked up by the mainstream media initially but social media reactions indicated that the majority of Dutch people approved the police actions and aggressive reactions towards protesting people (NRC, 2008).

The Rise of the Anti-Black Pete Movement

Since the arrest of Quinsy Gario and Kno'ledge Cesare the debate and protest increased, especially via social media. The anti-Black Pete movement, however, rose in prominence in 2013 after 21 people, including Quinsy Gario and other activists, intellectuals and youth from different socio-cultural backgrounds filed a lawsuit against the city of Amsterdam for facilitating activities with 'racist' elements, as the Dutch capital organises an annual *Sinterklaas* parade attracting thousands of children and parents. The lawsuit was picked up by mainstream media, who used to ignore the controversial subject. The media attention reaching the masses of people via television, newspapers and social media sparked a massive wave of aggressive, racist and xenophobic reactions on social media towards Quinsy and anti-Black Pete protesters. The debate became more controversial when Verene Sheperd, a Jamaican academic advising the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights as part of the Working Group for People of African Descent, announced that they would instigate an investigation into the 'tradition' and urged the Dutch government to "end the racist tradition" because it "reminded Black people of the horrible history of slavery":

> The working party cannot understand why the Dutch cannot see that [the Zwarte Piet character] is a return to slavery and that this festival must stop in the 21st century (…) If I, as a black person, were to live in the Netherlands, I would have objections. (Higgins, 2013)

Her remarks were picked up by international media and created so much fury that a group of Dutch people organised a pro-Pete demonstration, set up a pro-Pete petition and Facebook page called *Pietitie* which reached the mark of 2 million likes within a few days and threatened the UN adviser with violent and racist reactions (Cendrowicz, 2013). The anti-Black Pete movement gained momentum as it sparked a heated national debate about racism, identity and citizenship in the Netherlands, issues which had been ignored and denied for a long time in the country of 'innocence and tolerance'.

New Forms of Racism and the Continuation of Blackfacing

Because of the Dutch self-image of 'innocence', critical self-reflection and debate about racism has been a taboo for a long time, but the dominant discourse seems to be changing. Grosfoguel (1999) argued that the dominant discourse of biological racism was delegitimised after the Nazi occupation in Europe during World War II and the US Civil Rights Movement. It changed into a new form of racism which he calls "cultural racism", a form of racism in which the word race is not even used because it is seen as a thing of the past. Instead, the discourse is centred on ethnic minorities which are viewed as essentially different and mutually exclusive from the dominant culture. The public discourse on ethnic minorities focuses on their social challenges and inability to integrate into Dutch society because of their 'culture'. The inferior status of ethnic minority cultures is seen as linked to criminality, their labour market position and social welfare dependency, which is viewed as a consequence of their cultural values, habits and behaviours. This narrative implies the cultural superiority of dominant Dutch culture. Explicit forms of racism are generally no longer accepted but classified as extreme right.

In contrast to the Netherlands, people of colour's anti-racist movements in other parts of the world supported by White allies gained power and changed the public discourse, politics and policies. They managed to banish overt forms of racism such as the Jim Crow segregation in the US, racial discrimination in the labour market in the United Kingdom, the Apartheid system in South Africa and explicit forms of racial discrimination including racial stereotypes such as the minstrel shows and the Golliwog.[41] In contrast to the US and the UK, the Netherlands never had a mass movement of Black people/people of colour who collectively challenged the dominant narrative and confronted the Dutch with their colonial history and its

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41 See http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/10/31/why-it-s-time-to-end-black-face-finally.html.

current legacy. The Dutch have never been forced to engage in criti-
cal self-reflection about racism in their own country which is why
the self-image of 'innocence' has prevailed and a racist caricature is
still deemed 'innocent and playful', while it is seen as offensive, po-
litically, socially and morally wrong in other countries.[42] Although
they differ in context, similar blackface caricatures, rooted in the
same racist and colonial ideologies, are also still present in other
European countries such as Germany, where blackface is regularly
used in theatre shows, where a popular TV-show host invited an
entire audience to dress up in blackface and most recently German
soccer fans attended FIFA World Cup games in Brazil in blackface
(Golgowski, 2014). In Sweden, the Minister of Culture sparked
controversy by eating a 'blackface cake', and in France a group
of police officers stirred debate after organising a 'blackface party'
(Willsher, 2014).

Scratching Beyond the Surface, Hiding Behind the Blackface Mask

The national debate around Black Pete has polarised people for or
against maintaining the tradition; common ground seems hard to
find. Just as masks and blackened faces serve to hide people's true
faces to take on a mythical identity, the Black Pete seems to hide the
Dutch people's ambivalent relation with their colonial history, slav-
ery and its legacy. When we look beyond the surface of the Black
Pete debate, it exposes institutional racism and structural inequality
in Dutch society, rooted in 400 years of colonial cultural produc-
tion. From primary school to higher education, Black and minority
children are faced with structural obstacles such as low expectations
of teachers based on stereotypical images and prejudice, resulting
in lower rates of attendance in higher education. Black and minor-
ity people are faced with the same stereotypes and prejudice in the
labour market, fostering discrimination and resulting in an unem-
ployment rate of 28.4% among migrant youths, which is three times

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42   See   http://kmschultz.hubpages.com/hub/Why-is-blackface-racially--socially-and-
politically-incorrect.

higher compared with native Dutch youths, of which only 9.8% are unemployed. The European Commission against Racism and Tolerance, a human rights body of the Council of Europe, concluded that the Netherlands needs to better address its issues of racism in a report published in 2013.[43] Research by Amnesty International, published in 2013 as well, showed how Black and minority youth are more likely to be stopped and frisked by the police due to ethnic profiling. In daily life, Black and ethnic minority people have to constantly deal with micro aggressions: "the brief and everyday slights, insults, indignities and denigrating messages sent to people of color by well-intentioned White people who are unaware of the hidden messages being communicated" (Wing Sue, 2010).

In 2014 the New Urban Collective launched the campaign "I, Too, Am VU / UvA" at the VU University and University of Amsterdam, which aimed to foster institutional change and dialogue about issues of diversity, exclusion, institutional racism and micro aggressions both on the campus and in Dutch society. The photo campaign consists of examples (personal experiences) of micro aggressions which Black and other minority students have experienced on and off campus. The photo campaign of more than 50 students and graduates sparked a debate that went beyond the surface. The campaign included examples of students who were called the n-word, who were being excluded and 'Othered' through language and denigrating yet well intentioned questions such as "But, where are you really from?" and questioned because they criticised the national Black Pete tradition. My own example of a micro aggression reflected the Dutch problem with racism, the self-image of 'innocence' and Black Pete. After I questioned the caricature in a discussion with fellow Anthropology Master's students at the university, one of them responded:

In my opinion *Zwarte Piet* has always been the one who went through the chimney to provide good children with presents, so not in any way anything bad. The child's innocence is destroyed by emphasising the racism debate – something which is in my opinion not very wise to do because the concept of race has been rejected for a long time in the Dutch scholarly society, and unfortunately when applicable used in debates. I think that you know, as well as I, that race is not the right word here to use; if you want to talk about something the concept of discrimination would suffice better. (…)

Her friend, another fellow classmate got emotional and responded:

(...) And besides that, nobody is forcing you to celebrate it. It is a part of Dutch culture however, so you can accept that and shut up, or keep whining about it and move. (Discussion in Anthropology Facebook group on 5 December 2012)

Everyday Racism Behind Blackface

The protest against Black Pete is more than a protest against a 'racist caricature' and 'innocent children's holiday'. The protest essentially is a symbolic struggle against structural inequality, micro aggressions, racism and discrimination which have been normalised in daily routines, dominant discourse and traditions, but also structures such as the labour market and the education system. In her work on everyday racism in the Netherlands Philomena Essed (1991: 295) wrote:

Once we recognise the fact that racism is systematically integrated into meanings and routine practices by which social relations are reproduced, it follows that it is not specific agents but the very fabric of the social system that must be problematised. This requires that we reformulate the problem of racism as an everyday problem. The analysis of everyday racism makes clear that racism must be combated through culture as well as through other structural relations of the system. Racism not only operates through culture, it is also the

> expression of structural conflict. Individuals are actors in a power
> structure. Power can be used to reproduce racism, but it can also be
> used to combat racism.

When we think about Black Pete we therefore have to analyse
the social system and the structural relations in society behind the
blackened face. The protest against Black Pete is an expression of
structural conflict in which individuals and organisations use their
power to combat racism. The anti-black Pete protests in recent years
have sparked activism and protest amongst ordinary people, stu-
dents, young professionals, mothers, fathers, sons and daughters
who have become fed up with daily micro aggressions and every-
day racism. In 2013 hundreds of people, especially Black people
and people of African descent, were united in a common goal: to get
rid of Black Pete, a symbol of everyday racism. Although the pro-
tests were initiated by individuals such as Quinsy Gario, Kno'ledge
Cesare, Kunta Rincho, Miss Kitty and Anousha Nzume, in addition
to relatively small networks and anti-racist organisations, their im-
pact has been significant. In 2013 we observed how the Black Pete
debate exposed latent racism and xenophobia in Dutch society and
the dominant discourse changed.

Unfinished Emancipation and Decolonisation of Minds

Equally important, the anti-Black Pete actions seem to have started
a movement and continued the process of emancipation of Black
people in the Netherlands. As Nimako and Willemsen (2011) stat-
ed in the seminal book *The Dutch Atlantic: Slavery, Abolition and
Emancipation*, the legal abolition of slavery on 1 July 1863 was
"piecemeal and incremental" and maintained "long-entrenched ra-
cialised and gendered systems of inequality and political power".
Indeed, "emancipation was unfinished". Today the legacy of slav-
ery still exists as the African diaspora and people of colour continue
to face issues of identity and culture, institutional racism and struc-
tural inequality in education, the labour market, ethnic profiling and
other forms of racism.

As argued before, the *Sinterklaas* tradition is considered an essential aspect of Dutch identity and culture based on a national identity that values Whiteness, overt or covert feelings of superiority, 'innocence' and 'being good'. People, especially Black and ethnic minority people, protesting against the national tradition are seen as 'Others' who "want to take away our Dutch tradition" and "need to go back to where they came from". The Black Pete debate seems to reflect issues of citizenship and identity for people from the African diaspora as well. While the debate sparks intense reactions and the xenophobic 'Othering' of Black Dutch people, it is a way of claiming citizenship by actively participating in Dutch society in hopes of true equality and emancipation. As Steve Biko stated: "the most potent weapon of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed" (Mungazi, 1996). Besides physical, economic and political domination, an essential aspect of slavery was the mental colonisation of African-descended people. In *Decolonising the mind: The Case of the Netherlands*, decolonial scholar Sandew Hira described how mechanisms of colonising and decolonising the mind work. These mechanisms include "the concept of inferiority of the non-western culture and the superiority of western culture linked to colour" and "the concept of self-humiliation of the coloured people and self-glorification of the white people". According to Hira (2007), the *Sinterklaas* celebration is an example of the conceptual inferiority of non-Western culture and the superiority of Western culture linked to colour, which is more specifically reflected in one of the *Sinterklaas* children's songs with lyrics like: "even though I am black as coal, my intentions are good" (Hira, 2007: 63). He states: "decolonising the mind means analyzing the mechanisms that have been used to imprint this concept in our mind and finding ways to remove it from our consciousness" (Hira, 2007: 63). The fight against Black Pete reflects the process of emancipation through decolonisation of the mind. By asserting their agency, challenging dominant discourse/ institutions and demanding change, Black people continue the process of emancipation and decolonisation. As political leader, entrepreneur and major proponent of Pan Africanism Marcus Garvey wrote:

> We are going to emancipate ourselves from mental slavery because
> whilst others might free the body, none but ourselves can free the
> mind. Mind is your only ruler, sovereign. The man who is not able to
> develop and use his mind is bound to be the slave of the other man
> who uses his mind; use your intelligence to work out the real things
> of life. The time you waste in levity, in non-essentials, if you use it
> properly you will be able to guarantee to your posterity a condition
> better than you inherited from your forefathers.

Black community organisations, cultural and activist groups have
been active in remembering the history of slavery and its legacy
through local events, festivals, official commemorations culmi-
nating in the realisation of the National Slavery Monument in the
Oosterpark in Amsterdam, the Keti Koti festival and other forms
of self-organisation and commemoration. These activities were
spearheaded by a relatively small group of activists and community
leaders. The Black Pete debate, however, seems to have sparked
the mobilisation of a large number of people (young, old, Black,
White and of colour) to protest against this symbol of everyday rac-
ism. As Malcolm X stated: "usually when people are sad, they don't
do anything. They just cry over their condition. But when they get
angry, they bring about a change" (Malcolm X, 1965). For a long
time, the majority of Black people and people of colour did not
actively voice their concerns out of fear, hopelessness and compla-
cency but this seems to have changed. After the violent arrests of
Quinsy and Kno'ledge and the legal action of 2013, more and more
people (Black, of colour and White Dutch) are engaged in forms
of protests via social media, demonstrations, writing articles and
debating at home, at work and on the streets. International media
such as BBC, Al Jazeera and The Huffington Post and institutions
such as the United Nations have paid attention to the case, scruti-
nising the international reputation of the Netherlands as a 'tolerant'
and 'progressive' country. The anti-Black Pete movement gained
momentum and changed the dominant discourse. According to the
post-colonial theory of Gilroy, White people need to go through a

process to recognise and deal with their own racism. It starts with denial and continues with phases of guilt, shame, recognition and finally reparation. The typical responses around Black Pete start with denial through to aggression and dismissal. Increasingly, however, reflections of guilt, shame and recognition can be observed. Whereas issues of racism, discrimination and especially protest against Black Pete were a taboo, minor changes are becoming visible as an increasing number of people are challenging the dominant discourse. More and more 'ordinary people' (concerned mothers, fathers, children, White people, famous Dutch people and a few politicians) are speaking out against Black Pete. Authorities have showed willingness to change the tradition but they are confronted with resistance from the Dutch majority. In an attempt to foster national dialogue and appease critics, the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage presented what they viewed as an "alternative inoffensive Black Pete". The 'inoffensive' Black Pete, however, caused more controversy as it provided little change and still included blackface (Jabbar, 2014).

The Clash of Tradition and Fundamental Rights

In July 2014, the court of Amsterdam ruled that Black Pete, indeed, is a negative stereotype of Black people and led to an intrusion of the private lives of the plaintiffs, based on statistical information, a statement from the Dutch Institute of Human Rights and the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The court ordered the municipality to re-examine its decision to grant a permit to the Saint Nicholas festivities but the Mayor of Amsterdam van der Laan and an organisation of Black Pete performers decided to lodge an appeal against the ruling.

On 12 November 2014, the Council of State, the highest administrative court in the Netherlands, overturned the lower court's decision stating that the mayor is not authorised to judge the content of festivities in the process of granting a permit. According to the Council, the mayor is only obliged to judge whether public order and safety are

at stake, not if stigmatisation, unequal treatment and discrimination may occur. The ruling of the Council of State was disappointing as it reflected the bias of the Council to rule in favour of the Dutch State and fuelled more activism among the anti-Black Pete protestors.

On 15 November 2014, more than 80 people protesting against the controversial Dutch blackface tradition were arrested at the national Saint Nicolas Parade. The mayor of Gouda, Milo Shoemaker, had forbidden opponents to express their opinion on the market square of Gouda where the festivities would take place. Instead, he assigned a space for them to demonstrate outside the city centre, far from the festivities. The protesters ignored the mayor's decision, demanding their fundamental right to freedom of expression, and organised a non-violent and silent protest. They went to the parade and stood in a human chain wearing t-shirts, sweat-shirts and a banner stating *Zwarte Piet Niet* [No to Black Pete] and *Zwarte Is Racisme*. It was a peaceful protest until a group of extreme right youth started to pull one of the banners away. The scuffle lasted a minute and the police took them away. After a short while the police closed the demonstrators in and arrested all of them.

The Ombudsman recently ruled that the police acted unlawfully and infringed fundamental human rights, including freedom of speech, when Kno'ledge and Quinsy were violently arrested during the Saint Nicholas festivities of 2011. This weekend Kno'ledge was arrested again and this time more than 80 people joined him. They were released after a few hours of imprisonment and announced that they would continue to demonstrate until Black Pete becomes history. The 2014 protests highlight the fact that Dutch institutions continue to struggle with the legacy of the country's colonial past by maintaining the controversial tradition and disregarding the hurt caused to millions of Dutch citizens and residents of African descent. Tradition and fundamental rights will continue to clash as long as politicians and institutions do not take leadership to face the Dutch society's problem with racism and discrimination.

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The Impact of the European Union's Racial Equality Directive on Anti-discrimination Policy and Black People in France
By Dr Terri E. Givens

1. Introduction: Immigration and Race in France

France has a long history of immigration, both from its colonies and other parts of Europe. Communities of different ethnic backgrounds began to grow in France, particularly after World War II when France imported labour in order to maintain its post-war economic growth. France's presence in Sub-Saharan Africa, and the fact that French was the dominant language in most of the former colonies, made it relatively easy for the French to accept these migrants as assimilable. However, the resentment towards Algerians, due to the war of independence, has led to a greater degree of discrimination, and the more recent Islamophobia has made many feel that North Africans are more difficult to assimilate than Sub-Saharan Africans. In either case, paternalistic attitudes persist, despite the French claim of 'colour-blindness'.

Erik Bleich has examined the issue of race in France in detail in his 2003 book, *Race Politics in Britain and France*. Bleich notes that in recent decades, European countries have been forced to confront racism, largely due to the influx of millions of 'non-White' immigrants since World War II. Bleich argues that the main reason for differences in race policy development in France and Britain is in the way that race is framed in each country. Bleich's historical analysis indicates that in Britain, the frame for race policy is based on a multicultural approach that emphasises racism based on colour and identifies with problems of racism in North America. In France, the frame is based on the country's experiences with anti-Semitism and rejects any comparison with North American issues.

The French case is illustrative of some of the issues arising from the experience of genocide in World War II. French social scientists Valérie Amiraux and Patrick Simon (2006: 191) note that studies of racism in France "remained marginalised in the academic 'field' until the early 1990s". Studying race, immigration and immigrants is considered illegitimate unless the researchers remain in the realm of ideas. The collection of statistics on race, never practiced by post-war French governments, has been seen as harkening back to the Vichy era, and new attempts to begin collecting this data have led to open battles in the French media between those like Simon who argue for this collection, particularly in the context of anti-discrimination policy, and those who feel that mentioning race in order to fight racism only reaffirms it. As Amiraux and Simon note, "while choosing not to use ethnic and racial categories in statistics, the French scientific community prevents the accumulation of discrimination data and contributes to euphemising the social impacts of racism" (Amiraux and Simon, 2006: 204).

As described in an article by Gado Alzouma, the debate in France also revolves around the issue of French Republicanism. This is the idea that all are equal and that those who would define themselves by race are divisive. He states that "This has created a double bind for Blacks and other French minority groups, who are faced with two choices: they can either lay claim to their 'racial' identity and risk being accused of 'communautarisme', which is tantamount to 'Black racism' or being 'anti-White'; or they can go along with the prevailing inertia and continue to be subjected to discrimination on a daily basis" (Alzouma, 2011: 3). This has made organising around race very difficult in France, and since France does not keep statistics on race, it has been difficult for people of African descent to document discrimination. However, more recently groups have found ways to organise around the issue of discrimination.

In this chapter, I begin by looking at France's colonial history and the countries which were the main source of immigration to France.

In section three, I examine the development of anti-discrimination policy in France up through the late 1990s. I then examine France's transposition of the EU Racial Equality Directive into national law and implementation, focusing on the development of France's equality body. I briefly discuss the development of Black organisations in France, which coincided with a new focus on racial discrimination through France's equality body. I conclude with some thoughts on how race may influence policy and politics in France going forward.

2. Colonialism and Immigration

Following the late 18th century expulsion of France from North America by the British and the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, France was left with nothing but a few Caribbean and Indian Ocean islands in the early 19th century. The expansion began anew in the 1830s with the invasion of Algeria, a move motivated as much by domestic politics as by pretensions of an Empire under Charles X and followed by Louis-Philippe (1830-1848), the 'citizen king', who moved into Egypt and the Pacific. However, it was not until Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte (1848-1870) that France expanded its colonial empire. Under Napoleon III France expanded into West Africa (1850s), Indochina (Southern Vietnam, 'Cochinchina' in 1867 and Cambodia in 1863) and even Mexico, an attempt to take advantage of the American Civil War and establish a French Empire in North America (Quinn, 2000: 107-110). North African territory was expanded with a protectorate over Tunisia in 1881 and further expansion during the European 'Scramble for Africa' into present day Benin, Chad, Central African Republic, Cote d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Republic of Congo and Senegal. Other notable gains were made after the end of World War I with League of Nations' mandates in Syria, Lebanon, Togo and Cameroon.

The strong sense of a 'civilising mission' meant that the French were open to awarding citizenship to colonial subjects who embraced the French culture, especially language and religion. This

was particularly the case in Algeria, which was considered more than just a colony, as French territory. However, the French were also continually embroiled in a repressive action against indigenous insurrection in Algeria and furthermore had to place the interests of the colonists (who in 1872 numbered 250,000 out of the total population of 2,416,000) above those of native Algerians (Quinn, 2000: 121-123).

The French Empire ultimately collapsed, as nationalist movements that bubbled up during World War II became violent wars of independence after the end of this war. After disengaging itself from Vietnam, France immediately became embroiled in what was part independence war part civil war in Algeria. The Algerian War of Independence almost led to a Civil War in France itself since Algeria was considered by many (and also legally) as an integral part of France. The situation was further complicated by the presence of 1,200,000 French colonists in Algeria in 1958 (Quinn, 2000: 248-254).

France's colonial history has had a major impact on immigration flows. Since the end of labour recruitment in the early 1970s, migration has continued into France, particularly from former colonies in North and Sub-Saharan Africa. In 2004, over 140,000 foreigners entered France, with an inflow of 2.3 per 1,000 inhabitants. The overwhelming majority of these migrants came pursuant to family reunifications, 64.3% in 2004, compared with only 11.9% who arrived as labour migrants and 6.5% who arrived on humanitarian grounds. Migrants as a group are surprisingly homogenous. In 2004, over 40% of all migrants to France came from Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (with 57,000 migrants coming in 2004 out of a total of 134,000). The only other nation that sent over 5% of total migrants in France was Turkey (with 9,000). An important distinction of the French migrant population in comparison with other European countries is the high percentage of unemployed foreign-born 15-24 year olds. In France, the unemployment figure of the foreign-born

population in this age group stands at 35%, compared with less than 20% for the native born.

A change in focus occurred with the adoption on 25 July 2006 of a new immigration law [*Loi relative à l'immigration et à l'intégration*]. The law moved France towards a more selective immigration system that "1) emphasises employment-driven immigration at the expense of the 113,000 immigrants who arrive in France annually for family-related reasons and 2) that carries out a robust campaign against illegal migration" (Murphy, 2006). This law is very similar to the one that Britain passed under New Labour, where the focus is on importing highly skilled labour. The law also created strict limits on family reunification and a new 'welcome and integration contract' [*Contrat d'accueil et d'intégration*] (Engler, 2007). The new law allows the government to deport migrants who have had their stay in France refused, or those foreigners who are deemed to be 'delinquent'.

The law was very controversial and took over 300 amendments in both the National Assembly and the Senate before the bill finally passed. Nicolas Sarkozy, Minister of Interior at the time of the bill's passing, said of the new law that "selective immigration… is the expression of France's sovereignty. It is the right of our country, like all the great democracies of the world, to choose which foreigners it allows to reside on our territory" (Murphy, 2006). The concern of the legislature was that family reunification had overtaken labour migration after the early 1970s oil shocks forced France to cut down on labour migration. Family reunification accounts for nearly 65% of immigration to France.

3. Anti-discrimination in France[44]

French constitutional law expresses a firm commitment to equality. Article 1 of the French Constitution of 4 October 1958 provides that "France ensures the equality before the law of all citizens, without

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44   The next two sections are drawn from Givens and Evans Case, 2014.

distinction of origin, race or religion". In addition, the Preamble provides that "… the people of France proclaim anew that each human being, without distinction of race, religion or belief, possesses sacred inalienable rights", and it reaffirms the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration of Rights of 1789.[45]

In stark contrast to Britain, France has historically rejected the very concept of 'race'. Thus, France rejected the idea of recognising and classifying individuals in terms of race and ethnicity, preferring instead the concept of a French people comprised of French citizens. This view is reflected in its constitutional law. Article 1 of the 1958 Constitution, which provides for "equality before the law of all citizens without distinction of origin, race, or religion", has been interpreted to prohibit the drawing of distinctions. As a result, the French state does not collect data on racial or ethnic groups (Radcliffe, 2001). In fact, a 1978 law on data storage prohibited the maintenance of data on racial and ethnic origins without the individual's express consent or formal permission by a national commission (Geddes and Guiraudon, 2004: 339).[46] This view shaped French policy in important ways.

When it comes to dealing with acts of discrimination, France relies upon a criminal law approach. It has had anti-racist legislation on its books since 1972, when it enacted a law that criminalised racial discrimination and hate speech. It underwent further developments and reform as noted in table 1. This early law recognised an enforcement role for civil organisations. It promoted the role of *parties civiles* [civil parties] in the fight against racism.

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45   This language appears in the Preamble of the Constitution of 27 October 1946, which also serves as the Preamble for the Constitution of 1958. Based upon these provisions, the Constitutional Council has issued a number of decisions against state actions that discriminate against individuals, particularly on grounds of nationality (see Recht, 2002: 11-12).
46   Article 226-19 of the Penal Code.

Table 1: Anti-discrimination Legislation in France, 1972-1994

Law 72-546 – 1 July 1972 – racial discrimination made illegal. The Law introduces Article 416 into the Penal Code, penalising certain conduct, such as refusal or conditional offer of goods, services, employment (and dismissal).
Law 75-625 – 11 July 1975 – combating discrimination no longer restricted to race, adding sex and family situation.
Law 77-574 – 7 June 1977 – supplements the list from 1972, adding interference in the exercise of economic activity on the basis of race.
Law 85-772 of 25 July 1985 – makes discrimination based on customs illegal.
Law 89-18 of 13 January 1989 and Law 90-602 of 12 July 1990 add disability and state of health to the list of grounds of discrimination.
Law of 22 July 1992 (coming into force on 1 March 1994) reforms the Penal Code and simplifies the definition of offences. It also adds discrimination on the grounds of political opinion and union activity to the list of punishable discriminations. It increases the established penalties.
New Penal Code of 1994 establishes Articles 225-1 and 225-2. 225-1 establishes a definition of discrimination and 225-2 specifies cases in which it is punishable and what penalties are to be imposed. Also, Article 432-7 prohibits discrimination by representatives of public authorities.

According to Bell (1998: 31), during the 1980s, between 80 and 90 discrimination cases were pursued annually, rising to 101 in 1991, but the number of employment cases number between three and four annually. These numbers contrast with the British case,

where in 1996, 90% of the cases taken to court were employment related. Convictions were very rare in the French case (Costa-Lascoux, 1994). Between 1975 and 1984, approximately 160 cases were reported to the Justice Ministry, and from 1984 to 1988, the annual number of convictions for race-related offense fluctuated between 95 and 66 (Costa-Lascoux, 1994). Lieberman found that annual convictions between 1993 and 1997 ranged between 61 and 95, and 90% of those convictions involved racist expression rather than racial discrimination (Lieberman, 2005: 155). Indeed, during those years, only seven of 380 convictions were for employment discrimination.

As stated above, since the end of World War II, France has rejected the collection of data on racial or ethnic groups, often a requirement for determining the extent of discrimination, particularly in employment. However, in February 1990, two published decrees authorised the *Services de Renseignments* to collect and archive 'racial origins'. This development inspired the creation of an association whose goal was to keep the word 'race' out of the constitution. Debates ranged from Senators, historians, philosophers, sociologists and geneticists who were concerned that these decrees presented a risk of judicial consecration and legitimisation of the notion of race (Calves, 2002).

While it has taken many shapes, Calves notes that ten years later the same question was still being asked. She argues that public policy does not aim to combat racism, but discrimination. Also, the discussion is not one of 'race' but of 'ethnicity'. There appear to be two reasons. The first concerns the integration of immigrants – to avoid the continued distinction (interpreted as a negative) for second and third generation immigrants. This would create the categories of French-by-attribution and the French-by-acquisition. Questions along these lines were raised in the 1986 Code of nationality, and gave rise to the 1990 *Haut Conseil* à *l'Intégration* [High Council on Integration] (which quickly took a statistical focus). In that

same year the *Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l'Homme* [National Consultative Commission on Human Rights] released a report that was later published by the French National Institute for Demographic Studies (INED) (1992). The distinction between 'foreigner' and 'French' were abandoned in the interest of 'science' (and evidently politics). New administrations were created, and the missions of others revised, to 'promote integration' and 'combat racism'. Examples include: *Agence pour le développement des relations interculturelles* (ADRI, created in November 1998); *Groupe d'étude et de lutte contre les discriminations* (GELD, created in April 1999); and the FAS, which became the *Fonds d'action et de soutien pour l'intégration et la lutte contre les discriminations* in February 2002.[47] What most of these had in common was their focus on observing, or 'ethnic monitoring'. This focus, combined with the French taboo on recognising race, caused a shift in focus from antiracism to an emphasis on the notions of 'rights' and politics. This was a setback in the struggle against racism and necessitated the use of a new hypocritical code: ghetto youth, immigrant French, Black, etc., to describe a growing reality of discrimination.[48]

In terms of enforcing French laws against racism, French law permits unions and associations to act as civil claimants.[49] With regard to the latter, they must have been legally established for five years at the time of the incident.[50] France lacked a body that was expressly charged with receiving complaints of discrimination and pressing for prosecutions, but the Commission on Access to Citizenship was expressly authorised to inform legal authorities about incidents of discrimination for investigation or prosecution.

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47   Translations: Agency for the development of intercultural relations; Group for the study of and fight against discrimination; Fund for action and support of integration and the fight against discrimination.
48   Paraphrasing Calves, 2002.
49   Articles L 411-11 and R 516-5 of the Labor Code and 142-20 of the Social Security Code.
50   Articles 2-1 to 2-14 of the Code of Criminal Procedure; Article 48 of the Law of 29 July 1881.

The Criminal Code (Art. 225-1) defines discrimination in a general way, "Any discrimination defined as the refusal to provide goods or services, refusal to employ an individual, unfair sanctions or dismissal, or hindering normal economic activity on the grounds of somebody's 'race', religion or origins constitutes a criminal offense" (Schnapper et al, 2003: 27). Although it does not contain definitions of direct and indirect discrimination, as the EU Racial Equality Directive requires, its language is sufficiently broad to encompass both types of discrimination through judicial interpretation. The New Penal Code, which entered into force in 1994, makes it illegal for public authorities to discriminate (Art. 432-7). However, as Sophie Recht (2002: 13) observes, examples of prosecutions beyond labour and press law are rare.

In their article on racial discrimination,[51] Dhume and Noel argue that minority youth have become stigmatised, and while they generally experience a strong cultural integration, they experience weak social and professional integration. On 21 October 1998, the Minister of Employment and Solidarity recommended the creation of a committee against discrimination in order to address these types of issues. The decision was influenced by the recommendations of the *Commission Nationale Consultative des Droits de l'Homme*. The work of this commission and others suggests that racial discrimination is widespread, but its political, cultural and economic and financial effects are little explored. This is largely because of the informality of prejudicial practices, which often occur in passing conversation (Dhume and Noel, 1999).

In 1999, the GELD (*Groupe d'étude et de lutte contre les discriminations*) set out to analyse discrimination (real or imagined), to explain the mechanisms at work and to identify methods to combat it. Similarly, Calves finds that there was a legislative turn-around between 1997 and 2000. For example, a 2000 directive sought to identify 'apparently neutral' categories, when a person might be

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51   Translations from the French by Givens.

susceptible to disadvantage because of race or ethnicity relative to others. However, this still left room for decisions to be made based on stereotype or prejudice (Calves, 2002).

Rather than try to define discrimination through categories, another approach was taken, allowing people to report discrimination. In May 2000, the phone-in hotline '114' was established, which is a free, universal hotline on which to report discrimination based on origin. Also, from July 1998 to May 2000 a series of communiqués requested the vigilance of public servants and the employees of local and national governments in the fight against discrimination based on sex or race. Finally, a 2 May 2000 directive was put forward, set to cultivate role models for youth of colour who portrayed academic, athletic, professional and social success (Calves, 2002).

In October 1999, the former Gaullist Prime Minister Alain Juppé declared in a *Le Monde* interview that, given that in some areas, 50% of immigrant youth was unemployed and felt discriminated in the job market, an anti-discrimination policy would show them that they had the same rights and preserve "national cohesion". In his view, given that "the economic context was more favourable", this policy could generate support. The RPR leader had realised that as populations of migrant origin became more diversified socially, they were likely to be more politically diverse as well and not only left-leaning as when they were comprised of factory workers (Geddes and Giraudon, 2002: 26). Juppé's position indicated that it was not only Left leaders who would consider a change in anti-discrimination policy, and also indicates the potential for electoral competition over the issue.

4. France and Implementation of the EU Racial Equality Directive

With the passage of the EU's Racial Equality Directive (RED) in 2000, France was required to pass new legislation to implement this new law (Givens and Evans Case, 2014). France transposed the

RED in two main steps. The Jospin government transposed most of the Directive's key elements into French law through two measures, the Law no. 1006-2001 of 16 November 2001 and the law of social modernisation no. 2002-73 of 17 January 2002. The creation of a national equality body remained the only major element of the RED that had been left unfulfilled at the end of the Jospin government. The conservative government of Jacques Chirac completed the transposition process with the Law no. 2004-1486 of 30 December 2004 that created a national equality body, the High Authority against Discrimination and for Equality (HALDE).

With regard to enforcement, these laws reshaped enforcement mechanisms in several important ways. They give trade unions a right to pursue anti-discrimination claims in the courts on behalf of employees who claim to have suffered racial discrimination. Unions may do so without the alleged victim's written consent as long as they have provided the individual with written notification of their intention and they have not received a notice of opposition from the individual within a 15-day period. The law also authorises NGOs that have been working in the anti-discrimination area for at least five years to act in court on behalf of alleged victims of racial discrimination as long as they obtain the individual's written consent.

The creation of an independent equality body proved more difficult, but political developments in 2002 created a more favourable environment for this reform. Creation of an independent body authorised to investigate complaints of racial discrimination in employment had been recommended in an April 1999 report by the High Council on Integration.[52] By the late 1990s, elements of the French Right were beginning to appreciate the political mileage that may lie in anti-discrimination policy. For example, Alain Juppé, leader of the conservative Rally for the Republic (RPR) acknowledged the problem of discrimination and realised the potential value of attracting immigrant voters (Geddes and

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52 'Combating Discrimination' ('*Lutter contre les discriminations*').

Giraudon, 2002; 2004). The *Front National*'s Jean-Marie Le Pen received the second-highest proportion of the vote (16.86%) in the first round of the 2002 presidential election. Le Pen founded the *Front National* in the 1970s, and is considered a radical right, anti-immigrant party (Givens 2005). Although Le Pen lost decisively to Jacques Chirac (*Union pour un Mouvement Populaire*, UMP) in the run-off election that followed two weeks later, his electoral performance nevertheless generated national embarrassment and made it imperative for the subsequent conservative government to distance itself from the racist radical right through further action on anti-discrimination policy. As a result, President Chirac quickly promised that his government would establish a national equality body in order to combat the rise of racist and anti-Semitic behaviour in France.

With Act No. 2004-1486, France established the HALDE on 30 December 2004. This law gave HALDE the authority to investigate all forms of discrimination that are prohibited by law or are contrary to an international convention ratified by France. Individuals as well as NGOs and national and European members of parliament may file written claims with HALDE. In the course of its investigations, HALDE can request explanations from any private or public body and order the submission of documents. Individuals who fail to comply with HALDE's requests can be compelled to comply by court order.

The Chirac government expanded HALDE's powers in 2006 as part of its reaction to urban rioting. In October 2005, two French youths of Malian and Tunisian descent were electrocuted as they fled police in the Parisian suburb of Clichy-sous-Bois. Nearly three weeks of rioting followed throughout the Paris region and several major French cities. By 8 November 2005, the government announced an action plan to deal with the economic situation in the suburbs. At a press conference on 1 December 2005, the Prime Minister declared equal opportunities to be a "major national cause for 2006".

In addition, President Chirac admitted that France suffered from the "poison of discrimination", and Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy deplored 30 years of failed French policies that had left the children of immigrants without hope (Button, 2005: 13).

On 11 January 2006, the government presented to the National Assembly an Equal Opportunities Bill that was ultimately enacted three months later.[53] This legislation was prepared by Azouz Begag, Minister with responsibility for the Promotion of Equal Opportunities, and Jean-Louis Borloo, Minister for Employment, Social Cohesion and Housing (French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006: 3). It contains important provisions that strengthened enforcement capacity. It provides a legal basis for 'situation testing' under French criminal law. This would allow organisations to use a tactic to gather evidence of discrimination that has been long used in the US and Britain. Essentially, individuals of different races are sent to apply for a job or housing, etc., in order to determine whether discrimination is occurring. In addition, the Equal Opportunities Act authorised HALDE to conduct situation testing. In conjunction with this legislation, the Ministry of Justice issued a ministerial instruction to public prosecutors and the president of each court of appeal that provided guidelines for the new law's enforcement, particularly concerning the rules of evidence (Rorive, 2009: 64-65).[54] Finally, the Equal Opportunities Act also strengthened HALDE's powers by giving it authority to make settlement agreements that – upon approval by the Public Prosecutor – may result in fines (French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2006).

In the French case, the ongoing influence of the radical right and domestic unrest influenced the quick passage of legislation that implemented most of the RED's main terms and continued to influence the strengthening of this legislation. In addition, French NGOs developed closer ties with the transnational advocacy

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53   Equal Opportunities Act no. 2006-396 of 31 March 2006, art. 45, *JORF*, 2 April 2006.
54   CRIM 2006-16 E8/26-06-2006, *Bulletin officiel du Ministère de la Justice*, no. 102 (1 April to 30 June 2006).

network. Two organisations served as national contacts for France, 'National Focal Points', within the network of the EU Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC – predecessor of the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency): the *Centre d'études des discriminations, du racisme et de l'antisémitisme* [Centre for studies on discrimination, racism and anti-Semitism, CEDRA] and the *Agence pour le développement des relations interculturelles* [Agency for the development of intercultural relations, ADRI]. In this capacity, they wrote a series of reports on employment discrimination among minorities and migrants in France, discrimination in education and housing, and a report on France's implementing legislation.[55]

Since the creation of the HALDE, litigation has increased, as shown in a study by Hermanin (2012:13) in which she states that "it is legitimate to affirm that the evolution of race anti-discrimination legislation has been crucially facilitated by the presence of an autonomous and comparatively powerful equality body endowed with competences to litigate". Unfortunately the HALDE's success may be short-lived. After criticism came from the Sarkozy government, support for the HALDE was undermined through several politically motivated moves, including replacing the director, Louis Schweitzer with an ally of Sarkozy, Jeannette Bougrab. Finally, the French Assembly passed a law in 2011 that folded the HALDE into a larger human rights entity, the *Défenseur des Droits*. Both staff from the HALDE and academic commentators expected this change to reduce the visibility, effectiveness and power of the HALDE, particularly in the area of racial discrimination.

5. Black Organisations in France

The HALDE not only had an impact on the legal sector, but also on public opinion. As the issue of racial discrimination began to gain

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55   *Migrants, Minorities and Employment in France: Exclusion, Discrimination and Anti-Discrimination*. 2003. RAXEN 3 Report to the EUMC; Franchi, Vijé. 2004. *Analytical Report on Education*. EUMC; Ebermeyer, Sophie. 2003. *Analytical Report on Housing*. EUMC; Ebermeyer, Sophie. 2004. *Analytical Report on Legislation*. EUMC.

traction, several groups began to take advantage of the increased visibility. One of the consequences of the development of anti-discrimination policy in France has been the creation of new organisations that bring together French of African descent (and others) that are focused on issues of discrimination.

One of the high-profile organisations to bring together French persons of African descent is the CRAN – as translated from its website "The CRAN (Council of Black Associations of France) was founded on 26 November 2005. It includes 120 associations and federations of associations, with the objective to fight discrimination as well as the memory of slavery and colonisation".[56] As noted by Geisser and Soum (2012), the 150th anniversary of the abolition of slavery was also a catalyst for mobilisation.

The CRAN was central in the debates around the collection of ethnic statistics, and in 2007 moved forward with a survey "to evaluate the social and demographic size/influence of France's Blacks" (Alzouma, 2011: 7) which was unprecedented in French history. The survey indicated that 77% of respondents had experienced racism and 52% did not believe that the government would fight discrimination. These findings were reported in all the major media outlets in France, referring to the respondents as '*les Noirs de France'* ['France's Black people'] and Alzouma notes that "the main result of the survey was to render France's Blacks 'visible' for the first time" (Alzouma, 2011: 7).

This visibility was enhanced in 2007 with the creation of the organisation *Les indivisibles*.[57] With its Y'a Bon awards (a reference to a racist caricature), the organisation has found ways to use humour to identify high-profile French commentators who use racist language. The organisation was founded in 2007 by Rokhaya Diallo and others who were concerned about racist discourses, particularly in the

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56   http://lecran.org/?cat=234, accessed 31 May 2012.
57   http://lesindivisibles.fr/.

media. Since 2008 the group has had an annual 'award' ceremony which chooses the most egregious racist comment from the past year.

There are many other organisations which have raised the visibility of issues around race and discrimination in France, like the *Alliance Noire Citoyenne* (ANC)/*Brigades Anti-Négrophobie*, *Association des Travailleurs Maghrébins de France* (ATMF) and *Collectif des Musulmans de France* (CMF). These organisations have been able to build on the visibility given to issues of discrimination by the HALDE and the survey done by the CRAN. Despite the loss of the HALDE, it is clear that civil society will continue to focus on the issue of racial discrimination due to these efforts.

6. Conclusion

Immigration and race became hot topics again during the 2012 French presidential election. The success of the new leader of the *Front National*, Marine Le Pen, in the first round led incumbent Nicolas Sarkozy to take a hard line on the issue of immigration. However, it was also notable that the eventual winner, Francois Hollande, went out of his way to court ethnic minority voters. One video showed Hollande campaigning in the suburbs, to the surprise of many inhabitants. One Black woman was shocked to see Hollande and his staff riding on the metro in a *quartier noir* [Black neighbourhood].[58] The video also was clearly encouraging people living in the suburbs to vote. Although France has a long way to go on issues of race and discrimination, clear steps are being made to increase awareness and increase activism. After the election, Francois Hollande made history with his 'diversity cabinet' which had equal numbers of men and women as well as ethnic diversity.[59]

It will also be important for more Black people to become directly engaged in politics. France has a poor record on this front, with few

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58   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZRkv7yxt-NA, accessed 6 June 2012.
59   http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/may/16/francois-hollande-cabinet, accessed 22 May 2014.

ethnic minorities being elected to the National Assembly (Givens and Maxwell, 2012). As the message of anti-discrimination gains more visibility, it would be hoped that politicians would respond by providing more opportunities for ethnic minorities in France. It is important not only to engage Black people as voters, but also to engage the young, in particular, as future political leaders. The US consulate in France has been active in cultivating young minorities in France, particularly those from Muslim backgrounds.[60]

As France's ethnic minority population grows (which it will, according to demographic projections), there will not only be a need to deal with issues of discrimination, but also community and political engagement. Governmental organisations will need to pay attention to these issues, and develop strategies for incorporation. The private sector will also have an important part to play, and entrepreneurship is already becoming an important area where ethnic minorities are developing leadership skills. Progress will be made as more 'Black French' like Rokhaya Diallo[61] and others become part of the discourses that define their place in France.

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60   http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Europe/2011/0217/In-France-US-advocacy-for-Muslim-rights-raises-more-than-a-few-hackles, accessed 6 June 2012.
61   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jxB0DzqEosI, accessed 6 June 2012.

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The Hidden Face of Discrimination in the Global Labour Market: The Case of Zimbabwean Highly Skilled Migrants in the United Kingdom

By Dr Roda Madziva, Dr Simon McGrath and Dr Juliet Thondhlana

Introduction

Although labour migration is an increasingly important topic for both policy and research internationally, relatively little attention has been paid to the historical contexts of certain labour mobilities and movements particularly those from commonwealth countries to the United Kingdom (UK) or former colonies. Instead, labour migration movements have increasingly been debated within the framework of globalisation and focused on how governments of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are wrestling with tensions between their desire to use skilled migration to be on the winning side in the 'global war for talent' and attempts to outflank rising xenophobia.

This paper is based on a preliminary study of Zimbabwean highly skilled migrants in the UK which explores the employability challenges that they face in the British labour market. Drawing from interviews with 20 participants, from a wide variety of academic and professional backgrounds (e.g. engineering, IT, education), we highlight the consequent obstacles they face, despite their high levels of human and linguistic capital in the UK context; competences that are historically produced and narrativised in the backdrop of colonialism. We explore how their experiences and struggles are produced in a notion of broken post-colonial relationships and responsibilities. In this case we consider the consequent direct and indirect discrimination they encounter which manifests itself in, for example, discriminatory immigration rules and procedures, employer bias, and non-recognition of qualifications and skills.

Zimbabwean Migration: The Context

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in southern Africa, which shares its borders with Botswana on the west, Zambia on the north, Mozambique on the east, and South Africa on the south. Formerly Rhodesia, Zimbabwe was a British colony, which attained its independence in 1980 after almost a century of repressive and racial rule. Particularly since 2000, there has been a mass exodus of the Zimbabwean population, which has generated complex debates and mixed feelings in relation to both the causes and effects of such unprecedented magnitudes of emigration. In particular, the migration of Zimbabweans to the UK has not only renewed debates around issues of broken post-colonial relationships and responsibilities, as demonstrated by the strained relationships between the two countries, but has also generated new questions with regards to the legacy of colonialism in the context of both the treatment of citizens in post-colonial Zimbabwe and the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in the former colonial 'mother country' (Ranger, 2005). In post-colonial Zimbabwe, the controversial land seizures and forcible land occupation in the early 2000s have seen a decline in the rule of law and saw many people, including White farmers, maimed and murdered. This attracted widespread condemnation of the Mugabe government by the international community, particularly Britain, and saw Zimbabwe earn itself a reputation as a pariah state. The resultant economic and political crises led to a mass exodus of Zimbabwean citizens of diverse ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds to regional and international destinations, with South Africa and the UK attracting the largest numbers (Makina, 2007). In particular, the move to Britain in search of protection and new livelihoods was not only undertaken in the context of shared political sentiments but more so as driven by other factors including the notion of a shared culture given the colonial ties, the perceptions of Britain as a democratic country and assumed post-colonial responsibilities (Ranger 2005). Increasingly however, Britain has been accused of retracting the welcome mat, as demonstrated through both its restrictionist immigration regime

and the covert racial and discriminatory aspects of its labour market (Doyle, 2009; Mbiba, 2011).

In this chapter, we examine these complex issues through an exploration of the lived experiences of Zimbabwean highly-skilled migrants in the UK whose education and employability is entangled within the complex web of colonial, post-colonial and diasporic narratives. We start by exploring the UK context of migration questioning the political notions of it being a post-racial and dehistoricised immigration regime. Then, using the migrants' employability narratives, we illustrate the complex ways in which ideologies of racism, xenophobia and discrimination are played out in the UK labour market.

Given that racial discrimination and xenophobia are both much debated and contested terms, we provide working definitions for the purpose of this chapter. We take racial discrimination to denote the exclusion based on race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin directed with the purpose of constraining someone from exercising on an equal footing the rights to a job, promotion or any other related benefits. By xenophobia we refer to any attitude, prejudice and behaviour that reject, exclude or undermine someone on the perception of their being a foreigner (ILO et al, 2001).

The UK Immigration Context: A Post-racial and Dehistoricised Immigration Regime?

The British immigration system has evolved significantly over the years from a more liberal to a more restrictionist regime as characterised by the intensification of both border and internal mechanisms of control. While "the original notion of citizenship in Britain as outlined in the 1948 Act was one that provided citizens of the UK and its colonies with a common citizenship", such an inclusive citizenship conception was slowly abandoned over the decades through subsequent legislation until it was finally "discredited and dismantled by the British Nationality Act of 1981" (McLaren and

Johnson, 2007: 711). Meanwhile, the practices of racism and ethnic discrimination towards immigrants have been a part of both the British immigration control and public debate and perception. Thus the progression in the British immigration system towards a more restrictionist approach has concurrently been complemented by a progression in the legislation that focuses on addressing racial discrimination (Cohen, 2002; Anderson, 2013). As Anderson (2013: 36) has argued, "colonialism was central to the creation of racial categories as whiteness 'at home' was intimately and inextricably related to blackness 'abroad' thereby deeply engraving the notion of whiteness as a national identity".

Yet, "having created and codified race, modern liberal democracies now claim to have moved beyond it" (Anderson, 2013: 42; Lentin, 2011). In migration terms, especially under the current Coalition government, it is increasingly claimed that it is not racist to talk about immigration control and that people can now have a sensible debate about immigration, where sensible involves making use of statistical evidence (Collier, 2013; Anderson, 2013: 42). Thus in public and political debates, 'the horrors of colonialism' are now invariably frowned upon but as a past with which modern liberal democracies have no association (Anderson, 2013).

The symbolic high (or low) point of this 'moving beyond race' was New Labour's rejection of continued British responsibility for meeting the Lancaster House commitments to Zimbabwe. As Mamdani (2008: 16) notes:

> When New Labour took over in 1997, Clare Short, the minister for international development, claimed that since neither she nor her colleagues came from the landed class in Britain – "my own origins are Irish and as you know we were colonised not colonisers", she wrote to the Zimbabwean minister of agriculture and land – they could not be held responsible for what Britain had done in colonial Rhodesia.

It is therefore within the context of both the imagined raceless-
ness of the contemporary immigration regime and the assumed
"erasure of colonial history" that Britain is portrayed as a "highly
desirable place to be" with the migration of people from former
colonies such as Zimbabwe subtly taken to "reflect the UK's de-
historicised present rather than post-colonial legacies" (Anderson,
2013: 42). This state of affairs has seen a striking contradiction
between the British foreign policy with regard to Zimbabwe and
the British government's actual practices in relation to the treat-
ment of Zimbabwean migrants in the UK. While the UK Foreign
Office publicly condemns Zimbabwe as an exceptionally unsafe
country, the UK Border Agency increasingly treats Zimbabweans,
especially those seeking asylum, as if they were voluntary or eco-
nomic migrants who could be easily returned home (Madziva,
2010). However, neither of these realities captures the view of
many Zimbabwean migrants who retain a perception of the UK
as their 'mother country', and who experience Britain through
the lens of broken post-colonial relationships and responsibilities
(Ranger, 2005; McGregor, 2008).

It is within the context of such contradictions that Cole (2011)
maintains the viewpoint that the horrors of European colonial-
ism cannot easily be erased in the face of the living realities that
the victims of this ugly past invariably continue to be victims of
its consequences. Moreover, Anderson has argued that Britain's
"claim to racelessness is not paralleled by a claim that immigra-
tion policies are not designed to keep out certain nationalities"
(Anderson, 2013: 42). Indeed, the operation of immigration con-
trols in contemporary Britain reflects discrimination against cer-
tain individuals on the basis of their nationality (Cohen, 2002;
Anderson, 2013).

Moreover, contemporary immigration laws that govern the labour
market participation of migrants increasingly oblige employers to
regulate, monitor and police migrant workers, which all has the

potential to promote institutionalised racism. As argued by Lentin (2011), the assumption that liberal democratic societies are post-race is effectively a denial of the lived experience of racism. Thus, according to Anderson (2013: 29) a more nuanced account of racial discrimination that considers the ways in which immigrants are at best contingently tolerated, and often (c)overtly excluded is inevitably needed. This chapter engages with the hidden aspect of racial discrimination in contemporary Britain, drawing on the examples of the lived experiences of the highly skilled Zimbabwean population we interviewed in the UK.

The Profile of a Highly Skilled Zimbabwean Migrant

We define a highly skilled migrant as one possessing at least a university degree. The Zimbabwean highly skilled migrants in our sample have received a British-based education in the sense that Zimbabwe inherited an examination model heavily dependent on English-based examination boards both for schools and university. Thus, on migration to the UK skilled migrants expected to be able to sustain their acquired status and lifestyle as seemingly implied by labour migrant schemes such as the UK Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP) designed to attract the "Brightest and the Best".

In our study, one IT engineer aptly captured the essence of the highly regarded Zimbabwean education:

> I think the landmark lies down on the Zimbabwean education system layout, which aligns to the Oxford or the Cambridge system. That's why henceforth in this country they say those two are redbrick universities. The advantage that some of us had is the (private) schools we went to back home… going to a good day school where you see White pupils and you know that we are all normal, we are all equal and there is nothing special about anybody, where nobody used to override you; he parks his car, you park your car. So that alone gives you that confidence when you come here.

The IT engineer further spoke about how in Zimbabwe the IT field for example, involved engaging and connecting with the world's IT leaders, portraying Zimbabwe as a world IT landmark:

> And just for your own information the most interesting thing that people have to take to heart, myself being Microsoft certified I will tell you that Bill Gates and his team before they go anywhere for a system trial, whatever version of Windows or Microsoft, they had to come to Zimbabwe first. That's where we would do the project tests and we would come up with the right solution before they sent it to the rest of the world. So we're used as a landmark.

Another recurrent theme related to the graduates' high level of linguistic competences that are historically produced and narrativised in the backdrop of colonialism:

> We know how to communicate better in English, although to be honest you find that when you come here you can't really understand what they're saying. It's probably because of the accent. …You find that in Zimbabwe English is more advanced if we speak ... I think we are taught the Queen's English which is really very high ... there is a high standard of English in Zimbabwe than there is here. (Environmentalist)

This background highlights the gap between their expectations and the harsh reality of the UK labour market, which never gave them a fair chance to showcase their competences. The following sections illustrate the intricacies of their lived experiences.

Discrimination in the Labour Market: Perceived Racial Segregation

We begin by reflecting on real or perceived racial discriminatory practices in the workplace. During interview discussions with the Zimbabwean highly skilled migrants, interviewees felt that it was more their skin colour than their Zimbabwean qualifications which were the source of their failure to access the UK labour market:

> I mean there is a problem that obviously we might want to sweep under the carpet but in this country there's a problem that there is some sort of discrimination that happens in the employment industry especially for a person like me who is coming from Africa. I'm not of the fair skin so people the moment they look at you they say, 'This African what can he bring into my company?' So already they judge you in terms of the way you appear and you present yourself but they never really test you to see whether you can do the job… (Civil Engineer)

This is confirmed by cases where interviewees acquired UK-based university degrees but still struggled to get employment. One lawyer aptly explained the racism in this situation:

> … this opportunity came up and I was on the short list in the end inviting me for an interview but how I didn't get that job I don't get it. They gave the job to a law graduate from a local university, she had never worked in the UK before, she had never done any proxy law work whatsoever but she got the job and they didn't even consider me. So it's not wrong asking yourself what sort of criteria is used to offer people opportunities, is it because I'm Black against White or is it because I studied in Zimbabwe and not in the UK but I studied in the UK as well. I do have a degree in Zimbabwe and in the UK. But still they don't give you the job.

A civil engineer also reflected on how, because of his colour, he was taken to be a general hand in his first employment in the UK. Having been offered a job the previous day at the office, the following day he went straight to the site where the team supervisor on seeing him readily supposed him to be a general hand:

> I went to the site. …it so happens that the manager didn't come early enough and in between I had experiences because then the team supervisor said to me, "Come, go and, go and scrub there, there, there". They were demolishing a school and refurbishing. He said "go and

do this (demonstrating) to the floor and clean it". I said, (sighs) "I'll
go and do it" because I didn't want to cause problems. He continued
"Do this, do this, do this, do this!" And I said, "Okay, fine". And then
the manager came and saw me cleaning then came to me and said
"you are not a cleaner but an engineer… you are the only Black guy
here. Um, so, don't allow these guys to look down upon you".

Then there is the case of the IT engineer we discussed earlier, who
felt that his qualifications and skills entitled him to a highly paying
position but he was not getting such jobs because of the colour of
his skin:

> … if I am to put together all my skills and my qualifications in
> London there is no way I'm taking the pay which is less than £75,000
> per annum. In London they're not giving us that opportunity. And
> you can't continue knocking on that door as if there's nothing else to
> do. …I know it's sensitive but it's a colour issue.

This failure to get the right position he felt he deserved was not
only described as demoralising but also as something that even-
tually pushed him into unskilled and demeaning jobs for both the
welfare of his family and in order to maintain his immigration status
and avoid deportation given that he was still on a work permit:

> I had to like demean myself to get a job that can keep my family
> going so I tended to become a bus driver in order to maintain my
> visa. I also do businesses; I do butcheries, and I also do shipping
> for people, as well as rental payments for people here who have got
> projects back home. It doesn't give me a lot of money... This is what
> happens when people are discriminated upon and are not being given
> the platform to actually stand and prove themselves.

The above narratives are indications of the breadth and depth of
manifestations of racism in the workplace in Europe.

Discrimination through Immigration Control: Asylum as a Deskilling Project

We further consider the experiences of the highly skilled migrants who engaged with the UK asylum system either on arrival or at some point during their stay or simply in country switchers. A recurring theme of the interviews related to the complexities of and the insecurity wrought by the asylum process which often involves lodging the claim, subjection to compulsory dispersal and waiting indefinitely without the right to work, which some have argued to be a deskilling process (Doyle, 2009). Thus although it is widely believed that Britain has a proven track record of providing sanctuary to the persecuted (see Bloch, 2000; Clayton, 2010), in our study, perceptions of the UK as a more tolerant and democratic country were increasingly contested and often contrasted with individuals' lived experiences of dealing with the actual asylum process. A former education officer's narrative not only reveals the complex journey travelled by those seeking asylum but also the system's exclusionary conceptions of who is normatively human:

> I applied for asylum and the Home Office chose to study my case in detail; they took all my travel documents and replaced them with a card with my photo and black letters in capital – EMPLOYMENT PROHIBITED – on both sides. It was a document I was not proud to carry on me but I had to carry it for the next four years. The Home Office refused my application for asylum and withdrew all their support. So I found myself a destitute living illegally. At one time I stayed for four months in someone's flat without paying rent but refusing to move out. For the first time I lived the life of a criminal.

The long-term impact of that experience is expressed in his narrative of life after receiving status as follows:

> I now have a status. Although allowed to work, I cannot work because I lost the best part of my working life struggling for status. My (colonial) Arts degrees are not suitable to the UK environment. I am

now too old to go through retraining as a nurse, security person or
carer – the areas which are likely to accept me... I am now a pensioner,
receiving £24 a week... I now work as a cleaner. (Education Officer)

The downward social mobility of highly skilled refugees is further
illustrated by the case of a sociologist who at some point during
his stay in the UK had to switch from the student category to the
asylum category, which brought him into the refugee space and this
subsequently played a major part in undermining his immediate
professional employment opportunities:

What was happening then is it's like without the right to work there
was so much insecurity. So the thrust then was to take any job in
the warehouse even illegally. The mentality was "Let's accumulate
as much as we can and when we are pushed out, at least we have
something". …when you came over here you discover my life is very
insecure. Any time I can just be deported. (Sociologist)

Clearly then, asylum seekers are a "reserve army of labour" (Vickers,
2012) that is unfortunately prohibited from lawfully selling their
labour power, yet more often than not, they find themselves under
pressure to work illegally as the only option for survival which in-
variably leaves them open to exploitation by unscrupulous employ-
ers. It is arguable that asylum policies are seemingly designed to
indirectly profit the capitalist class by providing employers with
easy access to cheap labour, though such employers are occasional-
ly heavily penalised for hiring migrants without legal rights to work
(Vickers, 2012). The asylum route therefore exposes individuals to
particular discriminatory treatment. Questions always arise whether
a different route would have made a difference. The following sec-
tion which explores the labour market experiences of those who
came through less crippling routes however reveals other patterns
of discriminatory practices.

Discrimination in the Labour Market: Non-Recognition of Qualifications and Skills

The International Labour Office (ILO) writing together with the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) and in consultation with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2001: 9) has listed "discrimination against foreigners in employment" as one of the key forms of discriminatory practices and anti-foreigner hostility faced by migrants. These practices are not always overt as this would conflict with official discourses and ideologies about liberal democracies. Rather, failure of migrants to penetrate the labour market is often blamed on them rather than on issues of exclusion. The ILO et al report notes the paucity of studies around this issue due to the absence of conclusive data in this sensitive field. They highlight that the little available strongly points to discriminatory activities in relation to employability and a range of other manifestations.

As noted before, our Zimbabwean subjects are highly skilled migrants who come with a strong British-styled education coupled with internationally accredited qualifications as well as many years of appropriate work experience. The first case to highlight here is that of an IT engineer who came on a highly skilled visa. Although he managed to get a job in his area of specialisation when he moved to the UK, he was not only surprised to discover that the position he was given was not commensurate with his qualifications and experience but also that he was barely noticed, which he attributed to his African background. He emphasised the fact that he possesses a range of skills that are found valuable but not rewarded:

> The work culture is very interesting. I remember when I came straight from Africa coming over here they don't actually believe that somebody from Africa can lead them. After they failed to do something I would simply go there, demonstrate, get it right. They

were just calling me an IT systems engineer. That was just a general title they were giving me but I was more of a project manager.

Our study has shown that there are other ranges of qualifications that in many cases are not always recognised as is the experience of one highly experienced teacher.

It is frustrating because of the system, really it's quite discriminatory. Zimbabwe is a former British colony, education is still good. I sent my certificate to be compared through that comparability of what do they call it…? I mean the one which compares qualifications. Then you ask yourself why are they not giving the job as I possess the right qualifications?

Although she felt that her qualifications were equivalent to those obtained in the UK, she was still required to get a UK-based upgrading. Paradoxically, even after upgrading, no school was prepared to accept her other than in the capacity of a supply teacher.

I've been in schools most of my time in the UK. I've been in schools for more than ten years in supply teaching. … they are saying you are a good teacher. One school has been saying we want (her name) to come and teach at this school all the time. But the school cannot take me because I've got to be upgraded by the Ministry. I had to get the qualification and …learn the education policy as it relates here... But now the issue has changed. The Ministry said it's up to schools to take me, but no school is committed to employ me as a teacher, but only as a supply teacher...

Having been a supply teacher for many years without being given a permanent position, she confirmed the exploitative practice this embodies:

I find it very discriminating to say sometimes they say they want me to come back to use me because I am cheap labour to them, they

don't pay me holiday pay, they don't pay me when I don't work. So it's easier for them to request for my services.

Similar sentiments were shared by an environmentalist who apparently was working in a call centre:

When I arrived here I had a degree, which I thought, "okay fine, I'll use this" – thinking that at least this would take me to another level to or to work within the sector. I applied for a job once in this organisation that does some environmental activities. I was called for an interview, which was fine, but found that people who have got qualifications from here stand a better chance from those who have got qualifications from Zimbabwe. That's what I saw from that particular post. I now work at a call centre. In my present job I find that I'm not going anywhere. I'm quite stagnant even within, because at times, you know, um, some opportunities can arise but it also depends on who you know.

They migrated to the UK, many of them through prestigious skills-based schemes such as the UK Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP), strongly believing that they could easily transfer their 'British-based' human capital to the UK context. The reality has been shocking to most of them. It is therefore disappointing to note that although Zimbabweans may be highly skilled they are increasingly relegated to semi-skilled, unskilled and low status jobs where they are recognised as being hard-working but with jobs that are not commensurate with their expertise and experience. They find themselves in the '3 D' (dirty, dangerous and difficult) types of jobs as captured by one teacher:

Employability in this part of the world is very difficult especially for immigrants the reason being you come here you are downgraded, you're not the best you're meant to be. … Even if we look at the UK system there's some kind of limitation again you come here with all those skills and you can't use them anyway. I think in terms of, what

> am I trying to say, how can you capture that when you really feel like
> you are so experienced and yet your skills are not being put to full use?

In some cases their skills are recognised and they may even be asked to do work at a higher level but in a temporary position and still at a low salary as is the case of the following teacher who was employed in the care industry:

> I am a carer but sometimes they do give me some admin work to do.
> Like yesterday, I spent the whole day in the office, at the head office,
> yeah. Once in a while, they do comment that your admin is good, or
> they invite you over, for setting admin things, which they feel could
> be demanding for them, but they don't pay you a high salary or let
> you do that job permanently.

The above examples show that there is more than meets the eye to what appears to be non-transferability of highly skilled migrants' high human capital whose qualifications and experience, in the absence of ideologies of racism and xenophobia, should make them highly competitive in the global market and specifically the UK workplace. Perhaps because of their complex pasts they are very quick to realise their losing battle in the face of an enduring racism.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to highlight some of the dynamics, struggles and dilemmas encountered by the Zimbabwean highly skilled migrants in their endeavour to secure a place and register their presence in the UK labour market. While their decision to migrate to the UK was undertaken in the context of their British-styled education and the notion of a shared culture in the context of colonial ties, on arrival migrants are met with ever stricter and exclusionary immigration and asylum policies. Some have found themselves caught up in the limbo of illegality, insecure status, segregation and destitution and often for many years subsequently resulting in their deskilling. While prestigious skills-based schemes such as the previous UK Highly Skilled

Migrant Programme (HSMP) have allowed some highly skilled migrants easy entry into the UK and, sometimes, easy insertion into the labour market, the aspirations of securing jobs in their areas of specialisation or at levels commensurate with their expertise, experience and skills are often thwarted by complex factors often manifested and increasingly narrativised in racial discrimination and xenophobic terms. While there is increased recognition of migrants' contributions to the British economy, this study not only raises questions about the democratic nature of the British labour market but also seeks to generate new debates about the need to design inclusive labour policies to allow the benefits of global employability to be fully realised.

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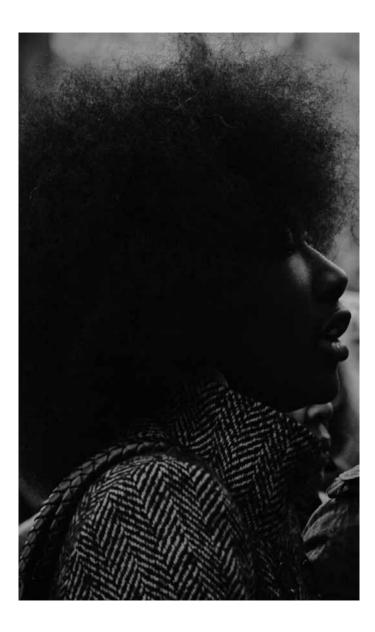
Photo Curation
By Johny Pitts

I spent five months wandering Europe during the winter, armed with a train pass, a notebook and a camera. As an Afropean, I wanted to find a Europe beyond the stereotypical (and, it may be said, somewhat archaic) national identities and images we see in the tourist brochures of the continent's big cities. So I 'flaneured' through the hinterlands: those areas where immigrants set up homes and gave birth to a second, third or fourth generation of Afropeans, too indelibly connected to Europe to identify with the motherland of their parents or grandparents, and yet not considered truly European by the place where they were born and raised.

I attempted, somewhat paradoxically, to create images with my pen and tell stories with my camera, and those stories, some happy, some sad, needed to be told with a certain subtlety. As somebody who grew up on the outskirts of a large European city, I felt a kinship with the places I visited, and so I wasn't looking for the exotic (hence travelling in the winter), nor was I inflicted with that obsession with victims or gangsters, as so many photographers who photograph Black culture often are. Rather, I wanted to present the people I encountered as elegant lead actors in their own play. I tried to show the life, the struggle, the love, the hope, the frustration and the bittersweet experience of those who, like myself, were trying to find coherence amongst their multiple cultural allegiances.

The photographs presented in this book are a small selection of the stories I encountered, from places such as Clichy-sous-Bois in Paris, Cova Da Moura in Lisbon, Rinkeby in Stockholm and other areas across London, Amsterdam, Moscow, Berlin, Brussels and Rome. They are part of a larger collection of photographs and a travel narrative due to be published in late 2015. As part of the project, I set up the online journal www.afropean.com with funds provided by the ENAR Foundation Awards.

Making the Black Experience Heard in Germany
By Jamie Schearer and Hadija Haruna

For more than three hundred years, people of African descent have been born and raised in Germany, but narratives about the Black experience in Germany often remain silenced in the public discourse. While their stories do not exist in the dominant historiography, stereotypical clichés dominate the images of the Black diaspora. Racist pictures and beliefs need to be understood as a historically developed relationship of power – blurring past and present depictions of Black people's realities.

The stories of individuals like May Ayim, Fasia Jansen, Anton Wilhelm Amo, Hans Massaquoi or the diverse set of biographies portrayed in the book "Showing our Colors" ("*Farbe bekennen*") have shed some light on the experience of growing up and being Black in Germany. They all represent different time periods and thus we do not only have the different storylines that each of them lay out for us, but we are also allowed to see the transition of Black life in Germany through their eyes. Their stories offer an insight into their personal processes of negotiations and decision making in a society, which is predominantly White. By sharing their stories they have become role models in multiple ways – through their political resistance, by having successful careers as well as helping to form a positive Black German collective identity.

During the 1980s, the first peak of an organised political movement of Black People in Germany occurred. The Initiative of Black People in Germany (ISD) and ADEFRA – Black Women in Germany continuously worked towards an affirmative understanding of being Black in Germany as well as being Black and German. Still, due to a lack of interest in the Black experience and the popular German

self-image as being homogenously White, there was only very little of these developments on public display.

For many of us, growing up in Germany therefore has meant longing for a point of identification and searching for it in different ways. For me, Jamie Schearer, it meant looking abroad for the longest time. The US, the UK and France were reference points, because I was not aware that a Black German community had already evolved, had already been working towards political participation, researching Black German history and fighting for the recognition of Black People in Germany as equals. I was in my early 20s when I realised that these self-organisations existed. For me, Hadija Haruna, on the other hand growing up meant developing a Black consciousness in two periods of my life: by building a Black identity through detaching from the White dominant discourse and my White socialisation at the age of 15, starting to empower myself and taking political action at the age of 25.

The visibility of minority groups is tied to the willingness of the media and public institutions dominated by a White majority to work on topics disclosing perspectives other than their own and letting them being told by the parties affected, instead of marginalising the minority groups and *talking about them*. Nevertheless we have seen more and more Black writers contributing to the topic of being Black in Germany in the last decade. The book series "Witnessed"[62] is accentuating this trend and allows Black writers and artists to present a diverse set of publications, not necessarily writing about their lives, but various short stories, essays and novels portraying Black perspectives in the German society and making our stories not only accessible to a German-speaking audience but also to the Black/African diaspora globally and other interested readers.

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62   See http://witnessed-series.blogspot.com/.

For instance, Olumide Popoola's beautifully written play "Also by Mail"[63] invites us to hear and see another storyline about some of the difficulties, which can be experienced when living in a German and Nigerian setting. It also depicts 'racial profiling', which is an issue Black individuals have to deal with in everyday life. It describes the discriminatory police-initiated method of stop and search based on ascribed categories such as ethnicity, skin colour, nationality or religion without any other concrete evidence.

Institutional racism is part of being Black in Germany and racial profiling exemplifies one of these untold, silenced German stories. "*Also by Mail*" provides an understanding of how quickly a normal train ride can take a turn for the worse. Black people living in Germany have to familiarise themselves with these police measures, even more so if they are male. For Black boys, growing up in Germany means being increasingly seen as being a 'threat' to society – being reduced to stereotypical images.

In early 2012, the Administrative Court in Koblenz ruled on a racial profiling case, which transpired into a court decision on the Federal Police's racial profiling policy. The court declared 'stop and search' to be a legal police measure, when perceived non-white skin colour and 'non-German ethnic origin' are the main criteria for the selection of persons who are asked for identification, thereby referring to checks for irregular immigrants, drug dealers or terrorists.

This ruling followed the decision by a young Black German to take action. In December 2010 he was forced to show his identification documents to the Federal Police on the train route Kassel/Frankfurt/Main. He refused because on several previous incidents the police had only targeted him. As a result of his resistance he was taken to the nearest police station for identification verification. During the incident the student compared the police checks with SS methods, which offended the police officer and led to an official complaint

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63   See http://www.edition-assemblage.de/also-by-mail/.

against the passenger. During the court hearing the police officer acknowledged the only criteria for the stop and search was the man's skin colour. Hence, having an official statement at hand the young man decided to file a complaint against the Federal Police. The court in Koblenz denied the complaint and agreed with the police practice, thereby declaring it a legitimate measure to target the plaintiff, based only on his phenotypical features. Never before had a court so openly admitted that racial profiling was a legitimate police procedure. Black people and people of Colour (PoC) in Germany were now officially declared the 'other', the ones that do not belong in the self-ascribed picture of the White, homogenous society, as the court referred to the young man as "foreign-looking" and allegedly having "a non-German appearance". Being German today is still associated with being White and having a White German heritage. This self-perception of Germany being a White country is outdated but still reproduced and was consequently re-emphasised by the court ruling.

As a form of protest – the Initiative of Black People in Germany (ISD) decided to initiate a broad political campaign: "Stop Racial Profiling". We drafted an open petition to the German Parliament (15,000 signatures), held flash mobs, organised information booths and initiated panel discussions to push the subject into the public discourse and generate awareness. By then the court doubted its first ruling and had realised it was at odds with the Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*). An appeal was granted. The "Stop Racial Profiling" campaign was pushed by the ISD and successfully managed to co-operate with other civil organisations, political groups, lawyers and academics on a long-term campaign plan – including a special focus on public relations. In October 2012 a higher court declared the earlier decision to be void and racial profiling as unlawful in this case, declaring it a violation of the anti-discrimination provisions in article 3 of the Basic Law as well as the General Equal Treatment Act of 2006 (*Allgemeines Gleichbehandlungsgesetz*). As a result we have won the first battle but we know that there is still a long way

ahead of us to achieve our goals and that there are major points that still remain unanswered by the court.

At the time of writing, a new petition has been drafted and is about to be issued to the German Parliament – in cooperation with political representatives who support the goal of prohibiting the police measure of racial profiling. The struggle continues, but we believe this to be the only effective way to fight institutional racism – in the words of Jesse Jackson: "In politics, an organised minority is a political majority".

From Portrayal to Perception: Individuals of Black African Descent in Latvia
By Dr Lauren Monsein Rhodes

Introduction

The following article explores how individuals of Black African descent in Latvia perceive (or do not perceive) and portray their identities as 'Black', as well as how media portrayals of individuals of Black African descent assist in shaping these perceptions. My interviews and conversations with individuals of Black African descent in Rīga, Latvia in 2008, 2009 and 2010-2011 revealed that there is a complexity of identity within the population of individuals of Black African descent. This complexity attests to the fact that the concept of identity or sense of self is fluid and constantly negotiated through a variety of factors: place of birth, age, socio-historical relationship with Latvia, economic status, family circumstances, language and gender. I argue that the politics of Blackness is constituted differently in Latvia than in Anglo-America, whose dominant literature on Blackness primarily derives from and is based on the historical frameworks of European colonialism and slavery that shape the Anglo-American conceptualisation of Blackness. As demonstrated in this article, not all of the individuals whom I interviewed interpret their skin colour (or other phenotypical characteristics and identity markers) or heritage as the basis for an individual or collective political identity nor do they assign value (such as in the Americanised discourses of Whiteness or Blackness) to their skin colour and other identifying markers in the same manner that we are so accustomed to in academic discussions in the United States and some parts of Europe. One example is found in Rauna,[64] who is of

mixed Black African and (White) Latvian descent.[65] She identifies as Latvian due to her birthplace being Latvia and her fluency in the Latvian language. Her skin tone, 'brown', and African origin do not play a part in her identity. 'Black', for her, is about skin tone – her skin is not 'black' and therefore neither is she.

The other individuals that I interviewed also demonstrated the ways in which 'Black' as an identity and Blackness as a concept are engaged with in Latvia. Jean and Andrew, who came from Benin and Nigeria respectively to study at the Rīga Civil Aviation Engineers Institute during the Soviet period in the 1980s, identify themselves as 'African' not as 'Black'. Martin, who moved to Latvia 17 years ago from the United States to live with his (White) Latvian wife, identifies as 'Black' or African-American. Elizabeth, who came to Latvia from the United Kingdom over three years ago for work, identifies as West Indian. There are also individuals that I learned about through the Latvian media, such as Lingita Lina Bopulu, who shares a similar story to Rauna and, like Rauna, identifies as Latvian. The media portrayals, in particular, of individuals of Black African descent also point to the Latvian media's own comprehension of Blackness and 'Black' identity. The examples of basketball players Alex Renfroe and DeAndre Kambala also indicate a gendered conceptualisation of 'Black' and Blackness in the Latvian media.

This complexity of perceptions and receptions points to how Blackness and 'Black' identity is about more than skin tone (or hair or facial features) or origins – it is also about what one thinks or

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65 I use the term 'Black African descent' to specify that the subjects of this research are specifically located within the African diasporic tradition. The term 'Black' in Latvia has also been used, historically, to identify those of Roma background. 'African' can mean anyone from the continent of Africa, individuals that can be of any race or ethnic background. In order to create less confusion and to maintain focus, I use the American formulation of Black (i.e. African-American) paired with Africa to strengthen the connection to the diasporic discourse and to further ground my research interest. I am also aware that for many people the words Latvian and ethnic Latvian evoke an image of a phenotypically White individual. Throughout this article I use the terms Latvian and ethnic Latvian to refer to this specific generalisation and stereotype, but I also attempt to complexify this reference by presenting stories of individuals (Rauna, Lingita Lina Bopulu) who identify as Latvian but do not fit into the dominant image of Latvian/ethnic Latvian.

believes counts as *being* 'Black'. This recalls Hall's (1997) observation about being "black in the head", which relates to a political identity, not only to skin colour. My task in this article is to engage with how "black in the head" may or may not be part of the formulation of Blackness in Latvia, as well as how it might point to a fluidity or flexibility of identity (Fangen 2007; Vasquez, 2010) and a discourse of difference among individuals of Black African descent in Latvia: What does it mean to identify as a 'Black' or 'African' person? How does your identity connect with your background as an individual of Black African descent? What are the expectations that others have of you due to your 'Blackness' or 'Africanness'?

The "Right Type of African": Variations of Blackness and Africanness

Martin, an African-American male, has lived in Latvia for over 17 years. He moved here to marry his Latvian girlfriend, whom he met in the States, and he is now a father and a very public figure in Latvia. When he talks of public (female and male) perceptions of Blackness or Africanness, he talks of public expectations of what he *should* be given his skin colour – perceptions that change once people find out that he is African American not African:

> I am not African. I'm African-American. There's a different dynamic that goes with that baggage, let's say. I'm not using that word at all in the negative. The fact that I'm African-American opens up other doors for me (…). (Interview, 2 August 2009)

I later asked him to clarify what he meant by implying that there was a certain type of "baggage" that is connected with the identity of "African". I was also curious as to how being African-American "opens doors" for him in Latvia. He elucidated on these ideas more in an email:

> (…) there is a stereotype here about exactly what kind of "African" you are. (Basically being "the right type of African"). It is very much

connected with American pop culture. But it is also connected to the former Soviet regime and its friendliness with certain African countries and the allowances of people from those countries to come and study in Latvia. In plainer words, if someone believes that I am here to play basketball, soccer or I am a DJ, it is easier for them to take me in than to think that I am a former guest student of the former Soviet regime. (Personal email communication, 20 October 2009)

In this sense, Martin's Blackness is determined by his origins in the United States. For him, there are two different types of Blackness – each with its own meaning. The African-American version of Blackness is seen as being more about the present than the past. There are certain connotations attached (basketball skills, DJ, rapper), but they are positive meanings that are not associated with the Soviet era. For Martin, his skin colour may 'mark' him as being Black, as being of Black African descent, but his origins create a space wherein he can operate in a different mode than the former Aviation Institute students. It also means that his sense of Blackness is performed in a different arena – it is an arena shaped by his Americanness – he applies his experiences as an African-American to his experiences as an individual of Black African descent in Latvia. He views the perceptions of Blackness through that particular lens.

Jean, Andrew and others, who arrived in then Soviet Latvia from the African continent to study at the Rīga Institute of Civil Aviation Engineers, are also very aware of the different conceptualisations of Blackness and Africanness in post-Soviet Latvia. Jean, for one, described to me how his experiences and views are shaped by his origins and how individuals of Black African descent from the United States live very different lives:[66]

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66   This is a discourse that is also quite common among African-Americans born in the United States and recent immigrants from Africa (and their children).

> The African, the Black African, they don't, Black American, they
> don't feel like African (…) If you are Black and I am Black, I think
> that we are similar and we can, uh, what to say, we can be closer. But,
> I think that a lot of American, Black American, I don't know, but they
> don't they think that they are more superior than African people and
> so on.[67] (Interview, 24 September 2010)

The differing experiences of individuals of Black African descent in
Latvia are not just based upon their origins, although that does have
an impact, they are also based upon the types of spaces that they
have created for themselves and that have been created for them
– either through a socio-historical period (i.e. Soviet times), age,
family circumstances, life history, profession, gender or marital sta-
tus. This is particularly apparent in the discourse that surrounds the
media portrayals of men of Black African descent in Latvia.

Perceptions of Blackness and 'Black' Identity in Latvia

Perceptions of men of Black African descent in Latvia switch modes
depending on the gender, place of birth, economic status, family cir-
cumstances and age of the subject. In interviews and article analysis,
I found that these perceptions become embodied when described
through the written word on blogs and in gossip magazines, as well
as in reputable newspapers. They range from 'positive' stereotypes
of a strong and skilled black basketball player to 'negative' stereo-
types of an overly sexualised and exotic Black female. An example
can be found in the blog of African-American basketball player Alex
Renfroe, who played a couple of seasons with VEF Rīga. In an entry
dated 28 September 2009, he answers the question: "Do All Black
People Act the Way They Are Shown in Movies?":

> In the movies, black people are always shown as ignorant, poor, loud
> and very rude and uncivilized people. One of the many stereotypes
> that are associated with black people is that we kill people and steal

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67   I did not push Jean more on this idea. But it would be interesting to ask him again to
see how this plays out for him specifically in Latvia and why.

from people. But... This is just a stereotype. Of course there are some black people that fit into this stereotype. I believe that black people are very friendly and caring people. We are usually very family oriented and stay close to our families. But we are loving people. So if you ever see a black person walking in the streets…do not feel afraid to speak to them. Because usually when we are shown respect, respect is given back! For the most part at least! (Renfroe, 2009)

In the comment section for this blog post one commenter used the space to write of how the presence of Alex's family at one VEF game changed her perception of Black people:

(Commenter) 'Christiana': Alex, you're PERFECT. And I see, that not only in basketball. I red your text about black people, and in next day, I went to Vef game (15.12.09). There were sitting 2 black people behind me. (maybe they were your relative) Women was looking on you, and her eyes were shining. She said all the time: 'Alex, you can do it. We love you.' And I was little bit envy then, becous the world there are only few people like them, so great, happy, PERFECT, and I am not one of them…We – white people[68] aren't so friendly and happy…WE are And I think that you are one of them. You changed my mind about black people. I am only 15, and it was really useful to me. THANK YOU ABOUT THAT.

(Commenter) 'Christiana': :) sorry about mistakes.. :)

(Commenter) Alex: Hey Christiana! Do not worry about the mistakes. I understand exactly what you are saying. Those two black people were my parents. :) But thank you. I try to be happy because I know have something to be happy about everyday. And that is waking up every morning and being able to live! So I always have something to be happy about! But it is great that your mind has changed about black people. You are great!!! I would love to see you at the next game. :) (Renfroe, 2009)

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68   It is rare to see Latvians refer to themselves as 'White' in conversation.

Foreign basketball players of Black African descent are the most visible (and in some ways – temporary) individuals of colour in Latvia. While basketball is not as a popular in Latvia as it is in neighbouring Lithuania, teams such as VEF have a large following and help to sponsor street basketball tournaments in Rīga. In a country as small as Latvia, celebrity cache comes easily to anyone who is consistently in the public eye – whether it is through theatre, television, film, music or sports. The spectator at the VEF game referenced above is not just a follower of the team, but also of Renfroe and, by extension, his blog.

The same can be said for VEF hopeful, DeAndre Kambala, whose celebrity arises out of his status as the 'Black' adopted son of (White) Latvian basketball star (and public celebrity for some not so celebrated reasons – a drug abuse scandal, for one) Kaspars Kambala.[69] DeAndre was born and raised in Las Vegas, Nevada. Kaspars Kambala was a student and basketball player at University of Nevada-Las Vegas (UNLV) where he met DeAndre's mother Jessica who had taken in DeAndre at the request of DeAndre's biological mother. Kaspars and Jessica eventually married (they are now divorced) and Kaspars would later fully adopt DeAndre before moving back to Latvia to play basketball.[70] DeAndre arrived in Latvia in the summer of 2010, after graduating from high school to chase his basketball dreams. The belief was that he would not have a hard time getting on the team due to his international background and his famous father. His arrival was met with much fanfare: newspaper articles, television interviews and paparazzi shots. In the 7 August 2010 edition of the weekend tabloid journal *Vakara Ziņas*, an article focused on DeAndre's attendance at a taping of the television show "Singing Families". Most of the

69   DeAndre's dreams were dashed when he was unable to secure Latvian citizenship in time to join the team. VEF only allows a certain number of non-Latvian citizen players on its team. DeAndre was not allowed to play last season. This was the story related to me by Martin who knows DeAndre's grandfather.
70   The story is a bit more complicated: Jessica worked for the I Have A Dream Foundation, where she worked with at risk families and youth. This is how she met DeAndre's biological mother who left DeAndre with Jessica when she went to jail. (See Burton, 2002).

attention from the article was paid to DeAndre sitting next to a blonde co-worker of his stepmother's and their sharing of a bottle of Sprite. The article's authors suspected that DeAndre went to the taping because he was a fan of the blonde Drozdoviča twins who were competing in the show (the article's headline: "Kambala's Son is a Fan of the Singing Twins"):

> In one of the last performances on the show, twins Ana and Katrīne (Anastasija and Jekaterina Drozdoviča), playfully interacted with their passionate fan from the stage. It became apparent to *VZ* that Kambala's son had already spent time with the lovely blondes, such as having lunch together, sharing his first impressions of Latvia which were only positive. (Vakara Ziņas, 2010: 17. Translation mine)

There are certain hints that the article is making with its wording and photos – hints that point to the well-known trope of the "[foreign] Black man admiring/coming to love our blonde women" – as well as the commonly held perception in the Latvian public and media that Latvian women are marrying foreign men more than they are Latvian men[71] – all of which are allusions to the broader discourse of sexual relationships between Black African/African-American men and (White) Latvian women.

This discourse is alluded to in *Vakara Ziņas*' description of the pretty, playful, Latvian and blonde Drozdoviča twins and DeAndre's "desire" to want to meet and spend time with them. Even more so, the article also goes out of its way to show DeAndre's desire for *all* (White) Latvian women, as is seen in the photos of him sharing a bottle of Sprite with his step-mother's blonde shop assistant (the inscription besides the photos: "They drank from one bottle"). There is no discussion of DeAndre being a 'handsome Black man' or any other related description, but the text of the article does point

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71   See Sedlenieks and Vasiļevska, 2006. And recent articles on the declining birthrate in Latvia. Also see a recent BBC article on the topic of the declining number of Latvian men and the increasing number of Latvian women marrying foreigners. Another article that brings up a discussion of this topic is Mezinska, Mileiko, and Putniņa, 2011.

to his desiring these women. This depiction of a male desiring a Latvian woman is not mentioned anywhere else in the article in the context of the other celebrities that were there that night (there was not a reference to [White] Latvian male stars in attendance being 'passionate' fans of the singing twins, or a [White] Latvian male celebrity sharing a bottle of Sprite with a 'pretty blonde woman' sitting next to him etc.).

There is a socio-historical context that is embedded in the perception of interactions between (White) Latvian women and Black African/African-American men as being of a sexual or (surface) romantic nature (there is an economic aspect as well: the foreign students in the Soviet Union were seen as having some sort of capital – see Carew, 2008; Dzenovska, 2010; Quist-Adade, 2001). This perception is based upon the public knowledge of relationships between these two populations going back to the Soviet era – one that came to be a cause of some friction, both within and outside of the then Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic: Black African students marrying or dating 'White' local women. These relationships did not go unnoticed by the general public and as Osei writes: "Negroes permanently living in Russia have intermarried with the whites. So have number of African and Asian students studying in the Soviet Union married white Soviet girls" (1963: 31). The 1963 incident involving the violent beating and death of a Ghanaian student, Edmund Assare-Addo, in Moscow was reportedly linked to his relationship with a (White) Russian woman. Hessler writes that although "there was no concrete evidence of violence, the possibility that Russians wanted to prevent an interracial marriage seemed a plausible explanation for the Ghanaian's death" (2006: 36). Carew mentions that there was an increase in the coupling between the Black African (and other foreign students) and the local women across the Soviet Union, particularly starting in the latter half of the Cold War era during the 1980s and continuing towards the fall of the Soviet Union:

(…) students began to experience tensions around dating patterns and male-female relationships. The student group was overwhelmingly male, and growing numbers were developing liaisons with young Russian[72] women they met (…) Russians found it exciting being around exotic foreigners many of whom brought gifts from their trips to Europe over the holidays and had nice housing in the university quarters. The districts around the universities also began to see increasing numbers of mixed race children. (2008: 208)

In Rīga, specifically, there were stories of local girls being invited back to the Rīga Civil Aviation Engineers Institute campus to 'spend time' with the foreign students. Dzenovska remarks that "(…) locals, especially women, were not prevented from attending the discos and cafes in its territory" (2010: 433). This particular discourse, as formulated through the Soviet experience, is gendered – it only points to relationships involving Black African men and White women. There is another discourse, however, that encircles the lives of women of Black African descent in Latvia. It involves the discourse of the exotic as foreign and different through the markers of skin tone, hair and family background.

The 'Exotic' in Latvia: Perceptions of Women of Black African Descent

The media portrayal of Latvian reality star Lingita Lina Bopulu exemplifies how the discourse of the exotic influences how women of Black African descent are perceived in Latvia. Bopulu was a contestant on the television channel LNT's reality show "*OKartes skatuve*" ["OKarte Stage"][73] – a show that is a combination of a singing competition (comparable to international versions of "Pop Idol") and a live camera show that delves into the lives of the contestants living in the same apartment (comparable to multiple in-

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72   Carew using 'Russia' instead of the 'Soviet Union' in this quote is a common mistake made by authors from outside of the former Soviet-sphere who are oblivious to the existence of non-Russian peoples, particularly during the Soviet period. This mistake conflates 'Soviet' and 'Russian'. This is a mistake that is repeated by Hessler (2006).

73   OKarte is a Latvian mobile sim card company.

ternational versions of "Big Brother").[74] Lingita became famous
not just because of "*OKartes skatuve*", but because she is of mixed
Black African and (White) Latvian descent – her mother is (White)
Latvian and her father is from the Congo.[75] Lingita has been the
subject of interviews and journal articles, both in tabloid and 'legiti-
mate' media. Her appearance and background immediately marked
her as 'different' in the eyes of the media and (most of) the Latvian
public. Her (White) Latvian fellow contestants did not receive the
same level of media attention as Lingita in both the tabloid and
'legitimate' news outlets. The news programme "*Tautas balss*"
["The People's Voice"], ran a segment titled "Don't like coloured
skin?" ["*Nepatīk ādas krāsa?*"], where they had viewers email or
call in with their opinions on the question. The segment included an
interview with Lingita backstage at "*OKartes skatuve*". The web-
site of "*Tautas balss*" includes the following written description of
that day's show: "In the second season of LNT's show '*OKartes
skatuve*' one of the contestants is 18 year-old Afro-Latvian Lingita
Lina Bopulu. One of the reasons that she participated in the show
is for Latvia's residents to achieve some sort of understanding that
what is important is not the appearance and colour of one's skin, but
a person's inner essence" (TVNET, 'In Order to Be Latvian, You Do
Not Necessarily Have To Be White', 19 January 2012. Translation
mine). In the majority of interviews, as with "*Tautas balss*", Lingita
touches upon the theme of her Latvian identity and her skin colour.
Like Rauna, she has encountered individuals that are shocked that
she is Latvian (a recent magazine story on Lingita featured the fol-
lowing quote "Yes. I am Latvian!"):

> I was born here. I am Latvian. I study in a Latvian school, and
> Latvian is my mother tongue. When I was a child I went to a Latvian
> folklore group, I danced national dances and, with regards to Latvian

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74   Lingita, at 18 years of age, was the youngest contestant on the show.
75   Her parents met when her father came to Latvia during the Soviet period to study at
the Aviation Institute. He now lives in Congo, not Bauska, but is still married to Lingita's
mother (*Kas Jauns* writes "Lingita's parents have not lived together for a while, but they are
not officially divorced" [January 31, 2012]).

history, I often know a lot more than those who are considered to be the 'true' representatives of this ethnicity. I am a patriot, but unfortunately my patriotism is lessened by the attitudes of my peers – this touches upon the knowledge that I am different in appearance and skin colour. ("Talent Show's Lingita Discriminated in Latvia", mango.lv (as delfi.lv). 18 January 2012. Translation mine)

She stated in the same interview that:

Latvians have not gotten accustomed to seeing people with different skin colours on the streets, so of course, I notice this. I had this experience in the past, everyone staring at me like that, and I took it to heart, but now I am no longer disturbed by this. ("Talent Show's Lingita Discriminated in Latvia", mango.lv (as delfi.lv). 18 January 2012. Translation mine)

In another article, she discusses her experiences in her hometown of Bauska:

The show's contestant admitted during a broadcast that she has spent her entire life trying to prove that she is a Latvian, that she is just like everyone else living here. However, this does not come easily for her. "In fact, in a small town, it is already there, how everyone is like – wow, wow, wow! All of those are times when you attempt to run into people who have already become accustomed to and acquainted with you. From the start, there were already all kinds of people, some who called out to me: little chocolate girl, little chocolate girl or something like that! I want to be like everyone else. The same." (TVNET, 'In Order to Be Latvian, You Do Not Necessarily Have To Be White', 19 January 2012. Translation mine)

These interviews not only elaborate on the discourse that surrounded Lingita and her experiences with discrimination, but also the feeling of difference. Lingita's presentation of self in these interviews speaks to one of the main tenants of what Vasquez

describes as "flexible ethnicity" – in that it acknowledges that "people may background or foreground certain identity features in different contexts but there is not a 100 percent correspondence between how people *want* to be perceived and how they *are* perceived" (2010: 46-47). There is not a direct correspondence between how Lingita (and even Rauna) wants others to perceive her and how others perceive her – she asserts her identity as Latvian, but people who may not know her (the media included) identify her as something else due to her skin colour.

While Lingita's identity was the main subject of the articles and interviews, the words that the Latvian media tended to (and still) use to describe her features point to the equation between different (that is, different in looks and background from the majority of the [White] Latvian population) and exotic. An equation that was also pointed to in my interviews with women of Black African descent. In the case of Lingita's media portrayal, she is consistently described as 'exotic':[76] "exotic girl" (mango.lv (via delfi.lv), 25 January 2012), "with her exotic looks (…)" (Kasjauns, 31 January 2012), "18 year-old Lingita Lina Bopulu, despite her exotic appearance, is a real Latvian" (delfi.lv, 18 January 2012), "The girl is from Bauska – her mother is Latvian, but her father is from the Congo, which also explains her exotic looks" (delfi.lv, 18 January 2012), "Lingita has received cruel comments about her exotic looks" (TVNET.lv, 24 January 2012), "the exotic beauty Lingita Lina Bopulu" (delfi.lv, 6 March 2012), and "Talent Show's Exotic

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76   The commentary about Lingita being exotic has also worked in tandem with another discourse – that of her emotional difference from her co-stars on *"OKartes Skatuve"*: "people are simply not accustomed to her characteristic African temperament" (Delfi, 23 February 2012). One article referred to her "different temperament" or her "heated African temperament" after she had an emotional interview with the other *"OKartes Skatuve"* cast members who were talking about Lingita's attitude on the show (Example: "Her edge, Lingita explains, is due to a difference in temperament – the girl is guided by African blood. 'Kašers [Another contestant on the show – LR], who has lived in Africa, already told me once that people are simply not accustomed to my temperament – if I have emotions, I am not conscious that I am showing them" (Delfi, 13 February 2012. Translation mine).

Lingita's Nude Photos" (Headline, *Playboy* Latvia, March 2012).[77] Exotic, outside of other identifiers (i.e. brown skinned, African), is perhaps the main way that she is described in articles about her time on "*OKartes Skatuve*". There are no articles that mention her as 'curly haired Lingita' or 'brunette Lingita'. Every once in a while, there is an article that describes her as a 'young girl' or 'pretty girl', but these descriptors appear in articles that also start off labelling her as 'exotic'.

This equation between exotic and different is also extended to the conceptualisation of what is 'foreign' or 'different' in Latvia. By foreign, I am referring to an implied foreignness due to, in this case, skin colour (which means that implied localness is due to similar factors that also include hair colour, dress and other identifying characteristics). This implied foreignness creates a space where an individual of Black African descent is assumed to not be from Latvia. It is about the construction of difference in Latvia – a construction of foreignness as exoticness. Here, the discourse of difference in Latvia becomes one of outward appearance – be it skin colour, hair type or some other physical or other feature that marks someone as being 'not Latvian' or 'not from here'.

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77   After Lingita was voted off of *"Okartes Skatuve"*, she appeared on the cover of the March 2012 issue of *Playboy* Latvia. It turns out, according to Lingita's blog on the social network draugiem.lv, that the photos were from a photo shoot that took place before Lingita appeared on *"Okartes Skatuve"* (She was in modelling school). The transformation of Lingita from 18 year-old girl, who sometimes wears pink fuzzy slippers to interviews and is comforted by her mother at publicity photo shoots for the show, to a woman who is half naked (hands placed tastefully over her breasts) save for a pair of feather earrings marks a turn in her public image. Lingita has admitted that she has received some criticism regarding her *Playboy* photos. She wrote on draugiem.lv (*"Par Playboy"* ["About Playboy"], 7 March 2012) that "In recent days there has been an abnormally large uproar not only about my press, but also in relationship to the photos in the magazine *Playboy*, and there have been a lot of letters from my friends to me, where you all express your indignation, or the exact opposite (…)" (Translation mine). It has to be said that prior to her appearance in *Playboy*, none of the photos of Lingita – either for *"Okartes Skatuve"* or for interviews – presented Lingita as a subject of desire. The raciest photo in the *"Okartes Skatuve"* publicity stills is of Lingita wearing a pink dress that is slightly low cut at the front. Update (May 2012): Lingita has been asked to be the Latvian representative at the upcoming "Miss *Playboy*" pageant in the Philippines.

The Latvian media is not the only location where the discourse of foreignness and difference as exotic has appeared in my research (see also the examples of DeAndre Kambala and Alex Renfroe). My female informants of Black African descent also alluded to this topic in their interviews. Elizabeth, a woman of Black African descent (via the West Indies) who came to Latvia from England four years ago, related to me an encounter that she had in a Rīga nightclub:

> I hate that place. It's like paying for hell. It's one of those places where I walk in and everybody's dressed up, I'm not going to dress down, I dress up as well. And guys will automatically ask me how much I am. And that just sucks. So, I don't even, there's been so many times I've walked in and got a drink and walked straight out. Because I'm not. I'm not paying for that. You know? All my friends say it shouldn't bother me, 'you should come up with something funny to say'. I take it very personally and I take it as a complete offense. I refuse to share my time with people like that and it happens every time I go in there. So I don't go there anymore. And they've stopped asking me to go, you know? Because they know that I'd rather sit on my own than pay for hell. It's awful. It's an awful attitude to have. They're under the impression that if I'm the only black girl in the club, that I must be a prostitute. Must be. There's no other reason for me to be there. That sucks. I hate it there. I'm sorry. I feel strongly about that. (Interview, 7 May 2011)[78]

This particular conversation came about because Elizabeth had told me, when we first met, a story about men asking her if she had a 'sponsor'. A sponsor, she stated, is a man who pays for a woman over a long period of time. There have been occasions where men have literally stopped Elizabeth on the street to ask her if she had a sponsor. The assumption that she is a prostitute or a woman looking for a sponsor only supports the argument that the stereotype of Black African women as strictly sexual playthings does exist and circulate in modern-day Latvia.

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78   She indicated that she has had these types of encounters at other venues as well.

 Elizabeth is not the only woman of Black African descent in Latvia who described her experiences with men in my interviews. Rauna[79] also discussed how she was seen as dating material by (White) Latvian men (and men of Black African descent) – particularly how their dating preferences are influenced by skin colour. She mentioned in an earlier interview that she thinks that "black men they prefer blondi", but that local (White) Latvian guys preferred "black girls". In a more recent discussion, she elaborated a bit more about the association between the dating scene and skin colour in Latvia:

> I hear that they guys [inaudible] where they like black girls, that's something new and like, all of them, like they think [inaudible] black girl. It's like fresh meat, they [laughs], it's like that, they, they, um, want to try something new and that's why they like the black girls. It's something different, like, in our country. But for black guys it is more difficult because, like I said, if you are not a basketball star, that you are, it does not matter if you are, like smart or maybe, if you have, you are very rich, then maybe yes, you can live here. If not, it's very difficult. I know some friends and they have some really big problems with here and because of racism. And they are only guys. And but with the girls, they like it, because, um, boys all the time they ask for numbers and 'would you like, would you want to go on a date?' (…) because they are only interested in my skin tone or but, ah, like in person. And usually it's because of my skin tone not because of my personality (…). (Interview, November 10, 2010)

For Rauna, it is not the media perceptions of Black femalehood that make her desirable to (White) Latvian boys – it is her differentness or exoticness. It is also what she sees as making it 'easier' to be a woman of colour in Latvia, whereas Elizabeth makes a connection between these encounters and racist assumptions. Rauna, however, does not seem to find the interest based upon her skin colour to be as jarring. Her skin colour is not a marker of her identity and she sees the exoticness as something that eventually fades after a while – it dies down

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79   Rauna does not identify as Black. She identifies as Latvian.

once they get to know each other and once they realise that (through her fluent Latvian) she is also from Latvia – but it is the skin colour that first draws the (White) Latvian boy to the darker skinned girl of Black African descent in Latvia. The 'new' object of desire. A rarity.

Elizabeth, in contrast, sees the advances that she receives in the club as a personal offence. A 'how dare you think…!'. Her Blackness, through the eyes of the male at the club, is seen as strictly sexual and nothing more.[80] She is nothing higher than a prostitute. As Coly writes in Thompson (2008), the image of Black women as prostitutes stems from something deeper – it is part of how European males attempt to 'place' the Black female body in a type of category that is understandable to them (European males). Recalling Sharpley-Whiting, Coly states that "The European male psyche is torn between the desire to possess and know the mysterious black female body and the restrictive codes of social morality that police sexual behavior and construct racial and sexual promiscuity as unlicensed sexual activity" (2008: 272). The author adds that the European male then attempts to project "the undesirable into the desired, yet feared object". Hence, racialised women "came to represent that which the European male could not articulate without psychic crises: uninhibited sexuality. And uninhibited sexuality is presumably a characteristic of the prostitute" (2008: 272-273). The transformative power of the gaze creates a paradigm, in which, out of all of the other well-dressed women in the club, Elizabeth must be the prostitute. She must be a woman looking for a sponsor – someone to pay for her as a (sexual) object.

The gaze forces women of Black African descent to come face to face with their perceived differences in the eyes of the other. The gaze is not just part of the lives of women of Black African descent, but of the men too. In Latvia, it is known as the stare and it has

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80   This is also compounded by her low-level Latvian language skills. Her inability to speak Latvian (and Russian) intensifies the perception of her as foreign. The skin colour marks her difference and her accent and language skills demonstrate that she is 'not from here'.

its own form of discourse among individuals of Black African descent. The notion of the exotic or the different is also located within this discourse and it permeates the discussions that I have with my contacts. It is how the perception becomes 'real' in the eyes of individuals of Black African descent in Latvia and is what precedes the types of interactions that are described above by Elizabeth. It is how they realise that they are 'the exotic'.

Conclusion

The stares, mentioned in the paragraph above, serve as a fitting conclusion to this article. The discourse of the stare, like perceptions of 'Black' identity and Blackness, is complex in Latvia. I situate the stare in a place wherein there is a meeting of an individual's private and public perceptions of identity. The stare is yet another way that perceptions of Blackness and 'Black' identity operate in Latvia – it can be a factor in how identity is processed, in the same manner as place of birth, age, economic status, family circumstances, language and gender also contribute to identity and identification. For both the men and women of Black African descent in Latvia, this can mean many different things. As seen above with Rauna, it means that she comes face to face with how her skin colour influences how others identify and interact with her. For Elizabeth, it is the stares that she gets when she enters a nightclub right before she is propositioned. And for the men, Martin and Jean in particular, it can take on connotations of what kind of 'African' they are, as well as how they are perceived or not perceived as foreign. It is also apparent in the media portrayals of individuals of Black African descent. Lingita Lina Bopulu discusses the stare in her interviews, stating that "I had this experience in the past, everyone staring at me like that, and I took it to heart, but now I am no longer disturbed by this" (mango.lv, 18 January 2012). Her statement "I am no longer disturbed by this" implies that she acknowledges that she is still being stared at (even more so in the past couple of months now that she is a minor celebrity), even though it does not bother her to the extent that it used to in the past.

 These multiple factors all play a part in how individuals of Black African descent define their own identity, as well as how it is defined by others. These factors also demonstrate, as seen through the narratives detailed in this article, that there is a complexity and fluidity of identity within the individuals of Black African descent in Latvia. Throughout this article, I have demonstrated that the perceptions of individuals of Black African descent both in media and in day-to-day life are based upon multiple modes of understanding that are influenced by either socio-historical or global pop cultural factors. There is not one perception of 'Black' identity in Latvia. There are multitudes, which for a small population (100 or 300 depending on your sources) speaks volumes.

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Being a Full Citizen: 'African' Otherness, Political Representation and Struggle for Recognition in Belgium
By Dr Nicole Grégoire

Introduction

Whereas a 'Black' presence in Belgium can be traced back to the 15th century (Etambala, 1993: 5), it is only from the 1960s onwards that Belgium welcomed numerically significant migrations from Sub-Saharan African countries, starting with its former colony (Congo) and protectorates (Rwanda and Burundi). Sub-Saharan African migrants created ethnically-based[81] associations in which they could be in a familiar environment and support each other in a context often perceived as inhospitable. These associations long remained informal ones. Formal Sub-Saharan African voluntary organisations only began to emerge significantly in the 1990s. Stemming from former social networks, most of these associations still group along the lines of national or regional origins.

Nevertheless, since the early 1990s, several 'Pan African' associations have also been created with the aim of bringing together people of all Sub-Saharan African origins concerned with building a unified image of Sub-Saharan African populations in Belgium. Their leaders can be considered as part of an elite network in the landscape of Sub-Saharan African associations, given their long involvement in the civil society sector, their intellectual background, their professional status and, finally, the social capital they have managed to build within Belgian society.

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81   I embrace Fredrick Barth's approach to ethnicity (Barth, 1999). In this approach, ethnic groups are not viewed as timeless culture-bearing units. Instead, they are viewed as a form of social organisation and they are therefore the dynamic result of social interactions framing who is considered a cultural insider and who is not, at a particular period of time.

Taking into account the socio-political context of their emergence, this chapter will explore the ways this associational elite has engaged in 'immigrant politics' at different levels from 1990 to 2010, as they tried to build a 'Pan African' community in Belgium and lobbied for a better representation of 'African' people in the public sphere – in the political and physical sense – in order to be involved in the debates on issues concerning both people of Sub-Saharan African origin in Belgium and developments on the African continent. To do so, as will be developed below, the elite had to take ownership of the double condition of 'African Other' and of Belgian-European citizen.[82]

In Belgium, the term 'African' is commonly used as a synonym and euphemism for 'Black', as it indicates foreign origin and implicitly refers to specific phenotypical characteristics. Therefore, not only is it a generic, but also an ethno-racial category. This category has not always been and is still not self-evident to many of the people it entitles. Indeed, because their migration history is recent, people of Sub-Saharan African origin identify more strenuously with their country of origin: Congo, Rwanda, Ghana etc. Using two associational case studies, I will show how a struggle progressively emerged in Belgium for the recognition of a so-called 'African community' in the public sphere and in the 'community' itself. Recognition is used here as an interpretive concept, which allows us to "account for the various landscapes of meanings" of the claims formulated by those associational actors (Weinstock, 2008: 62).

The present chapter will examine (1) how the 'African' associational actors progressively became involved in the public sphere through the appropriation of this 'African' category, linked to two other specific categories: 'immigrant', on the one hand, and 'citizen' on the other; (2) how they formulated and tried to negotiate the content of these categories, especially how they aimed at reconciling otherness

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82   The data developed in this chapter come from ethnographic research I conducted from 2007 to 2010, which aimed at examining the link between associational life, collective action and political representation of the people of Sub-Saharan African origin in Belgium.

with sameness in their citizenship claims; and (3) how their recognition has been limited in Belgian society.

'African' Presence in Belgium: A Brief Overview

'African' presence in Belgium is often considered unconventional because it does not relate to labour importing policies developed after World War II. Those policies rather targeted people from around the Mediterranean: Italy, Spain, Greece, Morocco, Turkey (Caestecker, 2006). Migrations from Sub-Saharan Africa to Belgium became significant during the 1960s and were then linked to students from the former colonies and protectorates – Congo, Rwanda and Burundi – coming to Belgian universities to be trained as the future administrative elites of their newly independent countries. The degradation of life conditions in these countries of origin led a growing number of students to stay in Belgium. Also, national origins and migration trajectories progressively diversified, including students coming from other countries; more and more women through family reunification; and a growing number of asylum seekers from the 1990s onwards. According to a 2006 census based on nationalities at birth, about 93,687 people of Sub-Saharan origin are legally established in Belgium (CECLR, 2008: 132). In 2008, they were estimated at 113,000 (CECLR, 2011). Most of them come from the Democratic Republic of Congo (39.5%). Others come from Rwanda (9.8%), Cameroon (6.1%), Ghana (5%), and the remaining from all other Sub-Saharan African countries.

The Development of African Associations

Parallel to the evolution of migration trajectories, African associations[83] also began to develop in the 1960s. They were students' circles, women's associations, and artistic, religious, professional or political groups based on specific national, regional or 'ethnic' origins. For example, Congolese student clubs emerged, as well as Congolese women's associations, Kasayan mutual-help

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83   I use the expression 'African associations' as it is employed in the Belgian associational milieu to generically refer to non-profit organisations created and managed by – and mainly targeted at – people recognising themselves as of Sub-Saharan African origin.

organisations or Burundese cultural associations, mostly founded and managed by first generation migrants who tried to reproduce pre-migratory affinities.

Many of these associations remained informal, namely, with no official statutes published in the Belgian official journal (*Moniteur belge*). A *formal* African associational milieu emerged quite late, at the beginning of the 1990s. The 1990s are considered a decade of 'associational efflorescence' by many observers of the ethnic associational milieu. This corresponded to an opening of opportunities by public authorities, who became aware of the long-lasting presence of working-class immigrants, which, as explained before, the people from Sub-Saharan Africa were not. In Belgium, a double public concern emerged about, on the one hand, how to control these populations, especially the second-generation migrants who were involved in urban riots at the time, and on the other hand, the increasing popularity of the extreme right in Flanders (Ouali, 1992a; 1992b; Rea & Brion, 1992). Moreover, in the 1990s, immigration and integration became a public issue not only at the national, but also at the European level, as was evident in the discussions preceding the Maastricht and the Amsterdam Treaties (Guiraudon, 2004). As a result, Belgian public authorities created a number of advisory bodies and also dedicated new public funds to the 'integration' of migrants that encouraged migrant associations to develop, and spokespeople to emerge from various 'communities'.

Being a Full Citizen: Pan African associations and Collective Struggle for Recognition

Settling Down

This political window of opportunities seems to have given some residents of Sub-Saharan African origin the idea of *belonging* to the immigrant population. This appropriation of the category of 'immigrants' defined as long-lasting settlers was hardly self-evident for those residents, precisely because of the atypical nature of their

presence in Belgium as student migrants. The student status conditioned the duration of stay to the duration of the study programme. As a consequence, it strongly limited any prospect of a future life in Belgium, both in subjective terms and in terms of having access to material and symbolic resources, for instance, a stable and quality job, i.e. a job corresponding to the qualifications obtained during the student's studies. Because the student status was hard to change into a long-term residence permit, it led to the phenomenon of so-called 'career students', who, in order to remain legally in the host country while waiting for better opportunities, accumulated studies and diplomas (Mayoyo Bitumba, 1995: 93-94).

Conscious of the *fait accompli* of their permanent settlement in Belgium, some residents of Sub-Saharan African origin – most of them already involved in the ethnic associational milieu – developed an identity 'framing' which aimed to give value to their own 'immigrant' status.[84] They wanted to be recognised as permanent residents just like the immigrant populations targeted by new public policies. The first visible step of this framing is the establishment of the Council of African Communities in Europe and in Belgium, known as CCAEB in French.[85] It was officially founded in 1994 by seven people originating from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Senegal, Burundi and Burkina Faso. The CCAEB defines itself as a federation of African associations. During my fieldwork, its administrators called it a 'Pan African' organisation, in order to mark their efforts in transcending more specific national or ethnic identifications.

What was at stake in the 1990s was the shift from a daily, ordinary form of otherness to the construction of an effective social group and a political category, as one of the founders puts it:

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84   Social movement theories based on Erving Goffman's concept of 'framing' define it as an interpretive process destined to rally supporters behind a cause (Snow et al, 1986).
85   *Conseil des Communautés Africaines en Europe et en Belgique.*

> I was (…) hugely frustrated at the time, there was no African associa-
> tional milieu! There were associations everywhere: for Moroccans,
> for Turks, very powerful… (…) Recognised, formal, visible within
> the public sphere. For and by Africans, there was nothing – noth-
> ing, nothing. Nothing! (…) And that was what annoyed me a little
> bit, this lack of pan-African vision (…) The fact that Sub-Saharan
> people in Belgium were in no way visible, the fact that, obviously,
> one could show up [at the public authorities' doors] and say: "We,
> the Italian community, we, the Greek community, we the Turkish,
> the Moroccan community" but no one ever said "the African com-
> munity". (William, 24 January 2009)

For the founders of the CCAEB, an important part of the organi-
sational work at the time was to articulate 'Africanity' with long-
term, sustainable immigration and to make not only public authori-
ties align with this articulation, but also members of the emerging
'African community' who had not yet 'settled down'. As another
founder of CCAEB states:

> At the time (…) we were identifying ourselves, because a lot of peo-
> ple did not know whether they were immigrants, or in transit, wheth-
> er they should unpack or pack their bags… It is only from that mo-
> ment on that we started to develop *real* strategies for socio-economic
> integration. (…) For instance, it is with the CCAEB that I became
> aware of the importance of learning Dutch. I took my first Dutch
> lessons at the CCAEB. (Joseph, 5 April 2009)

To recognise oneself as an immigrant, thus meant to recognise one-
self as durably settled in Belgium. Consequently, it also meant to
start aspiring to equality of rights and to parity in terms of partici-
pation in society. *Being institutionally recognised* as an immigrant
therefore meant acquiring the legitimacy to elaborate claims in the
new spheres dedicated to this qualification. With the ambition to
be present where "migrants or MPs (…) started to discuss social
issues", as a founder states it (Julie, 18 May 2007), the CCAEB

positioned itself quite rapidly as an intermediary between the government and the 'African communities' in the various Belgian – French- and Dutch-speaking – and European institutions created to establish a dialogue with the so-called 'immigrant populations' (Grégoire 2010). A founder of the CCAEB explains how, at the time, the point of the matter was:

> To be recognised as immigrants in the same way as all the other people, with all the rights that come with it. (…) Moroccans obtained a five-year residence permit here. (…) If you had the five-year card, you automatically got an 'A' work card (…) But it came with other things! If you had the five-year card, for instance, you could get a work permit, you could ask for work, you could bring your family over. You could get married, you could do everything like a Belgian citizen! In fact, it was the right to citizenship. Whereas until then, they were mostly students. That's what we said of eternal students or professional students. Some of them had been here since the 1960s or 1970s! (Joseph, 5 April 2009).

From African Immigrant to Belgian Citizen

In the course of the 1990s, these actors increasingly appropriated the 'citizen' category, which progressively replaced that of immigrant. People of Sub-Saharan African origin increasingly asked for Belgian citizenship, particularly from the second half of the 1990s onwards. Three factors explain this shift: first, as already said, the rising consciousness of long-term settlement in Belgium; secondly, the subsequent rising concern about the stakes in terms of socio-economic incorporation; and thirdly, the successive facilitations of the Belgian civil code regarding citizenship since 1984 (Marx et al, 2008: 73-74).

Belgian citizenship thus gave an additional legitimacy to the claims that could be made by the 'community', by allowing them to position themselves as "[European] Community citizens, although of immigrant origin" (Julie, CCAEB founder, 18 May 2007). However,

acquiring the Belgian citizenship does not prevent one from being perceived and pointed at as a foreigner in everyday interactions, because of an 'origin' conspicuously appearing as 'other'. Also, it does not prevent one from experiencing the unpleasant consequences that can derive from such prejudice – notably in terms of access to the labour market and housing. Moreover, a change of citizenship does not erase self-identifications as Congolese, Rwandese, Cameroonian, Senegalese, etc. The challenge, then, for these 'new Belgians' and for those who aspired to a "migrant career" (Martiniello and Rea, 2011) in Belgian society, was to be recognised as legitimate and competent interlocutors, able to take part in societal debates just as any other citizen, both *because of* and *in spite of* the labelling as 'Other'.

Moja, another 'Pan African' association that has benefitted from a certain visibility in the public sphere, was founded officially in 2004. However, in 2003 already, following the federal elections, the *Informateur*[86] of the Belgian Government met the representatives of Moja, which was still at formation stage, along with the CCAEB and the Bishop of the New Jerusalem – a wealthy Pentecostal church, well-known in Belgium for having a lot of members originating from Sub-Saharan Africa. These representatives were invited in order to present their concerns and recommendations concerning the 'Sub-Saharan African community'. It was the first time that the government's *Informateur* recognised four "minority cultural civil communities", which were: people from Sub-Saharan Africa, people from the Maghreb, Turks and Jews. As several observers have indicated, this recognition is obviously related to the growing number of naturalisations and to the fact that the populations originating from Sub-Saharan Africa henceforth constituted an increasingly important group of voters (Ndiaye, 2004: 3; Lambert, 2003). Moja, the CCAEB and the New Jerusalem representatives were therefore heard as experts of the

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86   The *Informateur* of the Belgian government is responsible, after the federal elections, for meeting representatives of political parties and members of the civil society in order to prepare a report for the King concerning the future government and its policies.

'African community'. Moja submitted a memorandum after two successive federal elections. It was written following two 'Fora of the African Community'. The 2007 memorandum refers repeatedly to notions of respect, recognition, dignity and struggle for a legal status, as well as the recognition of the competences and the visibility of the members of the 'African community' in Belgian society (Moja, 2007).

In 2007, Moja presented itself on its website as a "network and representation organisation, aiming at leading reflection and actions for a life in Belgium that would be harmonious and respectful of one's dignity". It also claimed "to work toward the expression of a full and complete citizenship, for all people of Sub-Saharan origin". When I asked one of the administrators what was the meaning of the expression "full and complete citizenship", he replied: "It's a way of saying that we are here, that we want to take part [in Belgian life]. We do not want to be different, we want to be citizens like any other people" (Samuel, 11 April 2007). However, he went on to say that there remained a peculiar dimension:

> A citizen is the inhabitant of a city, so he has the right to participate in every level of society. If the nation has a culture, we have a right to participate in this culture. So, in the future, when one would speak of Belgium as a country where people eat fries, maybe one will also speak of a country where people play the *djembe* because it will have become part of Belgian culture. We must be present at every level.

The memorandum signals those 'levels' that seem the most important to be present at: "to participate, to exert one's own citizenship, is to be present and visible in the public media, social, economic and political spheres" (Moja, 2007: 2). Indeed, what is emphasised is the visibility of 'Africans' both in the media realm and public services, as well as the recognition of their competences by granting them access to jobs that correspond to their qualifications, whatever

their legal status. What underlies this claim of a shared participation in public life in Belgium is the idea of offering a socially enhancing image of this 'African' presence in Belgium by making it commonplace. However, in addition to demands to be citizens like any other, the memorandum also features claims to the recognition of a specific *expertise*, this time underlining otherness. Indeed, it calls for more participation in the representation – in terms of narratives – of Africa and its descendants. The Moja memorandum asks, for instance, that the 'African community' takes part in the writing, teaching and widespread dissemination, in Belgium, of the history of the relationships between Africa and Europe, a history that is still under-represented in the media and in education curricula.

Finally the memorandum asks for the opinion of experts of Sub-Saharan origin to be taken into account in decisions on development and migration policies. Regarding development policies, these experts do have a window of opportunity to be heard. During the 1990s, Belgian and other governments realised that many of these 'Southern migrants' contributed, more or less informally, to the improvement of the living conditions of their families and compatriots who stayed in the countries of origin. A growing rhetoric developed around the participation of the 'diaspora' of so-called developing countries in the socio-economic, or even political development of these countries. The 'migrant communities' were designated as 'new partners' of institutional development cooperation (Develtere & Michel, 2009: 62). This context favoured the emergence of associational actors of Sub-Saharan African origin in the Belgian, European and African public spheres dedicated to international development. African associational actors thus had at their disposal legitimate arguments to demand the status of "inescapable mediators in development cooperation" (Ndiaye, 2004: 4).

Conclusion

On the one hand, claims to recognition are founded on the wish to be legitimately seen and heard in the physical, political and media

public spheres. Here citizenship and recognition suggest rendering the 'African' presence in Belgium commonplace. In the spaces of interaction and representation, what is at stake is not so much being regarded as 'African' or 'Black', but rather as a fellow citizen, able, as any other, to practice one's profession as journalist, doctor, teacher or politician as the case may be. On the other hand, the aspiration to participate in the processes of decision making and representation concerning the 'African' presence in Belgium and the continent of origin, underlines the need to recognise the expertise of these migrants on the grounds of their foreign origins.

One could say, paraphrasing Abdelmalek Sayad (1999: 115), that from the 1990s onwards, there was a will to move from a double absence to a double public presence. That is, to transform the physical absence in the country of origin and symbolic absence in the country of settlement into a double presence, which implies recognising oneself and being recognised more and more as a competent and legitimate actor not only in social, spheres – but also in the decision making spheres concerning the continent of origin and its representation. The recognition is most of all presented, in its claims, as a quest for a social status (Fraser, 2005: 79-82). This social status would allow, in turn, the development of a positive social identity (Weinstock, 2008: 66). This is why the claim to a 'common' citizenship defined by equal participation does not exclude, on another level, the claim to a specific citizenship underlining otherness and based on ethnicity-related expertise.

The remaining question has to do with the nature of afforded recognition and its limits. Indeed, the recognition as legitimate interlocutor in the public sphere does not necessarily imply the recognition of proposals and demands. For instance, the recognition of the 'migrant' as a valid 'partner' of institutional development cooperation has been denounced by some of these actors as being only a *discursive* recognition, limiting itself to a multiplication of

invitations to talks and conferences. It has been denounced as not being a *performative* recognition because the competences of the so-called 'migrants' are not, in fact, mobilised in the definitions of Western international development policies (Oyatambwe, 2004: 19). The struggle for recognition of these associational leaders has remained largely accommodational with the public institutions. Their criticisms account for the fact that recognition rarely implies a symmetrical relationship between those who ask for it, and those who grant it. In particular, as has been underlined by some socio-anthropological works on recognition, the assigned character of recognition in institutional spheres limits and "formats the taking into consideration of claims, expectations and personal abilities" (Payet & Battegay, 2008: 34; Ferrarese, 2008).

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Section Three:

The Impact of Discrimination Against People of African Descent in Specific Policy Areas

An Apple a Day Keeps the Doctor Away… But so Does White Privilege: Everyday Racism, Perceived Discrimination and the Health Costs of Social Exclusion for Black People in Europe

By Denise Hansen

"Of all the forms of inequality, injustice in healthcare is the most shocking and inhumane." - Martin Luther King Jr.

The health disparities between African-Americans and White Americans have been documented for nearly 30 years.[87] Here is what we know so far: we know that Black[88] women have a 43% higher risk than White women for delivering their babies prematurely and that they are also between two and three times as likely to have babies extremely early, in less than 32 weeks. Past infancy, we know that Black children in the US are more likely to suffer from asthma and obesity and have poorer oral health than White children; we also know that these health problems continue into adulthood: diabetes strikes Black people more often than it does White people and in 2010, the prevalence of obesity in Black people was nearly double that of White people; we know Black women have the highest breast cancer death rates (they are 40% more likely to die of the disease than White women) and that US Black women are also more likely to have cervical cancer and twice as likely to die from it as White women. We also know that near the end of life, health disparities do not wane: African-Americans have the highest death rates from stroke and hypertension and the largest incidence and

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87   For further background, see Docteur and Berenson, 2014.
88   Like Ahmed (1993), I will use the term 'Black' when referring to Black populations collectively. I don't deny the differences in ethnicities and histories that exist among Black populations. Instead, it is of greater significance to me here to focus on the common, lived experience of racism experienced by Black communities rather than their ethnic differences. This is why I use the collective term 'Black' throughout. I will use terms including Black African or Black Caribbean when this population is being specifically referenced.

highest death rates from colorectal cancer. And finally, we know that these health disadvantages cut life considerably short: Black men can, on average, expect to live five to seven years less than White men, and Black women can, on average, expect to live four years less than White women (Vox Media, 2014). What explains the persistent health gap? In addition to socio-economic inequalities, American researchers point to discrimination and racism, noting that even when socio-economic markers such as education and income are controlled for, African-Americans still experience worse health (Braveman, 2012; Docteur and Berenson, 2014; Hoberman, 2012; Kwate, 2014; Muennig and Murphy, 2011; Vox Media, 2014).

The question arises: if the health disparities experienced by African-Americans can be partially, if not largely, attributed to historically institutionalised racism and discrimination present in the United States, what kind of health outcomes exist for Black Europeans and people of African descent in the racial climate that is contemporary Europe? That is, a Europe where soccer fans throw bananas at Black players and the phrase "this is a bongo bongo government" is the unsolicited reaction to Italy's first Black cabinet minister by other members of Parliament; a Europe where Nazi-influenced right-wing parties are experiencing soaring electoral support, and progressive Sweden's Minister of Culture sees no harm in laughing for the cameras as she cuts into a cake depicting a naked Black woman, an art installation meant to highlight the issue of female genital mutilation. Around a third of Europeans claim that there is "a natural hierarchy of races", with White people on top and Black people at the bottom (Open Salon, 2011).

Given the explicitly public expression of White supremacist ideologies and anti-Black sentiment present in Europe today, what are the physiological (and mental) health effects for Black Europeans and people of African descent? If racism is seen to have an effect on African-American health, how then is Black health in Europe affected by discrimination and racial intolerance? Do Black health

outcomes in Europe paint an equally unsettling picture that, like in the US, being White works better than most medicine when it comes to staying healthy?

1. The Data on Black Health Outcomes

To date, much of the research on the health outcomes of Black Europeans and people of African descent living in Europe has come out of the United Kingdom (UK).[89] Studies have consistently shown a poorer health profile of Black Caribbean and Black African populations across a range of outcomes, most notably co-morbid conditions including hypertension, raised blood pressure, obesity and diabetes, as well as broader measures of general health (Bahl, 1998; Dalton, 2014; Nazroo, 2007; Agyemang, 2009). As such, the prevalence of these conditions among African Caribbean populations in the UK has resulted in high rates of stroke and excess morbidity and mortality from cardiovascular disease (Agyemang, 2012; Bahl, 1998; Dalton, 2014; Nazroo, 2007). Black health outcomes in the UK also find that cerebrovascular disease and associated strokes are more common in African (particularly East and West Sub-Saharan Africans) and African Caribbean communities (Rafnsson et al, 2013).

Studies on Black health in the UK have also focused on the increased prevalence of diabetes, sickle cell disorders and renal problems among Black communities (Bahl, 1998; Curtis and Lawson, 2000; Adams et al, 2014; Agyemang, 2009). In the Health Survey for England (HSE), the age standardised risk ratio for diabetes (which, if higher than 1.0, indicates there is a higher number of deaths than expected) was 2.5 for African Caribbean men and 4.2 for African Caribbean women (Agyemang, 2009). Recent UK diabetes estimates indicate that 17% of the African Caribbean community in the UK has type II diabetes compared with just 3% of the general UK population (Agyemang, 2009). The HSE also found that Black Caribbean populations, particularly, experience higher

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89   For further background, see Agyemang, 2009.

rates of any cardiovascular disease or diabetes, diagnosed diabetes and diagnosed hypertension than their White English counterparts (Nazroo, 2007).

Measures of mental health among Black populations in England have demonstrated equally unfavourable figures. Diagnoses of schizophrenia are estimated to be three to six times higher among African Caribbean groups than the White English population, possibly a result of African Caribbean communities' increased likelihood of being inducted into psychiatry through coercive means, and being more subject to compulsory hospital stays when mental illness does arise (Bahl, 1998; Curtis, 2000). Consequently, high rates of psychiatric hospital admission are seen in African Caribbean British men, and African Caribbean communities, as a whole, are overrepresented in secondary mental health in-patient and forensic services (Curtis, 2000; Adams, 2014). Studies on African Caribbean communities' experiences of depression have been inconclusive, however. While some studies have found that the African Caribbean community is equally or more likely to suffer from depression (often mixed with anxiety) than White British people, others have found no differences in the prevalence of anxiety and depression between African Caribbean groups and White groups (Weich, 2004; Adams, 2014; Kelaher et al, 2008). More conclusive studies have found that Black people in England are more likely to report depressive neurosis and non-affective psychosis; illnesses characterised by delusions, hallucinations and difficulty in communicating and motivation (Curtis, 2000).

Similar to UK research, studies on the health of Black communities living in the Netherlands show a high prevalence of hypertension, most notably among African-Surinamese populations who have higher rates of hypertension than their White Dutch counterparts (Shuster et al, 2011; Agyemang, 2012). Ghanaian migrants living in Amsterdam have especially high rates of hypertension: the prevalence of hypertension among Ghanaian men and women is 54% and

56%, respectively. This is far above the prevalence rates reported among African-Surinamese communities in the Netherlands and even African-Americans in the United States (Agyemang, 2012). Studies from the Netherlands have also shown that mortality rates are higher among the Surinamese-Dutch compared with the local-born Dutch population (Rafnsson et al, 2013). Also similar to UK data, Dutch studies have shown a higher prevalence of type II diabetes in African-Surinamese groups (Agyemang, 2009). A recent Dutch report showed the standardised prevalence of type II diabetes in African Surinamese individuals was 14.2% compared with 5.5% in White Dutch individuals (Agyemang, 2009).

An important dimension of the health profile of any community is the health outcomes of women and again, the UK has examined this topic more than other European countries. Studies consistently show that Black women in Britain, particularly women of Caribbean descent, are more likely to report poor health status and illness than any other group (Curtis, 2000; Jayaweera, 2010). Is this because Black women in the UK experience worse health outcomes? Interestingly, no: longitudinal studies suggest self-reported poor health *precedes* ill health (Paradies, 2006).

Still, like African Caribbean men in the UK, African and Caribbean women are at a higher risk of hypertension than their White counterparts (Agyemang, 2009; Bahl, 1998). Recently, the experience of hypertension during pregnancy, leading to low birth weight and worse perinatal outcome in African-American women as compared to native women, has been much investigated in the United States (Curtis, 2000). And while the same patterns may also hold true for Black women across Europe, very few studies have explored this relationship. Still, we know that in Black UK mothers, observed average birth weight is up to 300g less than those of White mothers, and the rates of low birth weight are up to two and a half times those for Whites. Black Caribbean infants are, on average, 150g lighter than White infants and Black African infants are, on average, 70g

lighter compared to White infants (Curtis, 2000). Previous work on low birth weights has suggested that birth weight influences the risk of development of chronic disease in later life, with researchers hypothesising that rapid post-natal growth plays a significant role in later disease risk (Curtis, 2000).

The health of Black mothers in the UK is also significant. From 2003 to 2005, researchers found that Black African mothers, followed by Black Caribbean mothers, had significantly higher death rates than White mothers (Jayaweera, 2010). Said national population study revealed that Black African and Black Caribbean women had more than double the risk of severe maternal morbidity than White English women (Jayaweera, 2010). In particular, Black Caribbean mothers, who are also less likely to be recent migrants, experienced nearly four times the risk of maternal death as White women (Jayaweera, 2010).

The role of obesity in Black UK women's health has also been much explored. And while the effects of obesity on health are marked, whether the incidence of overweight and obesity is a fair measure when comparing Black and White health outcomes is highly debated as varying social and cultural meanings are ascribed to body size and shape across cultures. Nevertheless, studies have found African Caribbean women in England have higher levels of overweight and obesity than their White countrywomen (Agyemang, 2009; Dalton et al, 2014). In the HSE, the prevalence of obesity was 32.1% in African Caribbean women and 38.5% in Sub-Saharan African women as compared with 23.2% in women in the general English population (Agyemang, 2009). Higher rates of raised waist to hip ratio (WHR) and waist circumference were also found more often among African Caribbean and Sub-Saharan African women than among women in the general population (Agyemang, 2009). As regards mental health, Black women in the UK have shown high levels of anxiety, depressive neurosis and non-affective psychosis (Curtis, 2000).

There is little data available on Black health outcomes outside of
the UK and the Netherlands.[90] The few studies that have been done
comparing Black health with the health outcomes of White popula-
tions across various European countries have generally also empha-
sised an increased risk of hypertension, stroke, cardiovascular dis-
ease, renal damage, obesity, type II diabetes and high resting blood
pressure as prevalent conditions (Agyemang, 2009; Agyemang,
2012). High cerebrovascular death rates have also been found in
African origin populations across France and Sweden (Rafnsson et
al, 2013). It is the case, however, that many studies on Black health
outside of the UK and the Netherlands have tended to focus on the
health outcomes of migrants as opposed to Black populations who
have lived in Europe for generations.

Dr James Nazroo, Professor of Sociology and Director of the ESRC
Centre on Dynamics of Ethnicity at the University of Manchester in
the UK, explains this phenomena: "The European literature
broadly talks about migrant health rather than racial disparities and
ethnic inequalities. The consequence of that is that in some coun-
tries you see lots of investigation of health inequalities and in other
countries very little", explains Nazroo, whose research interests in-
clude ethnic, race and health inequalities.

"The UK and the Netherlands have particular types of migration
histories which make this [racial inequality] of concern in the two
countries so migration from Suriname and the Caribbean are the
key driving forces. There are also different ways in which different
European countries orientate themselves to the question of race",
outlines Nazroo.

France is a country historically resistant to examining statistics by
ethnic group. In France, the French concept of citizen is rooted in
the notion of universal citizenship – that is, everyone who is French

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is French and not Black French or White French.[91] As a result, it is illegal to collect race and ethnicity-based statistics in France. This is the assimilation model which states equality is achieved through invisibility; a model followed by many European states who justify the limited production of ethnic statistics to ethical, ideological and historical considerations.[92] As a result, data on the health outcomes of Black populations across Europe is exceedingly limited.

2. Popular Explanations for Black Health Inequalities

The influence of culture on health has historically been an easy option for policy makers in explaining the increased risk Black Europeans and people of African descent have towards developing health conditions including hypertension, stroke, cardiovascular disease, renal damage, obesity, type II diabetes and high resting blood pressure (Donovan, 1986). Cultural studies maintain that the cultural practices distinctive to a cultural group have a negative effect on their health (Donovan, 1986); in the case of Black people in Europe, cultural studies maintain that the cultural practices distinctive among Black communities have a negative effect on their health. In much of Europe, the association African culture makes between being overweight and prestige, happiness and good, healthy living has been used by health policy makers to explain the high rates of overweight and obesity witnessed among this group, especially women (Agyemang, 2009; Donovan, 1986). As obesity is a risk factor for other conditions including hypertension, high resting blood pressure, diabetes and the like, the role of food and a larger body size in African culture has been used to explain these health conditions as well (Agyemang, 2009). Similarly in the United States, the integral role 'soul food' – high in starch, fat, sodium, cholesterol and calories – plays in African-American culture has often been used to explain African-Americans' high rates of overweight and obesity and subsequently, high rates of hypertension, diabetes, high blood pressure and other health ills (Shannon, 2001; Braveman, 2012; Hoberman, 2012). As a result, European and American health

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91 For further background, see Boulogne et al, 2012.
92 For further background, see Boulogne et al, 2012.

policy has focused on promoting healthy lifestyles (better eating habits, more exercise) among Black communities and placed the onus on these very communities to improve their *own* health.

"You can see the logic that drives that", explains Nazroo. "If you have a higher rate of disease X in group Y, the thinking is: what is it about group Y that leads to that higher risk of disease X? That's been the tradition."

There are integral problems with the 'culture camp', however. Black health advocates have suggested that using culture to explain the health disparities Black populations in Europe (and elsewhere) experience is problematic for it emphasises the exotic and unusual of an individual's culture, focusing on the negative effects (as seen through Western eyes) of that person's cultural practices on their health (Donovan, 1986). The assumption is made that individuals are subsumed within their cultures and are thus alien and unwilling to adapt to the 'European way of life' (Donovan, 1986). Cultural explanations also ignore the fact that social and economic forces often overcome cultural prescriptions: that is, cultural prescriptions are often used as a coping mechanism from the stresses of everyday life related to social and economic conditions (Donovan, 1986). For example, discussions around African-Americans' health have often highlighted the comfort 'soul food' affords communities of colour who feel outcast in American society. Soul food, as much as it is unhealthy, also acts as a coping mechanism, providing a social environment where Black people feel comfortable and respected, away from the stresses of their socio-economic position and/or White American society. We can consider how this same theory may apply to Black European communities. Social and economic forces (read: socio-economic position) may have more of a significant and influencing effect on negative health behaviours than culture per se.

Nazroo explains: "I'm concerned about inequality or disparity. So if I'm concerned about inequality or disparity then what I'm

concerned about is how our social environments impact on our health... The cultural underpinnings of condition X, I really don't care about. What I care about is the fact that people are leading [disadvantaged] lives and deserve to have that addressed. One way of attempting to have that addressed is to point to the health consequences of it."

Still, other explanations for the higher incidence of some health conditions among Black Europeans and people of African descent have downplayed both social and environmental factors and attempted to argue genetic underpinnings instead.[93] Traditionally, there has been an attempt to attribute the high incidence of conditions including hypertension, sickle cell disease and schizophrenia among Black populations in Europe to genetic susceptibility (Hopkins, 1993; Ahmad, 1993). The problem with gene theories is that they do not take into account that race – and being Black – is a social construct, not a biological phenomenon. Further, there is enormous variation in ethnic differences between Europeans of African descent and Europeans of Caribbean descent, as well as within African descent and within Caribbean descent populations (Ahmad, 1993).

"Clearly there are some conditions that have some genetic underpinning, like sickle cell disease for example", explains Nazroo. "But even for those conditions there isn't a one to one correlation with race, so not only is it the case that not all people of a particular race have that particular phenotype, it is also the case that people who are not of that race have that phenotype. And it's also the case that race doesn't demarcate us as a population. So if you take the ancestry of someone who might be nominally Black American and you trace that back, you'll find that race does not define their heritage clearly. The crossover of genes is a universal feature of our lives." Because only a very small number of genes determine one's phenotype (Gould, 1977), race becomes a poor predictor of overall genetic susceptibility (Agyemang, 2012).

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93   For further background, see Nazroo, 2007 and Muennig, 2011.

Further, while conditions like sickle-cell anaemia may indeed be more prevalent among Black populations, race still is not a good predictor of overall genetic variation in known genetically determined disease risk factors as genetics almost always interact with environmental factors (Muennig, 2011). Researchers have identified that gene expression is determined by a complex interplay between the gene and the environment and studies consistently find that when environmental factors are controlled for, genes play a very small role in disease risk and incidence (Lewontin, 1982; Muennig, 2011; Hopkins, 1993; Kelley, 2008). For example, researchers have found it is highly possible that the familial aggregation of hypertension might merely reflect environmental exposures shared within families (Agyemang, 2012). They have also questioned why it is children of African descent in the UK report blood pressure levels lower or similar to their White counterparts whereas in adults, blood pressure levels were higher in people of African descent as compared to White people (Agyemang, 2012). The findings favour an interaction between genetics *and* environmental factors.

"The more complex genetic risks, for example those involved with heart disease, depend upon a correlation between different genes and a correlation between those different genes and environmental risk factors", explains Nazroo. "So then to think about this [health disparities] in terms of biology really doesn't get us any closer to dealing with the actual risk of heart disease. You can't mess about with the correlation of the different genetic risk factors, but what you can do is try and eliminate the environmental risk factors that trigger the genetic combinations."

The critical problem with exclusively citing genetic determination as a central cause for the health disparities experienced by Black populations in Europe (and elsewhere) is that it reinforces scientifically unfounded assumptions about the role genetic difference plays in racial or ethnic disparities in health (Braveman, 2012). This is problematic in and of itself. It is also problematic as it leads to a

convenient and dangerous justification for accepting health disparities as inevitable.

3. Racism as an Explanation for Black Health Inequalities

It is not that culture and genetics are of no significance to health. It is simply that they are among a *host* of possible explanations and determinants, most key among them racism and discrimination, which I argue are among the most important and predictive factors of health for Black people living in Europe today.

When most people consider the link between racism and health, they might think about racism's effects on access to healthcare.[94] In the case of Black populations in Europe, it is often theorised that racism affects health when Black people are hesitant to visit a doctor's office due to fear that they will face discrimination and receive negative or lesser treatment. While on an individual level this experience may hold very true for some, European studies have consistently shown that rates of access to healthcare are not lower (indeed, sometimes rates are higher) for ethnic minority populations compared to White populations (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013; Adams, 2014). This is not to deny that medical racism exists and that for some, it has a real and very meaningful impact on how frequently they seek guidance from medical professionals. Instead, the rate of use of health services by ethnic minority populations demonstrates that there are far more extensive and critical social patterns occurring within European society to explain how racism affects health.

Like in the United States, the few European countries that have studied the effects of racism on health have found that the experience of everyday racism and micro aggressions may induce physiological and psychological arousal which can have an adverse effect

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94   For further background, see Hopkins, 1993; Hoberman, 2012; Hernandez-Quevado, 2009; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013.

on health (Muennig, 2011; Paradies, 2006; Paradies et al, 2013; Braveman, 2012; Becares et al, 2009; Johnston et al, 2012). But how does this happen?

Research links racism and stress to demonstrate how repeated experiences of racism (or expected racism) and discrimination can lead to adverse health (Muennig, 2011; Paradies, 2006; Paradies et al, 2013; Braveman, 2012; Becares et al, 2009; Johnston et al, 2012). Stress can come from a number of triggers, including more obvious incidents of intentional bias. But it can also come from subtler experiences like chronic vigilance and internalised racism (when a marginalised group accepts their cultural stereotypes) (Braveman, 2012; Muennig, 2011). When stress is increased, especially on a consistent, everyday basis, it has the potential to damage the body through a process medical scientists call allostatis (Muennig, 2011; Johnston et al, 2013). During allostatis, the autonomic nervous system, the hypothalamic-pituary-adrenal axis, and the cardiovascular, metabolic and immune systems all 'rev up' to protect the body as it responds to any internal or external stress factors (McEwan et al, 1993; Johnston et al, 2013). During a stressful incident, a rapid activation of the sympathoadrenal system and the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenocortical axis occurs giving rise to behavioural and physiological responses intended to help an individual survive the stressful event (McEwan et al, 1993; Johnston et al, 2013). Usually, in episodes of low stress or those that pass quickly, this response is protective: enhancing immune functions, increasing blood pressure and heart rate to meet the physical and behavioural demands of fight or flight, and making fuel more readily available to sustain intensified activity (McEwan et al, 1993; Johnston et al, 2013). However, if stress does not pass quickly, exposure to the persistent increased secretion of stress hormones can result in allostatic load (Johnston et al, 2013). The theory that allostatic load leads to negative health consequences has been well explored in health studies, and evidence posits that elevated stress levels that cause continuous surges in blood pressure, overtime, may result in myocardial infarction

or increased risk of heart attack (Muennig, 2011; Johnston et al, 2013; McEwan et al, 1993; Lukachko, 2014). Along these lines, a positive correlation between discrimination and blood pressure has been found by many researchers (Paradies, 2006; Paradies, 2013; Johnston et al, 2013). The stress attributed to racism and discrimination has also been proven to cause weight gain, higher cholesterol levels, unhealthy levels of BMI, and lower general health and mental health (Johnston et al, 2013). As we know, these are health conditions which have high incidence among Black Europeans and people of African descent in Europe.

Rates of perceived discrimination and self-reported racism have also shown to produce similar negative health outcomes for Black populations in Europe, especially in regards to mental health.[95] A population-based incidence and case control study of first episode psychosis in the UK found that perceived discrimination partly explained the excess rates of psychosis among Black British people (Chakraborty et al, 2011).

"Racism increases your risk of developing anxiety, depression and psychosis and it triples your rate, on average, of developing a mental health problem", explains Dr Kwame McKenzie, an expert on the social causes of mental illness who, as a UK physician, psychiatrist, researcher and policy adviser, has studied to identify the causes of mental illness in cross-cultural health for over two decades. "We have found [in our UK research] that if you have been a victim of a racist attack, you were at the highest risk [of developing a mental health problem] rather than if you had been a victim of verbal racism [only] or if you had not suffered from racism [at all]. However, we also found that if you had not suffered from verbal or physical attack but you believed that you were *at risk* of racism because of the colour of your skin, you also had an increased risk of developing mental health problems by about 50%. And that is important

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95   For further background, see Paradies, 2006; Paradies, 2013; Chakraborty et al, 2011; Veling, 2006.

because in the data that we were looking at, we found that about 1 % of people had been a victim of a racist attack; about 12% of people had been the victim of serious racial abuse; and about 60% of people thought they might be at risk of discrimination because of the colour of their skin. So while the risk of developing mental health problems was low, the actual number of people who were exposed to that risk factor was much higher. So racism becomes a very important risk factor."

Similarly, Dutch cross-sectional studies have reported an association between perceived discrimination and the prevalence of psychosis at the individual level (Chakraborty et al, 2011; Veling, 2006). Further, a 2006 Dutch study also found that belonging to an ethnic minority group perceiving a high degree of racism is a risk factor for psychotic disorders (Veling, 2006). A Dutch meta-analysis found that the risks were particularly high for dark-skinned immigrants, who are likely to experience and report a higher degree of discrimination than all other ethnic groups (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013; Veling, 2006). The findings are consistent with studies from the UK which highlight the highest risk of psychotic disorders has been found in the African Caribbean population, which is also the ethnic minority group that consistently reports the highest degree of discrimination among all other ethnic groups in the UK (Veling, 2006).

These studies support data that suggest that discrimination perceived by ethnic minority groups contributes to the increased risk of schizophrenia among Black populations across western Europe, not just in the UK and the Netherlands (Veling, 2006). But what explains the link between perceived discrimination and self-reported racism and its effect on poor mental health outcomes *only*?

It is thought by researchers that the relatively weaker association between perceived racism and physical health occurs because perceived racism has a lagged effect on physical health mediated by

negative mental health outcomes (Paradies, 2006). It may also be that either direct pathopsychological effects on the brain or indirect neurophysiological changes on other body systems (or a combination of the two) mediate the association between self-reported racism and poor mental health outcomes (Paradies, 2006). One way of better understanding the aetiological pathway in which perceived discrimination or racism affects mental health is by understanding how the perception of discrimination can result in individuals developing schizophrenia. Studies have theorised that the profoundly challenging and inescapable experience of ongoing discrimination may present a threat to social identity, an extreme cognitive as well as emotional challenge (Veling, 2006). Individuals with a genetic vulnerability to schizophrenia often have impaired executive function and so when subjected to such a severe cognitive and emotional challenge such as racism or discrimination they may be more likely to develop schizophrenia, a disorder which involves a breakdown in the relation between thought, emotion and behaviour (Veling, 2006). Researchers have tried to demonstrate the point with animal experiments. They showed that male rates exposed to repeated social defeats experienced sensitisation of the mesolumnic dopamine system (Veling, 2006). The mesolumnic dopamine system of untreated schizophrenia has also been shown to be sensitised. As far as the results of the animal experiments can be extended to humans, researchers think it is possible that chronic exposure to discrimination or other forms of social defeat lead to disturbances in dopamine function and further the development of schizophrenia and other related mental disorders (Veling, 2006).

"People sort of engage with the link between racism and stress and its effects on health", explains Dr McKenzie. "But as soon as you start saying this [health problem] could be due to racism – never mind stress – you get the 'oh you have a chip on your shoulder, oh what's the evidence?'. And then when you put the evidence to them, they might say 'oh no, there are loads of other reasons why it could be'. But then you say 'yes, but isn't it strange that it happens

to pattern itself this way and it just happens that the blacker the person is the worse it is…' There's a significant resistance", explains McKenzie.

More than any other determinant of health, however, studies on Black European health and the health of people of African origin living in Europe have consistently shown that socio-economic inequalities and the disadvantaged socio-economic position of ethnic minorities in Europe, especially Black communities, has resulted in their poorer health outcomes (Agyemang, 2012; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013; Panico et al, 2007). Studies consistently find that socio-economic factors are important in explaining birth weight differences in Black Caribbean and Black African infants compared to White UK babies. The Black Caribbean disadvantage for asthma and wheeze in children also becomes statistically non-significant when adjusted for economic and social factors: whether children came from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds (Kelly et al, 2008; Panico et al, 2007). Similarly, the excess stroke morbidity and mortality related to cardiovascular disease amongst populations of African descent in Europe has also highlighted the importance of social structures, the communities where people live and social factors as important determinants of cardiovascular health (Agyemang, 2009; Agyemang, 2012). The incidence of diabetes among Black populations in the UK has regularly been linked to social environment (Hopkins, 1993). And researchers continue to wonder why Africans in Africa appear to have a low incidence of hypertension, diabetes, blood pressure and so forth, but Africans in the Caribbean, Europe or the United States have higher incidence (Agyemang, 2012)? Researchers argue that social forces in the environment are unmistakably at play.

There is compelling evidence why disadvantaged socio-economic status has been one of the most widely cited factors for the inequalities seen in Black health. Many ethnic minority groups are often socio-economically disadvantaged relative to the majority population,

especially people of African origin in Europe who are more likely to experience discrimination and thus, limited access to social and economic opportunities (Muennig et al, 2011; Agyemang, 2012; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). Poor socio-economic position disadvantages income, education, wealth, occupation and other markers, and in doing so also limits people's ability to experience less stress in meeting daily needs for transportation, child care and food for one's family. It also limits the ability to be able to afford a nutritious diet or to live in a neighbourhood with healthier food choices, low crime rates and more accessible leisure options (Braveman, 2012; Paradies, 2013; Agyemang, 2012). But when we think about socio-economic status, we should never succumb to "colonial amnesia" and forget the role of power structures and the importance of racism within these power structures to determine socio-economic opportunity and status (Ahmad, 1993). Racism is, after all, a manifestation of the expression of unequal power in society (Ahmad, 1993).

"Some of the strongest drivers of health are the indirect impacts of systemic and institutional racism", explains Professor Yin Paradies, who conducts interdisciplinary research on the health, social and economic effects of racism as well as anti-racism theory, policy and practice at Deakin University in Australia. "Looking at the social determinants of health model, there is a lot of evidence that racism makes it difficult for people to get employment, it reduces their return on investment in education, and it produces difficulties for people to just go about their everyday daily lives without fear of this kind of discriminatory experience", explains Paradies. "These kinds of impacts on access to life chances are the strongest effect racism has on health because health is driven by all those social determinants: employment, education, housing, residential segregation, and so forth."

Racism is a pervasive reality for everyone – it is colourblind – because regardless of whether you are Black, White, Asian, or other,

it structures all social interactions. The general inequalities we see in society today have a deeply racialised dimension to them and this is of central importance in understanding Black people's health disparities. Collective Europe acknowledges itself as a class-based society where underlying economic and social resources and opportunities systematically sort people into healthy and unhealthy living and working conditions (Docteur et al, 2014; Mielck et al, 1994; Rostila, 2013). Indeed, this is how Europe has always framed health disparities: as health differences across socio-economic groups defined by income, education, material deprivation and the like (Docteur et al, 2014; Mielck et al, 1994; Rostila, 2013). A crucial next step for understanding Black health in Europe, then, is recognising that this 'sorting' is based largely on skin colour. Racism works to systematically funnel Black people in Europe into socio-economic positions that are unfavourable to their health.

Cardiovascular health outcomes among ethnic minority populations underscore this assertion. While it has been found that low socio-economic status has a profound effect on adverse cardiovascular health among ethnic minority groups in Europe, researchers have found it does not entirely explain ethnic differences in health (Agyemang, 2012). They note Indian people in the UK today are not socio-economically disadvantaged yet they still have worse cardiovascular health outcomes than the general UK population (Agyemang, 2012). European studies are increasingly moving beyond the simple explanatory model of poor socio-economic status to consider how discrimination and racism play an important role in social and economic inequalities and thus health inequalities (Agyemang, 2012; Paradies, 2006; Paradies, 2013; Adams, 2014; Agyemang, 2007; Ahmad, 1993; Bhopal, 2007; Becares, 2009; Johnston et al, 2012). As a result, it seems that in Europe too, being White works better than most medicine when it comes to staying healthy.

"One of the main criticisms to this type of work that comes up often is this idea of you know, you're just sort of making it up,

especially when you talk about perceived discrimination", explains Paradies. "There's a suggestion that it's all just subjective and there is no really objective way to measure these experiences. But if we know that there are all these disparities in race and health and that after you account for socio-economic status and places where people live, etc. there are still these gaps; these unexplained inequalities, racism becomes the most logical explanation", says Paradies.

"There exists a culture of denial, people are really not that interested in admitting the impacts of racism in society", continues Paradies. "So any work to reduce racism is probably going to be beneficial in terms of health outcomes, but of course more specific work is required while we are working on reducing racism in the long-term. We need to understand how people can better cope with racism and experiences of discrimination; we know a little about it in terms of people talking to others about their experiences and that having some sort of a positive impact. But largely it just has to be work to reduce racism. So that's looking at institutions and how they operate, their policies and practices that create disadvantages, having education in schools and also broader public education campaigns."

A public health campaign titled Racism Still Exists (RISE) highlights this initiative for change. This high-risk, high-reward public health intervention used outdoor advertising in two predominantly Black New York City neighbourhoods to broadcast a 'counter-marketing' campaign (Kwate, 2014). Over six months, the campaign advertised glaring facts about the persistence of racism in the US with slogans including "Don't want to get stopped by the NYPD? Stop being Black" and "Fast food companies don't target Black people, they just don't have any restaurants in white neighbourhoods" (Kwate, 2014). Just three months into the campaign, the health status, health behaviours and social attitudes of Black residents in both neighbourhoods significantly increased (Kwate, 2014).

"We see that African-Americans are feeling better just from a campaign about racism. It's not that they would have learnt a great deal about it, I'm sure they're well aware of racism, but the fact that people were even acknowledging and talking about their struggle and raising awareness of the issue improved their health. It's not a huge societal change that we're talking about here, but even these small steps of awareness raising…it helps [those targeted by racism] feel acknowledged that people are aware of their experiences", explains Paradies. "Awareness raising and creating a kind of motivation to do something about racism are some of the more important, more effective mechanisms of addressing racism for individuals and organisations. We know that addressing racism is not a matter of finding new knowledge; it's not like a cure for cancer. We know what to do. It's just about getting the motivation and assistance to do it." So even while this campaign took place in the context of the United States, it still demonstrates how courageous and imaginative efforts to bring the issue of racism into the public consciousness can have a positive effect on racialised communities' health.

Recommendations from (largely White) leaders of government, NGOs and health policy organisations which have called for sweepingly generalised solutions including setting better national objectives, enhancing national leadership from stakeholders, and urging people to adopt healthier lifestyles are not enough. After all, how can we expect solutions from those who benefit from the problem? Interestingly American data finds that while African-Americans living in states with high levels of structural racism were generally more likely to report past year myocardial infarction, White people living in US states with high structural racism experienced null or lower odds of myocardial infarction *even* when compared to White people living in low-structural racism states. This raises the provocative possibility that structural racism actually benefits those who wield the power to marginalise and discriminate (Lukachko, 2014). So how can we expect solutions from those who potentially benefit from the problem?

Instead, what is desperately needed is a real, meaningful and substantial transformation in how we imagine health. Not only do we need serious and well-funded research, led by researchers and other professionals from the Black community; not only do we need a concerted effort to recruit medical students and ultimately doctors and other healthcare professionals of African descent; not only do we need more recruitment of senior managers from the Black community who can influence policy at the health facility level; not only do we need to make sure the health needs of Black communities are not regarded as peripheral to mainstream services; and not only do we need Europe to stop fighting racism without races (much more data collection on race and ethnicity in Europe is needed, especially in places outside of the UK and the Netherlands). Most critically, what is needed is the acknowledgement of the very real and lived experience of racism and its effects on people's health. What we need most of all are anti-racism strategies in public health policy (McKenzie, 2003). This involves a sweeping change in mindset to understand that many people face obstacles to health that can only be lessened through societal action. We have to broaden our focus beyond individualistic medical care and convincing individuals to behave better and instead incorporate a willingness and motivation to understand and address how racism produces living and working conditions that can constrain or enable healthy behaviours.

The best medicine will involve putting racism on the public health agenda, measuring it and, ultimately, legitimising that aspect of people's lives.

If you are interested in Black health in Europe, get in touch with some of these organisations to find out how to support the courageous and imaginative work they are doing.
- Migrant and Ethnic Health Observatory
- The Fanon Project
- The African Caribbean Mental Health Association
- The King's Fund
- Manchester Action Committee for the Health Care of Ethnic Minorities (MACHEM)

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Rounding up the Usual Suspects: Understanding, Recognising and Preventing Discriminatory Ethnic Profiling

By John Kellock[96]

The unlawful practice of racial profiling or discriminatory ethnic profiling remains a cause of deep concern for many in the Black European and Muslim diaspora in Europe, but also in North America. This article will, however, focus on the European Union (EU). The practice has probably been present in some shape or in its crudest forms since law enforcement agencies were formed and societies became even more diverse. Though not restricted to Black European and Muslim communities the twin issues of security related threats and immigration has pushed it to the forefront of criminal justice responses over the last decade and a half. In Europe, anti-racism and anti-discrimination initiatives have been in part defined through the prism of the experiences of Black Europeans and people of African descent. It is therefore no surprise that they should feature prominently in the experiences of racial or discriminatory ethnic profiling. A glance at figures from the United Kingdom (UK) which show that Black people are six times as likely to be stopped and searched by the police in England and Wales as White people (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2010), or that more than one in five people with an African background in Spain, France and Italy (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010a) believe that they were stopped and searched by the police because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background, makes one begin to understand the scale of the issue and its possible impact on Black European and African descent communities in the European Union,

regardless of their citizenship. It is a violation of fundamental rights and cuts across rights from dignity to equal treatment and non-discrimination. This, in spite of racial equality legislation and equality bodies being present in all Member States of the European Union, and for a considerable period of time in some Member States.

This is critical because as police services play a central role in defending many of our key fundamental rights, they also provide security of person, support our many freedoms, counter violence against us in society; and their work is a catalyst for the enjoyment of other fundamental rights and freedoms. For that reason their actions in relation to ethnic and religious minority communities can socially define a society. Equally, they are at the coal face of the criminal justice system: you are more likely to encounter a police officer than any other representative of the criminal justice system. How that encounter takes place can irreversibly shape your image and confidence in the criminal justice system. This in turn may well define how you participate in society. One can argue that this has been the case for many Black Europeans and people of African descent living in Europe.

The experience, knowledge and practice of non-discriminatory profiling of police services in the EU Member States is asymmetrical at best and in some Member States possibly non-existent. The paucity of literature and the lack of visible national guidance on non-discriminatory policing is testament to that. This is all the more worrying at a time when Europe is still grappling with the legacy of the security related measures in response to the 9/11 terrorist attack in the US and further attacks in Madrid and London, the history of formal or informal stop and search practices by police in many EU Member States, race related urban rioting in some EU Member States, police complicity or passivity in some EU Member States in hate attacks against migrants, minorities and Roma and the current issue of foreign fighters and freedom of movement.

The introduction of new technology into police and security intelligence gathering should be seen intuitively as a tool to improve intelligence gathering. Theoretically, it should introduce more variables into behavioural analysis, which underpins profiling, thereby rendering discriminatory practices obsolete. The ongoing public debates on the use of new technology in policing and security related activities though may suggest otherwise. Mass surveillance operations, the lack of information and transparency around the compilation of databases, data mining and retention, and the use of passenger name records suggest that there are still issues to resolve before policing can be viewed as 'colour' blind and fundamental rights compliant. This is particularly true for many in the human rights community and among migrants, minorities and a large section of the majority population. Taken together these developments can become combustible elements in our diverse European societies, if not dealt with in a way that engenders trust and builds legitimacy in police and security related approaches.

Rather than solely focusing on the impact of such policies and actions by law enforcement agencies on society, this article seeks to look at ways to improve the understanding and recognition of the practice and prevent such profiling at best, or introduce greater safeguards to increase accountability, transparency and oversight. The focus is on policing within EU Member States and not at its borders. From an effective law enforcement point of view discriminatory ethnic profiling not only undermines law enforcement procedures and practice, it makes policing, in an ever increasing diverse population in many European Union Member States, untenable in the long run. Police services will have to be accountable to the population that they serve and they will have to serve the population that they are accountable to. Hopefully, the greater scrutiny around the issue both within the police services and at the political level will ultimately strengthen the policing services in the Member States of the European Union. Mutual trust and cooperation between police and judicial services in EU Member states

is more and more important to combat cross border crime and security threats – police and security services which undertake discriminatory ethnic profiling will undermine that trust and cooperation.

Simultaneously police and judicial cooperation is being 'Lisbonised' in the EU. By the end of 2014 – with the extension of the powers of the European Court of Justice to police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters – discriminatory ethnic profiling will be under greater scrutiny for its fundamental rights impact. Policing which respects fundamental rights will become the most effective way to counter security related threats and crime. This direction was recently endorsed by the European Commission in a series of conferences and a Communication on home affairs issues, which will set the approach for the European Union over the next five years.[97] The Communication states that "This strategic reflection takes place at a time when Europe is gradually pulling out of an economic and social crisis that has left its traces, with still high unemployment and our societies more vulnerable and susceptible to xenophobia. It is under such circumstances that political leaders must take decisive action to ensure an open and secure Europe where fundamental rights are guaranteed, building on the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU, which must be respected by EU institutions when adopting and implementing legislation as well as by Member States when they act within the scope of the EU law. Policies in the field of Home Affairs promote and protect European values, allowing citizens to go about their lives in safety and security, enjoying the richness of the diversity our societies provide."

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[97]   Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, 'An Open and Secure Europe: Making it Happen', Brussels, 11.3.2014 COM(2014) 154 Final. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-is-new/news/news/2014/20140311_01_en.htm.

Profiling – Definitions, Practices and Legitimacy

First things first, profiling is a legitimate activity. The categorisation of individuals according to their characteristics, whether these are 'unchangeable' (such as gender, age, ethnicity, height) or 'changeable' (such as habits, preferences and other elements of behaviour), is normal and legitimate practice by many marketing firms, insurance companies, the health, food and retail sectors in the economy. Frankly, it is big business and you probably experience it directly if for example you shop at Amazon, have a loyalty card with a retailer or supermarket, use LinkedIn or are a member of a travel club or research institute. You may even be responsible for filling in your own profile. Profiling is used by companies to bespoke their tailoring of products and services for consumers and clients. It is used by the health services to identify and mitigate against behaviour which may be detrimental to your health or be used to alert health services to characteristics which may impinge on health outcomes based on genealogy, ethnicity and other factors.

Likewise criminal profiling by the police is a legitimate technique in law enforcement. It is used to form a profile of possible perpetrators of crimes and/or to prevent possible criminal acts from taking place. Ironically, it would be used to investigate perpetrators of racist acts.

What therefore makes profiling ethnically discriminatory? It should be said from the outset that there is no universal definition of racial or ethnically discriminatory profiling. There are numerous definitions, but they all share common characteristics around action based predominantly, disproportionately and illegitimately on a characteristic such as race to the detriment of other factors.

The Open Society Justice Initiative (2009) defines 'ethnic profiling' as the use of generalisations grounded in ethnicity, race, national origin, or religion – rather than objective evidence or individual behaviour – as the basis for making law enforcement and/or

investigative decisions about who has been or may be involved in criminal activity.

The Ontario Human Rights Commission (no date) defines racial profiling as "any action undertaken for reasons of safety, security or public protection, that relies on stereotypes about race, colour, ethnicity, ancestry, religion, or place of origin, or a combination of these, rather than on a reasonable suspicion, to single out an individual for greater scrutiny or different treatment".

Amnesty International USA (2004) defines racial profiling as "the targeting of individuals and groups by law enforcement officials, even partially, on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, or religion, except where there is trustworthy information, relevant to the locality and timeframe, that links persons belonging to one of the aforementioned groups to an identified criminal incident or scheme".

The American Civil Liberties Union (2005) defines racial profiling as "the discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the individual's race, ethnicity, religion or national origin".

Other organisations focus on the international standards and widely accepted definitions for racism and apply it to attitudes, practices and treatment of individuals by the police and security services. For example a Council of Europe report *Tackling Racism in the Police* (2014) states that "Racial discrimination can be direct or indirect. According to the European Court of Human Rights ('the Court'), there must be a difference in the treatment of persons in relevantly similar situations in order for an issue to be qualified as direct discrimination. Such a difference of treatment is discriminatory if it has no objective and reasonable justification; in other words, if it does not pursue a legitimate aim or if there is not a reasonable relationship of proportionality between the means employed and the aim sought to be realised".

It further states that "With regard to indirect discrimination, the Court has stated that a difference in treatment may take the form of disproportionately prejudicial effects of a general policy or measure which, though couched in neutral terms, discriminates against a group". There can be two types of racism in the police. The first type relates to the attitudes, behaviours and beliefs of police officers. The second type is inherent to rules and regulations, which are applied by the police and is commonly defined as institutional racism.

A definition widely used and accepted is the one from the Macpherson report on the death of Stephen Lawrence (1999), a Black teenager in London, which focuses on the police as an institution and contexts racism at an institutional level. It defines institutional racism as "the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racial stereotyping which disadvantaged minority ethnic people. Institutional racism does not mean that all officers working in the institution have racist behaviour, but that racism lies in the procedures and culture of the institution".

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2010b) focuses on differential treatment and illegitimate grounds in the context of discriminatory ethnic profiling by the police. It has also set out in quite detailed and comprehensive terms a description of discriminatory ethnic profiling and the links between discrimination and profiling.

Recognising and Understanding the Issue
Anecdotal evidence is commonplace among Black, ethnic minority and Muslim communities. For many minorities, whether on the streets, in public transport or at the airport, 'random' stops and

searches may appear to target people disproportionately based solely on colour, ethnicity, appearance or religious symbols or in a combination of all those characteristics. Disproportionality is the single most contentious aspect of stop and search. It goes to the heart of discrimination, equal treatment, a sense of fairness, double standards, one's sense of belonging and social cohesion. Stopping and searching a person, requiring them to have a search of their clothing, personal possessions or vehicle can be humiliating, frightening and coercive. Stop and search undertaken in the full view of the public either on the street, at a public place or in a public transport vehicle can be even more coercive for those experiencing it. For many it is a violation of their human dignity.

Stop and search is seen by many in the law enforcement field as a core part of crime prevention and detection. For it to be successful, it must demonstrate that it is a cost effective crime reduction technique. Given the high social costs and the wider impact on undermining the criminal justice system among a not insignificant number of the population, the benefits must regularly be assessed against the costs. As the technique is defended by law enforcement agencies, a more open and deflationary debate around its costs and benefits would seem to be in place.

As there is a paucity of data at both the national, apart from the United Kingdom, and European level on people's experiences, the work by the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency is particularly noteworthy. It undertook an EU wide survey to ask immigrant and ethnic minority groups about their experiences of discrimination and criminal victimisation in everyday life (European Union Fundamental Rights Agency, 2009a). It produced a series of *Data in Focus* reports from its survey. The reports on 'Police Stops and Minorities' (2010a), 'Muslims' (2009c) and 'Roma' (2009b) give some indication of the perceptions among those groups interviewed about the reasons for police action. The examples of the Roma communities are important in relation to the potential experience

of Black Europeans and people of African descent in those Member States where Roma are an ethnic minority. As a cautionary note, while the findings from the survey should not be read as conclusive evidence of discriminatory police profiling practices, they do indicate patterns across and within the EU Member States, which should alert police services to review their policy and practice. The report looked at the number of people being stopped, the frequency of the stops and the circumstance and nature of stops. The results are from ten EU Member States in which a control group of the majority population respondents were living in the same neighbourhood as the minority respondents.

In general terms, it found that more people from minority backgrounds were stopped by the police compared with the majority population. On average 28% of minorities in the ten EU Member States were stopped by the police in the last twelve months in comparison with 20% of the majority population.

In terms of frequency of stops, members of minority groups who are stopped by the police experience more stops over a twelve month period than the majority population. Taking those groups who indicated they were stopped three or more times only the minority groups are represented.

Minority respondents were also more likely to be stopped when on public transport or on the street. Examples are striking in some cases. In Hungary 83% of Roma respondents who were stopped by the police were stopped on public transport compared with 10% of the majority respondents; in Spain the figures are 81% for North Africans compared to 30% of majority respondents. With regard to identity checks during police stops, in Italy 90% of North Africans compared to 48% of the majority respondents underwent identity checks; in Greece 88% of Roma and 48% of majority respondents.

More than one in five of all respondents from the following groups considered they were stopped by the police because of their immigrant or ethnic minority background: Roma in Greece (39%); North Africans in Spain (31%); Roma in Hungary (24%); Sub-Saharan Africans in France (24%) and North Africans in Italy (21%).

It is therefore no surprise to discover from the survey that minority groups who perceived they were stopped by the police on the basis of their ethnic or immigrant background have a lower level of trust in the police than minorities who were stopped and considered it to be unrelated to their minority background.

At the national level, the UK remains at the forefront of reporting on policing techniques such as stop and search. This is to be lauded and debates in the United Kingdom are more informed as a consequence. As indicated above, according to the UK Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010), basing their analysis on figures from the UK Home Office, Nlack people are six times as likely to be stopped and searched as White people, and Asian people twice as likely.

In a submission by the human rights organisation Liberty (2013) to a Home Office consultation in 2013, Liberty highlighted the lack of research into the effectiveness of stop and search in the United Kingdom and drew attention to the fact that out of over 1.1 million stops and searches conducted in 2011/12 under Section 1 of the *Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984* only 9% resulted in an arrest.

The Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010) had also raised serious concerns about stops and searches conducted under the Terrorism Act in the UK. Concerns supported by the European Court of Human Rights, which ruled in January 2010 that stops and searches conducted under the Terrorism Act were unlawful as police were not required to demonstrate reasonable grounds for suspicion.

For example in the UK in 2008/09, 256,000 searches were carried out with only 0.6% of them leading to an arrest. The Equality and Human Rights Commission, using government figures for the period between 2006/07 and 2007/08, demonstrated that searches under the Terrorism Act had risen by 322% for Black people and 277% for Asian people compared to 185% for White people.

Other EU Member States such as France have been subject to scrutiny at the United Nations under the Universal Periodic Review system where it accepted recommendations to end discriminatory ethnic profiling by law enforcement officers (United National General Assembly, 2013); attention has been drawn to Greece in particular due to the targeting of irregular migrants and the lack of trust in the police (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2013). This included reports of US African-American citizens detained by police authorities conducting sweeps for irregular migrants in Athens and links between some police officers and the anti-immigrant and extremist political party Golden Dawn. The Open Society Justice Initiative (2009) reported on discriminatory ethnic profiling by the police in France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and other EU Member States.

Preventing Discriminatory Ethnic Profiling

Modern pressures on policing diverse communities do mean that police services need to rethink their role, their relationship to the public (service culture), their internal procedures and practices, their recruitment policies and their effectiveness in tackling crime. Those who still believe police services are solely about catching criminals need to recognise and understand policing in a broader context. Policing is about crime prevention, but it is also about protecting fundamental rights, supporting victims, ensuring peace within and between communities, guaranteeing an environment in which people can express themselves in conformity with the law, accepted custom and practice. Police services police by consent, their ability to work effectively in democratic, open and free societies very

much depends on the public's approval of their existence, action, behaviour and their ability to command and share respect.

In diverse societies the importance of being able to carry out duties impartially, independently, fairly, respectfully, without prejudice and in cooperation with the public is paramount. Discriminatory ethnic profiling therefore strikes at the heart of good and effective policing. Discriminatory policing humiliates, threatens, frightens and victimises those members of the public experiencing it. In a wider context it undermines social cohesion by restricting social inclusion, social mobility and social capital.

How can we therefore ensure policing is non-discriminatory and fundamental rights compliant?

Legal frameworks define the scope, extent and limits of police power, action and behaviour. A strong legal framework based on fundamental rights is a cornerstone of any subsequent or specific policing legislation. Anti-racism experiences of communities such as Black Europeans and people of African descent need to inform the legal framework. Whether related to crime prevention, public order or combating terrorism, legislation needs to be cemented in fundamental rights. Legislation also needs to be framed within diverse societies, particularly for Black Europeans and people of African descent given the history and prevalence of racism in Europe, therefore equality and non-discrimination principles and structures need to be woven into criminal justice legislation. The scope and extent of equality and non-discrimination legislation needs to include policing and security related services. With the advent of new technology and its omnipresent abilities, the temptation for irresponsible and unlawful policing may simply be too great. The use of new technology, data gathering and processing, storage and retention, all need to come under fundamental rights checks and balances. Placing a duty of equality on the police services either through equal treatment legislation, a police services bill or in a general duty for public

sector services is critical to changing police culture and attitudes. Understanding and recognising that discriminatory ethnic profiling is unlawful and such action can be subject to prosecution needs to be clear and present in legislation.

Administrative codes of duty related to exercising powers, actions and behaviour as part of policing manuals need to clearly state that equal treatment and non-discrimination are compulsory parts of good policing. Clear guidance to officers on when the use of ethnicity, race or religion and/or a combination of all will be discriminatory and unlawful should also be stated. Real life examples, based on the experiences of Black Europeans and people of African descent, will be crucial, and continuous learning based on new real life examples are required to create a uniform and less ambivalent interpretation of what is permissible and what can be discriminatory. This obviously leads to education and training, not only on the law, but on culture and diversity, on ethics, on community relations and on recognising behaviour which can be threatening, frightening and humiliating for people of different cultures and background. In many European countries the specificity of the communities of Black Europeans and people of African descent needs to be prominent and their sensitivities recognised. The history of slavery and colonisation of Africa by European countries does play a role, whether explicit or implicit, as it still forms a psychological part of the relationship between the majority population and Black Europeans and people of African descent. Police officers also need to be able to report in confidence action and behaviour which is discriminatory and undermines the police service.

Making stop and search less a reflex and more an action based on reliable evidence and reasonable grounds should be a priority for all policing services. Transparency and accountability in the way stop and search operations are carried out will help build trust in police action. This needs to be coupled with clear guidance on considerations before stopping and searching a person. The Metropolitan

Police Service in the UK has a list of considerations, which include proportionality, legality, accountability, necessity and best information available.

To be effective this will require action on several fronts. Stop and search forms, videos and procedures should be mandatory for policing. The forms should be designed in such a way that it places the onus on the officer or person responsible for using it to demonstrate that the stop and search was founded on reliable evidence and reasonable grounds. Capturing the stop and search encounter on mobile cameras may also act as a brake on discriminatory stops and searches and provide valuable evidence for both the police officer and the person stopped and searched. Lay people from different cultures and backgrounds, such as Black Europeans and people of African descent and human rights organisations, could be involved in the design and layout of the form and requested to provide feedback on procedures related to encounters.

Monitoring and evaluation of the actions and impact of the police services needs to be undertaken by the police services themselves, independent bodies with a competence in human rights and equality impacts and with the involvement of representatives from communities such as Black Europeans and people of African descent. Also important is making available statistics and data for example on stop and search, in such a way that they can be used to detect race bias and proportionality.

The establishment of a fully functioning and effective public complaints mechanism will provide the opportunity for individuals that have been stopped and searched to understand their rights and on how to make a complaint. These should be communicated and targeted at communities such as Black Europeans and people of African descent.

Police services themselves need to change to reflect the societies that they are accountable to. Greater diversity in the police services should engender greater confidence, trust and credibility. Black and ethnic minority police officers for example can go a long way in building trust between Black Europeans and people of African descent and police services. Over time it should change internal cultures and attitudes – many of which are at the heart of prejudice, which manifests itself in discriminatory ethnic profiling.

Conclusion

There is general recognition that policing in diverse societies requires a wider range of skill sets and a more diverse recruitment base than has traditionally been found in the police services. As societies become more diverse these skill sets will be important in order to meet new and evolving situations. Discriminatory ethnic profiling or racial profiling will have no place in such policing.

Police services acting as guardians of fundamental rights and freedoms may seem a long way off to many in the Black European and Muslim diaspora in Europe, but a responsibility lies in those communities to make full use of the mechanisms available to help root out racists and xenophobes from the police services, to help change procedures and practices, to make evidence obtained by discriminatory ethnic profiling a barrier for mutual trust and cooperation between police services across Europe. Experience and history so far with the police services can act as a deterrent to action for many in the Black European and Muslim diaspora, but the future of a Europe for all that we all want to see, be part of and help create requires us to engage and participate in the various processes related to fundamental rights, justice and social transformation.

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Combating Hate Crimes and Bias Against People of African Descent in the OSCE Region
By Dr Mischa Thompson

Throwing bananas and other racist acts targeting Black cabinet-level officials in Italy and France in recent years have put a spotlight on the experiences of the approximately 15 million people of African descent in Europe/Black Europeans who have increasingly become the targets of discrimination, pernicious racial profiling and violent hate crimes, in addition to ongoing issues such as equal access to housing, employment, education and justice.

The Problem

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) encompasses 57 European and North American countries, including the European Union and United States, and has over the past few years through its Annual Hate Crimes Reports[98] identified increases in hate crimes towards people of African descent across the region. According to the OSCE, "hate crimes or bias-motivated crimes are defined by the OSCE as crimes motivated by prejudice that affect the security of individuals, their communities and societies as a whole. Hate crimes can include threats, property damage, assault, murder or any other criminal offence committed with a bias motivation. Hate crimes don't only affect individuals from specific groups. People or property merely associated with – or even perceived to be a member of – a group that shares a protected characteristic, such as human rights defenders, community centres or places of worship, can also be targets of hate crimes."[99]

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98 See http://hatecrime.osce.org/.
99 See http://hatecrime.osce.org/.

In 2013 and 2014, the OSCE chronicled more than 16 deaths and hundreds of violent assaults against people of African origin in Europe. Other incidents in Europe documented by the OSCE over the past five years have included:

- In Russia, a man of African descent was pushed onto the train tracks in a metro station, in addition to numerous murders;
- In Hungary, a group of Nigerian refugees were assaulted by a group with pepper spray and brass knuckles;
- In Italy, a man murdered two and physically assaulted three Senegalese victims;
- In Spain, physical assaults against men of African origin included, one man falling into a coma and another physically assaulted by a group with a knife;
- In Ukraine, 23 physical assaults, including 12 assaults by groups and four assaults resulting in serious injury were reported with the majority of victims being migrants of African and Asian origin;
- In Spain, Greece, Italy, Poland and Ukraine there have been hundreds of physical assaults on persons of African origin, including numerous incidents that have resulted in death.

Additionally, in one of the first European Union wide surveys of minorities, the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (FRA) (2012a) found that "on average, 18 % of all Roma and 18 % of all Sub-Saharan African respondents in the survey indicated that in the 12 months prior to the survey they had experienced at least one 'in-person crime' – that is, assault or threat, or serious harassment – which they considered as being 'racially motivated' in some way. In comparison, less than 10 % of other groups indicated that they considered they had been a victim of 'racially motivated' in-person crime".

Both the OSCE and FRA estimate that victimisation rates of people of African descent and other minorities are even greater. According to FRA (2012b), "Victims and witnesses of hate crimes are reluctant to report them, whether to law enforcement agencies, the criminal

justice system, non-governmental organisations or victim support groups. As a result, victims are often unable or unwilling to seek redress against perpetrators, with many crimes remaining unreported and unprosecuted and, therefore, invisible".

According to Larry Olomofe,[100] OSCE Racism and Xenophobia and Hate Crimes Advisor, "many people of African descent in the region do not report these incidents to law enforcement or the authorities for a variety of reasons. This is a cause for concern since many, many victims are suffering in silence and feel helpless in the face of aggressive nationalism and/or hate crime. Under-reporting of racist hate crimes and incidents continues to be an issue and needs to be addressed by all concerned parties, i.e. authorities, [African descent] communities and their representatives as well as international organisations such as the OSCE".

The Response

The OSCE reports, coupled with findings by the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency in 2009 that persons of African descent had experienced some of the highest rates of victimisation, were integral to particularly raising awareness about the existence of Europe's 'Black' population and follow on efforts by the OSCE, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, and U.S. Helsinki Commission, whose responsibilities include monitoring OSCE participating States compliance with Helsinki Accords.

Since 2009, the OSCE has taken specific steps to address the manifestations of racism, xenophobia, discrimination and intolerance faced by people of African descent (PAD) in the OSCE region in response to high rates of vicitmisation. These activities[101] include "trainings, roundtables, conferences, meetings, civil society projects and a number of focus groups". Findings from initial ef-

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100 See Appendix A for U.S. Helsinki Commission Briefing 'Europeans of African Descent "Black Europeans" - Race, Rights & Politics", 19 November 2013, Remarks by Larry Olomoofe.
101 See Larry Olomoofe testimony in Appendix A for a timeline of some OSCE activities.

forts such as the 2011 *Roundtable on the contemporary forms of racism and xenophobia affecting people of African descent in the OSCE region*[102] included: "racial profiling was a serious concern that contributed to a break in trust between PAD communities and the police; PAD communities faced substantial barriers to accessing justice, particularly for hate crimes investigations and prosecutions; and there had been notable increases in racially motivated attacks against asylum seekers and migrants in Eastern European countries where right-wing parties and youth groups [were] becoming more active." Additionally, civil society representatives from African descent communities recommended: "governments support the creation of a regional body dedicated to addressing issues affecting people of African descent in the OSCE area; prohibit racial profiling and police oversight measures; and that the OSCE provide capacity-building training for African descent communities".

A follow on 2014 OSCE workshop for women of African descent in the OSCE region also revealed numerous issues specifically impacting women. Conversations with OSCE organisers and participants of the event revealed that police often made no record of hate crimes, sexual violence or other crimes reported by people of African descent, hampering investigations. In other instances, cases were mislabelled or trivialised allowing perpetrators to go free or receive mild sentences.

Biases in other sectors revealed that stereotypes of Black women being prostitutes or 'exotic' resulted in sexual harassment in the workplace, while receiving government services, and even when visiting health professionals. For instance, doctors were described as treating Black women as experiments and touching body parts not related to the medical visit while making derogatory remarks, particularly in cases where women's genital organs had been altered for non-medical reasons. In the workplace, women often could not

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102 Roundtable on the contemporary forms of racism and xenophobia affecting people of African Descent in the OSCE region, http://www.osce.org/odihr/87967?download=true.

find employment matching their qualifications, facing discrimination in hiring and even once they managed to obtain a position. Their children were often bullied and subjected to violence in schools, experienced prejudice from their teachers, and forced to utilise textbooks and other educational materials that contained Black stereotypes. Women also faced housing discrimination and barriers to financial services. The absence of relations with police and other law enforcement or other government authorities resulted in African descent women having little to no recourse for these and other issues of bias and discrimination.

Parliamentary and government efforts have further attempted to offer visibility to these issues and promote actions in the OSCE region. On 29 April 2008, OSCE Parliamentarian and then Chair of the U.S. Helsinki Commission, Congressman Alcee L. Hastings held a hearing in the US Congress entitled, "The State of (In)visible Black Europe" that included the Afro-Swede Parliamentarian Joe Frans. In 2009, Congressman Hastings, Joe Frans and European Parliamentarians Harlem Desir of France, and Claude Moraes and Glyn Ford of the United Kingdom joined forces to host the Black European Summit in the European Parliament. In 2011 and 2012, OSCE Parliamentarians of African descent, Dutch Parliamentarian Kathleen Ferrier and US Congressman Alcee L. Hastings, with the support of Canadian Parliamentarian Hedy Fry, led efforts to pass resolutions in the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly on people of African descent.[103] The US Congress and Spanish parliament also considered legislation recognising people of African descent. These efforts called global attention to the vio-

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103 OSCE PA July 2012 Resolution on Addressing Racism and Xenophobia Affecting People of African Descent in the OSCE Region (by MP Kathleen Ferrier and US Representative Alcee L. Hastings) – click on 2012 Monaco Declaration page 67-69 http://www.oscepa.org/publications/declarations/cat_view/97-all-documents/1-publications/4-declarations/173-2012-monaco-declaration and Resolution on Strengthening Efforts to Combat Racism and Xenophobia and Foster Inclusion (by MP Kathleen Ferrier and US Representative Alcee L. Hastings) – click on Belgrade Resolutions page 36. http://www.blackgermans.us/docs/17_Resolution_Combat_Racism.pdf or http://www.oscepa.org/publications/all-documents/cat_view/97-all-documents/1-publications/4-declarations/41-2011-belgrade-declaration?orderby=dmdate_published&ascdesc=DESC.

lence faced by people of African descent in the OSCE region and
urged governments to respond.

At the same time, US government officials issued several state-
ments calling for increased attention to combating anti-Black hate
crimes and discrimination in the OSCE region, in addition to sup-
porting OSCE engagement efforts with Afro-descent communities.
In particular, the US government supported civil society events with
Afro-descent organisations in Warsaw, Poland and Vienna, Austria
including with the US Ambassador to the OSCE and then African-
American US Ambassador-at-Large for Religious Freedom, Suzan
Johnson Cook. Efforts culminated in 2013, when the OSCE led a
visit of more than 15 European African descent civil society leaders
to Washington DC that included White House and other meetings
on advancing equality and justice in the OSCE region.

As part of the visit, on 19 November 2013, the U.S. Helsinki
Commission held an event in the US Senate entitled "Europeans of
African Descent 'Black Europeans', Race, Rights, and Politics" that
chronicled the situation of African descendants five years after the
initial April 2008 U.S. Helsinki Commission hearing. Witness testi-
monies[104] focused on numerous issues impacting African descend-
ants from trafficking to employment discrimination. In particular, it
was revealed that while OSCE and other efforts had raised consid-
erable attention to the situation of people of African descent, more
efforts at the political level were needed to encourage governments
to act to protect Black populations, especially to combat hate crimes
in line with OSCE hate crimes commitments. Additionally, funding
was sorely lacking for African descent led civil society efforts to
fight discrimination. These issues were further highlighted in the
February 2014 Afrophobia hearing in the European Parliament co-
organised by the European Network Against Racism.

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104 See Appendix A.

The Way Forward

OSCE participating States have agreed to combat hate crimes including through the following specific actions: passing legislation; training law enforcement, prosecution and judicial officials to prevent, investigate and prosecute hate crimes; and collect, maintain and publicise reliable data on hate crimes, across the criminal justice system from the police to the courts. The OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) supports governments in their efforts to combat hate crimes.

However, despite having agreed to fight hate crimes, many OSCE countries still do not collect reliable data on hate crimes or sentencing, still do not have laws addressing bias-motivated crimes, and still do not implement existing anti-discrimination laws.

Consequently, at the 2014 OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, the US government called on the OSCE[105] "to address longstanding issues of prejudice and discrimination faced by citizens and migrants of various backgrounds [including through …] a report on racism and xenophobia in the OSCE region, elaborat[ing] an Anti-Racism Action Plan, and establish[ing] an Anti-Racism civil society fund." Additionally, the US government noted, "The use of a derogatory and inflammatory racist slur on the floor of the European Parliament in July highlights continuing anti-black racism at a high level. We welcome the creation of an EU Framework Strategy for the Social Inclusion of People of African Descent and Black Europeans, as well as the European Parliament hearing on this subject in February. We also applaud [the OSCE's] efforts in Poland to engage government, political leaders, law enforcement, and civil society in collaborative efforts to combat hate crimes committed against blacks and others". Additionally, on 11 December the US government offered support for an OSCE Conference on racism and xenophobia this year.[106]

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105 http://osce.usmission.gov/sep_30_14_session13.html.
106 http://osce.usmission.gov/dec_12_14_tolerance.html.

As US efforts begin to address the tragic deaths of Michael Brown, Eric Garner, Tamir Rice and others by law enforcement, and similar incidents continue to take place across Europe, the question of whether the 57 participating States of the OSCE will enact these and other recommendations that would assist in protecting and improving the situation of people of African descent in the OSCE region remains.

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Conclusion:
The Way Forward

Towards a European Strategy to Combat Afrophobia
By Jallow Momodou and Julie Pascoët

Like anti-Gypsyism, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and other forms of racism, Afrophobia seeks to dehumanise and deny the dignity of a large group of people defined by visible characteristics of difference, in this case, their skin colour. Afrophobia is based on socially constructed ideas of 'race', implying deep historical roots that reflect the groundless belief that certain 'racial' groups are biologically and/or culturally inferior to others. This is associated with understandings of racism as a concept and correlates to historically repressive structures of colonialism, the apartheid system in South Africa and the transatlantic slave trade. Afrophobia manifests itself through acts of racial discrimination – direct, indirect and structural – and violence, including hate speech, targeting Black people. Structural discrimination is overall discrimination by result, rather than by intent that also impacts Black people. It is a profound and pervasive form of discrimination, resulting from the normalisation and legitimisation of an array of dynamics and patterns – historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal – that routinely advantage dominant groups while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for disadvantaged groups.

The use of the term Afrophobia has generated many questions within some parts of the anti-racism movement in Europe. Some NGOs and individuals have preferred to use the term 'anti-Black racism'. Others, in particular in the Francophone context, have suggested the use of the term Negrophobia.[107]

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[107] This is problematic in some languages because of use of the offensive and derogatory n-word.

ENAR understands and recognises that using the suffix 'phobia', such as in Islamophobia or homophobia, is not ideal as it could lead people to mistake racism for an actual fear. ENAR has however preferred to focus on one term understood and defined as encapsulating the issue of racism and structural discrimination. No word is perfect but we should not underestimate the power of the definition we put under one term. Our definition of Afrophobia refers to a specific form of racism and structural discrimination targeting Black people.

It is also extremely important to understand the complexities within which racist structures operate. The wheels of racism are driven by the concentration of power and privileges that have been accumulated as a result of enslavement, colonialism and capitalist structures created by imperialists and imposed upon people of African descent for more than five hundred years. The production of knowledge of this history has always been created and controlled by those who operate the wheels of power. As a result, people of African descent have always been mere consumers of this knowledge. A fundamental part of the struggle for equality is the creation of a system for a just and equal redistribution of power and resources between the coloniser and the colonised and between the oppressor and the oppressed. The power to produce knowledge by creating a different narrative to the dominating neo-colonial narrative is imperative in the power sharing process.

The original intent for creating the term 'Afrophobia' was to create an alternative way of knowing, an alternative to the production of knowledge which left people of African descent invisible. This is why it is fundamental for people of African descent to produce their own terms to define their realities and fill them with their own content in order to encapsulate their own understandings, history and conditions. This process in itself constitutes empowerment in its true sense and is often perceived by the oppressor and people in power as a threat to their own position in the power structure. The idea of reforming a power structure that throughout history has

been based on a relationship of domination and subordination generates a deep sense of fear of losing power and of the consequences that it entails. In addition to prejudice and discrimination, the term Afrophobia attempts to encapsulate the fear of losing power to people of African descent. People in power rarely give up their power voluntarily and every attempt that is made to create a just and equal power sharing system is perceived as a threat.

People of African descent have been subjected to enslavement, colonialism and brutal dehumanisation for over five hundred years. People of African descent may have a diversity of origins and variation in geographical, historical and cultural reference points, but the experiences are undeniably similar if not the same in facing racist practices of exclusion, discrimination, denigration and stigmatisation, as well as unequal access to labour markets, education, housing, justice, the media etc.

The term Afrophobia therefore also encompasses the socio-economic and political challenges resulting from a social construct of what is perceived as the Black race, faced by all the descendants of the African victims of the transatlantic and Mediterranean sea slave trade, including the Sub-Saharan slave trade, and descendants living primarily in the diaspora of North, Central and South America and the Caribbean.

People of African descent and Black Europeans are highlighted as particularly affected by racism and racial discrimination across the European Union. While estimates of the number of people of African descent are scant, "an estimated 7,000,000 to 12,000,000 individuals of African descent currently live in and have long had a presence in Europe, forming an influential part of the African diaspora" (European Network Against Racism, 2012). 'Numbers count' is a statement we often hear especially when speaking of democratic weight and power as a means to influence a group's socio-economic conditions, but so far people of African descent are made

the most invisible visible minority on the European political agenda today. Despite a long history of racial oppression and the persistent and increasing levels of Afrophobia against this particular group in contemporary Europe, there is a strong and broad reluctance to recognise and acknowledge the existence of Afrophobia in Europe. Racism against Black people seems to be naturally implied when we think of 'racism' and yet, it often goes unspecified, unnoticed.

> Although not a unified field, post-colonial theory developed mainly from Edward Said's analysis of the way Europeans in the nineteenth century represented cultures with which they came into contact through imperial expansion. The West produced by means of representations by writers and thinkers these other cultures as an "other" to a western norm. An Other portrayed as having characteristics which described clear negative differences from the Westerner. The production of knowledge therefore consisted of stereotyping and othering. By means of a number of varying strategies, a position of superiority for the westerner vis-à-vis the orient was guaranteed. As an alternative Said instead raised the question: How can we know and respect the other? (Pauline Stoltz, 2000: 28)

The above raised question also highlights the constant reluctance to recognise and acknowledge the realities of people of African descent but also, most importantly, the lack of interest and political will to uphold and respect the dignity and rights of people of African descent. After all, they are the 'other' according to Western norms.

This is not a post-colonial perception exclusively forced upon people of African descent only but rather a representation of several other historically oppressed and colonised groups. However, the fundamental difference is that the historical realities of many of the other groups are recognised and politically acknowledged. Broad and international strategies are in place and resources made available for implementation and evaluation. It is, however, important to

emphasise that the recognition of the vulnerability of these groups was never a given political ambition but rather came as a result of the tireless efforts and relentless work of dedicated civil society organisations throughout Europe.

This is far from reality when it comes to the fight for equal rights and dignity for people of African descent and Black Europeans. There is a strong reluctance even amongst anti-racism activists and liberals to recognise the fact that people of African descent and Black Europeans have borne and still bear a disproportionate impact of racial discrimination through greater unemployment rates, physical and socio-economic insecurity, hate crimes, unequal access to justice and education and many other disadvantages.

A recent report from Sweden, which is also the first of its kind on Afrophobia in Europe, reveals that Afro-Swedes are the Swedish minority which is most exposed to hate crimes according to statistics, indicating a 24% increase since 2008. Afrophobic hate crimes are characterised by a high proportion of physical violence that often takes place in public areas, such as schools, workplaces, residential areas, shopping malls and restaurants, hence making public areas the most threatening and hostile for Swedes of African descent. The report also reveals that the marginalisation of Afro-Swedes is apparent within all sectors of Swedish society, such as education, health, housing and employment. For instance, Afro-Swedes suffer from the lowest educational payback on the labour market, and the risk of being unemployed is significantly higher among university-educated Afro-Swedes (Mångkulturellt Centrum, 2014).

Stereotypes about Africa and people of African descent that date back to colonialism are still predominant in Western cultures and in almost every single European country, and to date, still affect the daily lives of many people of African descent and Black Europeans. The particular and acute situation of people of African descent and Black Europeans as a particularly vulnerable group in Europe

highlights the importance of specifically addressing Afrophobia at the highest political level, in conjunction with the UN International Decade for People of African Descent starting in 2015.

There is an urgent need to influence decision makers and have a term recognised as describing a reality that so far remains invisible. Failure to fully recognise Afrophobia as a distinct issue from other forms of racism increases the perpetuation of a power and post-colonial structure that continues to make people of African descent the invisible 'other'. ENAR believes that wider use and recognition of the term 'Afrophobia' is an important step in the fight against this form of racism.

What ENAR Has Done so Far

In order to make a change in people of African descent's lives and advance equality in Europe, ENAR, the only pan-European network advocating for racial equality towards the European institutions, decided to make combating Afrophobia a priority, especially following the UN Year on People of African Descent in 2011. Our annual Shadow Reports on racism in Europe issued in 2011 had a specific focus on people of African descent in order to map out key challenges. Qualitative data collected in most EU Member States showed high levels of discrimination, racist violence and speech. This first collection of data from grassroots NGOs, together with data collected by the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency on 'Sub-Saharan Africans' in their EU MIDIS survey (2009) helped the anti-racism movement objectify the phenomenon, a necessary step to trigger mobilisation and political recognition.

The second step was to initiate strategic advocacy efforts to advance equality for people of African descent, including through the creation of an ENAR steering committee comprised of European Black activists in 2013. Long-term goals, annual objectives and key advocacy opportunities were identified as a result of this reinforced collaboration between Black advocacy groups across EU

Member States. The European Parliament has been the place of key events organised to raise awareness of and explain Afrophobia to policy makers and mobilise a wider coalition of civil society actors. With the strong support of one of the few Black Members of the European Parliament (2009-2014 parliamentary term) from France, Mr Jean-Jacob Bicep,[108] ENAR organised two events on the topic, including a hearing on the subject attended by more than 200 participants in February 2014.

Advocating at the European level

ENAR uses the European Union as a vehicle to increase external political pressure on Member States. Just as it is crucial to convince Member States to push the European Union to act politically, it is necessary to convince the EU institutions to increase pressure on Member States to live up to their equality obligations. The strong European legislation on racial equality demonstrates the relevance of advocating on this issue at the European level. Indeed, the EU has a strong legislative framework on race equality: the Race Equality Directive, the Employment Equality Directive and the Framework Decision on combating racism and xenophobia, which EU Member States are required to transpose and implement in their national legislation. Another illustration of the relevance of being involved at the European level is the European dimension of the phenomenon, as evidenced by several reports mentioned above. Even though there are differences related to group sizes, background and historical population flows, similar patterns arise in Europe, especially linked to the colonial history of most European countries. This European analysis of the phenomenon gives further arguments to people of African descent and their allies to call for a European response to this problem.

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108 See also the Written Declaration on establishing a European Day in recognition of the victims of European colonisation and colonial slavery, submitted by Jean-Jacob Bicep et al on 15 April 2013. Available at: http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//NONSGML+WDECL+P7-DCL-2013-0002+0+DOC+PDF+V0//EN&language=EN.

Moreover, following the European Parliamentary elections in May 2014, we have to, more than ever, strengthen our commitments towards promoting and creating equality for all regardless of background or socio-economic status. This is more important today than ever due to the continuous rise of far-right parties in many European countries and EU Member States. This development will without a doubt have an impact on the design of policies for the protection of the socio-economic, political and fundamental rights of Europe's residents and citizens.

Political Leverages

Two entry points have been identified by ENAR to set up this two-level strategy at EU and national levels. The first is the political recognition of Afrophobia, the specific form of racism that people of African descent and Black Europeans are affected by. Only if this phenomenon is acknowledged by policy makers and addressed by policies, with its specificities and complexities, will NGOs have political leverage to hold Member States accountable. The second is the implementation of legislation. As mentioned, the EU has a strong legislative framework. It offers strong political leverage as it is up to the European Commission and the Court of Justice of the EU to ensure the implementation of the law by Member States. As the recent assessment of the European Commission on the implementation of the Race Equality Directive and of the Framework Decision on combating racism and xenophobia shows, there are still significant gaps both in transposition and implementation of these directives.

Therefore ENAR, together with its members at the national level, has developed strategies to use these different leverages: alliance building with and pressure on Members of the European Parliament and high-level political representatives; shadow reporting on racism to bring forward victims' voices and qualitative/quantitative data; and increased pressure on Member States to collect comparable sets of data disaggregated by ethnicity to prove discrimination, inform policies and assess progress.

To complement this and activate both the European and national levels consistently, different approaches are put in place, such as national mappings of the situation, mobilisation and empowerment of key victimised communities (via national events for example), building of coalitions with other organisations not working primarily on anti-racism (such as women's rights NGOs, trade unions, universities, etc.), and coordinated advocacy work with decision makers.

Strategic Goals

All these efforts support ENAR's strategic goal: the **adoption of a European Union Framework for national strategies on combating Afrophobia** in all fields of life. This framework would follow the model of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS), adopted in 2011 by EU Member States and the first EU strategy promoting the inclusion of a specific ethnic group. The need for specific policy strategies comes from the fact that despite existing non-discrimination legislation, more comprehensive and coordinated policy efforts are needed to address inequalities affecting a specific ethnic group at national level. ENAR identified four lessons learned from the Roma related advocacy for an effective strategy to combat Afrophobia. Firstly, the EU Framework for NRIS lacked an understanding of racism and racial discrimination as a root cause of exclusion. Roma have been seen more as 'social problems' than as victims of structural discrimination and racism, hence the need to recognise politically the specific form of racism and all its dynamics before having a Framework adopted. Secondly, there has been a significant lack of meaningful participation of Roma in the design and implementation of the resulting NRIS policies, demonstrating that Roma were considered more as service recipients than as agents of change. Thirdly, in the Framework for NRIS, while data collection was mentioned as instrumental to measuring progress, there was no systematic and binding requirement of equality data collection disaggregated by ethnicity. In most cases, it was left to the discretion of the Member States. Finally,

there was limited focus on policies addressing issues of multiple discrimination for Roma women, LGBT, children, elderly persons or with disabilities.

An EU framework for national strategies on combating Afrophobia should therefore include the following elements in order to be effective: a **recognition of this specific form of racism** and the need to raise public awareness about it; the **participation of people of African descent and Black Europeans** in the design, implementation and evaluation of the strategies; a requirement to **collect disaggregated equality data** on the target groups in order to measure progress made; and the inclusion of **policies addressing structural and multiple discrimination**. The national strategies should address discrimination in all fields of life, including employment, education, policing, access to justice, housing, health and access to good and services.

Member States should also make efforts to recognise the legacy of their colonial past, for instance by considering establishing truth commissions, producing history factsheets and educational material on colonialism and the transatlantic slave trade, and exploring national reparation schemes. School curricula must make reference to the presence of people of African descent and their contribution to European economy, culture and society. Particular attention should be paid to removing negative and stereotypical portrayals of Black people in educational material, traditional/cultural representations and the media. The UN Decade for People of African Descent (2015-2025) should provide the necessary impetus for Member States to act.

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Appendix

Appendix A

U.S. Helsinki Commission Briefing: Europeans of African Descent "Black Europeans" - Race, Rights & Politics, 19 November 2013

Remarks by Larry Olomofe, OSCE/ODIHR Tolerance Unit, Racism and Xenophobia Adviser

As part of their overall approach to responding to and preventing hate crimes, OSCE ODIHR have taken specific steps to address the manifestations of racism, xenophobia, discrimination and intolerance faced by people of African descent (PAD) in the OSCE region. MC Decisions 2006 and 2009 task ODIHR to tackle the root causes of intolerance and discrimination. Also, since 2009, OSCE ODIHR have conducted a series of activities – trainings, roundtables, conferences and meetings, and projects and a number of focus groups with some members of the PAD communities in several participating States. Information gathered from these events helped to guide and inform ODIHR's activities in this field and I will present the timeline of OSCE ODIHR's interventions and a few outcomes below.

- November 2011: Roundtable on the contemporary forms of racism and xenophobia affecting people of African descent in the OSCE region (Vienna).
- November 2011: Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting on the Prevention of Racism, Xenophobia and Hate Crimes through Educational and Awareness-Raising Initiatives (Vienna).
- January – August 2012: Focus groups in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland as well as a number of personal testimonies from Austria, Moldova, Slovenia, Spain, Ukraine and the United Kingdom.
- April 2012: Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting on Combating Racism, Intolerance and Discrimination in Society through Sport (Vienna).

- September 2012: ODIHR Meeting with Polish Ministry of Interior, Police and African community representatives (Warsaw).
- 30 September – 1 October 2012: Hate crime training/workshop for people of African descent which was a project funded by the US Delegation to the OSCE. The project is in its second and final phase where five projects are being implemented by some participants and they will provide you with their narratives immediately after my intervention here.
- October 2012: Participation of PAD representatives during ODIHR's Human Dimension Implementation Meeting.
- July – December 2013: Implementation of five small-scale local projects (mentioned earlier).
- November 2013: Study Tour to Washington.

Whilst these efforts have yielded positive outcomes and benefits for those involved, more work still needs to be done. Worryingly, despite being victims of hate crimes and hate incidents, many people of African descent in the region do not report these incidents to law enforcement or the authorities for a variety of reasons. This is a cause for concern since many, many victims are suffering in silence and feel helpless in the face of aggressive nationalism and/or hate crime. Under-reporting of racist hate crimes and incidents continues to be an issue and needs to be addressed by all concerned parties, i.e. authorities, PAD communities and their representatives as well as international organisations such as the OSCE. We remain committed to tackling racism, xenophobia, intolerance, discrimination and prejudice in all their forms and thank the US delegation for their continued support in this regard.

Thank you.

U.S. Helsinki Commission Briefing: Europeans of African Descent "Black Europeans" - Race, Rights & Politics, 19 November 2013

Remarks by Jallow Momodou, Vice-Chair of the European Network Against Racism and Chair of the Pan-African Movement for Justice

The European Network Against Racism (ENAR) is Europe's biggest anti-racist umbrella organisation covering over 30 countries and will expand in the coming year to the Council of Europe countries. ENAR is being re-profiled as an organisation that has a political understanding of the challenges at stake. The challenging political and economic European context, which is increasingly restrictive on equality and fundamental rights issues, forced ENAR to reconsider both our approach to anti-racism and governance and membership structure to maintain our role as the agenda setter that we have been for the past 15 years.

It is estimated that approximately 7-15 million individuals of African descent currently live in and have long been present in Europe. The UN International Year for People of African Descent in 2011 was the biggest global campaign designed to acknowledge the history of colonialism, slavery and transatlantic trade. This campaign was merely made visible in Europe. The European Union Fundamental Rights Agency's (FRA) survey indicates that people of African descent experience the highest victimisation level in the EU. A November 2012 EU-MIDIS survey by the FRA finds that "nearly every fifth (…) Sub-Saharan African interviewed said on average that they had suffered serious harassment at least once in the last 12 months (18%)". ENAR's 2010/2011 shadow reports on racism in Europe show that specific groups are particularly vulnerable: Sub-Saharan Africans in Malta, Black Caribbeans in the UK, and Somalis in Sweden. Reports from Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Bulgaria highlight that while people of African descent are few in number, they are nonetheless specifically targeted.

- An Italian man opened fire in two markets in central Florence, killing two Senegalese traders and injuring three others.
- An undercover Austrian police officer beat up a Black US teacher he mistook for an African drug dealer.
- A Senegalese woman was shot dead by German policemen during a scuffle with her ex-husband over the right of her baby in Bayern.
- A man was tied down and left to burn to death in a 900 degrees flame in a German prison cell.

 I come from a country that is known globally for its so-called liberal values but yet has high levels of racial profiling and police brutality by law enforcement agencies without impunity, an increasing normalisation of racist and Afrophobic discourse at the institutional level and it was less than a month ago a young man of African descent was attacked and bruttally assaulted by more than ten assailants in front of his 18 month old son and then an attempt was made to throw him down a bridge four meters high. No one has been arrested for this crime yet. A country where the latest reports on hate crimes clearly indicate that hate crimes motivated by Afrophobia have increased by 24% and are the highest in Sweden, but yet no attempts have been made by any political representative, to neither acknowlege the increasing vulnerability nor articulate any policies geared towards protecting the civil and human rights of people of African descent and Black Europeans in Sweden (Afro-Swedes). Those of us from the Pan African Movement for Justice (PMJ) who make attempts to articulate the harsh realities of Afro-Swedes are constantly threatened and ridiculed without impunity.

Paradoxically, there has been relatively little attention paid to the pervasiveness of Afrophobia in the Swedish context and its massive impact on the socio-economic and political conditions of people of African descent and Black Europeans (PAD/BE). I normally call this LOUD SILENCE because it is a concious attempt to make our realities invisible.

While a number of legal measures already exist in Europe, which tackle racism and anti-discrimination, notably the Racial Equality Directive and the Framework Decision on Combating Racism and Xenophobia, it is clear that Afrophobia, nonetheless, remains a pressing and urgent concern. ENAR and the PMJ consider that the specific problems faced by people of African descent in Europe mean that existing legal instruments cannot adequately address this problem and must be reinforced by a comprehensive effort on the part of policy makers and civil society to tackle Afrophobia and promote full inclusion.

What are the specific areas and forms of assistance we need from the US government agents and institutions?
- Be engaged and vocal on the specific issue of Afrophobia and social inclusion of PAD/BE in the EU, both in American, European and international fora.
- Advocate publically for the political recognition of Afrophobia and the need for evidence-based policies in Europe.
- Finance European initiatives related to the fight against Afrophobia.
- Mention the European issue of PAD/BE in policy documents.
- Advocate for a common EU framework for the collection and analysis of reliable comparable data disaggregated by racial or ethnic origin for the purpose of combating discrimination, in accordance with data protection safeguards.

In conclusion, if the EU and its Member States are to be successful in curbing Afrophobia and preparing all their citizens for a more inclusive and diverse Europe for the future, a change in approach is required at all levels. ENAR and the PMJ strongly believe that all the parties involved should rise to the challenges of promoting a progressive narrative on equality and diversity, while ensuring the respect and fulfilment of fundamental rights, and encouraging full inclusion of all. These objectives, even though long term, are meant to set the stage for progressive dialogue on policy formulations and

political reforms within the EU. To help in articulating and promoting a whole society vision guaranteeing "security, equality and prosperity for PAD and BE" by maximising our potential, towards developing confident and strong communities, integrated and cohesive societies, as well as a stable and prosperous Europe.

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Remarks by Salome Mbugua, CEO, AkiDwA, Migrant Women's Network, Ireland

Recent Census figures have confirmed that migration into Ireland continues and that numbers of non-Irish foreign nationals have increased in the period since the last Census of 2006. The number of Irish residents who were born outside Ireland continues to increase and stood at 766,770 in 2011, an increase of 25% on 2006, and accounting for 17% of the population (CSO 2011). The population of Africans is at 41,642 or 0.91% of the total population.

Akina Dada wa Africa (AkiDwA), Swahili for sisterhood, is a national network of migrant women living in Ireland. The organisation was established in 2001 by a group of African women to address isolation, racism and gender based violence that they were experiencing at that time. AkiDwA works for a just society where there is equal opportunity and equal access to resources in all aspects of society: social, cultural, economic, civic and political.

Given the current statistics on racism and racial incidents in Ireland, it is clear that strong racist attitudes and deep rooted prejudices still exist within Irish society. In order to protect people that are vulnerable to racism, xenophobia and hate crime political will and commitment are needed from the top.

In a radio interview in November 2011, Cllr Scully – Public representative and former Mayor of NAAS, said that he would no longer represent "black Africans" living in his area, he implied they are "aggressive" with "bad manners".

Three in every five of the TDs (Irish Member of Parliament) responding to a survey carried out by a professional polling company said they had encountered racist sentiments while canvassing in the 2011 general election. More than a third of the TDs surveyed said speaking out in favour of immigrant rights would have a negative effect on their constituency support. – February 2012, Irish Times

Almost 50% of teachers have reported a racist incident in their school or college in the past month, according to a new survey by the Teachers' Union of Ireland. April 2010

A 2009 Economic Research Institute and Equality Authority study on employment showed strong discrimination in Ireland towards people whose name is not Irish, with the most racist attitudes directed towards Black Africans.

Racism in media reporting takes on extremely subtle forms, such as racial stereotyping and paying a disproportionate level of attention to stories which paint people from minority ethnic communities in a negative light - for example Kevin Myers, Irish Journalist and Writer, in 2008 wrote an article in the Irish Independent paper, *Africa has given the world nothing but AIDS*. Representation of immigrant and Black people in particular is completely lacking in mainstream media.

Women members continue to report to AkiDwA of their daily experiences of racism (verbal, physical) in their residence, while walking on the street or trying to access services. Many women also have to struggle with managing racism directed to them and to their children and the majority would keep their children indoors or remain indoors rather than getting out as they feel insecure. Many women members of AkiDwA have expressed reluctance to report racist incidents to Gardaí (police) with reasons that they get a feeling of intimidation at Garda stations where they are asked of their immigration status and treated with suspicion. Racism while trying

to access public services takes many different forms, such as the manner and tone used by officials, prejudiced behaviour and being denied service.

Participation: Democratic participation by immigrants is lacking. About 12% of the population are from immigrant backgrounds. Many immigrants are involved in religious and community organisations but have yet to see their involvement represented in decision making. Immigrant participation at the local level is believed to be one of the most important and effective measures, since it leads to a better understanding of shared values and respect for cultural differences, both of which are essential for democratic development. AkiDwA is working on grassroots mobilisation among the immigrant community to encourage and ensure that immigrants are involved at all levels of decision making.

Education: The exemption in Ireland's equality legislation that allows religious schools to give preference to children of the school's faith in order to preserve the 'ethos' of the school has had a disproportionately negative impact on children from minority ethnic groups who are also members of minority religious communities, as the vast majority of State-run religious schools are Catholic, the predominant religion in the State. In 2007 immigrant children were left stranded without school places. 'Educate together' schools have been established and have now largely accommodated children from the ethnic minority community. Mainstream schools need to be properly resourced to meet the diversity of students. There is also a need to have a reflection of diversity within the education curriculum. Handling racist bullying in schools need to be prioritised, all schools should adopt anti-racism policies that identify the steps that will be taken to address racist bullying when it occurs.

Access to third level education: Inability for children living in direct provision (of families seeking asylum) to access third level education due to high cost without State support is a big problem. They are

also not allowed to access any vocational training or courses run by bodies funded by the Government (example FAS).

Immigration and asylum law and policy: The 2001 World Conference on Racial Discrimination affirmed that racism directed against non-citizens, particularly migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, constitutes one of the main forms of contemporary racism; impact of direct provision on people, length of time, lack of independent complain procedure, food, right to work, all that constitute basic needs, poverty, bringing up children in crowded environment impact on mental health, physical and psychological well-being.

Citizenship: The citizenship referendum in 2004 got huge support almost 80% NO vote, children born after that year are left with no right to citizenship in their country of birth and many parents within the asylum process have to apply for asylum for children born here. Negative responses are therefore given to applications from such parents for full social welfare allowance, family income supplement and other social welfare payments.

Recommendations

Legal protection: acts of racism and unlawful racial discrimination, including incitement of racial hatred and racist attacks are serious violations of human rights and should be combated by all lawful means. There is a need for Ireland to have legislation on racist crimes, to show that it would be sufficient to prosecute effectively and adequately racist type violence. Come up with a legislation framework. This process should clearly define racism as a crime and ensure that the racially-aggravated dimensions of crimes committed are considered in sentencing.

Education and awareness raising: Encourage the introduction of human rights education, including promoting anti-racism in the school curriculum and in institutions of higher education. Equality

statements and anti-racism awareness are important at all levels of
the society.

Support: Women's human rights and necessary protections, with re-
gard to racism and discrimination, must be ensured through gender
mainstreaming of existing legislation and polices and consideration
of gender provided within new legislation. Equality of participation
and outcomes must be measured quantifiably within government
services and include gender breakdowns. The government should
commit itself to responding to the specific needs of migrant women
by providing culturally appropriate services and support in relation,
for example, to female genital mutilation, sexual abuse, domestic
violence (including the creation of refuges for ethnic minority and
migrant women), forced marriages.

Improve reporting: Establish a 'national racist reporting and mon-
itoring' system that is independent of the Gardaí, and that enables
reporting of racist incidents other than those currently defined as
crimes. It is particularly important that this system is widely adver-
tised, and data analysed and disseminated on a regular basis.

Monitoring: Establish an independent monitoring of public bod-
ies to assess their role in exacerbating negative racial and ethnic
profiling.

Research: Good policy can only be informed by good research.
There is still a gap concerning the Irish government's response to
both racism and recording of incidences.

Policies and practices: Develop racial equality policy and practice
not only in theory but also in action, including mainstreaming the
fight against racism in policies, and acting in partnership with civil
society.

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Remarks by Hedwig Bvumburah, Director of Cross Culture International Foundation - Malta

I work for CCIF as a director. My work entails working with migrants the majority of whom are of African descent in Malta. Malta has a very unique situation in that it is situated right in the middle of the Mediterranean Sea and as such most of the migrants end up here when they get shipwrecked at sea or encounter problems on their way to Italy. At the moment we are concentrating our efforts on human trafficking as we feel that some of these migrants reaching our shores could be trafficked. Malta is being used as both a transit point and a destination for trafficked persons. Malta is still not reaching US targets to stop human trafficking and as a result is placed on tier 2 after being moved up a notch into tier 2 of the trafficking victims' protection report after having featured on the tier 2 watch list for two consecutive years. On the ground there is very little the government is doing to identify victims of human trafficking when they process their cases. All irregular immigrants landing in Malta are currently held in detention for varying periods that can add up to 18 months. In the meantime access to these migrants is very difficult for NGOs whilst they are in detention. In the meantime we are also educating the public on how to identify victims of human trafficking within their communities.

The majority of immigrants living in Malta enjoy freedom of movement and a work permit, which entitles them to seek regular employment. However, many of these immigrants, adopting an attitude that 'a little is better than nothing', fall victim to exploitative practices at the hands of local employers, especially in the construction sector. Besides paying the workers wages that are far below the national minimum wage, these unscrupulous employers sometimes

disregard occupational health and safety standards. Furthermore, as these workers are not registered officially, they are not entitled to benefits such as paid leave and sick leave. Irregular workers accept these conditions for fear of losing the little income that they are earning.

An EU-wide study released by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group on the way EU Member States treat migrants has placed Malta in the 23rd position in a 28-country migrants' rights scoreboard. According to the study, "migrants in Malta are explicitly exposed to nationality discrimination" and the Maltese are "consistently the least supportive of migrants' rights in the EU-27". Malta has a well-known "Pushback Policy" where irregular migrants are deported. Malta is an intolerant place for migrants - political participation is non-existent for all foreigners even if they are fellow EU citizens.

On the other hand, Malta is very tough on nationality access. The 2000 Maltese Citizenship Act limits naturalisation to children and descendants of those who are, were, or became Maltese citizens. Without that connection, migrants can only naturalise if the government, under total discretion, decided they are eligible, based on humanitarian grounds.

The month of October 2013, saw more than 500 souls perish in the Mediterranean Sea. These were migrants on their way from Africa and Syria en-route to Italy.

Recommendations

1. More burden sharing among Member States and the international community, more should be done although a few of the refugees and those with subsidiary protection are relocated.

2. Detention policy should be abolished altogether or reduced to a minimum of three months at most.

3. The EU needs to finally make a common asylum system a reality.

4. Greater solidarity with EU Member States on eastern and southern Mediterranean coasts should be shown.

5. The Dublin regulations should be abolished so that each Member State should be able to process claims for asylum regardless of where the asylum seeker has entered the European Union.

6. The EU has to approve, as a matter of priority, further possibilities of creating legal access to the EU, through visas issued in countries outside the EU.

7. The removal of the Dublin regulations would give the possibility for migrants landing in Malta to transfer to other EU countries while their asylum application is being examined.

8. Pressure to be exerted on Malta to improve its human trafficking record.

9. With regards to the number of lives lost at sea maybe the EU and Congress can come up with solutions that will deal with the problems at source rather than letting people come across for them to lose their lives at sea.

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Remarks by Charles Asante-Yeboa, President of African Center, Ukraine

I thank the organisers of this briefing for their foresight, and for giving me the opportunity to speak about our activities and provide an overview of the situation of the African diaspora in Eastern Europe.

African Center, based in Kiev, Ukraine, is the largest African institution in Eastern Europe. Among others, it defends the rights of Africans and promotes the positive side of Africa.

The Center is the platform for promoting diversity, respect, intercultural dialogue and many other efforts. We do this through various actions and are pleased to have the cooperation of the US Embassy in Kiev, the European Union and the OSCE, just to mention a few partners. Our social and cultural actions in partnership with the Association FARE (UK), Never Again (Poland), United for Intercultural Action (Holland), The Edge have also been very successful.

The Center monitors situations of Africans in Russia, Moldova and other eastern European countries, and coordinates with other institutions in these areas. In essence, it is the library and source of information on Africans; and it is their voices that I carry with me here. Therefore, permit me to say precisely that I am speaking on behalf of the African diaspora in eastern Europe.

Though migrants generally face several problems, it is necessary to mention that people of African descent bear the brunt in most cases.

Issues of major concern include:

Human rights: Africans in Ukraine, Russia, Moldova and other countries of the former Soviet republics have asked several times that the law enforcement organs take necessary steps to address abuse of their rights. In fact, we are asking for the basic rights accorded to every person. This includes intervention and protection, in case of attack.

Integration: The world has become a global village as we all see. People travel to other countries for several reasons. But it becomes another issue if the 'system' is such that you are not integrated. For instance, even if an African has Ukrainian nationality it does not necessarily make him or her part of the society nor can he or she be accorded the basic equal rights. Africans who are married to Ukrainians have the same concern. African Ukrainian children also face the same problem, though one of their parents is Ukrainian.

Employment: Africans' rights are not protected at all in this area. The result is that employers hire them to work for months, at times up to a year then sack them without paying them.

Racial abuse, xenophobia and other related hate crimes are by far the major concern of the African diaspora in eastern Europe, as are concerns of migrants everywhere. As you all know, issues of racism are very complex, and are not limited to one geographic region. In fact, they are global, though they differ from country to country. Sometimes one witnesses the 'natural' factors that characterise them. Disillusionment among people may contribute to creating hatred and disrespect for others. But it becomes an issue of grave concern when minorities, migrants or specific groups of people become inexplicable targets. It is important to take the necessary steps to adequately address this so as to not repeat the horrors of 2006 to 2011, when mainly African migrants were targeted, brutally attacked, resulting in the loss of many lives.

I myself was a victim of such a brutal attack where the perpetrators, 15 of them, armed with knives and various clubs, were bent on hacking me to death. I am lucky to have survived such an attack. However, the timely intervention of Mr. Mark Wood, then Human Rights Officer of the US Embassy in Kiev; when he visited me and saw my condition, he quickly arranged with Mr. Jeff Labovits, then Chief of Mission of the International Organisation for Migration to quickly take me to another hospital for intensive care. That is why I am alive and talking today.

I commend the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights for their work in eastern Europe, training law enforcement officers and civil society leaders to take up the challenge.

It is also necessary to mention the role of the US government, the US embassy. My colleagues and I have had the opportunity to attend various meetings, e.g. during the visits of Vice-President Joe Biden, then Secretary of State Mrs Clinton, and the US Ambassador's Forum, where they also spoke on diversity.

Conclusion: Effective collaboration with the African diaspora would help in better dealing with the situations cited above and similar ones. Our active participation in seeking solutions to issues that concern us is also crucial. We look forward to continuing working with the Ukrainian government, who also happens to be the current Chairperson of the OSCE. It is our hope, therefore, that the group of this study tour, which has so far been exposed to the working systems of various US Departments and institutions with still more to visit, would be strengthened and that it would receive the needed support enabling us to effectively help in promoting progress of the African diaspora, and also contributing more meaningfully in our respective places of residence.

I thank you for your time and your attention. We hope to meet with you again.

U.S. Helsinki Commission, OSCE, and OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

People of African Descent Select Initiatives

- US mission statement at the Annual OSCE Human Dimension Implementation Meeting Permanent Council Meeting September 30, 2014 http://osce.usmission.gov/sep_30_14_session13.html

- Helsinki Commission Hearing: Europeans of African Descent "Black Europeans": Race, Rights, and Politics, November 2013 http://www.csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=ContentRecords. ViewDetail&ContentRecord_id=549&Region_id=0&Issue_ id=0&ContentType=H,B&ContentRecordType=H&CFID=4749 2111&CFTOKEN=fd9cdd2651073f24-462BAA2A-C121-4C3F -4B2FDB519A6005C7

- US mission to the OSCE – Awareness Raising on Roundtable on Racism Against Persons of African Descent http://www.youtube. com/playlist?list=PL69EA4122A0C988F7&feature=plcp

- OSCE PA July 2012 Resolution on Addressing Racism and Xenophobia Affecting People of African Descent in the OSCE Region (by MP Kathleen Ferrier and US Representative Alcee L. Hastings) – click on 2012 Monaco Declaration page 67-69 http://www.oscepa.org/publications/declarations/cat_view/97-all-documents/1-publications/4-declarations/173-2012-monaco-declaration

- OSCE/ODIHR November 2011 Roundtable on the contemporary forms of racism and xenophobia affecting Peoples of African Descent in the OSCE region http://www.osce.org/odihr/87967

- Resolution on Strengthening Efforts to Combat Racism and Xenophobia and Foster Inclusion (by MP Kathleen Ferrier and US

Representative Alcee L. Hastings) – click on Belgrade Resolutions page 36. http://www.blackgermans.us/docs/17_Resolution_Combat_Racism.pdf or http://www.oscepa.org/publications/all-documents/cat_view/97-all-documents/1-publications/4-declarations/41-2011-belgrade-declaration?orderby=dmdate_published&ascdesc=DESC

- Legislation - H.RES.389: Recognising persons of African descent in Europe during the International Year for People of African Descent, Sponsor: Congressman Alcee L. Hastings http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-112hres389ih/pdf/BILLS-112hres389ih.pdf

- Legislation - S.CON.RES.26: A concurrent resolution supporting the goals and ideals of the designation of the year of 2011 as the International Year for People of African Descent, Sponsor: Sen. Benjamin Cardin http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-112sconres26es/pdf/BILLS-112sconres26es.pdf

- Black European Summit
  http://www.blackgermans.us/docs/2009_Report.pdf

- Helsinki Commission Hearing: The State of (In)visible Black Europe (includes map of Black populations, statistics, policy papers, recommendations) http://csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=ContentRecords.ViewDetail&ContentRecord_id=421&ContentType=H,B&ContentRecordType=H&CFID=8217281&CFTOKEN=47227988

- Helsinki Commission Hearing: Racism in the 21st Century http://csce.gov/index.cfm?FuseAction=ContentRecords.ViewDetail&ContentRecord_id=433&Region_id=0&Issue_id=0&ContentType=H,B&ContentRecordType=H&CFID=68574628&CFTOKEN=10339097

What are the issues that impact the lives of Black Europeans and people of African descent in Europe? What are their experiences, and which specific stereotypes and prejudice do they face?

Evidence suggests that there continues to be a lack of knowledge about people of African descent in Europe and Black Europeans, ranging from present day experiences to historical issues that have impacted their lives.

This collection of papers - a mix of academic writing, policy related issues, and accounts of practical experiences - is a unique contribution to remedy this lack of knowledge. It aims to raise awareness of Europe's Black population, their histories and contributions, and prescriptions to long-standing racial issues. The publication offers an overview of who Black Europeans are, and how they are viewed and subsequently treated across Europe, as well as their experiences and political actions in select national contexts. It also provides in-depth discussions on European-wide pervasive issues for people of African descent, from racial profiling and hate crimes to poor health outcomes, including strategies for addressing these problems.