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# "Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

DECALOGUE & FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**The Decalogue and the Final Comparative and comprehensive report** has been elaborated with the coordination and academic assistance of external experts from the Complutense University of Madrid, who are the authors of the Spanish and the Final Comparative reports: **Mª Ángeles Cea D´Ancona**, **Miguel S. Valles Martínez.**

The elaboration of the Decalogue was involved in a project which included a series of phases and tasks, in which the different partners were involved. The members of the transnational "Living Together" consortium that elaborated this Decalogue are:

**SPAIN**

• Spanish Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia-OBERAXE (*coordinating and leading the project.*

• Casa Árabe

• Movimiento contra la Intolerancia

• Cruz Roja Española (Spanish Red Cross)

• Fundación CEPAIM Acción Integral con Migrantes

• Diputació de Barcelona (Local government of the provine of Barcelona)

**PORTUGAL**

• ACIDI - High Commission for the Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue

• CIG - Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Género

**FINLAND**

• Ministry of the Interior

• Finnish League for Human Rights

**THE NETHERLANDS**

• Erasmus University Rotterdam. Faculty of Social Science

**SWEDEN**

• Centrum Against Racism

**IRELAND**

• Equality Authority

# "Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

# DECALOGUE

**1** Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based.

**2** Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems.

**3** Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia.

**4** Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practices Approaches.

**5** Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity.

**6** Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution.

**7** Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society.

**8** Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching.

**9** Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together".

**10** Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration.

**1** Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based **2** Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems **3** Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia **4** Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practices Approaches **5** Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity **6** Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution **7** Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society **8** Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching **9** Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together" **10** Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration

## INTRODUCTION

# AIMS, PARTNERS AND STEPS OF THE PROJECT

INTRODUCTION:
AIMS, PARTNERS AND STEPS
OF THE PROJECT

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

11

The transnational project *"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia* [co-financed by European Commission: Directorate-General Justice, Freedom, Security - Fundamental Rights and Citizenship EU Programme (2007-2009) - JLS/FRC/2007] works towards a major aim: the promotion of a European discourse of tolerance,[1] based on the generation of a rationale for harmony and respect, on recognition of differences, and on building European citizenship estranged from any kind of racism and xenophobia.

In order to work towards this aim, four specific objectives were proposed:

1. To identify and analyze the main "*social beliefs"* (prejudices, stereotypes, citizens' fears) generating racist and xenophobic discourses, discriminatory actions and the legitimizing of racist attitudes in European countries.

2. To detect and compile a catalogue of "*best practices"* on tolerance and dialogue containing *tolerance discourse, models,* and *mechanisms* for harmony that are being developed in these countries with the aim of getting to know various strategies to fight against racism, xenophobia, and discrimination due to ethnic or national origins.

3. To prepare a *Decalogue for Citizenship, Tolerance and Dialogue* that summarizes common tenets of harmony and respect geared towards *European citizenship* in order to neutralize racist and xenophobic discourses and help various social agents.

4. To generate a transnational monitoring and reaction mechanisms to fight against *new racist discourses*.

To meet these objectives, the transnational project includes a series of phases and tasks, in which the different partners are involved:

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1   We recommend consulting the definition of the term *tolerance* in the UNESCO *Declaration of Principles on Tolerance*, 16 November 1995 where the historical perspective of this key word is recalled.
    http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13175&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

**12**

**"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"**

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* **[JLS/FRC/036]**

**INTRODUCTION:
AIMS, PARTNERS AND STEPS
OF THE PROJECT**

## Spain:

> Spanish Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (OBERAXE) – Ministry of Labour and Immigration, coordinating and leading the project.
> Casa Árabe, Movimiento contra la Intolerancia, Cruz Roja (Spanish Red Cross), Fundación CEPAIM Acción Integral con Migrantes and Diputación de Barcelona (Local Goverment of the province of Barcelona).

## Portugal[2]

> ACIDI - High Commission for the Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue.
> CIG - Comissão para a Cidadania e Igualdade de Género.

## Finland:

> Ministry of the Interior.
> Finnish League for Human Rights.

## Netherlands:

> Erasmus University Rotterdam – Faculty of Social Science.

## Sweden:

> Centre against Racism.

## Ireland:

> Equality Authority.

Because the participation of external experts was foreseen for some of the tasks in the project, a common methodological document was needed for the tasks to be undertaken in a coordinated fashion. The project involves activities classified into three phases:

**Phase (I) Definition and Design of Common Methodologies** (February - March 2009) to be shared in establishing focus groups, in archiving best practices, and in holding national expert forums. These methodologies were also to be used in the triple survey (of the gener-

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2  Although we make some references to Portugal and the Portuguese team in general, the good practices' report and focus groups were all conducted by ACIDI, since CIG was not involved in performing those tasks.

**INTRODUCTION:**
**AIMS, PARTNERS AND STEPS**
**OF THE PROJECT**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**13**

al population, social partners, and experts), when compiling the Decalogue. As external experts, Madrid's Universidad Complutense (UCM) team[3], in collaboration with OBERAXE, prepared a draft common proposal of methodologies for the transnational research. This draft was debated in the first meeting with all the partners for approval as a reference document. Special participation of the Dutch partner (Erasmus University, Rotterdam[4]) was foreseen to define and design a common operative methodology.

**Phase (II) Research fieldwork** (March-June 2009), whose budget and methodology was planned in the trans-national project with the aim of meeting the previously referred to specific objectives 1 and 2. Each partner therefore took responsibility (with respect to objective 1) for the specific design, fieldwork, analysis, and focus group report for its country in the trans-national project and (in relation to specific objective 2), for identifying and archiving *best practices in tolerance and harmony* found in their country (as a pilot network of *case studies* and entities). The trans-national project attempts to set the groundwork for a common system for archiving discourses and initiatives to fight against racism and xenophobia.

**Phase (III) Proposals of common arguments of harmony and respect, recognition of differences, and construction of European citizenship** (July - November 2009). The working plan in this phase was related to objective 3 in the project. It was summarized through a Decalogue that compiles common rationales for harmony and respect for differences. For this purpose, it was expected that several national forums with the participation of multidisciplinary experts and regional/local and civil society representatives take place (specifically, on Spain, Portugal, Finland, Sweden and Ireland). The matrix project also provided for cities to contribute with *case studies* and specific experiences of building discourses of tolerance and harmony. The working plan also provided for gathering opinions from universities, NGOs, and national/regional and local representatives, among others. Interest was also expressed in gathering proposals that might be used by NGOs to promote awareness raising campaigns with a similar orientation, proposals aimed at the mass media in order to avoid racist, xenophobic and discriminatory arguments and discourses, and experts' proposals aimed at public services (educational institutions, public health, etc.), to build rationales and mechanisms that fight against racist and discriminatory attitudes and discourses.

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3   Made up of  professors Mª Angeles Cea D´Ancona and Miguel S. Valles.
4   Specifically, professors Dick Houtman and Leen Kemeling.

**14**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

INTRODUCTION:
AIMS, PARTNERS AND STEPS
OF THE PROJECT

In this phase, each partner took on the task of managing the composition of the national forum of experts in its country, taking the proposed common methodologies into account. In addition, each partner had to prepare a document of conclusions on its national forum and had to participate in the second trans-national working meeting subsequent to the forums. Finally, each partner had to work on preparing the Decalogue (*Decalogue on Citizenship, Tolerance and Dialogue*) taking into account the recommendations arising in the forums.

**1** Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based **2** Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems **3** Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia **4** Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practices Approaches **5** Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity **6** Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution **7** Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society **8** Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching **9** Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together" **10** Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration

**REPORT 1**

# COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

17

Once the kick-off meeting of the Project had been held (Madrid: 5-6/03/2009), the initial proposal for a common methodology[5] was modified and prepared including all the contributions relating to the three instances of fieldwork in the trans-national project. The following is an abridged version of a more extended common methodology document agreed on by the project partners.

## 1.1. Common Methodology for Qualitative Fieldwork (I): Focus Groups (FGs)

### The General Design for FGs

The first proposal for the general design of FGs stemmed from the first project: a budget for a minimum of two groups per country. Based on a proposal made by the UCM experts, the number of FGs was broadened to the extent possible[6], and was finally increased to three FGs. The *exploratory nature* of the present study in order to gather the main primary discourses existing in the native population of each country must therefore be noted. It should also be underlined that this research is of a *pilot* nature, and that challenges in comparability inherent to trans-national projects arise when the FGs are conducted.

However, in order to avoid a partial or even unfair consideration of the trans-national project, two complementary reflections on methodology must be made. First, the *trans-national* nature of the *Living Together Project* must be considered. It aims for *strategic sampling* on a European scale, combined with the major criterion of *heterogeneity* (analogous to *stratification* in statistical samples). For instance, the *LT Project* includes countries from Southern Europe (Spain, Portugal), in addition Ireland, which all have

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5  Prepared by Mª Ángeles Cea D´Ancona y Miguel S. Valles Martínez (Complutense University of Madrid), with comments by Dick Houtman (Rotterdam University).

6  Because that decision considerably limits the typological representation on a national scale, due to the rationale of qualitative sampling (based on criteria of *saturation, strategic sampling, structural or theoretical sampling*, etc.) conventional practice (in national studies) is around 8.

**18**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

relatively recent migration processes, in addition socially and culturally specific countries from Northern Europe (Finland, Sweden), with experience in unique social policies. That is to say, because national surveys do not ensure statistical representability for the scale of regions within each country, the trans-national qualitative sample of the *LT Project* does not assure typological or structural representability either, mainly because of the small number of FGs. Although the first budgeted minimum number of two FGs was finally increased to three, the optimum amounts more than double the figure of six (in absence of budgetary constrictions)[7]. Secondly, since the trans-national project is not exclusively composed of FGs (but also includes *case studies* of best practices, national experts, and social leaders' forums), additional offsetting for the minimum FG fieldwork is also expected.

Finally, the decision was made on a common *proposal of a general design* of FGs as a reference for the qualitative fieldwork to be implemented in each country. A preliminary, theoretical specification of fundamental *intra-group heterogeneity* was established. The intention was to provide a sample of social positions maintaining characteristic discourses that are related to the processes of acceptance or rejection of immigrants by the native population.. This helped guarantee a certain degree of heterogeneity in the selection of a qualitative sample. The final proposal for FG composition, in terms of *heterogeneity*, for the minimum option of 3 FGs was as follows:

FG1: native population of **upper-middle social status**

> 4 female participants, 4 male, aged 35-55 (no more than two people in the same five-year age bracket).
> Half self-employed, half employees, autonomous and highly qualified professionals with university studies.
> Some with direct relationships with foreigners or ethnic minorities (co-workers, neighbours or friends); and others without these relationships.

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7 In any case, it was agreed to keep the FGs open to *all forms of racism* and offset the small number of discussion groups in the budget of the project (a total of three FGs) with a minimum description of the state of the art in each country, in order to provide a context for new material and explore trends. That is, a minimum review of qualitative and quantitative studies was suggested to favour both the contextualization and the historical perspective of the fieldwork done *ex novo* in each country for the *LT project.*

**REPORT 1:**
**COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

19

> Living in residential urban areas (upper-middle class), not more than two people from the same residential area, to favour heterogeneity.
> Venue: capital city of the country involved as partner in the Living Together Project.
> Date: April-May 2009.

FG2: **young native population** of **middle-middle social status**

> 4 female participants, 4 male, aged 18-25 (not more than two people of the same age).
>  Some employed in economic sectors with middle-range qualifications, and some full or part-time students.
> Belonging to work and neighbourhood environments with moderate presence of immigrants.
> Living in *non-residential, non-degraded* metropolitan areas (not more than two people from the same area, to favour heterogeneity).
> Venue: capital city of the country involved as partner in the Living Together Project.
> Date: April-May 2009.

FG3: native population of **lower-middle social status**

> 4 female participants, 4 male, aged 35-55 (not more than two people in the same five-year age bracket).
> Precarious or unskilled workers with only primary studies, some (2 or 3) unemployed at present.
> Work and neighbourhood environments with a high presence of immigrants.
> Living in a degraded metropolitan area (not more than two people from the same area, to favour heterogeneity).
> Venue: capital city of the country involved as partner in the Living Together Project.
> Date: April-May 2009.

**20**

**"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"**
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**REPORT 1:**
**COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES**

## Decisions on FG Moderation

A key aspect in the establishment of FGs had to do with determining the style of moderation, which could be relatively free or semi-directed, and key in putting together the FGs. The free option was chosen, and consisted of proposing the subject of *immigration* and its evolution over the last few years (also mentioning the expression *ethnic minorities*) in the country and city where the FG was done. It was deliberately decided that the group discuss a closed subject from the beginning in order for the emerging of the discursive associations that each group freely established between *immigration and ethnic minorities* and the social issues that the project focuses on (of harmonious *living together* or not, tolerant or intolerant discourses) to be observed. It was recommended that the moderators in every country never mention the words *racism* or *xenophobia*, and that they start the session by saying *"Let us talk about immigration and ethnic minorities in this country"*.

Regarding the **style of moderation** to be practiced during the whole conversational technique, the following mixed style was proposed and agreed. A free or unstructured style of moderation would be used for most of the conversation (the first hour and a half, more or less), and only afterwards (for last half hour or three quarters of an hour) would the moderator read three specific assertions (each followed by group discussion), that were to be posed in all the countries. The three **phrases** for the moderator **to read literally** and ask the group to comment on, one at a time, were:

1. *Skin colour is of great importance for living together.*
2. *Both immigrants and ethnic minorities get more (from the country they live in) than they give.*
3. *Both immigrants and ethnic minorities should maintain their identity and culture of origin.*

These sentences were envisaged as *probing tactics* in the focus group conversation in order to provoke and observe the social discourses under *traditional* and *new* forms of *racism.*

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

21

## Contacting and Setting FGs guidelines and Reminders

The participants in a FG were not to know each other. The channels or networks for contacting people could be both personal (family, friends, neighbours) and public (educational centres or religious associations, among others). It was decided <u>not to</u> provide detailed information on the main subject of the research when contacting potential FG members. It was proposed and agreed to indicate (to the potential contacts) that current affairs would be discussed, and that opinions of people with similar experiences and social situations would be necessary.

The place chosen for the FGs to take place had to combine conditions of privacy and calmness to facilitate both the conversation and the recording, and also had to meet the usual conditions of *ideological and cultural neutrality* required for this sociological technique. Specially prepared professional rooms were recommended.

## Guidelines for Common FGs Analysis and Reporting

The basic structure for analysis and reporting (available by **30th June** 2009) of the Focus Groups material compiled in each country was:

1. **Introduction**: the context of the country (social, political, economic, cultural…) and state of the art on racism (special attention paid to **qualitative studies** on population discourses).
2. Discourse analysis **group by group**.
3. Discourse analysis between or **among groups**, comparing ideological positions and the main reasoning regarding the aims of the trans-national project and results of previous studies.
4. **Methodological chapter**, detailing the effective sampling and major fieldwork events, etc.

**22**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

## 1.2. Common Methodology for Qualitative Fieldwork (II): Compendium of Best Practices of Tolerance and Harmony

Unlike qualitative fieldwork I (FGs), where a greater specification of the corresponding qualitative methodology was required, in qualitative field II (*catalogue of best practices*, to be carried out from March to June, 2009) greater procedural freedom could be envisaged without risking the comparability of the trans-national materials compiled. However, some conceptual and methodological recommendations were given as a reference for documenting and monitoring best practices. The first and main recommendation was to take objective 2 of the trans-national project into account[8], generating familiarization with some key words. The idea of a *catalogue* (of *best practices*) had to be maintained. The catalogue was to be neither a census nor an inventory, but rather a selection of various experiences of harmony and the fight against ethnic discrimination to be spread trans-nationally. The aim was not to attain ephemeral or seasonal detection and cataloguing, but to set the groundwork for trans-national, institutional, routine *archiving* of best practices.

The proposed **initial definition** of "best practices" was completed with social interventions to which special value could be attributed due to the results achieved in the field of multicultural tolerance. Also included were practices that deserved being archived and disseminated so as to be replicated in other contexts. Making conceptual and operative reference to UNESCO´s International Migration Best Practice Project[9] was highly recommended. Therefore, a successful initiative could be considered a BP if it had/was:

1. Demonstrable effects and/or tangible impacts
2. Creative / innovative (represented new solutions to social problems)
3. Sustainable effects (sustainability of BP results over time)
4. Potential for replication (BPs were inspirational for policy guidelines)

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8 That is: "Detection and archiving of *tolerance discourse*, *models of* and *mechanisms for harmony* in these same countries in order to ascertain various strategies to fight against racism, xenophobia and discrimination based on ethnic or national origin as a catalogue of "*best practices*" of tolerance and dialogue".

9 http://portal.unesco.org/shs/en/ev.php-URL_ID=3450&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

23

Although UNESCO considers that it is sufficient to meet one of the mentioned criteria for being considered a BP, it was proposed only those initiatives meeting two criteria at least be selected as best practices, and that those two criteria should be the first (demonstrable effects) and fourth (potential for replication). As a way of making this research and archiving activity viable and coordinated, the following five criteria or guidelines were agreed:

1. *Geographical scope*. A minimum of three initiatives or experiences from big cities, mid-sized towns, and in rural areas had to be identified and archived.
2. *Entities or social partners*. Selected initiatives carried out by different entities or social partners; i.e. a) public/political administrations or organizations; b) private organizations; c) NGOs; d) other associations and mass media.
3. *Areas*. Selection of BP from diverse areas such as: a) education; b) social services; c) housing/neighbouring and public spaces; d) the labour context, etc…
4. *Time of implementation*. The experiences/practices finally considered as BPs had to be closed by 2008 at the latest.
5. *Types of projects/initiatives*. The focus of our search and archiving was on experiences aimed at improving intercultural tolerance and dialogue, harmony among cultures, countries, etc. Both consolidated and recent practices had to be identified.

Inclusion of experiences from private companies, sports, culture, and citizenship and participation policies was also recommended in addition to including experiences of the beneficiaries themselves, that is, BPs from minority groups, and not only ethnocentric groups.

## A Common Template for Archiving Best Practices (BPs) on Intercultural Tolerance

As a basic and common template for the coordination of this activity among the various countries and partners involved, the following list of items to be collected once an initiative had been identified and judged to be BP were agreed:

1. Name of program or project
2. Geographical scope: Big City/mid-sized town/rural village or area
3. Country

**24**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

4. Name of contact person
5. Address
6. Type of organization(s) involved, partners and related policies. Entities or social partners that carried out or promoted the initiative: a) public/political administrations or organizations; b) private organizations; c) NGOs; d) other associations and mass media.
7. Categories of practices or areas to which the initiatives belong: a) education; b) social services; c) housing/neighbourhood and public spaces; d) the labour context, etc...
8. Summary/description of the initiative: a) formulation of objectives and strategies, priorities; b) situation before the initiative began; c) description of the process (its origin, development, …); d) mobilization of resources; e) etc.
9. Time of implementation or key dates: a) opening and closing dates; b) number of editions; c) etc.
10. Transferability (estimated, planned or implemented).
11. Sustainability (in financial, socioeconomic or cultural terms).
12. Results achieved (impact indicators, facts, and data).

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

Project [JLS/FRC/036]

25

## 1.3. Common Methodology for Qualitative Fieldwork (III): National Experts Forums and Decalogue of Citizenship, Tolerance and Dialogue

The working plan for the third fieldwork (July - November 2009) related to objective number 3 of the trans-national project: preparing a *Decalogue* with common arguments of harmony and respect towards difference. Several Multidisciplinary Expert Forums had to be held with representatives form different walks of social and political life. Specifically, Portugal, Finland, Sweden, Ireland and Spain each held a forum. The common criteria for the composition of national expert forums were:

> 1 expert from each partner country capital city
> 2 experts from university or research centres
> 2 experts from NGOs
> 1 expert from national/ regional public administration
> 1 expert from the business sector
> 1 expert on mass media broadcasting or advertising campaigns
> 1 expert on trade union activities
> 1 expert on opposition political parties

Other indications that were followed as a common reference for the composition of these *forums* were:

> Expert forums were aimed at producing new arguments favouring tolerance and resulting in a Decalogue on Citizenship, Tolerance and Dialogue.
> The capital cities of the countries involved had to contribute with *case studies* and their specific experience in tackling the construction of tolerance and harmony discourse.
> Representation in these forums was to be balanced, both in geographical (North-South) and ideological terms.
> A baseline for minorities was to be included as a specific way to make the diversity principle/approach effective.
> To think in terms of *holistic experts* to avoid (as much as possible) the bias of thematic experts.

As established in the matrix project, proposals from national forums had to be:

**26**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 1:
COMMON METHODOLOGY GUIDELINES

a. Addressed to public services (educational institutions, public health), to build up arguments or mechanisms that fight against racist and discriminatory attitudes and discourse.
b. Potentially used by NGOs to promote awareness raising campaigns with a similar horizon.
c. Addressed to the mass media to avoid racist, xenophobic, and discriminatory arguments and discourse.

Each partner had to prepare a document on the conclusions of its national forum (*Conclusions report*) with recommendations (stemming from the conclusions generated in the forums) to be pooled in preparing the *Decalogue on Citizenship, Tolerance and Dialogue*.

The main conclusions were presented in the interim meeting held in Stockholm (Sweden) on November 12th and 13th where each participant country presented the main results and conclusions attained from the *FGs*, *national forums* and *best practices.*

**1** Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based **2** Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems **3** Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia **4** Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practices Approaches **5** Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity **6** Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution **7** Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society **8** Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching **9** Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together" **10** Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration

## REPORT 2

# NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**29**

The main results of focus group discussions held in Finland, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Sweden (following the common methodology[10] designed for this project) are summarized in this report in a comparative, snapshot-like manner. More detail on their composition and further individual analysis can be found in the specific documents prepared by each country participating in this project.

In general terms, positions on immigrants and ethnic minorities were marked by three main characteristics:

1. The ***socio-demographic profiles*** of Focus groups members. Mainly their educational level, reflected in the arguments they expressed and the aspects they underlined. **A social desirability bias** was more present in respondents with a higher educational level (FG1 and FG2), in line with previous studies (Krysan, 1998; Ross and Morowski, 1998; Cea D´Ancona, 2004, 2007, 2009; SORA, 2001; Coenders and others, 2003; Cea D´Ancona and Valles, 2008, 2009). Other determining factors were economic level and job situation, i.e. being unemployed or having an insecure job (more present in FG2 -the younger population- and FG3, those with a lower social economic position).

2. Their ***experience of living together*** with immigrants and ethnic minorities. Positive experiences caused *xenophilia,* while the negative experiences were underlined to justify immigrant rejection. As mentioned in FG3 held in Spain, **"There are people who say "Poor people!" But have you lived right next to them? Has it happened to you?"** These words were said in order to justify rejection of *Roma* (the traditional ethnic minority in Spain similar to other European countries)[11]. In this research special

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10 See the document "Abridged proposal of common methodology for *Living together Project*", by Mª Ángeles Cea D´Ancona and Miguel S. Valles (Complutense University of Madrid) and contributions by Dick Houtman (Rotterdam University), 30th March 2009.

11 The three Spanish groups mentioned the Roma in a spontaneous manner. They were considered Spanish people, but not well integrated into mainstream society, since despite the long period of co-existence, they have maintained their idiosyncrasies. The rejection towards them was explained as being because they were poor, received many public subsidies, and had no desire to *integrate* into Spanish society (different customs and lifestyles). The same arguments were found in Portugal, where Roma were also perceived as rejecting integration and squandering generous opportunities bestowed upon them by the State. They were even perceived as receiving privileges and opportunities denied to common Portuguese citizens. The general opinion was that they are society's parasites and that they do not make any effort not to be discriminated against.

**30**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

reference to Roma was made in Portugal and Spain; and to Muslims (associated with fanaticism and fundamentalism) in every country. They were seen as the most culturally different social minority and their integration into European societies was seen as being the hardest.

3.  Their *feelings of competition* for jobs and public benefits. The perception of being discriminated against as compared to immigrants or ethnic minorities was more present in FG3 and FG2 (due to the socioeconomic profile of their members). As mentioned in the FGs, it is in times of *crisis* "when problems get worse" and the *benefits* of *immigration* are questioned. The claim that there should be **preference** for the native population over foreigners acquires greater force in the area of access to jobs and public subsidies. This argument falls in line with the perspective of *symbolic racism* (Kinders & Sears, 1981; Sears, 1988, 1998, 2005) which is summarised in the explicit rejection of **positive discrimination,** already stated in previous studies (Colectivo IOÉ, 1995; Jackson, Brown & Kirby, 1998; Pérez Díaz, Álvarez-Miranda & González, 2001; González & Álvarez-Miranda, 2005; Cea D´Ancona, 2005, 2007; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Cea D´Ancona y Valles, 2008, 2009, 2010). A key to understanding this is the discourse of **competition** for limited resources, which prevailed in the explanation of the *ethnic prejudices* put forward long ago by Allport (1954/1977) & Blumer (1958) and later corroborated by other authors (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984; Giles & Evans, 1986; O'Sullivan & Wilson, 1988; Bobo 1988; Quillian, 1995).

The feelings of competition were expressed in statements such as **"they should not be given the same preference", "They have priority over us" or even "they are making us racist".** These statements were more common among low and lower-middle class people who *compete* with immigrants. But in the current economic crisis context these arguments are present among every socioeconomic status, although with some differences. What should not be forgotten is the second factor mentioned: experiences of *living together* **("Most of us are racists when we live with them").**

Criticism of the *media* for their negative portrayal of immigrants and ethnic minorities was highlighted. And there was a plea to **"Maintain a balance!"** between positive and negative news, and not only to refer to an increase in crime, gender violence or unemployment. *Criticism*, particularly from people in competition with immigrants or ethnic minorities, was also targeted at the *laws* that over-protect immigrants.

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**31**

More tolerance was expressed in Sweden and in Finland where the **social desirability bias** was present in the three focus groups (mainly in FG1 and FG2, where their members took more care to express themselves in a politically correct manner; they wanted to behave in an acceptable way). Focus group participants considered that Finns in general are xenophobic, but the participants presented themselves as an exception to this. Others, they said (even their parents) were more prejudiced, especially towards Russians.

In every country except Sweden, there were important differences in the discourses expressed in the focus groups, especially between FG1 and FG3, the two more extreme groups and for the previously stated reasons.

**32**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

## 2.1. Discourses on Immigration and Ethnic Minorities from Upper-Middle Class Adult Focus Groups (FG1)

We will start by pointing out the most recurrent discursive nodes in FG1. This focus group was made up of upper-middle class adults, who were most favourable towards immigrants, and towards ethnic minorities in particular. They were characterized by a predominance of elaborate discourse (either with or without a **social desirability bias**), weighing the *pros* and *cons* of immigration, and stressing the *need* for immigration both for economic and cultural purposes. But there were some differences among the countries, as can be seen in table 1, which summarizes their main features.

### Table 1

DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC MINORITIES
FROM FOCUS GROUPS WITH UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS (FG1)
Living Together Project (May-July, 2009)

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Positive attitude towards immigration in general | Reluctant to express criticism about other cultures. They showed a greater culture tolerance | Reluctant to generalize attributes to minorities. Discourse in terms of personal qualities. But, as long as the discussion took place, some generalized and *intolerant concepts* appeared in the free speech | *Heads and tails* of immigration, with the predominance of elaborated and politically correct discourses (to qualify negative statements) | All discourses were built on a dichotomy between individual tolerance and intolerant society |
| The discussion remained on a fairly abstract and general level, controlling their own comments and trying to be correct. But at the same time they accidentally slipped into talking about **"blacks"**, **"them"** and **"one of them"** | Ethnic diversity was celebrated: **"life more colourful, diverse and exciting"**. Learning from other cultures | | Attribution of some of current *problems*, to immigration but diffusing its responsibility | *Individualism* = unwillingness to generalize all immigrants into one group |
| | | | | *Cultural essence* discourse: connections between *culture* and *skin colour* |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

33

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The **"problems"** will be solved over time | The **"problem"** with ethnic minorities is not cultural, but a problem of *social inequality, poverty* and *language deficiency.* But they agreed that in public debates, ethnic minorities' cultures are criticized and problematized | Although the main discourse showed openness to immigration, all participants mentioned factors that hindered this prospect | Emphasis on *economic, cultural* and *educational* benefits of immigration | Blame: the societal structure which was seen to hinder individuals from expressing their full potential |
| Finland´s official institution will take care of immigration issues | | | Prevalence of *class racism* over the *ethnic* and *cultural* racism (acceptance depends on their income level) | |
| Voluntary relationship with immigrant: friends | *Cultural criticism* provoked reactions that made these **"problems"** relative (using reflective arguments) | Frequent professional or personal contact with immigrants that share their socio-economic status | Repeated criticism of the role of the *media* in distorting the image of immigration | |
| Main discursive nodes: *employment, adaptation* and the *correctness* discourse | Typical expressions of gender inequality (scarves, *burkas,..*) were not seen as problematic, if they are by a free choice | Differential treatment was explained as a result of *social economic stratification* (e.g. education), not due to phenotypic or cultural differences | Identification of immigration with *wealth*, but final dominance of *critical discourses*: *crime, abuse of public subsidies, laws protect* them and the *lack of professional qualification* of immigrant workers | |
| | | *Cultural differences* (religious values, ethic of work) hamper harmony | | |

**34**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rather than focusing on differences, they underlined the things that different cultures have in common (i.e., similarities between the end of Ramadan and Christmas celebrations) | *Positive effects* of immigration: *multiculturalism* and the opportunities that it represents to Portugal on an *economic, demographic* and *cultural* level | Immigrants more aware of their *rights* than their *obligations*: *abuse* of public benefits | |
| | Concentration of ethnic groups was not seen as a problem in itself. It was understandable (reflective argument) | *Negative* aspect: increasing crime | *Preference* for the *native* over the outsider **("You should have more rights because you were born here and you have been making contributions to Social Security all your life")** | |
| | The term 'culture' was used in many different contexts, not just relating to ethnicity | The importance of phenotypic differences was denied and the role of education and the social status was affirmed | Factors against their integration: *segregation, education and labour discrimination* | |
| | | | The use of the *veil* in schools does not help their *integration*. Restrict certain cultural and religious practices. | |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

*"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"*
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**35**

In addition to politically correct discourse, the use of **reflective arguments** both to neutralize cultural criticism and to understand ethnic concentration has to be highlighted. For example, in the Netherlands *cultural criticism* relating to the social position of women in immigrant's (Muslim) communities triggered reactions that made these "problems" relative by stating that Dutch women in the 1950s also wore headscarves, or that there are lots of orthodox Christian villages in which people are not free to choose marriage partners themselves. Furthermore, typical expressions of gender inequality (such as *headscarves*, *burkas* and not shaking hands) are not seen as inherently problematic if the women choose for themselves (like in Spain):

> **"And when I think about the problems people have with headscarves, I can still remember a photo taken of the former queen Juliana wearing a headscarf. I also remember my mother always wore a headscarf when she went outside"; "Indeed, in the whole [province] of Gelderland women still wear headscarves. And if you would have looked at other provinces say ten years ago, you would have seen the same thing. Girls who had to wear long skirts and were not allowed to wear pants."; "Previously you also had to be a virgin when you married"**

Rather than focusing on what is different, they tended to see the things different cultures have in common[12]: **"At one moment I found out that the end of Ramadan celebrations are actually just like our Christmas celebrations. The whole family comes together; the children receive gifts and sometimes the adults as well. You have a nice meal with the family, wearing your best clothes. Well, that's the same as our traditional Christmas celebrations. There are lots of similar things and I think you just have to translate those things a bit"**. Later, on the topic of marrying off, it was said that **"lots of fathers do not want to marry off their daughters anymore. Of course, there's always a certain group that does, but then I think, in Staphorst** [Dutch orthodox Christian town] **people aren't free to choose who they marry with either"**.

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12 In Portugal, although the participants in FG1 refused to generalize attributes to minorities (at the beginning), as long as the discussion took place, some more explicit positions were taken on and some intolerant concepts appeared. For instance, one female participant said, referring to Brazilians: **"the values are different. They kill as easily as they would drink a glass of water, and that is just their nature…"**

**36**

*"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"*
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

Or referring to *ethnic concentration*, something that is commonly seen as problematic, it was not seen as a problem in itself. Actually, it was very understandable. A woman said: **"My parents have lived in the south of France and there were two more Dutch families living nearby. It was very cosy to actually stick together. Then you can just talk Dutch"**. And **"I would not oppose a new [concentrated] Chinatown or Little Italy. Why shouldn't people who share a certain ethnicity live together?"**

Another common characteristic was the prevalence of **class racism**, that is, the *differentiation* of immigrants according to their social class or income level. It was more evident in Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands. As was said in Spain: **"Nobody has ever been worried about having an immigrant who is the child of someone who is Norwegian, British or French"**.

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

37

## 2.2. Discourses on Immigration and Ethnic Minorities from Middle Class Youth Focus Groups (FG2)

Young people are another social group affected by politically correct discourses. Traditionally they have shown themselves to be tolerant and in favour of immigration and ethnic minorities. But the social context of economic crisis is arousing xenophobic discourses, as can be seen in table 2. In the Netherlands, for example, FG2 was the only group where immigrants were criticized for alleged abuse of the Welfare State. However, other participants in this focus group countered this criticism by stating that immigrants do not come to abuse the Welfare State, but for better job opportunities and a better future. In Spain, FG2 was the focus group where the negative repercussion of immigration on the labour market took on a greater emphasis. Immigrants were blamed for the increase in unemployment and diminishing wages because **"they work for less money"** and this undermines job prospects for the native population seeking a job. The same arguments were expressed in Portugal and other countries. The term **"problem"** was used frequently when young people talked of immigration. The economic crisis also took up a major part of the group debate as it may be seen in table 2.

**Table 2**

DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC MINORITIES
FROM FOCUS GROUPS WITH MIDDLE CLASS YOUNG PEOPLE (FG2)

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Image of themselves as tolerant and in that sense a new generation compared with their parents | Ethnic diversity was appreciated or celebrated<br><br>*Positive aspects*: contact with other cultures was seen as enriching and bringing more colours to life; | Discourse open to personal relationships with people of other ethnicities, but they mentioned factors that hindered this prospect | *Economic crisis* took up a major part of the group debate<br><br>It was the FG where the negative repercussion of immigration on the job market | All of them were eager to discuss and express their non-prejudiced frame of mind in contrast to a prejudiced society (discourse of individual tolerance) |

**38**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The politically correct language was used in general and sharp generalisations were avoided | and the necessity of labour-migration was emphasized | Like FG1 they refused to generalize and denied importance of phenotypic differences | took on a greater emphasis | The most interaction with different cultural groups, and not merely professional settings |
| The word **"immigrant"** sounded negative, while *"new Finn"* [uussuomalainen] seemed to be correct | *Negative aspects*: abuse of Welfare State | Mass media are responsible for the spread of negative images of immigrants | Immigrants were blamed for increasing *unemployment,* decline in wages (they accept low-paid jobs) and drawing public aids. The Government was blamed for allowing it | Discourse of cultural fluidity: multiculturalism |
| Attitudes affected by good and bad experiences with immigrants and others minorities | Other dominant themes: *western values* and *ethnic concentration,* which was seen as a *problem*: by living among **"their own people",** immigrants and ethnic minorities will not integrate with native Dutch | Affinity totally centred on Blacks | | The highest awareness that cultural background is not simply an essence or a set of traits |
| Many of them had had personal contacts with immigrants during kindergarten, school or studies, which they felt had most affected their own attitudes | Policies of active **"ethnic mixing"** in both housing and in education are enthusiastically received | Have frequent professional or personal contact with immigrants | They also criticized unemployed Spaniards who do not emigrate in search for a job | |
| | | *Negative aspects*: immigrants increase unemployment, decrease in salaries and get more support from State | Like FG3, immigration was conceived as positive for the employer **("with what you pay one professional, you can pay four immigrants"),** but negative for the worker | |

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

Project [JLS/FRC/036]

39

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Their parents had less experience; their attitudes were thus more reserved | **"Western values"** was mostly about the position of women among ethnic minorities. Islamic culture was stated 'behind' in its development (compared with the secularized Christian culture) | Abuse of Welfare State: immigrants receive a greater share of welfare state social benefits than the Portuguese do | Like FG1, immigrants were considered workers with low professional qualifications | |
| *Central discourses*: *employment* and *economic perspectives*; lack of *language skills* (barriers for working life and integration); *problems* associated with immigrants | They criticized the **"problematic"** position of Muslim women especially in young people's contexts: they are **"a new generation"** | State does not defend Portugal properly: it allows immigrants to enter | Their acceptance depends on their level of income: so-called *class racism* | |
| Finnish society was not referred to as multicultural, but immigrants make Finnish food culture more diverse | Unlike their parents, they insisted on not judging groups of immigrants on the (bad) behaviour of one of them. | Affirmation of the role of education and social status in the attitude towards immigrants and ethnic minorities | Racism due to their appropriation of public spaces and a lack of harmony with neighbours | |
| Immigrants´ problems were linked to a larger inequality in society | | | Criticism of the *mass media* for the high profile given to *"Latin Kings"* | |
| Concentration of immigrants was seen as a problem | | | Immigrants have to *adapt* and not to *impose* their culture on the majority | |

**40**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

Both good and bad experiences with immigrants and other minorities affect attitudes towards them. In Finland, they built an image of themselves as tolerant young people, and at the same time were aware of the contradictions in their own thinking, which appear in their everyday encounters with immigrants. In The Netherlands, when the discussion was about making generalizations on the basis of *skin colour*, several participants remarked they (the younger generations) did not judge whole groups of immigrants on the (bad) behaviour of one, but their parents or grandparents did **("I think there is a big difference between our generation and the generation before us. I think the previous generation will more easily judge on that** [skin colour] basis. (..) **I don't know how that happened, but I have the feeling we are more open-minded about that").** And in Portugal, although the first discourse showed openness to personal relationships with people of other ethnicities, almost all participants mentioned factors that hindered this prospect. For instance, on the one hand they stated that phenotype and cultural and religious differences weren't important, but on the other hand, they indicated that having a different "culture" or ethnicity made it harder for people to find common ground in their interests and ways of being. In Sweden, each of the participants argued that they personally did not have any prejudices, but that the surrounding society did (the discourse of *individual tolerance*, like in Finland).

The so-called "second generation" was mentioned in a significant way (unlike in the other FGs) probably because this group had greater contact with "second generation" immigrants (in schools, universities, neighbourhoods…). Central themes of discussion were: the *economic crisis* and their *employment* perspectives; the *concentration* of immigrants (or ethnic minorities) that does not favour interaction with the native population, barriers to working life and integration caused by the lack of language skills, abuse of Welfare State, and the defence of the *rights* of the native population as opposed to foreigners. The complaint expressed by the most reluctant faction in Spain, for example, was that **"the immigrants have more rights than Spaniards"** (*reverse discrimination*), and that **"all the benefits go to them"**. In contrast to FG1, immigration was not seen as "necessary" for the country's economic development, but as damaging (unskilled labour which will take any job at all), and which only benefits employers. Nevertheless like FG1, contrary opinions were stated: **"if Spaniards really needed work they would act like the immigrants".** A portion of this FG was more receptive to immigration, and counterbalanced the previous arguments with positive ones: our ancestors emigrated; positive discrimination performs a social function of integration; there is also an unproblematic side of immigration (plurality of cultures and religions); immigrants are not to be blamed for this crisis.

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**41**

## 2.3. Discourses on Immigration and Ethnic Minorities from Lower-Middle Class Adult Focus Groups (FG3)

The **economic crisis** was also present in FG3, made up of lower-middle class adults who were most clearly characterised by arguments marked by *competition* and experiences of *poor harmony* (difficulties in *living together*). Almost all of them had neighbours or colleagues who were immigrants or had foreign backgrounds. Both of these factors and their primary discourses may be gleaned from table 3, which offers a snapshot summary of what was said during the focus group sessions.

**Table 3**

DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC MINORITIES
FROM FOCUS GROUPS WITH LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS (FG3)

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Plenty of everyday experiences with immigrants or persons with foreign backgrounds (neighbours or colleagues). Mainly involuntary relations | The **"problem"** with immigrants and ethnic minorities is not their ethnicity or their 'culture', but their religion (Muslim) | Less openness and greater distrust. They focused on the *negative aspect* of immigration: increase of unemployment and crime; decrease in salaries; abuse of public subsidies; State does not defend Portugal properly | Primary discourses marked by a feeling of *discrimination* (competition) and the *experience of living together* on the job and in the neighbourhood | They were also keen on asserting that they personally did not have any prejudices: the *discourse of personal tolerance* was invoked. But there are suggestions that they may all have hidden prejudices |
| | *Islam* was seen as an obstacle for integration into Dutch society | | *Lack of positive discourses* on immigration and emphasis on negative and conventional stereotypes | |
| | Diversity merely "tolerated" | *Positive aspects*: increase in the labour force and intercultural exchange | | |

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Many of them had also regular dealings with the social office and had much knowledge of the social security system. These aspects were visible in the discussion | Adaptation to Dutch culture was seen as a very important issue: a prerequisite for being admitted into the country | A feeling of economic threat and *competition* – via migrants purportedly being willing to work for smaller salaries – is the most notable *negative aspect* | *Negative arguments*: immigrants know their rights better than their obligations; they swallow public subsidies and take away from job opportunities | There was a general fear of being perceived as racist in Swedish society. People were likely to express tolerance-based opinions in public, while have a different set of views in private |
| *Discourse of threat*: immigrants exploit our social security system, threaten Finnish culture and demand being allowed to practice their own cultures to an unreasonable extent | Typical expressions of gender inequality (headscarves, *burkas* and not shaking hands) were seen as totally incompatible with Dutch society | The most valued dimension of *integration* is the *economic* one. For that reason, the Chinese and the Brazilians are the most integrated minorities, due to their participation in the labour market (shops and restaurants) | Doubt was cast on the need of immigration for the country's economic development; it benefits to employers and harms the workers. If some jobs are not covered by native Spaniards, it is because immigrants accept conditions unacceptable nowadays for Spanish workers (**"They leave us high and dry. We want to receive the wages we deserve"**) | They also invoked the *discourse of cultural essence*, by taking it for granted that immigrants do belong to cultural groups and these groups do have distinct cultural expressions, which may or not be compatible with Swedish legislation |
| *Discourse of adapting*: immigrants' attitudes are crucial for successful social integration; Finnish rules need to be obeyed without complaining and immigrants have to completely adapt to Finnish society | Unique for this FG was their wish for a stricter maintenance of social order by the government. Problems with ethnic minorities' youth have become worse because the Law has not been properly enforced | Hostility or closeness were attributed to justify their representations of some minorities | | |
| | | Obstacles to harmony: the bad behaviour of some ethnic groups (like in Spain) | | |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**43**

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Discourse of cultural encounters* was centred on everyday life and the problems in these encounters | The Government was also accused of giving (Muslim) immigrants too much space at the cost of native Dutch people | | *Negative* impact of immigration on crime and neighbourhood harmony | |
| Immigrants perceived as a homogeneous group (constantly equated with Somalis and refugees) | | | Critical of laws favouring crime and immigration | |
| Work-related immigration was not mentioned | | | Combination of *critical* arguments and *self-critical-reflective* ones, counterbalancing the criticism of immigration | |

**44**

*"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"*
**FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT**
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

The discourses pronounced in FG3 were characterized first by being abrupt and marked by a feeling of *discrimination* (competition) and the experience of living together with immigrants in neighbourhoods and labour contexts. Participants insisted on the authority that living together with immigrants confers to them: **"You have to experience immigrants directly to talk with any authority"**. Secondly, they were characterized by the imposition of cultural adaptation and the definition of the obstacles to harmony in terms of behaviour of different ethnic groups. Thirdly, they were characterized by a desire for the government to more strictly maintain social order.

More than on the positive aspects of immigration (labour force increase, intercultural exchange), participants stressed negative aspects: unemployment, crime, a decrease in salaries, public subsidies, laws protecting immigrants…. In FG3 held in Spain, negative arguments prevail to the point of someone exclaiming: **"But there is absolutely no-one here who is going to defend people who aren't Spanish"**. Their discourse was critical towards immigration, although sympathetic and even compassionate at certain times. As in FG1, immigrants' knowing their rights more than their obligations was emphasized, and as in FG2, some participants stressed the image of immigrants consuming great amounts of public subsidies and diminishing job opportunities: **"They don't know about their obligations, but they know all their rights"**; **"They have priority over us"**. And self-confessed *racism*: **"I now say, "They make you racist"**, in reference to the *discrimination* felt compared to immigrants or to the experience of *living together*: **"Most of us are racists when we live with them"**.

In Spain and Portugal, in order to justify their representations of some minorities, participants seek to legitimate perceived hostility or closeness to immigrants or ethnic minorities (both in Spain and Portugal):

> **"They** [Black] **are very racist. They are very racist amongst themselves and with regard to us. They are more racist with us than we are with them"; "They** [Ukrainians] **are cold. They have no feelings, not even expressions"; "Mistrustful. Boy, they** [Chinese] **are really mistrustful"** (FG3: Portugal)

But, at the same time FG this was the one where the memory of the past as a strategy for approaching the present of immigration was recalled the most, notably in Spain.

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**45**

## 2.4. Focus Groups Discourses on Skin Colour and Living Together

Since it was agreed that a mixed style of moderating would be used in the FGs, after the free (or unstructured) style taking up most of the conversation (the first hour and a half, more or less), three specific assertions were then read by the moderator for discussion in every country . These three assertions reveal different forms of racism: traditional, symbolic or modern, and cultural. Table 4 shows the main reactions or discourses to the first assertion: *"Skin colour is of great importance for living together".*

Because it is considered a typical expression of traditional racism, not everybody is able to immediately and publicly admit to their identification with this assertion, although they agree with it afterwards. As Doty (2003) and Brücker *et al.* show, racism based on *skin colour* still persists in Europe and is a ground for prejudice and discrimination. The first reaction, especially by the highest educated people, is usually to denying this, because it is a direct expression of *racism*. But these participants later just admit it. Saying that *skin colour* is important for to society in general is normal, but has no relevance for the person who is speaking, as was said in FG1 held in Finland **("it doesn't matter to me personally, but in society at large it does")** or Sweden **("No, it has no relevance whatsoever. For me personally, people's skin colour is uninteresting"** but society is still racially prejudiced and discriminates by skin colour: **"skin colour affects an individual's chances in life")**. In the Netherlands, all participants in FG1 agreed that *skin colour* should not be of any importance. However, some of them told about (non-white) friends who had had experiences in which they were judged on their *skin colours.* In Portugal and Spain racial discrimination was explained more by economic factors (social and economic stratification) than by ethnic or cultural factors (*class racism*) as is seen in table 4.

## Table 4

### SKIN COLOUR IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR LIVING TOGETHER

#### FG1 (UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS)

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No matter to them personally, but "in society at large" it does | No importance but *non-white* people have problems in Dutch society | Differential treatment is a result of *social economic stratification* (e.g. education) rather than of phenotypic or cultural differences | The *economic* factor overrides *ethnic* and *cultural factors* | No relevance, but this may not be shared by society |
| The discussants considered themselves to be more open-minded regarding skin colour than their compatriots | | | "Green, red or yellow... it's the same" *vs.* money or social position: *"the money you have"* ("depends on the black") | Racial discrimination exists in Swedish society |
| | | | Rejection of Roma for being poor and not wanting to integrate ("not due to their color"; implicit admission of phenotypic traits) | Discrimination = a colonial legacy |
| | | | | Connection cultural and phenotypic features |

#### FG2 (MIDDLE CLASS YOUNG PEOPLE)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Quite a trivial matter | Depends on whether you know each other | Not important among the younger generation, but it is more important for their parents and grandparents | They repudiate immigrant-black-criminal association and its causes: ignorance, superiority, classism, prejudice and the stigmatisation of certain cultures | No relevance for them personally |
| | | | | A way for people to assume someone is different |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

Project [JLS/FRC/036]

**47**
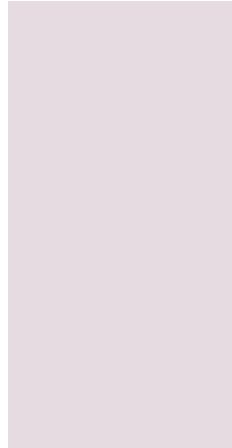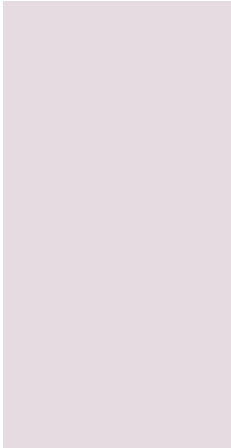
| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Criticism of language usage black-white: **"why black people are called black instead of African?"** | The *mass media* should be more diversified to include immigrant journalists |
| | | | *Xenophilia* towards black vs. poor Latin | |

## FG3 (LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS)

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No matter to them personally | It's not an issue; it's about the person | Not important (but a marriage with a non-white person is not wanted: they would try to avoid it) | Cultural factors override *skin colour* (criticism of Muslims for their treatment of women) | They did not want to be racist (keep their opinions to themselves) |
| Dark skin colour is a sign of a different culture or background **("there's so much else that comes with it")** | | They really smell bad | Reiteration of the bad smell attributed to black skin and Muslim | Employment market is an arena where skin colour matters |
| | | | Problematic living together with Romas **("because of their way of being"): "the most racists"** (with Latin, competitors for public subsidies) | Racism and xenophobia were recognized |

**48**

*"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"*
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* **[JLS/FRC/036]**

**REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

Social criticism of all expressions of racism due to the skin colour seems to have a bearing on the denial that skin colour is a relevant factor in establishing personal relationships; but for them personally, not for society in general.

> **"I think that we as Swedes keep our opinions to ourselves, or we talk behind closed doors about our racist opinions. We are very polite on the surface and treat everyone with kindness, because *we don't want to be perceived as ignorant*, so we try to treat people as though skin colour doesn't matter, so that *no one can accuse us of being racist"* (FG3: Sweden)

> **"Skin colour is not important, but if my son wanted a Black girl, I would mind about the skin colour. Perhaps I would try to prevent the marriage"** (FG3: Portugal)

The admitted differential treatment towards ethnic minorities is mainly explained as being the result of socioeconomic stratification **("the money they have")** rather than of phenotypic or cultural differences. So-called *class racism* were highlighted both in Portugal and in Spain, where rejection of the Roma population was specifically explained as being because they were poor and did not want to integrate, and not due to their colour, except in FG1. But *ethnic racism* was also explained by common stereotypes that link together a person's cultural and phenotypic features.

> **"We probably associate skin colour and cultural and religious values, and link to two. It's not skin colour as such, the thing that we react to. Because they have a certain skin colour therefore they have certain values and think like this or like that about these things"** (FG1: Sweden)

> **"Being with Blacks doesn't bother me so much because I am already used to interacting with them and seeing them all the time. Now perhaps if a Muslim appeared...I'd end up being a little cautious"** (FG2: Portugal)

Denigrating clichés of a racist nature were expressed, such as the references to the bad smell of black skin or Muslims in Spain. In Portugal black people were referred to **("They have a bath in the morning, but then they sweat and they really smell bad..."** FG3). In the second country, the conversation in FG3 ended up criticising Moroccans, Latin Americans, and the Roma because of their lack of a desire to integrate into society. This criticism included Muslims due to the way they treat women, their backwardness, and their general intolerance.

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

49

Finally, we must highlight criticism of the *mass media* for stereotyping and casting negative images of immigrants and ethnic minorities. This view was expressed during FG2 in Sweden, where including immigrant journalists in the mass media was suggested as a strategy to reduce *racism*. This idea was also suggested in the *forum* in Spain: immigrants ought to participate fully in society and the mass media ought to offer a better representation of a plural, diversified society.

## 2.5. Contribution/Benefit Ratio of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities for Host Societies: focus-group discourses

The second assertion proposed for discussion, *"Both immigrants and ethnic minorities get more (from the country they live in) than they give"* (table 5), sums up a basic rationale for peoples' misgivings about immigration and ethnic minorities. It expresses the *symbolic racism* as defined by Sears (1998, 2005) i.e. antagonism towards ethnic minorities is explained by the resentment or attitude against affirmative actions. This is linked to *competition* as a determining factor of *xenophobia.* Table 5 sums up the main arguments expressed in each of the focus group sessions. It includes arguments insisting on the difficulty of measuring "giving" and "getting" and statements expressing full agreement: **"immigrants receive more than they provide"** (FG3 in Finland, Portugal and Spain). Without forgetting the *relativist discourses*, expressed in Spain **("it depends on the immigrant and their circumstances")** and Sweden **("it always depends on the conditions surrounding that individual")**; in both countries this more subtle consideration appeared in FG1. In the Netherlands, however, a similar cautious argument was verbalized by the youth **("It is better to analyse their contributions group by group":** FG2).

And finally, the so-called *discourse of resentment*: the insistence on the immediate use of public subsidies, despite not having contributed any money. Although this discourse is usually more common among people that had to fight to get where they are in life, that is, people whose social life has been in austere family atmospheres with very few public services and social benefits, it was present in all FGs conducted in Spain. This social belief may be based on the collective memory of Spaniards who remember the not too distant past, when their social situation, previous to the generalization of the Welfare State, was more precarious.

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

51

**Table 5**

## BOTH IMMIGRANTS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES GET MORE
## (from the country they live in) THAN THEY GIVE

### FG1 (UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS)

| FINLAND | NETHERLAND | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A lengthy discussion about how to measure such "giving" and "getting" | People are making money off them, because they provide so much cheap labour | The idea was not expressed by the group | Immediate access to rights **("you have all the rights when you arrive")** without having contributed to funding was criticized: *discourse of resentment* | Their contribution is *an individual*, not a group-based *issue*: **"it always depends on the conditions surrounding that individual"** |
| Many discussants considered what Finland gives more concrete, but the gains seemed much harder to specify: contributions to the labour force, the genetic pool, and the cultural scene | Immigrants *cost more* than other people, because they should learn Dutch and they're more often unemployed | | Spaniards are more envious than racist | In the future we shall be in a great need of immigrants, due to the ageing population: immigration is *necessary for society* |
| More emphasis was placed on *economic contributions* | Focusing on the *cultural contributions* more than economic ones: not just the different kinds of *food* that are now available, but also different views on life | | *Economic, cultural* and *demographic* contributions of immigrants were emphasized | Integration policies have failed: immigrants are having difficulties entering the job market |
| | *Ethnic diversity* is experienced as enrichment | | *Relativist discourse*: **"it depends on the immigrant and their circumstances"** | |

## FG2 (MIDDLE CLASS YOUNG PEOPLE)

| FINLAND | NETHERLAND | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rather unwilling to answer to this proposition directly | It is better to analyse their contributions group by group | They are very often given advantages in everything: housing, facilities at university… (**"A house: a Portuguese will always be behind, for example, a Roma in terms of priority. It's a fact"**) | They are given too many subsidies compared to Spaniards: **"any immigrant receives more subsidies on arrival"** | This assertion assumes that immigrants live off the welfare system |
| Gains from immigration | How it should be measured: financially or in terms of participation in society? | | Their lower economic level explains why they get more subsidies | Immigration changes society for the better: *multicultural diet* |
| *Multiculturalism* in our *diet* | | | They benefit from public services without having contributed to their financing: *social benefits abuse* | |
| | | | Social benefits outweigh job discrimination among immigrants | |
| | | | *Classism*: Whether the person is rich, **"if American, e.g., it does not matter because he is American"** | |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**53**

## FG3 (LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS)

| FINLAND | NETHERLAND | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Immigrants *clearly receive more* than they give | The first reactions were about refugees (asylum seekers). They cannot contribute in any way, because they are not allowed to work | Immigrants and minorities receive more public subsidies and money: **"Roma women are the first to receive money. Nowadays, you can see Roma with houses, which they have deprived many others of"** | They don't pay taxes and are *the first* in getting public subsidies **("The browner you are, the more housing you get...")** | They didn't agree with this statement. No one wants to depend on welfare and it is a problematic situation for individuals if they can't support themselves |
| They only listed things Finland might gain from immigrants once the moderator had specifically asked them to do it | Immigrants should have jobs before being admitted | | Criticism of *permissive laws* for allowing this | Immigrants want to work, not live off welfare |
| | | | *Agreement:* immigrants receive more than they provide | |

There may be more agreement on what immigrants and ethnic minorities receive than what they offer: public subsidies, unemployment benefits, housing and "living on welfare". Nevertheless, economic, cultural and demographic contributions were acknowledged, particularly cultural gains referring to our diet **("multiculturalism in our diet")** and mainly among the youngest, but not only the youngest (FG1 in the Netherlands, for instance):

> **"If there wouldn't be any immigrants, we wouldn't have Chinese restaurants out there or Japanese ones [...] Indians, so it does in itself bring *multiculturalism* to our diet, for example. Finnish food is actually quite, tasteless [...] and then, different kinds of music and such things [...] food for the soul and stuff, if you don't always think about it so that they take our government money and all the money from the social office and that, so there's also a gain..."** (FG2: Finland)

> **"Yes, it just can't be something static. I heard that in Great Britain they say that the local dish nowadays is curry. It's not shepherd's pie, sausage, eggs and bacon for breakfast, it's Indian food that they now call real British food, it's the same in Sweden; things are always changing, inspiration and such"** (FG2: Sweden)

**54**

*"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"*
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

## 2.6. Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities Should Maintain Their Original Identities and Culture: focus-group-discourses

The third affirmation (*"Both immigrants and ethnic minorities should keep their identity and culture of origin"*) was also mentioned spontaneously in the first part of the group discussion sessions. When the third affirmation was read out directly, a conditional "yes" emerged as an initial reaction to the preservation of immigrants' identities and cultures. Table 6, however, shows how rejection to certain cultural practices that cannot be accepted by European society (particularly *female genital mutilation*) quickly appeared among the adult groups, while among young people (more clearly divided into two opposing groups of opinion) the discourse of **cultural exchange** and **learning from each other** was defended through calls for mutual respect and the non-imposition of culture and through the example of gastronomic variety (this type of tolerance is more viable than the dictates of certain cultures about the way women should dress). In every country immediate reference was made to Muslims: *Ramadan* **("I cannot stop to go and pray")**, female genital mutilation, or veils **("it goes against the lay nature of western societies and women's independence")**. And the insistence on the respect for other cultures, for western values, and for human rights was also prevalent: **"mutual respect to help generate harmony between people of different cultures".**

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN, THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**55**

### Table 6

## BOTH IMMIGRANTS AND ETHNIC MINORITIES SHOULD KEEP THEIR IDENTITY AND CULTURE OF ORIGIN

### FG1 (UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS)

| FINLAND | NETHERLAND | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agreement, stating that immigrants probably "fare better", if *they keep their own culture* and habits | Sympathy for the statement | Muslims have completely different habits: **"They only work part of the day, because of Ramadan (…) I cannot stop to go and pray"** | Yes, conditional, to cultural permissiveness: **"provided it doesn't spoil the culture of the host country"** | It is an individual choice whether one should keep one's culture or adopt a new cultural way of life |
| It is up to the immigrants themselves, whether they wish to *maintain their own culture* | Apart from the contribution to more ethnical diversity, **"you have to have respect for other people, because you have to be able to live together with them"** | | Unacceptable cultural practices for Spanish society (*female genital mutilation, cutting of hands*). Educational measures to combat these practices | There might be positive effects from minority cultures remaining unaltered by the majority culture |
| | "Respect for other cultures" and western values | | Controversy over fasting on *Ramadan*: affects performance at work and school | Identity also changes over time |
| | *Muslims*: apart from unanimously condemning female genital mutilation and marrying off, they were very tolerant and emphasized the importance of women's own choices in these matters | | Permissiveness of cultural difference in private but not in public spheres or when it runs contrary to human or constitutional rights | Holding onto culture is very much a part of nostalgia of one's own life and thus a perfectly understandable choice |
| | | | Critical of imposition or lack of reciprocity | |

56

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

## FG2 (MIDDLE CLASS YOUNG PEOPLE)

| FINLAND | NETHERLAND | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Finland is sometimes too flexible, renouncing its own traditions so that immigrants would feel more comfortable | Dominant discourse: **"they can keep their culture, as long as.."**, after which *'human rights'* and *'living conditions'* should be safeguarded against erosion | They should maintain their culture, without interfering in the local culture | Yes, conditional: "respect" (mutual) and **"certain limits"** | They are part of your identity. If you were living in another country, although you could get new traditions, you would still want to keep the old ones because they are a part of your identity |
| | The position of women was seen as essential in Western culture | | Positive discourse of *cultural exchange* (**"we all benefit"**) and of *mutual learning* | When Swedes are abroad, they only socialize with fellow Swedes: a way to justify the right for immigrants to socialize only within their groups |
| | Cultures are not static and will eventually adapt to each other. But a culture's core values *are* static and should be protected | | *Tolerance and* mutual *respect* to promote harmony as a goal (**"The point is for one to adapt and take the best of each culture"**) | |
| | | | Gastronomy as a beneficial difference | |
| | | | *Tolerance* more feasible when affects eating habits, less viable when it has repercussions on women | |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**57**

| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | *Self-reflective indication:* **respect** the use of Muslim veil ("in our culture until recently" mandatory for women by the Catholic Church) | |
| | | | *Overcoming religious monotheism-culturalism:* **"we have many more options"**, **"that is something good brought by immigration"** | |

## FG3 (LOWER-MIDDLE CLASS ADULTS)

| FINLAND | NETHERLAND | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Irritation at special arrangements provided for immigrant workers: to arrange a prayer room for Muslim students at work | Agreement with the statement but with objections: **"yes, as long as they don't cause any trouble and they adapt a bit"**  *Burka* was not tolerated and *'no hand shaking'* was condemned | The idea was not expressed by the group | Three conditions were imposed: 1) no conflict with Spanish laws, 2) respect for others, 3) minority not imposed upon majority  Explicit reference to the practice of female genital mutilation and the sacrifice of the Lamb (criticism of *Muslim* culture) | Immigrant cultures enrich the society  Each individual should keep their cultural identity (**"everyone should be proud of their names and culture"**) |

58

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)
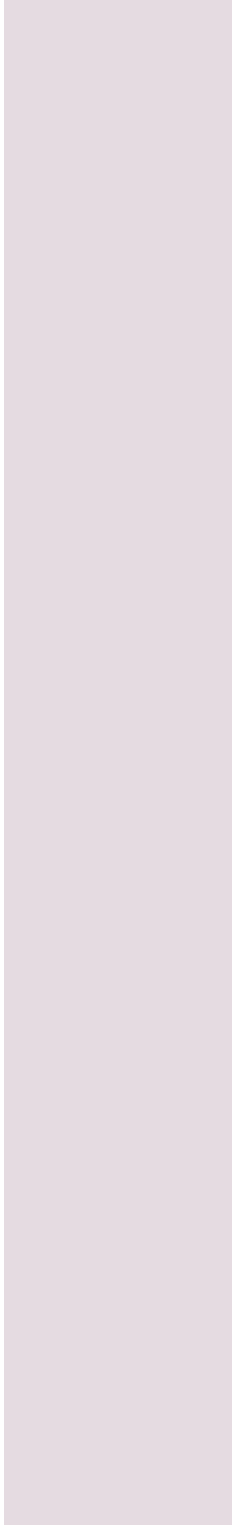
| FINLAND | NETHERLANDS | PORTUGAL | SPAIN | SWEDEN |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | They can have their own cultural practices and habits, but our western values that pertain to individual liberty, out of which the emancipation of both women and homosexuals have arisen , have to be respected | | Discourse of *assimilationist integration* for harmony (*adaptation* of them to us: **"they must adapt to the country where they are"**) | But at the same time it is admitted that immigrants must adjust to the culture they come to: **"When I am abroad, I just adjust to that culture so that people can tolerate me"** |
| | | | Rejection of customs in conflict with Spanish or international laws (*female genital mutilation, arranged marriages*) and dispute over other controversial uses (imposition of Muslim headscarf in schools) | |
| | | | Distinction of public and private areas to preserve customs | |
| | | | Complaint of neighbourhood harmony (the norm at midnight: noisy immigrants) | |
| | | | Insistence on: **"preserve your identity, as long as you respect the others'"** | |
| | | | Social reflections: **"We'll also seem strange to them due to our customs".** In Spain the same customs have not always prevailed | |
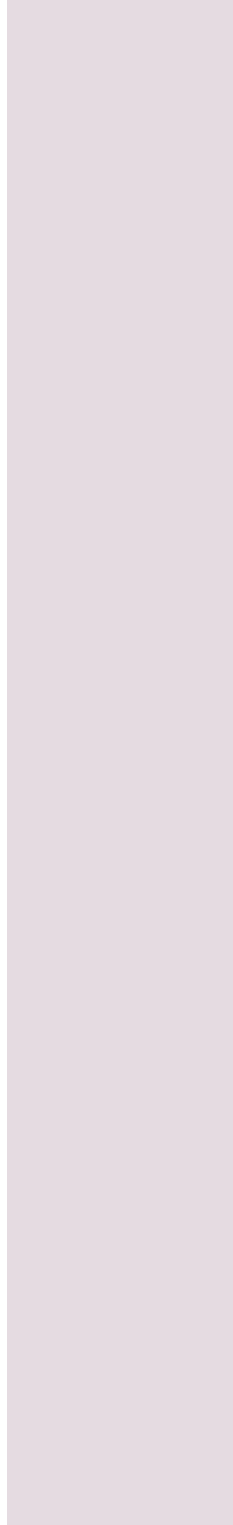
**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**59**

Greater cultural tolerance was generally shown by young people (FG2) and the adults with higher education (FG1), especially in Finland **("It is up to the immigrants themselves, whether they wish to maintain their own culture")** and Sweden **("it is an individual choice whether one should keep one's culture or adopt a new cultural way of life")** where it was also said that minority cultures remaining unaltered by the majority culture might have positive effects. Identity also change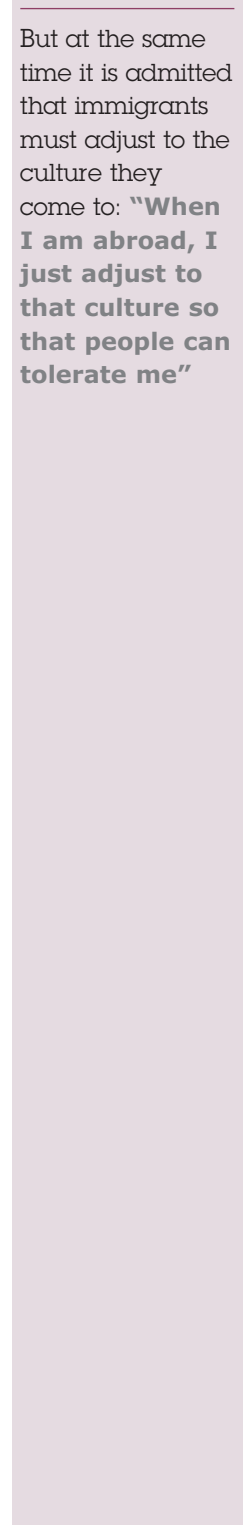s over time. The notion of culture was understood here as language and certain traditional celebrations. It was suggested that holding on to culture was very much a part of nostalgia of one's life and thus a perfectly understandable choice:

> **"If I put myself in a situation where I would, for work's sake, move to another country. then I would still have a bit of it left, for example, I would still speak Swedish, I would still have a connection to Sweden. I would be very nostalgic during Christmas, like my relatives who moved to the USA and their remaining "Swedishness", there is some left. Of course, over the years it probably has diluted a bit, which is also natural"** (FG1)
> **"Even though you can also get new traditions, you still want to keep the old ones; they are a part of your identity"** (FG2)

Self-reflective arguments emerged in Sweden, Spain and others countries. In Sweden, for instance, the discussants in FG2 primarily identified with their own experience and reflections over how it would be to move elsewhere, and the extent they would want to keep their own culture. In Spain, self-reflecting arguments were present in the discussion about the use of Muslim veil and the change in Spanish customs over time.

In general, young people are less worried about the loss of their *cultural identity*. Religious pluralism is even considered positive for the society **("we have many more options", "that is a good thing brought by immigration":** FG2, Spain). The adults, however, referred more to established legal limits based on immigrants' training, experience, or manner of speaking, to their right to take a break, and to greater cultural permissiveness in private sphere. Even the discourse of *assimilationist integration* was prevalent among lower-middle class adults (FG3):

**"When I am abroad, I just *adjust to* that culture so that people can tolerate me"** (Sweden)
**"They must *adapt* to the country where they are"** (Spain)
**"Yes, as long as they don't cause any trouble and they adapt a bit"** (The Netherlands)

60

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

## 2.7. Convergence in Discourses on Immigration and Ethnic Minorities

As a complementary summary, table 7 briefly illustrates the major positive and negative arguments hinging around immigration and ethnic minorities found in the focus groups with general population. While positive arguments indicate various forms of *acceptance* or *xenophilia*, negative arguments express *rejection* at varying levels of intensity. The first thing that stands out is the strong prevalence of negative factors over positive ones, although this is probably not so surprising since we usually focus on and emphasise the negative more than the positive in any given situation. The economic crisis affecting all societies involved in this project at the moment of the fieldwork is convergent in the lines of reasoning.

**Table 7**

MAJOR COMMON DISCOURSES ON IMMIGRATION AND ETHNIC MINORITIES
FROM FOCUS GROUPS WITH GENERAL POPULATION
LIVING TOGETHER PROJECT (MAY-JULY, 2009)

| POSITIVE DISCOURSES | NEGATIVE DISCOURSES |
|---|---|
| **A world without borders**<br><br>"Humans should be able to move freely around the world " | **Invasion-lack of control**<br><br>"They have taken over neighbourhoods that were ours before"<br>"It seems that we are the foreigners"<br><br>**Criticism of immigration policy**<br><br>"We have to set limits"<br>"They should go back to their countries…" |
| **Immigration necessary for the labour market**<br><br>"The problem is, we don't want to admit that there are certain jobs we don't want to do"<br>"The harder work for the immigrant" | **Immigration damages labour expectations**<br><br>"They leave us high and dry. They increase unemployment and decrease our salaries"<br>"They are unskilled people"<br>"We had our work and all our rights, but now we have less and less" |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

61

| POSITIVE DISCOURSES | NEGATIVE DISCOURSES |
|---|---|
| **Cultural wealth-contribution**<br><br>"It's like a little of your culture brought to the country"<br>"Different kinds of food and views on life"<br>"Life more colourful, diverse and exciting" | **Cultural imposition - adaptation failure**<br><br>"They must adapt to our customs, but they want to impose their norms and customs"<br>"They must adapt to the country where they are" |
| **Discrimination -Exploitation**<br><br>"The employers take advantage of them"<br>"Skin colour affects the individual's possibilities in life"<br>"Immigrants find all doors closed if they are a little darker…"<br><br>**Human Rights**<br><br>"All human beings have rights and obligations regardless of the country of the world where they are" | **Reverse Discrimination**<br><br>"They have more rights"; "They have priority over us"<br>"If you want to have the same rights, you need to have the same duties"<br>"They often come over here demanding rights as soon as they arrive"<br>"Living on welfare"<br>"Immigrants get more support from the State than the native population"<br>"The State does not defend us properly"<br><br>**Natives first (Preferential right)**<br><br>"They should not be given the same preference"<br>"You are entitled to have more rights because you were born here and have been contributing to Social Security all your life" |
| **Positive, harmonious living together**<br><br>"Never has anything such as thefts…or any kind of problems happened; Rather the other way round"<br><br>**Unjustified bad image**<br><br>"Mass media are responsible for the spread of negative images of immigrants and the minority population" | **Negative lack of harmonious living together – Problems (insecurity, no civic manners, diseases already eradicated)**<br><br>"A lot of people talk about it without having experienced it, without actually living it"<br><br>**Insecurity - Delinquency**<br><br>"I have seen more and more insecurity"<br>"Crimes that had almost disappeared are reappearing"<br><br>**Antisocial behaviour**<br><br>"They think they have all the rights in the world and we have to put up with it"<br>"We have to educate them"; "What they have to do is adapt to our customs"<br><br>**Diseases**<br><br>"They bring diseases already eradicated"<br><br>**Racism**<br><br>"They are making us racist"<br>"Most of us are racists when we live with them" |

62

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 2:
NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE
REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,
THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)

Both in Spain and Portugal there were more admissions recorded of racism, either based on shared daily-life experiences (neighbourhoods, workplace) or on the perception that immigrants monopolize public resources (receiving more Welfare State social benefits than the native population does). The increase in crime, unemployment and competitiveness was behind their explanations. Moreover, stories of real experiences of harmony with immigrants (or ethnic minorities) were offered as a strategy for self-exonerating or legitimating negative discourses on immigration in general, and on certain immigrants in particular.

But, at the same time, a self-reflective approach has been detected, mainly in Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands and Sweden, as a strategy both to neutralize cultural criticism and to understand concentration of ethnic groups.

In order to complete the overall view of FGs, table 8 summarises both arguments that are used to justify the rejection of immigration or ethnic minorities and counter-arguments that were used to contest them during the group debates.

### Table 8

| NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS | POSITIVE COUNTER-ARGUMENTS |
|---|---|
| **Excessive immigration**<br><br>**"There are too many of them; their number is excessive"** | Necessary immigration<br><br>**"There are many jobs that natives don't want to do"** |
| **Immigration to be controlled**<br><br>**"We have to set limits"** | A world without frontiers<br><br>**"We believe that a place is ours for the simple reason of being born there"** |
| **Problematic immigration**<br><br>**"There is awareness in society that this is a problem"**<br>**"Why are we unemployed now? The reason: immigrants"** | Stereotyped immigration<br><br>**"The foreigner is seen as a threat"**<br>**"People usually blame the first thing they come across. In this case, it is immigration"** |
| **Overprotected immigration**<br><br>**"They give them jobs, houses, assistance... and there is no public benfit for you"**<br>**"They come here and they immediately have support, help with everything...)** | Cared for immigration<br><br>**"Perhaps it is because they have a greater need"** |

**REPORT 2:**
**NATIONAL FOCUS GROUPS COMPARATIVE**
**REPORT (FINLAND, SWEDEN,**
**THE NETHERLANDS, PORTUGAL AND SPAIN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

63

| NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS | POSITIVE COUNTER-ARGUMENTS |
|---|---|
| Overprotected immigration "They don't know their duties, but they know all their rights" | Equal rights immigration "All human beings have rights and obligations regardless of the country in the world where they are" |
| Abusive immigration "They abuse the welfare state; living on welfare" "[Immigrants are] parasites on society" | Citizen's immigration "One should not judge a population because it uses its rights" |
| Waster-opportunist immigration "They haven't paid for all this progress, but they enjoy the benefits from the first day" | Profitable-beneficial immigration "They will receive the same as they are contributing" |
| Individual -labour immigration "They bring all their family and they have all those rights and receive a load of benefits straight away" | Family immigration "If someone lives alone and has to send money abroad, that person is not consuming, so all the money leaves the country" |
| Unskilled immigration "They are unskilled" | Over-qualified immigration "This happens to people from here too. They get a degree and end up cleaning" |
| Unilateral adaptation "They must adapt to the country where they are" "They stick together, they don't mix with others" | Bilateral adaptation "Keep your identity but respect other people's identity too" "In our culture until very recently, a woman was not allowed to enter a church if she wasn't wearing stockings and a veil" "When we're abroad we also tend to stick together" |
| Lazy – marginal - visible immigration "People out on the street all day, drinking" | Productive – invisible immigration "We should differentiate between immigrants a bit more"; "When we talk of immigration we do not do so in the positive sense" |
| Delinquent immigration "They have come here to commit crimes" | Stigmatised immigration "Crimes have always happened" "We shouldn't highlight nationality but rather behaviour" |

**1** Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based **2** Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems **3** Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia **4** Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practices Approaches **5** Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity **6** Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution **7** Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society **8** Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching **9** Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together" **10** Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration

**REPORT 3**

# NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND, IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,**
**IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**67**

## 3.1. The National Experts Forums in the Living Together Project

The general aim of the *Living Together Project* (LT) is the promotion of a European discourse of tolerance, based on the generation of arguments for harmony and respect, recognition of differences, and building European citizenship estranged from any manifestation of racism or xenophobia. Four specific objectives have oriented the fieldwork implemented: 1) the study (via *focus groups*) of social discourses regarding immigration and ethnic minorities present in the general population of the European countries involved in the LT project; 2) a catalogue of "*best practices*" for archiving and disseminating initiatives to fight against racism, xenophobia and discrimination based on ethnic or national origin; 3) the preparation (via *national experts forums*) of a *Decalogue* of *citizenship, tolerance and dialogue* to neutralize racist and xenophobic discourses and be of help to various social agents; 4) the creation of a trans-national mechanism for monitoring and reacting against *new racist discourses.*

For preparing the *Decalogue* we have presented the results obtained in the focus groups with general population and in the expert forums. The arguments and counter-arguments emerging in the focus groups were contrasted with the points of view of various experts and representatives of various social and political sectors. A national expert forum was held in each of the following partners' locations: Finland, Ireland, Portugal, Spain and Sweden[13].

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13 With the exception of Ireland, whose national forum (more focused on stereotyping) followed some special guidelines; the rest of the countries had common criteria for the composition of national expert forums. In short, one expert from each partner country capital city; two experts from university or research centres; two experts from NGOs; one expert from national/ regional public administration; one from the business sector; one expert on mass media broadcasting or advertising campaigns; one on trade unions activities; and one on opposition political parties. Other recommended common references for the composition of those forums were indicated in the methodological documents shared by all partners.

## 3.2. National Experts Forums Preliminary Reactions to the LT Project and to General Population Discourse

### Finland

According to the *Report of the Expert Forum in Finland*, from the Finnish *Ministry of the Interior*, participants received two types of background material beforehand: a) the analysis of the three focus groups designed within the *LT project*; b) an additional discourse analysis on racist discourse on the Internet, produced by the (project partner) *Finnish League for Human Rights*. Change in the public debate, on immigration during the last year, which is negative, particularly on internet platforms was observed in the midst of a new context emerging in the wake of the success of the populist *True Finns' Party* in the October 2008 elections, the international financial crisis, and increase of the number of asylum seekers in Finland.

A tool for debate providing counter-arguments on Internet platforms[14] was suggested (since channels and styles of communication have changed: "different social and economic groups can only be reached through different messages and different channels"). The target audience of the Decalogue, its nature, and its approach were discussed (see full report).

A methodological controversy was also reported. There was suspicion that both the focus group technique and the analysis of Internet platforms have weaknesses. The former "would probably not be as productive as in countries with a more direct and open argumentation culture"[15]; the latter could be weak because "those with negative attitudes are active and others do not seem to bother participate in the discussion"[16] on immigration issues. In terms of substantive results:

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14 In relation to the increase in *internet racism*, the "stigmatization of the Somali community", towards whom "large part of negative attitudes against immigration is channeled" is cited.

15 "The Finns tend to stick to politically correct discourse when it comes to controversial topics".

16 And, among other methodological problems, "their socio-economic status, the basis of their attitudes remains unknown".

REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

69

Discourses that were dominant in Focus Groups, i.e. employment, integration, and tolerance, did not come up on the Internet at all. Instead, central arguments that came up on the platforms can be divided into following discourses: *"Immigrant identity vs. Finnish identity", "Immigrants' behaviour does not fit into Finland", "Immigrant culture does not fit into Finland", "Somali people have better rights", "Politicians are guilty", "Immigrants are racist", and "Criticism of immigration is not racism"*.

## Ireland

In the case of the Irish partner, no qualitative field with focus groups was done and then, the national expert forum did not follow the common methodology to which Finland, Portugal, Spain and Sweden adhered. The Irish forum was organized by the Equality Authority with the support of European Network against Racism (ENAR) Ireland, and was oriented towards "tackling racism and the impact of racist stereotypes". A keynote speaker, Chair of the Fundamental Rights Agency and Head of Department of Applied Social Studies, National University of Ireland, provided an overview of racism in the Irish context. Three speakers presented three themes, followed by discussion: 1) a Belfast City Council representative spoke on creating a body of evidence to document and monitor racism; 2) an academic sociologist spoke on journalism as a tool for countering racism; and 3) the Coordinator of ENAR Ireland spoke on generating best practice tools for policy and practice.

The expert forum report contains a summary of points for the Decalogue ("those on which there was strong consensus") that will be considered below.

## Portugal

According to the report from the High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (ACIDI, I.P), in general terms, the focus group results correspond to the knowledge held by the experts on racism and discrimination in Portuguese society. One of the most surprising results for the forum participants was the choice, "in all but the medium to high status focus group", of the Chinese as the best integrated minority in Portugal. The result most expected by experts was the identification of the Roma as the most discriminated group.

Some experts from the university noted the adequacy of the focus group methodology for revealing something that normally is silenced in surveys (the prejudice being expressed vs. the denied but existing racism in Portuguese society). And a representative of SOS Racism referred to the ongoing economic crisis as a circumstance affecting the level of racism especially among the lower strata of society, where the "relative deprivation discourse" is now gaining force.

## Spain

Once the main results from the three focus groups done in Spain (May 2009) were presented in brief by professors from Madrid's University Complutense the first invited speaker posed (among others) the question "To whom the Decalogue is addressed?" This matter was dealt with once and again during the *Forum*. The question, nevertheless, was associated with the acknowledgement that some of the native population reject immigration as a kind of *"cultural humus"* (according to the recent study and to others done in Spain). At the same time, it was affirmed that there was an attempt to counterbalance the less favourable discourses with others of "cultural wealth" and with **"we were also emigrants"**, although without knowing whether or not these arguments are actually shared. Both positive and negative arguments are present in the general population and became a starting point further controversy or further reflection among the experts at the forum.

Also noted was that the current economic crisis context makes political action more of an imperative. Initiatives such as the Decalogue (and other components of the *LT Project*) are justified by the "need to work on the field of awareness-raising and mutual understanding" (*Madrid City Council*); and of "considering which way to go" (*Barcelona Delegation*). This means that the procedures to be developed from every area of political and administrative action must be specified. These and the rest of the participants suggested and discussed a series of proposals for action. They pinpointed areas and linked them to both negative and positive discourses on immigration and ethnic minorities currently circulating in Spanish society. We list them below under the next heading.

REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

71

## Sweden

According to the Expert Forum Final Report from the *Centre against Racism* in Sweden, the invited speakers expressed several reactions to the focus group results obtained from Swedish native population. The false discourse of "individual tolerance" by focus group participants was highlighted the most, and is a consequence of a hegemonic political correctness spread all over Swedish society in relation to racism and discrimination ("Even if individuals may hold prejudiced opinions, they will not say so, but will speak in a socially accepted manner"; "people deny the existence of racism and discrimination in their attitudes and in their work")[17]. Experts gave numerous examples, reflections and interpretations of "discrimination and racism in Sweden that takes place in practice":

> Women's rights organizations treating immigrant women in a stereotypical fashion;
> Denial of racism and discrimination among social researchers;
> Denial that Swedish (and other European countries') historical heritage also includes historical racist discourses and terminology, something that currently is avoided or remembered selectively;
> Swedish denial of racism interpreted as an "extension of the Lutheran tradition of personal purity" (impurity, ugliness being projected upon others);
> Plans and policies against racism seldom put in practice or followed up on;
> "A tendency to treat immigrants as experts on immigrant issues, without seeing immigrants' other competences and skills":
> The recent media tactic of writing about the Swedish extreme right party as the only source of political racism, while xenophobic opinions expressed by other parties go by without any consequences.

After this debate came a proposal for strategies and arguments to address racism and discrimination in Sweden to be included in the Decalogue (see below).

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17 "Sweden is a country where racism is exercised in a very subtle, elegant, soft manner, and there is a need to speak about power, about how people are viewed and treated and about inequality".

**72**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

## 3.3. National Experts Forums Contributions to the LT Project Decalogue

### Sweden

The experts meeting at the Swedish forum proposed both arguments and strategies to tackle racism and discrimination in Sweden. The authors of the forum report divided these contributions into 7 major areas and presented them with the Decalogue in mind.

### Table 1
SWEDISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

| Swedish Expert Forum 7 major areas of arguments for the *Decalogue* | EXPERT ARGUMENTS/DISCOURSES (-) COUNTERARGUMENTS (+) | EXPERT STRATEGIES/ PROPOSALS |
|---|---|---|
| AREA 1 **Naming the problem** "The Swedish challenge: naming the problem" | – The *silence discourse*: denial of racism<br>+ *Discrimination* exists. It is exercised by ordinary people in Swedish everyday life<br>+ Race matters and leads to *discrimination* of visible minorities (Black people…) | ▪ Challenge the **silence** in the Swedish society on all levels<br>▪ **Call** *discrimination* and *racism* by their proper names<br>▪ Develop **methods** and **tools** (*situation testing* …) to identify and present excellent proof that racist incidents have taken place |
| AREA 2 **Labour market** | – *Structural* racial/ethnic discrimination<br>+ Many public authorities want to find a way to employ without discrimination | ▪ Independent **labour market monitoring** by agencies with resources and a position of power to demand explanations when immigrants are not employed<br>▪ Develop **tools** that can be used to eradicate labour *discrimination*<br>▪ Offer employers **courses** in **antidiscrimination law** so that they know what rules apply |

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,**
**IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

**"Living Together: European Citizenship**
**against Racism and Xenophobia"**
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* **[JLS/FRC/036]**

**73**

| AREA **3** <br> **Mass media** | – Media tactics: *silence discourse* or citing a single source of political racism <br> – The problem of denial or visibility starts with the refusal to name the phenomenon | ▪ Campaign for **refusing to watch** the mainstream TV-channels unless they address the question of *racism* and *stereotypes* <br> ▪ Importance should be attached to alternative minority and **immigrant media** |
|---|---|---|
| AREA **4** <br> **Legal Sphere** | – *Institutional racism* due to lacking or poor legislation/public administration practice | ▪ Report and punish racist incidents with **legal instruments** <br> ▪ Recognize the **different groups** that are subjected to different forms of *racism* (including the role played by gender) |
| AREA **5** <br> **Political Sphere** | – The political sphere in Sweden is characterized *antiracist rhetoric* as a core category of *politically correct discourse* | ▪ Stop looking at extreme right groups as the only source of *racism* and start investigating the **established political parties'** politics. |
| AREA **6** <br> **Public space/public discourse** | + Adequate language in public places: the public needs information on what is ok to say and what is *racist* … <br> + Importance of organizations, which receive complaints of *discrimination* | ▪ "The power handbook": a specific tool for NGOs to address various **racist discourses** (includes common racist arguments and counter-arguments individuals can use to retort these arguments) <br> ▪ **Acknowledgement** of the **rights** of those who are subjected to *discrimination* and *racism* |
| AREA **7** <br> **Research and education** | – Research and recognition of racism's historical roots is still pending <br> – Swedish society's *potential self-critical discourse* [*social reflexivity*, either induced or spontaneous] *Education* is a useful tool as long as people are willing to open up to dialogue and admit that there is a problem | ▪ Youth education to address stereotypes and **change stereotypical views** of the world <br> ▪ Educational efforts to provide information about the **antidiscrimination law** to different organizations, state, private and NGOs <br> ▪ **Education** about the historical roots of *racism* and how it is different depending on which **vulnerable group** the focus is on |

**74**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,**
**IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

## Spain

The Spanish expert forum report distinguished eight major areas where political action and arguments oriented to achieve intercultural harmony are intertwined. As special forum contributions, various core principles were proposed to set the groundwork for the Decalogue (equality of treatment and opportunities, human dignity, equality of rights, respect, tolerance, appreciation of diversity, and civism, social cohesion, social participation, citizenship). It should also be noticed that the areas of argumentation are anchored differently in the qualitative sociological exploration through focus groups with Spanish people and in the expert Forum.

### Table 2
### SPANISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

| Spanish Expert Forum 8 major areas of argumentation [cross-references added] | GENERAL POPULATION ARGUMENTS OR DISCOURSES (-/+) | EXPERT ARGUMENTS AND STRATEGIES FOR POLITICAL ACTION |
|---|---|---|
| AREA **1** **Legal** [See Swedish area 4; Irish areas 4 & 10] | − Immigrants are more aware of rights than obligations<br>+ Every human being has rights and obligations no matter the country of residence or belonging | ▪ The **citizenship discourse**: citizens or persons *vs.* immigrants, legal equality of rights and obligations<br>▪ **Affirmative action**, preferable to *positive discrimination*<br>▪ An *antiracist* and **victim protection law** is proposed. (There is a Spanish equality law, but it deals only with gender. The law should be broadened or a new one dealing with racism should be enacted.) |

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND, IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**75**

AREA **2**
**Labour area**
[See Swedish area 2; Portuguese forum argument 10]

– The **discourse of *unfair labour competition*** and lack of control by the authorities ("They take *jobs* that the Spanish do not want *under those conditions*"; "they only benefit employers and put workers at a disadvantage")

+ *Humanist argument* (utopian) of the **borderless world** ("there should be no need for an immigration policy") or references to Spaniards working abroad

+ "Many of the jobs taken by foreigners are the ones the Spanish don't want"

- **A priority** field of action due to the **immigration-work-integration** dynamic
- Convey the idea of "**control**" (flows of immigration, labour conditions)
- Disseminate the idea that **immigrants contribute** to economic growth, as both workers and consumers
- They do not take away jobs or bring wages down: for "they do the jobs we do not want to do" or "they get the wages employers pay"; we **all** are **part** of the **labour market**
- "Take advantage of **immigrant population potentials**" (especially at certain educational levels) as opposed to the feeling of *competition* combined with **everybody has the right to compete** and improve living conditions

AREA **3**
**Welfare State/ Public Services**
[see Portuguese forum arguments 1 & 5]

– The constellation of arguments: immigration as **burden, competition** for limited resources and **preference for** the native ("they eat up public assistance and abuse social services taking them away from Spaniards")

– "They haven't paid for all this progress with their taxes, but they enjoy the benefits from day one"

– "Over the years, as immigrants live and work in Spain and have kids (…) they will receive the same as they are contributing"

– "Subsidies for immigrants is an investment that stays in Spain and benefits Spanish society as a whole"

- Our National Health System requires more funds, and the problems it faces are caused more by the older population, not because of immigrants
- Strengthen the **Welfare State (investment)** and unmask the demagogy blaming immigrants for the deterioration of public service quality (research)
- **Public expenditure** hasn't been **increased** to cope with the needs of a growing population
- **Strengthen local government** intervention (**more funds** for social integration)

**76**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

| AREA **4** **Life together** (neighbourhoods, schools, work) [see Portuguese forum argument 3 & 4[18]] | – "They make you racist": laws and lack of harmony (bad behaviour and insecurity in neighbourhoods, appropriation of public places ...) <br> + Criticism of the **media** for the **negative image** they give of immigrants on these topics <br> + There is good and bad behaviour also among Spaniards | ▪ **Everyday life contexts** are the main points of **action** for **immigrant integration** <br> ▪ **"Solidarity policies"** should prevent the native population from leaving the neighbourhoods where immigrants and ethnic minorities are concentrated |
|---|---|---|
| AREA **5** **Mass Media** [see Swedish area 3; Portuguese argument 9; Irish point 11] | – **Media reinforce** the immigration - delinquency association ("you hear it on TV") <br> + Repeated criticism of the role of the *media* in **distorting the image** of immigration ("Sensationalism sells... and that's what the Spaniards like to hear". The plea: "maintain a balance") | ▪ **Biased treatment** of immigration by the mass media contributes to **stigmatizing** immigrants <br> ▪ **Normalize diversity** and treat immigrants as **human beings** (via TV series, media professionals training...) <br> ▪ Their invisibility should end and become **normalization** in the field of **advertising**, and in other fields <br> ▪ Promote *affirmative action* in **castings**, without pretending to sell fiction |
| AREA **6** **Immigrant participation via associations** | No spontaneous arguments or discourses emerged in the *focus groups* with the general population | ▪ It is suggested that **immigrants** get involved **(co-participate),** as any **member of society**, in the different areas of social life <br> ▪ **Strengthen cooperation** with institutions, associative movement leaders... <br> ▪ Counterbalance dependency on public benefits by increasing **immigrant independence** |

18 The Portuguese *forum* argument on territorial normativity may also be invoked here.

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND, IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**77**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| AREA **7**<br>**Empathy: "place oneself in someone else's shoes"**<br>Opposing images of our emigration past and our immigration present: the Spanish *reflective society*<br>[see Sweden area 7; Portugal arguments 1, 2, 3, 4,10] | Historical memory: **Spanish emigration as discourse** (positive and negative, recurrent and reflective arguments emerging spontaneously in focus groups):<br><br>– Spaniards abroad adapted to the customs of the countries they went<br>– "We, Spaniards, emigrated with a contract, they come with no papers and in open boats or kayaks"<br>+ "We also were emigrants"<br>+ We´ve been victims of stigmatization in some countries ("I was called a black head in Sweden") | ▪ The memory of **Spanish emigration** may have "value for generating solidarity" depending on the people, the format and elaboration upon that historical memory<br>▪ **Emigration** (to Germany, France, Switzerland and so on) and also the **inner migration collective memory** to the great urban centres<br>▪ Convey the message that equates **immigration** with development and opportunity (including the construction of new identities so it can be perceived as a **historical or universal phenomenon** (humans as one specie on earth) |
| AREA **8**<br>**Knowledge – Education**<br>[see Sweden area 7; Ireland 2, 3, 6 & 8] | The view (by some people) of immigration as a "problem" has a counter-argument (made by others) that it is a *question of image*, of *stereotypes* and *prejudices*, which can be corrected through *education, living together* and knowledge… | ▪ Youth and public employees training for **preventive awareness-raising** and understanding of *others*<br>▪ Education for **counteracting immigrants´ racism** too<br>▪ Knowledge and reception of **best practices** from other countries |

**78**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
**FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT**
*Project* **[JLS/FRC/036]**

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

## Portugal

The report from the *High Commission for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue* (ACI-DI) reflects the Portuguese expert forum comments on ten selected major racist arguments drawn from the focus groups done in Portugal. Experts were asked to contribute with counterarguments both of an intellectual and political nature, and a portion of that contribution is presented here. For a comprehensive list of examples of every racist argument, their respective refutations, tools already available in Portugal to combat them, and counter-arguments proposed by the experts, see the extraordinary *Minutes of the Portuguese expert forum*.

### Table 3
#### PORTUGUESE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

| **Portuguese Expert Forum** 10 major racist arguments from general population focus groups | **EXPERTS' COUNTER-ARGUMENTS AND AVAILABLE TOOLS (AT)** |
| --- | --- |
| **1**<br><br>**The parasitism argument**<br>"[Immigrants are] parasites on society" [see Spain area 3 & 7] | ▪ The vast majority of social integration income **beneficiaries are not Roma**. Many of these ideas are false. We need to deconstruct them. There is abuse everywhere and members of every group abuse.<br>▪ It would be useful to make very clear that there is no affirmative action in Portugal or positive discrimination towards certain groups. Social benefits such as **RSI are for everybody** who is in serious economic need.<br>▪ Mainstream Portuguese informal practices to contrast to the stereotype that only immigrant and Roma groups (e.g. **Portuguese**[19] working in cafés, for instance, give a receipt to every client either. And we don't ask for it).<br>▪ Facts and numbers on the economic contribution of immigrants to society can be used to persuade the more educated public.<br>▪ We should make the calculation and disseminate information on the contribution / benefit ratio of migrants' relationship with Social Security.<br><br>**AT:** Various *Immigration Observatory* publications related to the *immigrants' economical contribution* to Portuguese society are cited in the document **Minutes of the Portuguese expert forum**. |

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**19** Reflective argument. Notice that this kind of argument generally cuts through the other arguments.

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,**
**IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* **[JLS/FRC/036]**

**79**

**2**

**The indolence argument**
(Some minorities shy away from work)
[see Spain area 7]

- The same is said of **Portuguese emigrants** in their host countries. Still, the productivity of the Luxembourg work force, a considerable share of which is comprised of Portuguese emigrants, is one of the highest in the world.
- **Working conditions** on the side of immigrants are probably more fragile and this may lead to **lower productivity**.
- To **inform public opinion**, run a campaign showing migrants working on non-stereotyped jobs, being careful to represent people and not categories (by diversifying their economic roles).
- Someone who becomes a **labour migrant** is highly oriented towards work and savings, as we know from the example of **Portuguese emigrants** everywhere.

**AT:** Although not specifically targeted at the general public, several publications document the **industriousness of migrants** (see the *Minutes of the Portuguese expert forum*).

**3**

**The argument for territorial normativity**
"They should go back to their countries…"
[see Spain[20] area 4 & 7]

- Show the emigration and **immigration numbers** (the former is much larger than the latter).
- If people all went back to their birthplace, the **Portuguese resident population** would rise by 50% and the country would collapse.
- Remind people that almost all of us are displaced from our places of birth (e.g. people coming from different cities and/or **Portuguese villages** that move to big cities).
- Show that the **country needs immigrants**.
- The clear historic trend towards globalization, porous boundaries and flows of human being refutes the allegedly **'natural' condition of being** in one's place of birth.
- It is important not to **confuse ethnicity and birthplace**. Many **ethnic minority** youngsters were **born in Portugal**.

**AT:** "Nós" (We), a TV show that produced in a partnership between ACIDI and the public channel 2 (…) is committed to integration, and strongly emphasizes the **benefits of cultural diversity**.

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20 The invasion argument was also present in Spain, and also myths and facts Portugal first one.

**80**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

**4**

**The crime argument**
(Minorities have a
higher propensity to
commit crimes)
[see Spain area 4 & 7]

- Show to people **how unlikely** it is to **assume** that someone might leave their home and family to pursue **a criminal career** abroad.
- Provide contextualized numbers (i.e., *caeteris paribus* on a series of social factors) to understand what is behind the ostensibly higher crime rates among foreigners when **compared to natives**.
- Raise awareness of the **social factors** (not ethnic) fostering **crime** and vandalism. But we must be careful not to do away with personal responsibility.
- The justice system is perhaps biased in sentencing and is certainly biased on remand in custody.

**AT:** Immigration Observatory studies of the relationship between nationality and the judiciary system provide contextualized comparisons that help dispel the **myth of a greater crime rates among** the foreign population and actually hint at some **discrimination** within the system itself.

**5**

**The relative deprivation argument**
(Minorities are
somehow getting
privileges: "They come
here and they
immediately have
support, help with
everything...")
[see Spain area 3]

- The notion of **relative deprivation**, primarily comparing one's own lot with that of others, was criticized in favour of a definition structured on the cost/benefit or **investment/return ratio** notion. The argument therefore becomes similar enough to that of **parasitism** for an aggregation to make sense.
- The use of **testing for discrimination** in the housing market and the dissemination of its results was advocated.
- Immigrants **contribute more** than they take from social security.
- Migrants actually **work more** and **earn less**.

**AT:** Some of the studies even suggest that Roma and immigrants **need** more equitable and **fairer conditions** to access **social services** (*Minutes of the Portuguese experts´ forum*).

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,**
**IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

81

**6**

**The sexual competition argument**

(Migrant women, namely Brazilian women, are more aggressive sexual competitors than their native counterparts)

- Given that many of the women who are the main characters of the real life situations triggering this folklore are **victims of human trafficking**, "sexual competition" is actually a misnomer and this designation should be avoided in the dissemination of the project results. The designation 'sexual stigma' was proposed.
- Their role as **victims** should be stressed.
- Show that **mixed marriages** are **common** everywhere (the mere availability of a vast number of potential spouses from the majority increases the probability of a migrant marrying native).

**AT:** There are some tools produced under ACIDI' Immigration Observatory that are already available to combat this argument (*Minutes of the Portuguese experts forum*).

**7**

**The victims' fault argument**

(Minorities are somehow responsible for their own discrimination)

- It would be heuristically useful to analyze the **Roma** and the immigrants separately.
- This is particularly difficult to counter because, regarding the **Roma**, everybody, including the Roma themselves, believes that they have **no desire to integrate**.

**AT:** The studies aimed at detecting the ideas and images that the Portuguese and immigrant population have of each other in various aspects of their lives can be instrumental in combating this argument. Once again, several useful studies can be identified in the Immigration Observatory publications (see references in *Minutes of the Portuguese experts' forum*).

**8**

**Multiple discrimination: status effects**

(Discrimination is less based on phenotypes or culture than on **social class**)

- This time slot was originally reserved for the geo-climatic argument but, given that only one example of this kind of argument was found in the focus groups, we chose to replace this discussion with one of whether the allegations made by the upper-middle class group that discrimination based less on phenotypes than on education and manners. This could be taken at face value if such allegations might be the r**ationalization of a more unacceptable prejudice**.
- As time was becoming scarce and forum participants were finding it hard to see the point, this section was skipped.

**AT:** ACIDI brochure named "44 ideas to promote **tolerance** and celebrate **diversity**"

82

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

| | |
|---|---|
| **9**<br><br>**The fanaticism argument**<br>(All members of a religious category are fundamentalists)<br>[see Swedish area 3; Spanish area 5; Irish point 11[21]] | ▪ The **mass media's religious literacy** must be improved. The import of international concerns related to **Islamic groups** throughout the media should be contextualized by in the fact that it does not exist among **P**ortuguese public opinion concerns.<br>▪ Islam is a religion of peace.<br>▪ The imam at the Lisbon mosque is actually a strong proponent of **inter-religious dialogue**.<br><br>**AT:** ACIDI brochure named "44 ideas to promote **tolerance** and celebrate **diversity**" |
| **10**<br><br>**The economic competition argument**<br>(Migrants are taking away jobs and lowering wages: labour area)<br>[see Swedish area 2; Spanish area 2 & 7] | ▪ He/she who is **exploited** is a victim.<br>▪ Those who actually profit from underpaid labour are **unscrupulous employers.**<br>▪ **Labour inspection** should do more.<br>▪ Everyone, migrant or Portuguese, is covered by the laws that **regulate labour.**<br>▪ The ethnic Portuguese population **benefits** from the **low price** of products and services.<br>▪ The argument that **Portuguese emigrants** suffer with this abroad is always crucial (remember the *'British jobs for British workers'* affair).<br>▪ Migrants come to take **jobs** for which the **Portuguese have no use**.<br>▪ Perhaps **a campaign** with employers stating how they **need migrant workers**.<br><br>**AT:** ACIDI brochure *"Myths and Facts about Immigration"*. |

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21 Although in these countries the argument was more focused on the mass media's role.

REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,
IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

83

## Ireland

As previously mentioned, the Irish expert forum report contains a summary of points for the *Decalogue* ("those on which there was strong consensus" among the experts that met). No *ad hoc* updated arguments drawn from the general population via focus groups were used as prompts in the expert forum. Nevertheless, the *forum* shares the objectives of the *Living Together Project* and makes the following contribution to the *Decalogue*.

**Table 4**

IRISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP,
TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

| Irish Expert Forum 12 major points on racism [cross-references added] | EXPERTS´ DIAGNOSIS AND PROPOSALS OF POLITICAL ACTION FOR "TACKLING RACISM AND THE IMPACT OF RACIST STEREOTYPES" |
|---|---|
| **1** <br> **New challenges in a new context** | ▪ Changes to the Irish **equality and inclusion infrastructure** present us with new challenges in a context of **increasing demand for support** and **solidarity** driven by recessionary conditions within which racism thrives. The future is in the present - within these new parameters, the measure of our effectiveness is our approach to fixing the problem. |
| **2** <br> **Victim centred definition of racism** | ▪ The importance of a **victim** centred **definition of racism** needs to be recognized. |
| **3** <br> **Naming all forms of racism** <br> [see Swedish area 1] | ▪ We need to name racism in **all** its guises at individual and institutional levels. <br> ▪ We need to recognize and confront personal, individual and institutional **racism**. |
| **4** <br> **Legal proposal (I)** <br> [see Spanish area 1, Sweden area 4] | ▪ We need a **legislative framework** that distinguishes between racist incidents and crimes. |

84

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 3:
NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND, IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)

| 5 **Racism archives** [see Swedish 1 & 2 areas; Spanish area 1] | ▪ It is imperative for us to develop a comprehensive, reliable **monitoring system** that includes trust building with victims and a systematic approach to reporting disaggregated data.<br>▪ We need to act on statistics while remaining sensitive to data protection considerations. |
|---|---|
| 6 **Keep racism on the agenda and more...** | ▪ There is a need for partnership and solidarity between those on the ground, NGOs and mainstream bodies to **keep racism on the agenda**, deepen the analysis and build on the good work of the NCCRI, Equality Authority, academics, community groups and NGOs which have led the efforts in this area. |
| 7 **Approach proposal to best practice** | ▪ We need to recognize that **best practices** exist and can be found both in NGOs and mainstream and/or statutory organisations. We also need to acknowledge there is not a fixed approach to best practice. What is needed is **a holistic**, integration-oriented, blended **approach** that balances mainstream approaches with targeted approaches as necessary. |
| 8 **Qualitative research and archiving of racism experience and ethnic diversity** | ▪ We need to listen to and project the true voices of those experiencing racism. We also need to create a **non-judgmental research space** that heeds the voices of those who struggle with or are challenged by cultural and ethnic diversity. |
| 9 **From *integration discourse to culture of respect* and *diversity recognition*** | ▪ We need to acknowledge the tension between the state and civil society. This involves explicitly linking redistribution and inclusion and moving from an integration discourse to a **culture of respect** and **recognition of diversity** and conditions that promote equitable outcomes. |
| 10 **Legal proposal (II) and better probing of compiled material** [see Spanish area 1, Sweden area 4] | ▪ We need leadership on a number of levels. Leadership from government should incorporate clear legal lines about what is unacceptable and a framework for reporting and responding to racist incidents. We need leadership from the *"Gardai"* (Irish police) in terms of developing a culture of fairness and impartiality, building trust and confidence in the system so that the conditions to encourage the **reporting of racist incidents** are in place. |
| 11 **Mass media role** [see Swedish area 3; Spanish area 5] | ▪ We need leadership from the **media** and we need to make the most of the powerful role the media can play in **promoting positive images** of diversity and **challenging stereotypes.**<br>▪ We need to recognize the difficulties hinging around free and hate speech. |

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,**
**IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**85**

## Finland

The experts meeting in the Finnish forum proposed raw material for preparing the LT Project Decalogue. The authors of the forum report divided the contributions collected into 3 major areas of xenophobic and racist argumentation. Below is an attempt to link this material to the other countries´ proposals. First we cite some fragments from the conclusion notes in the expert forum report:

"…the Forum concentrated more on discussing where the debate takes place and who is determining the discourses, and how to respond to this, than on actually producing concrete counter-arguments (…) Finally, it was seen as difficult to produce valid counter-arguments that would adequately and effectively respond to all types of negative arguments on immigration. That is why the Forum recommended the project concentrate on finding a way to produce constructive, and positive pieces of real life, based on which the reader can build his/her own counter-arguments".

**Table 5**

FINNISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP,
TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

| **Finnish Expert Forum** 3 major areas of xenophobic and racist argumentation | **EXPERTS´ CONTRIBUTIONS** |
| --- | --- |
| **AREA 1** **Employment and integration** [see Spanish area 1: citizenship and equal treatment discourse; Minutes of the Portuguese expert forum; Ireland point 1 ] | ▪ The City of Helsinki has mainstreamed immigrants' services into normal service structure (…) based on the idea that **immigrants are citizens** of the city, equal to any other customer, with individual needs. ▪ **Terminology** (immigrant, multi-culturalism, tolerance etc.) was discussed and it was noted that it is a **problematic** issue, since it often creates boundaries, and may even produce false information if it does not correspond to the phenomenon it is describing, or if it is outdated. All participants seemed to agree that basically it is a good thing for **human beings** to be placed at the **centre of attention** in services structure, without underlining their ethnic background. |

**86**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**REPORT 3:**
**NATIONAL EXPERTS FORUMS**
**COMPREHENSIVE REPORT (FINLAND,**
**IRELAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, SWEDEN)**

**AREA 2**
**Criminality and
Public safety**
[see Sweden area 7;
Spain areas 4 & 8;
Portugal argument 4]

- Despite the common presumption, immigrants do not actively seek housing in areas with high presence of ethnic minorities, but in most cases they do not have a choice (…) It was seen that a valid counter argument, for fear of ghettos with high immigrant populations would be that people living there actually like to live there and **enjoy the multicultural atmosphere**.
- In Sweden there seem to be housing areas with high proportions of ethnic minorities, but contrary to the general assumption, the young generations manage to acquire education and find their place in the society. A key to this development is the resources allocated to schools. In Finland this debate is only starting, but it is a topical issue.

**AREA 3**
**Multi-culturalism i.e.
everyday encounters**

- Discussion on e-Government and on how **Finnish public officers at local, regional and national level should participate in public discussions** (e.g. officers at all ministries should use a certain amount of their working time on **the Internet**, participating in public debates, correcting false information etc.)
- All actual **information** should be easily available on **the Internet**, in an easy-to-read format.

**1** Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based **2** Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems **3** Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia **4** Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practices Approaches **5** Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity **6** Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution **7** Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society **8** Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching **9** Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together" **10** Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration

**REPORT 4**

# A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

As a final step in preparing the *LT Project Decalogue*, all project partners were asked to contribute with a selection of what they considered the three most important principles, arguments and counterarguments, and strategies for action. This served as a complementary way to identify and validate the top ten elements for the Decalogue. In the following draft proposal, we summarize the various contributions collected in this bottom-up, participatory or collaborative approach put in practice during the *LT Project* implementation.

## *Nature* and *Scope* of the Decalogue

The nature and scope of the Decalogue were especially debated during the interim meeting celebrated in Stockholm (November 12-13th 2009), where all project partners could share the results from the focus groups, experts forums and best practices of each country. A need to blend *social discourses* and *political action* was recognized ("*words are not enough but they are necessary*"). The *Decalogue* conceived needed to be composed of: 1) *principles* or ideals; 2) *social beliefs* expressed by the general population in relation to immigration and ethnic minorities (arguments denoting xenophobia or xenophilia); 3) *counterarguments* or refutations to racist or xenophobic discourses that experts from different areas could offer; 4) strategies for potential action, *best practices,* and tools available to fight and prevent all forms of xenophobia and racism. The importance of *prevention* was also stressed and tied to the core principles of *citizenship, tolerance* and *dialogue.*

To whom the Decalogue is addressed became a highly debated issue. A predominant view was that the *Decalogue* should be addressed to a wide range of users: from policymakers, NGOs, teachers, and journalists to the general public (either native or foreign). And it was also clarified that the Decalogue was "*addressed to all areas, not only employment or Islamophobia".* Even so, the importance of making specific efforts to identify, describe and propose concrete measures against very concrete forms of discrimination such as racism against the Roma or discrimination against Muslims and Jews should be mentioned.

The initial idea of the LT Project was that there would be a need for a strategic document in the context of the European Union. This makes materials like this document necessary as useful network tools[22] for politicians and also for public administrations within the EU. There are other tools for day-to-day awareness of racism and for combating xenophobia.

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22  "Ours should be a network similar to a think-tank, dealing only with new racist discourses and new arguments. So it may be a network that is completely compatible with other existing networks. It should be a think-tank network monitoring new arguments and new racist discourses. A network bringing together institutions, experts, academics, etc"

## A Strategic, Transnational *Decalogue* for Many Different Users with a Single Aim: preventing all forms of xenophobia and racism

After this briefly described process of archiving contributions from the different countries and partners within these countries, a synthesis was done to present the information in the form of a *Decalogue*. The final composition has a two-fold structure. Part of the Decalogue is based on a more elaborate discourse emerging from the expert forums. There was a strong, recurring consensus on the five points around that the experts discussed when meeting in the various EU countries. The other issues emerged mainly from the focus groups with general population, and sum up a redundant set of primary discourses on immigration and ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, particularly for the latter set of arguments, we chose to present a racist or xenophobic argument followed by the counterarguments found both among the general population and in the experts' discourse. Lastly, the measures or strategies for political action proposed by experts were noted.

### Decalogue summary

1 Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based.

2 Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems.

3 Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia.

4 Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes, and Best Practice Approaches.

5 Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity.

6 Recognize Immigrants Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution.

7 Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society.

8 Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching.

9 Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together".

10 Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans Were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration.

92

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A
DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE
AND DIALOGUE

## 1/10

## Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based

The current economic crisis has changed the previous context experienced in the past all around the world, both in terms of emigrant and host societies. This new situation has been observed in the discourses produced within the *Living Together Project* both during the national experts' forums, and when conducting the focus groups with the general population pertaining to diverse social positions. As recorded by one the *Project* partners, "equality and inclusion infrastructure" faces "new challenges in a context of increasing demand for support and solidarity driven by recessionary conditions within which racism thrives" (Irish forum organized by the Equality Authority with the support of European Network against Racism (ENAR) Ireland)[23].

In Spain, several core principles of the *Decalogue* were proposed by the experts who met at the national forum. The principle of *equality* (with specifications such as "legal equality of rights and obligations", "equality of treatment and opportunities") generated a strong consensus. Special mention of the traditional principle of *human dignity*[24] and the more recent principles of *social cohesion* and *social participation* was also made. And references to other related principles, anchored both in the experts' discourse and the general population's discourses, were recorded as well: *respect*, *tolerance*, *diversity appreciation*, and *community spirit*. Finally, the principle of *citizenship*[25] stands out as holistic or compre-

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23  Although it mainly referred to the case of Ireland, the Irish national forum report made a comment on the need to keep racism on the agenda and more: "There is a need for partnership and solidarity between those on the ground, NGOs and mainstream bodies to keep racism on the agenda, deepen the analysis and build on the good work of the NCCRI, Equality Authority, academics, community groups and NGOs which have led the efforts in this area".

24  A combination of the principles of human dignity and equality emerged in the Spanish qualitative research with focus groups when the xenophobic perception expressed by some Spaniards regarding immigrants as being "more aware of rights than obligations" was counterbalanced by other Spaniards putting forward the statement: "Every *human being* has rights and obligations no matter the country of residence or belonging".

25  See the *Strategic Plan for Citizenship and Integration 2007-2010*, promoted by the Spanish Government, where the principle of citizenship is defined as *"entailing the recognition of full civic, social, economic, cultural and political participation of immigrant men and women"*. English executive summary link: http://www.mtin.es/es/migraciones/Integracion/PlanEstrategico/Docs/PECIingles.pdf

hensive, although it was more common in the discourse of experts, politicians, and mass media communicators. Moreover, a proposal for an alternative term that should be used encompass newcomers or ethnic minorities stemmed from this principle. Words such as *citizens* or *persons* (instead of *immigrants*) are included in a new type of language that attempts to bring principles, ideals, or technical realms into every day practice. In other words, making nationals out of immigrants (or citizens out of non-citizens) is the new horizon foreseen. In order to transform the immigrant category, the process of nation-building needs to be reconsidered as being historical and reversible, and this must be accepted by the mainstream population (Wimmer, 2007: 20) [26].

The principles of equality, citizenship, tolerance and the like are already being invoked and put into practice by some Finnish institutions, according to the information gathered in the national forum. The City of Helsinki has mainstreamed immigrants' services into normal service structure. This initiative is "based on the idea that **immigrants are citizens** of the city, **equal to** any other customer, with individual needs". All forum participants seemed to agree that in social service structures, "**human beings are placed at the centre of attention**, without underlining their ethnic background".

The contribution made by the *Finnish League for Human Rights*, a project partner, in relation to racist discourses on the Internet may be associated with current approaches to *citizenship* in the *digital culture* era[27].

The experts meeting in the Swedish forum made a self-critical comment that other European countries should be mindful of, and that is the political the risk of generating *antiracist rhetoric* or *politically correct discourse* while failing to put into practice the ideals or principles.

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26 See "How (not) to Think about Ethnicity in Immigrant Societies. Toward a Boundary-Making Perspective" by *Andreas Wimmer*, *in* Karin Schittenhelm (ed.) (2007), Concepts and Methods in Migration Research, Conference Reader. Available at: www.cultural-capital.net

27 One such example is the *Euro-Med: Social Technology and Digital Citizenship* Project established by the Euro-Mediterranean University Institute of Malta, in cooperation with Madrid's Universidad Complutense & EU Consortium, under the patronage of the Anna Lindh Euro-Mediterranean Foundation, a digital monitoring observatory available for public and private institutions interested in this field.

Recommendation 1:

The authors of this report recommend that links to a series of international declarations and reports focusing on racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance be facilitated. For example, to learn more on *citizenship, tolerance* and *dialogue* see:

> World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related Intolerance, Durban, South Africa 2001   http://www.un.org/WCAR/
> Durban Review Conference, Geneva 2009
  http://www.un.org/durbanreview2009/
> European Network Against Racism (ENAR) [see the series of reports for each country] http://www.enar-eu.org/Page_Generale.asp?DocID=15276&langue=EN
> European Year of Intercultural Dialogue. Together in Diversity. Resources
  http://www.interculturaldialogue2008.eu/
> Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2007/C 303/01)
> http://ec.europa.eu/justice_home/unit/charte/index_en.html
> Declaration of Principles on Tolerance (UNESCO, 1995)
  http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13175&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Recommendation 2:

The authors of this report recommend facilitating links to a series of *best practices* where actual application of these principles can be seen.

2/10

## Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems

While this is the second issue in this *Decalogue*, the proposal was reported as the first area of argumentation according to the Expert Forum Final Report from the *Centre against Racism* in Sweden[28], and the topic has also emerged in other countries´ explorations within the *Living Together Project*. In the Stockholm forum it was stressed that there was a false discourse of *"individual tolerance"* (as the illustrated in the focus groups meetings), as a consequence of a hegemonic political correctness spread all over Swedish society regarding the racism and discrimination.

> **"Even if individuals may hold prejudiced opinions, they will not say so, but will speak in a socially accepted manner"**
> **"People deny the existence of racism and discrimination in their attitudes and in their work"**
> **"Sweden is a country where racism is exercised in a very subtle, elegant, soft manner, and there is a need to speak about power, about how people are viewed and treated and about inequality"**

Many other European countries in addition to Sweden could be the origin of this last sentence. There is also an intellectual and political recommendation: to deal with the issue of racism in terms of power relations among nations, races and so on.

Experts' Diagnosis and Argumentation:

> Immigrant societies suffer from the syndrome of **the silence discourse** or the denial of racism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance. This denial, which relates to the historical heritage of European countries, also includes the historical racist discourses and terminology, and this heritage is something that currently tends to be avoided or remembered selectively.
> Discrimination exists. It is perpetrated and both people and organizations suffer from it on many social levels in everyday life.
> Race and ethnicity matters and leads to discrimination, especially against visible minorities (Black people, the Roma, and other ethnic or religious minorities).

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28 The authors of the report used the heading: "The Swedish Challenge: naming the problem".

**96**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A
DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE
AND DIALOGUE

Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:

> Challenge the *silence* in the European societies on all levels (Sweden)
> Call all forms of *discrimination* and *racism* by their proper names (Swedish forum). Or, as verbalized in the Irish forum: **"We need to name racism in all its guises at individual and institutional level", "we need to recognize and confront personal, individual and institutional racism".**
> A victim-centred definition of racism is also proposed **("The importance of a victim-centred definition of racism needs to be recognized":** Irish expert forum**).**
> Re-naming terms according the people involved and in line with the living together ideal. For example, the word "immigrant" sounds negative (according to the reports from Finland and Spain); while *"new Finn"* [*uussuomalainen*] seems to be correct, and *citizens* and *persons* preferred in Spain[29].

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29 In Spain expressions such as "the new Spaniards" or "the other Spaniards" have been used in the sociological literature. And from these and other sources (including the mass media) mixed terms denoting two nationalities or belongings can be found; e.g. "ecuatoespañoles" (Equado-Spaniards).

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

97

## 3/10

## Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia

The third item in this *Decalogue* stems from the *Living Together Project* objectives themselves (mainly the planned compendium of *best practices*) and ties in particularly to the Irish forum organized by the Equality Authority with the support of the European Network against Racism (ENAR) in Ireland.

The first of three themes selected for discussion during this expert forum, oriented towards "tackling racism and the impact of racist stereotypes", was presented by a Belfast City Council representative. It involved archiving a compendium of evidence to document and monitor racism. Meanwhile, the need for research and archives was also pointed out by experts and partners meeting in the forums held in Sweden, Spain, Portugal and Finland.

Experts' Diagnosis and Argumentation:

> Research and recognition of racism's historical roots is still pending (Sweden).
> In all European societies there seems to be a *potential self-critical discourse* (what social scientists called *social reflexivity*, which may be induced or autonomous).

Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:

> **Reliable and ethical compendia on racism**. It is imperative for us to develop a comprehensive and reliable **monitoring system** that includes **trust building** with victims, and that we take a systematic approach to reporting **disaggregated data**. We need to act on **statistics** while remaining **sensitive to data protection** considerations (Ireland);
> **Qualitative research and a compendium of experience on racism and ethnic diversity**[30]. We need to listen to and project the true voices of those experiencing racism. We also need to create a non-judgmental research space that listens to the voices of those who struggle with or are challenged by cultural and ethnic diversity (Ireland);
> **Concepts, methods and tools** (*situation testing…*) must be developed to identify and present excellent proof that **racist incidents** have taken place (Sweden).

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[30] Qualitative social research geared towards compiling a data base is recommended, meaning that the results of research on experience regarding racism will be put together and made accessible in a document base or archive.

## 4/10

## Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practice Approaches

Parallel to the previous point and converging with attention to *best practices*, there is a proposal for research on and a compendium of anti-racism and xenophilia initiatives. Learning how to cope with racism and xenophobia may also come from examining the opposite phenomenon. Latin Americans' *Hispanophilia* towards Spaniards and Spaniards' *Argentinophilia* towards Argentineans[31] stand as examples. However experts' discourse in all countries also particularly cited the need to promote *legal tools* and *policy networks*...

**Experts' Diagnosis and Argumentation:**

> The absence of legal tools is behind some forms of racism, xenophobia and intolerance. There is a need to improve legislation and better practices in public administration (Sweden, Spain).

> There is an extended discourse among the general population in the host societies reflecting the belief that *immigrants are more aware of rights than obligations*. This argument, together with other more direct criticism of the legal systems, places current legal tools or their application under suspicion.

> **Approach to good practice** (Irish forum). We need to recognize that good practice exists and can be found both in NGOs and mainstream and/or statutory organizations. We also need to recognize there is not a fixed approach to good practice. What is needed is a holistic, integrationist, blended approach that balances mainstream approaches with targeted approaches as necessary.

> The Finish Forum recommended the *LT Project* "concentrate on finding a way to **produce constructive and positive pieces of reality**, based on which the reader can build his/her own counter-arguments".

> The view held by some of immigration as a "problem" is countered by others with the argument that it is a *question of image*, of *stereotypes* and *prejudices*, which can be corrected through *education, harmonious living together,* and knowledge (Spain).

> Education is a useful tool as long as people are willing to open up to dialogue and admit that there is a problem (Sweden).

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31 **The case of the so-called "invisible immigrants", that is, Europeans of Anglo-Saxon origin emigrating to North America, may also be cited.**

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

99

Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:

> Recognize the different groups that are subjected to different **forms of racism** (including the role played by gender). Reporting and punishment of racist incidents by using legal instruments (Sweden[32]).

> An anti-racist **victim protection law** is proposed **("There is a Spanish equality law, but it deals only with gender; we should have an extension of this law or a new one dealing with racism").**

> We need a **legislative framework** that distinguishes between racist incidents and crimes (Ireland).

> **Legal improvements**. We need **leadership** on a number of levels. Leadership from government should incorporate **clear legal lines** about what is unacceptable and a framework for reporting and responding to racist incidents. We need leadership from the Gardai (Irish police) in terms of developing a culture of fairness and impartiality, building trust and confidence in the system so that the conditions to encourage the reporting of racist incidents are in place.

> Three fronts of action were proposed by the Swedish experts: 1) Youth education to address stereotypes and change stereotypical views of the world; 2) Educational efforts to provide information to different organizations (public, private and NGOs) about antidiscrimination laws; 3) Education about the historical roots of racism and how it is differentiated depending on which vulnerable group the focus is on.

> Training for youth and public employees in preventive awareness-raising and understanding of *others* (Spain).

> Education for counteracting immigrants´ racism too (especially reported in Spain, Portugal and Finland).

> Receive knowledge and best practices from other countries (Spain).

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32 In Sweden, criticism and another proposal for action was: **"Stop looking at extreme right groups as the only source of racism and start investigating politics among the established political parties".** The Swedish team contributed with other formulations of policy measures such as: 1) Identifying best practice in anti-racist and anti-discrimination practice at the grass roots level in order to influence EU and national policies; 2) Increasing the participation of immigrants and vulnerable groups in the policy formulation of antidiscrimination and antiracist measures.

**100**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A
DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE
AND DIALOGUE

## 5/10

## Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in Recognising Diversity

The importance of paying attention to both sides of current mass media technology was pointed out in the World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance that took place in Durban, South Africa, from 31 August to 8 September 2001. The Declaration from this conference contains some articles with recommendations referring both to the *mass media* in general and the Internet in particular. References to the principles of tolerance, respect for human dignity, equality and non-discrimination can be noticed, among others.

> 88. We recognize that **the media should** represent the diversity of a multicultural society and play a role in fighting racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. In this regard we draw attention to the power of advertising;

> 89. We note with **regret that certain media**, by promoting false images and negative stereotypes of vulnerable individuals or groups of individuals, particularly of migrants and refugees, **have contributed to the spread of xenophobic and racist sentiments** among the public and in some cases have encouraged violence by racist individuals and groups;

> 90. We recognize the **positive contribution** that the exercise of the right to freedom of expression, particularly **by the media and new technologies, including the Internet**, and full respect for the freedom to seek, receive and impart information can make to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; we reiterate the need to respect the editorial independence and autonomy of the media in this regard;

> 91. We express **deep concern about the use of new information technologies**, such as the **Internet**, for purposes contrary to respect for human values, equality, non-discrimination, respect for others and tolerance, including to propagate racism, racial hatred, xenophobia, racial discrimination and related intolerance, and that, in particular, children and youth having access to this material could be negatively influenced by it;

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

101

> 92. We also recognize the **need to promote the use of new information and communication technologies, including the Internet**, to contribute to the fight against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance; new technologies can assist the promotion of tolerance and respect for human dignity, and the principles of equality and non-discrimination;

**Expert Diagnosis and Argumentation in the Living Together Project:**

> *Silence discourse* tactics are present in the mass media or attention may be focused only on extreme forms of political racism. And the problem of denial or visibility starts by refusing to name the phenomenon properly (Sweden).

> The media reinforces the association of immigration with delinquency **("you hear it on TV")**. Repeated criticism of the role of the media in distorting the image of immigration **("Sensationalism sells… and that's what the Spanish like to hear")**. The plea: **"maintain a balance"**. Both are quotes from focus groups held in Madrid (Spain, May 2009).

> **Mass media and Islamophobia** (Lisbon forum[33]). The religious literacy of the mass media must be improved. The import of international concerns related to Islamic groups throughout the media should be contextualized by the lack of these concerns in Portuguese public opinion. Islam is a religion of peace. The imam at the Lisbon mosque is actually a strong proponent of inter-religious dialogue.

> **Mass media leadership and difficulties** (Dublin Forum, October 2009). We need leadership from the media and we need to exploit the powerful role the media can play in promoting positive images of diversity and challenging stereotypes. We need to recognize the difficulties hinging around free and hate speech.

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[33] In the more elaborated and detailed *Portuguese experts' forum report*, this contribution is presented under the heading *the fanaticism argument*. In the Decalogue proposed by Portugal, one o more available tools (mainly social research publications as source of facts where expert counterarguments may be based) are noted for every racist argument. Another type of tools, conceived for a broader audience and for awareness-raising purposes, is the ACIDI brochure: "44 ideas to promote tolerance and celebrate diversity".

**102**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A
DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE
AND DIALOGUE

Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:

> Campaign for refusing to watch the mainstream TV-channels unless they address the question of racism and stereotypes (Sweden).

> Importance should be attached to alternative minority and immigrant mass media (Sweden, Spain).

> Biased treatment of immigration by the mass media contributes to the stigmatization of immigrants. **Normalising diversity and treating immigrants as human beings** (via TV series, media professional training, etc.) is proposed. Immigrant's invisibility should be put to an end and normalization should take place in the field of advertising and others., Affirmative action should be promoted in castings, without aiming to sell fiction. (Madrid Forum).

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A**
**DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE**
**AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**103**

## 6/10

## Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution

Except for the case of the Irish partner, where no *ad hoc* qualitative fieldwork with focus groups was done within the *Living Together Project*, a constant feature in the general population's discourses found in Finland, Portugal, Spain and Sweden was that unemployment and lower wages were due to the arrival of immigrants. In all these countries "the economic competition argument" (category heading suggested by the Portuguese team) or the "labour area" argumentation (Spain, Sweden) occupied a prominent position either at the focus group and expert forum phases or throughout the preparation of the *Decalogue*. More specifically, the three arguments singled out by the **Portuguese team**, "chosen on the basis of universality, relevance and clarity of focus" were: 1) "the crime argument", 2) "the parasitism / relative deprivation argument"; and 3) "the economic competition argument". Whereas **the Finish team's** choice, in terms of myths, was: 1) "Immigrants receive better services"; 2) "People coming from different cultures cannot live together"; 3) "Immigration threatens stability in society and causes unemployment, crime and disorder".

As we have seen, the **competition argument** is not only expressed referring to the sphere of labour. Some natives perceived immigrants as competitors in other areas too: public benefits, the market for marriage or finding a partner, and the national space or territory itself. Thus, the **invasion argument** or discourse (see point 9) may be said to be juxtaposed to it, acting as an umbrella category covering those areas.

Below, we first provide a synthesis and examples of statements collected in the focus groups that took place in the Project partner countries where a national expert forum was also held. Then we list the experts' counterarguments and proposals for measures to be taken.

**General Population's Argumentation from the Living Together Project Focus Groups:**

> *They take away our jobs* and *they do not work* summarizes the social discourse on this issue according to the Finish team.
> Although "the indolence argument" (*some minorities shy away from work*) was also identified by the Portuguese team, the "economic competition argument" stands out Portugal through many verbal examples. Here are only some of them:

**104**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A
DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE
AND DIALOGUE

> **It's a bit like slavery, for them to work 24 hours without a break, it's normal.**
> **We work 5 days a week and they work 7, and they aren't obliged to do so.**
> **The large contingents of foreign labour that come to Portugal have lowered the wages of the Portuguese.**
> **They take away a lot of jobs, mainly from youngsters.**

> The *mundane reasoning* pointing to unfair labour competition and lack of control by the authorities also emerged in the Spanish fieldwork. The rich verbatim report may be summed up here by this sentence: **"They take jobs that Spaniards do not want under those conditions"** or by the complementary comment: **«they only benefit employers and put workers at a disadvantage».**

> The xenophobic argument is sometimes counterbalanced by different rationales used by other participants in the same focus groups . In Spain, the ***humanist argument*** (utopian) of a borderless world **("there should be no need for an immigration policy")** appeared together with references to Spaniards working abroad and with the comment: **"Many of the jobs taken by foreigners are the ones the Spanish don't want".**

**Experts' Diagnosis and Counter-argumentation in the Living Together Project:**

> They do not take away jobs or bring wages down: for **"they do the jobs we do not want to do"** or **"they get the wages employers pay"**. **We all are part of the labour market** (Spanish Forum).

> Host countries like Spain and other European host societies have not taken full "advantage of immigrant population potential" (especially certain levels of education). This may be a counterargument to offset the feeling of *competition,* which may be combined with the message: **everybody's right to compete and improve living conditions**.

> Counter-argumentation from the Portuguese Forum includes: We should speak of exploitation **("He/she who is exploited is a victim")** and distinguish among employers **("Those who actually profit from underpaid labour are unscrupulous employers")**; and remember that **"Everyone, migrants or Portuguese, is covered by the laws that regulate labour".** Moreover: **"The ethnic Portuguese population benefits from the low price of products and services"; "The argument that Portuguese emigrants suffer from this abroad is always crucial (remember the 'British jobs for British workers' affair)";** and **"Migrants come to take jobs for which the Portuguese have no use".**

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

105

> There is research in various European countries showing *structural* racial/ethnic discrimination at work.
> The lack of updated legislation was underlined by the Swedish forum **("Many public authorities want to find a way to employ without discrimination").**

Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:

> This should be considered a **priority field of action** due to the relationship between immigration, work, and integration (Finland, Spain)
> Convey the notion of **control and** disseminate the idea that immigrants contribute to economic growth, as both workers and consumers (Spanish forum)
> In addition to reporting on an available tool already put in practice via the ACIDI brochure "Myths and Facts about Immigration", the Portuguese team archived other suggestions for action via the experts' Forum: "Labour inspection should do more"; "Perhaps a campaign with employers stating how they need migrant workers".
> Swedish Experts' Forum measures include: "Independent labour market monitoring by agencies with resources and a position of power to demand explanations when immigrants are not employed"; "development of tools that can be used to eradicate labour discrimination"; and "offer employers courses in antidiscrimination law so that they know what rules apply".

**106**

*"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"*
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

7/10

# Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society

As noticed previously, there are various arguments associated with the rationale of *competition* (and *invasion*) as a determining factor for *xenophobia.* In fact, the category heading proposed by the Portuguese team includes two discursive ingredients (*parasitism* and *relative deprivation*) embedded in the design of the focus groups in Portugal, Spain, Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden. That is, one of the agreements on the common methodology of the Living Together Project was to use three assertions as conversational provocations in the second part of the group discussions. And one of these sentences was the invitation to discuss the following assertion *"Both immigrants and ethnic minorities get more (from the country they live in) than they give".* The choice of this assertion was based on both the academic literature and on the forms of racism and the research material available, as explained above.

Once more, we provide a synopsis and examples of statements collected in the focus groups that took place in the Project partner countries where a national expert forum was also held. We then list the experts' counter-arguments and proposals for measures to be taken.

**The General Population's Argumentation from the Living Together Project Focus Groups:**

> *Immigrants receive better services* could be the first written short translation of a sort of *myth* number one in Finland, according to the Finish team. Verbatim examples of this shared stereotype, also formulated as *Finns are being discriminated against,* are: **Why do we not deal with our own problems, instead of "pampering" the immigrants? They get better apartments and more social benefits.** It is added that the *Service structure is consciously and systematically exploited. They have a guidebook on our social security system.*

> Among the Spanish general population in the capital of Madrid a similar constellation of arguments summarized would include: *immigration as burden, competition for limited resources* and *preference demanded for natives.* In other words, based on the fieldwork: *They eat up public assistance and abuse social services, taking them away*

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

107

*from Spaniards.* A reiterated verbatim example of xenophobia is: **"They haven't paid for all this progress with their taxes, but they enjoy the benefits from day one"**. This was responded to during the focus group meetings with more sympathetic positions: **"Over the years, as immigrants live and work in Spain and have kids (...) they will receive the same as they are contributing"; "Subsidies to immigrants is an investment that stays in Spain and results in a benefit for Spanish society as a whole"**.

> Drawing from the Portuguese reports, the *parasitism argument* as a social belief or myth according to which *minorities live at the expense of the majority* is very close thematically to the *relative deprivation argument* (*minorities are somehow being given privileges*). Typical statements are: **"[Immigrants are] parasites on society"** and **"They come here and they immediately have support, help with everything..."**

**Experts' Diagnosis and Counter-argumentation in the Living Together Project:**

> Finish experts (based on the principles of equality and citizenship in the city) suggested as counterargument (or counter-myth) that *"All users of the public services be treated as* **citizens of the city***, and the basis for providing services be citizens' needs, not ethnicity/ immigration background"*.

> From the Spanish Experts' Forum: *"Our National Health System requires more funds, and the problems it faces are caused more by the older population, not by immigrants"*. *"Public expenditure hasn't been increased to cope with the necessities of a growing population"*.

> Counter-arguments from the Portuguese experts' forum were: *"Immigrants contribute more than they take from social security. Migrants actually work more and earn less"; "The vast majority of social integration income beneficiaries are not Roma. Many of these ideas are false. We need to deconstruct them. There is abuse everywhere and members of every group abuse"*. Various *Immigration Observatory* publications related to the immigrants' economic contribution to Portuguese society are cited in the document *Minutes of the Portuguese Experts' Forum*. Some of the existing studies even suggest that Roma and immigrants need more equitable and fairer conditions in the access to social services (*Minutes of the Portuguese Experts' Forum*).

> In the final preparation of the Decalogue the Swedish team chose as the second myth (of three) the assertion *Immigrants receive more than what they contribute to society* was contested with the counterargument: *Many studies show that immi-*

**108**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

*gration is vital for the development and growth of countries, historically and today. In the instances where immigrants are kept from full participation the underlying reason is discrimination and racism[34].*

**Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:**

> Finish experts suggested two measures be taken: 1) *Mainstreaming of services for immigrants into normal services structure* (based on the premise that immigration affairs do not concern only "experts" on immigration, but also social services, employment services and housing services); 2) *Trust for immigration policy and planning of services needs to be enhanced: transparency, client-oriented services, and open PR work.*

> Spanish experts put emphasis on a couple of measures: 1) *Strengthen the Welfare State* (investments) *and unmask the demagogy that blames immigrants for the deterioration of public service quality* (research); 2) *Bolster local government intervention* (more funds for social integration). Other measures that may be added here involve immigrants' participation via associations. Although no spontaneous arguments or discourses emerged in the focus groups with general population, experts proposed: 3) *Immigrant involvement (co-participation), as any member of society, in different areas of social life;* 4) *Bolstering cooperation with institutions, leaders of associations;* 5) *Offsetting dependency on public benefits, thereby increasing immigrants' autonomy.*

> Measures from the Portuguese Experts' Forum were: 1) *It would be useful to make it very clear that there is no affirmative action in Portugal or positive discrimination towards certain groups. Social benefits such as RSI are for everybody who is in serious economic need;* 2) *Highlight Portuguese informal practices to counter the stereotype that only immigrant and Roma groups engage in them (e.g. Portuguese working in cafés, for instance, don't give a receipt to every client either. And we don't ask for it);* 3) *Facts and numbers on immigrants' economic contribution to society can be used to persuade the more educated public;* 4) *We should make the calculation and disseminate information on the contribution / benefit ratio of migrants' in the Social Security system;* 5) *The use of discrimination testing in the housing market and the dissemination of these results* was advocated.

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**34** Among the policies and measures proposed are: *increasing the participation of immigrants and vulnerable groups in policy formulation of measures to counter discrimination and racism;* and *Empowerment and increased capacity for NGOs working to counter discrimination and racism.*

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**109**

8/10

# Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching

Points 7/10 and 8/10 are particularly close to each other, both thematically and in the *discourse systems* (or *semantic field*) that may be identified when analyzing focus group conversations or other research material about immigration and ethnic minorities. The latter is specially related to integration policy models, which may be either assimilation-oriented or multicultural-oriented integration. It is connected to the third sentence used at the end of the focus groups of the LT Project: "Both immigrants and ethnic minorities should keep their identity and culture of origin".

Once again here we present a synthesis and examples of statements collected in the focus groups in the Project partner countries where a national expert forum was also held. Then we list the experts´ counter-arguments and proposals for measures.

**General Population's Argumentation from the Living Together Project Focus Groups:**

> *People coming from different cultures cannot live together* would summarize a sort of *myth* number two in Finland, according to the Finish team[35]. The basis of this xenophobic argument is: *Every-day life in residential areas: differences in upbringing of children, disputes in apartment buildings (laundry rooms, smell of cooking in corridors etc.); disregard or no information about common rules; differences in communication cultures: e.g. loud conversation in public transportation/public places;* and *gender equality issues (perception of oppressed Muslim women).*

> The Swedish team contributed with a complementary argumentation found in the focus groups with natives, which was finally selected as a third myth: *If you socialize with immigrants, you cannot be a racist.*

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[35] The delinquency argument was presented by this team within a third myth (*"Immigration threatens stability of society and causes unemployment, crime and disorder"*). Typical statement: *"Immigrants commit more crimes than Finns"*.

110

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A
DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE
AND DIALOGUE

> Reports from Spain highlight arguments such as **"They make you racist"** (referring to experiences of bad behaviour, insecurity in neighbourhoods, appropriation of public places; among others). And counterarguments or refutations by focus group participants, where criticism of the *media* (for the negative image they give of immigrants on these topics) is combined with a self-critical comment **("there is good and bad behaviour also among Spaniards").**

> Portuguese reports singled out the delinquency argument both in their Decalogue proposal and in the final selection of three major myths, where it is listed in first place. A short wording is: *minorities have a higher propensity for crime.* Verbatim examples are: 1) **"They kill as easily as they would drink a glass of water, and that is just their nature…";** 2) **(…) "we make an effort to welcome them and they come here and steal"**; 3) **"They are people who come from societies where the levels of tolerance for crime and ignorance have nothing to do with our standards [references to Eastern Europe and Brazil]"**; 4) **"[of Blacks] they cause problems with the kids at school, they cause problems on the street, they cause problems at night, a climate of insecurity has been created, which is not controllable"**; 5) **(…) "Portugal is a nation of gentle ways and that is why they come here already prepared to rob"**.

**Experts' Diagnosis and Counter-argumentation in the Living Together Project:**

> Finish experts (based on the principle of tolerance and dialogue) suggested this reflection as a counter-argument: *Cultures transform constantly and there is no such thing as immigrant culture. Also the Finnish culture is subject to changes and influences. Cultures can learn co-existence as result of interaction and dialogue.*

> Swedish experts (based on the principle of dialogue with groups subjected to discrimination and racism) suggested as counterargument: *Racism is a power relation, which you have to be aware of in your interactions.*

> Experts from Portugal suggested as counterarguments: 1) *the second cause for Brazilians to abandon their country is flight from crime and insecurity*; 2) *there are social factors (not ethnic) that promote violent crime and vandalism, although one should not do away with personal responsibility*; 3) *it is unlikely to assume that someone might leave their home and family to pursue a criminal career abroad*; 4) *the justice system is perhaps biased in sentencing and is certainly is on remand it custody.*

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**111**

Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:

> Finish experts suggested the following reflection on measures: "*Finding xenophobia, i.e. the wisdom in the encounter with foreigners (vs. xenophobia or xenophilia); the role and importance of schools; facing people as individuals, not as representatives of a culture; emphasising **reasonably good behaviour** as a way to live together*".

> The Swedish team suggested the political measure of *Empowerment and increasing the capacity of NGOs working against discrimination and racism.*

> Measures from the Portuguese Experts' Forum were: 1) *to provide contextualized figures (i.e., caeteris paribus on a series of social factors) to understand what is behind the ostensibly higher rates of crime among foreigners when compared to natives;* 2) *to raise awareness of the social (not ethnic) factors that promote crime and vandalism;* 3) and as available tools already put into practice[36], the Portuguese team informed of *Immigration Observatory studies on the relation between nationality and the judicial system, which provide contextualized comparisons that help dispel the myth that crime rates are higher among the foreign population, and which actually hint at some discrimination within the system itself.*

> Spanish experts highlighted a couple of measures: 1) ***Everyday life contexts*** *(neighbourhoods, schools, work) should be considered as the* ***main areas of action for immigrant integration***; 2) ***"Solidarity policies"*** *should prevent the native population from leaving neighbourhoods where immigrants and ethnic minorities are concentrated.*

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36 This contribution made systematically by the Portuguese team is considered an example to be followed by other Project partners in order to enrich the Decalogue. It can also be conceived a reference for resources and continuously updating tool.

**112**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

9/10

## Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together"

When natives suffer form poor interaction with immigrants at work, in the neighbourhood, or in other contexts, a repeated answer according to the information from the focus groups is: *That they only create a mess here…that they should go back to their countries (Portugal).* It may be added that even on an institutional or State level there are certain legal tools prescribing the measure of deportation for people who have committed criminal acts.

Feelings of territorial invasion are rooted in the cultural mechanisms of national and supranational identities and also, as a Spanish expert pointed out, in the "morality tacitly ascribed to territorial borders". This handicap is very difficult to overcome, and also underpins the *preferential right* claimed by natives when finding themselves in circumstances of competition.

As noted in item 6, some natives perceive immigrants as competitors in the areas of labour, public benefits, sexual partnership, and on a national or neighbourhood scale. Thus, the *invasion* or *territorial normativity* argument is a key discursive element completing the conceptual map of racism and xenophobia. This argument may be said to acts as a sort of umbrella or core category covering and interconnecting those areas. Below we maintain the structure used in presenting the previous items, although the most elaborate contributions by experts have been reported mainly from Portugal.

General Population's Argumentation from the *Living Together* Project focus groups:

> The Portuguese team expresses this argument in a moderate and polite tone: *The point behind the territorial normativity argument is that everybody would be happier if no one left 'their own' geographical place.* Typical statements collected from focus groups in Lisbon were: 1) **They only create a mess here…that they should go back to their countries…at least that is what I hear the most …**; 2) **"Ah, yes, they have already beaten up who knows who…blablabla…they have robbed this place…they should go back to their own countries and do this crap there". You hear a lot of this…if you want to make trouble then go do it in your own country. Leave my country in peace. One hears this idea a lot;** 3) **Yes… normally, they say … "ah… if they want to make a mess, why don't they go back to their country…"**

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A**
**DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE**
**AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

113

> The **invasion** discourse and the increase in **insecurity** tied to the greater number of immigrants were also reported by the Spanish team. Typical statements from the Madrid focus groups were: 1) **"And now it seems that they've invaded us a bit, and everybody's tense…"**; 2) **"They have taken over neighbourhoods that were ours before"; 3) "Suddenly they invaded us"**; 4) **"Overbooking of immigration"**; 5) **"It seems that we, Spaniards, are the foreigners".**

**Experts' Diagnosis and Counter-argumentation in the Living Together Project:**

> Experts from Portugal suggested as counterarguments: 1) *If people all went back to their birthplace, the Portuguese resident population would increase by 50% and the country would collapse; 2) The clear historic trend towards globalization, porous boundaries, and human migration refutes the allegedly 'natural' character of being in one's place of birth; 3) This kind of discourse is not a manifestation of differentialist racism, as it might seem, but a reminder of the subordinate place migrants occupy in the social structure; 4) It is important not to confuse ethnicity with birthplace. Many ethnic minority youngsters were born in Portugal.*

**Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:**

> Proposed measures from the Portuguese experts' forum were: 1) *Show the emigration and immigration figures (the former are much larger than the latter); 2) Remind people that almost all of us are displaced relative to our place of birth (e.g. people coming from different cities and/or Portuguese villages that move to big cities); 3) Show that the country needs immigrants;* 4) And as available tools already put into practice[37], the Portuguese team informed of[38]: *"Nós" (We), a TV show resulting from a partnership between ACIDI and channel 2, a public TV channel (…) committed to integration. The programme highly emphasizes the benefits of cultural diversity.*

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[37] This contribution, made systematically by the Portuguese team, is considered an example to be followed by other Project partners in order to enrich the Decalogue. It can also be conceived as a reference for resources and continuously updating tool.

[38] The *invasion argument* is the first of a selection of *Myths and Facts* that Portugal counter-argued via the ACIDI brochure under the same title.

**114**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A
DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE
AND DIALOGUE

## 10/10

### Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans Were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration

Most of the above arguments (items 6 to 9) triggered counterarguments among the experts based on statistical figures, what some academics consider *hard data*. But the arguments based on this kind of data did not always achieve their purpose of convincing the general population or even the elites of their racial prejudices and stereotypes. In short, the efficacy of figures is relative[39]. A comment and example[40] were provided by an expert after one of the national forums.

This last element of the *Decalogue*, the *reflective* argument, contrasts with the first one (the principles and ideals around the *human rights discourse*), and closes the Decalogue trying in an attempt to complete it with a line of argumentation found among both the general population and the experts consulted. As a Madrid City Council representative suggested in the Spanish forum, this combination is promising bearing in mind our intention of reaching the greatest possible number of people. This means that we have a legal heritage of principles stemming from the world population's historical experience. At the same time, there are also historical and biographical experiences at the grassroots level (mainly in countries with a particular tradition of emigration, such as Portugal and Spain). In any case, this more reflective element in the *Decalogue* should be conceived as being intertwined with the challenge of naming all forms of racism and xenophobia and of educating and researching, but also with the objective of archiving best practices of counter-racism and experiences of xenophilia. As stressed now and again, this task should be confronted and tackled from a historical perspective.

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39 Researchers and politicians face a multi-faceted reality that is perceived and experienced from very different social positions, status or strata. It is made up of stereotypes, myths and facts. To convey the message that racist or xenophobic people are that only because of ignorance would be a mistake. All research material has its methodological weaknesses, be it statistical or through testimonies. One way to overcome them is to have a combination of both, especially when diverse potential users of the *Decalogue* are envisaged.

40 The percentage of people perceiving the number of immigrants in their territory as "too many" or "many" did not oscillate a great deal when they were aware of the statistical figures (Head of the Immigration Observatory in the Basque Country, Spain).

**REPORT 4:**
**A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE**

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

**115**

**General Population's Argumentation from the Living Together Project Focus Groups:**

> Focus groups report by the Madrid team pointed out the use among common people of individual and collective memory of Spanish emigration in the past as a source of both xenophobic and xenophilic arguments in today's immigrant Spain. Typical statements with connotations of xenophobia were: 1) *Spaniards abroad adapted to the customs of the countries where they went*; 2) *We Spaniards emigrated with a contract, they come with no papers and in open boats or kayaks.* Typical statements connoting xenophilia are: 1) *We also were emigrants*; 2) *We've been victims of stigmatization in some countries* (**"I was called a black head in Sweden"** [because of the colour of her hair]).

> Both negative and positive retrospective arguments, though unrelated to the migration theme, were also reported by the Spanish team. One example of each is: 1) **"Shots weren't heard as much before";** 2) **"Robberies and stealing have always been around".**

> Although not explicitly singled out as one the ten arguments proposed by the Portuguese team, a similar line of argumentation contrasting the self-image of one's own emigration past with the immigration present might be documented by using the research material collected in Portugal by ACIDI. This includes references to Portuguese emigrants and examples of good and poor behaviour among the natives at home.

**Experts' Diagnosis and Counter-argumentation in the Living Together Project:**

> Although it is a controversial issue in the Spanish experts forum, advocates argue that remembrance generates *empathy* ("meaning to place oneself in the other person's shoes") and may foster understanding of current immigrants' situation and prevent rejection. References are made to **collective memory** of both **emigration** (to Germany, France, Switzerland and so on,) and of the so-called **inner migration** from villages to the great urban centres were cited as potential sources of counter-argumentation.

> Portuguese experts used this *reflective* argument in the national forum while refuting various racist arguments. For example: *The argument that the Portuguese emigrants suffer from this abroad is always crucial (remember the 'British jobs for British workers' affair).*

116

"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
Project [JLS/FRC/036]

REPORT 4:
A TRANSNATIONAL PROPOSAL OF A DECALOGUE ON CITIZENSHIP, TOLERANCE AND DIALOGUE

Experts' Strategies and Proposals for Action:

> Spanish experts reunited in the national forum proposed as measures: 1) *Prepare and disseminate historical memory that adapts the product to the target population in order to generate solidarity based on the memory of* **Spanish emigration**; 2) *Convey a message that equates* **immigration** *to development and opportunity (included the construction of new identities) and see it as a* **historical or universal phenomenon** *(humans as one specie on earth)*; 3) As an example of available tools, an expert from the mass media informed of *a public TV program seen three days before the Forum, where the Dictatorship's archives vision of "happy Spanish emigration" in the 60s was contrasted with more real experiences of both international and domestic migration.*

> Portuguese experts in the National forum suggested a measure for action based on this *reflective* argument. For example: 1) for the *parasitism* argument reflected under the statement **"They** [Roma] **don't make social security contributions"**, experts suggested the following measure: *Cite mainstream Portuguese informal practices as to contrast the stereotype that only immigrant and Roma groups do this (e.g.* **Portuguese working** *in cafés, for instance, also don't give a receipt to every customer.* **And we** *don't ask for it)*

> The educational measure of focusing on the historical roots of racism in each country, suggested by the Swedish team, may be remembered here and also be considered from the point of view of the *reflective* argument ("*Making the historical roots of racism visible*").

**1** Identify Principles on which Best Practices Should be Based **2** Name and Recognize all Forms of Racism and Xenophobia as Problems **3** Document and Monitor Racism and Xenophobia **4** Identify Effective Legal Remedies, Policy Actions, Educational Programmes and Best Practices Approaches **5** Foster the Mass Media's Role in Promoting the Respect for Cultures and in recognising Diversity **6** Recognize Immigrants' Economic, Social and Cultural Contribution **7** Design Public Services Taking into Consideration the Needs of Society **8** Promote Principles of Respect and Dialogue, Perceiving Cultural Diversity as Enriching **9** Move from Stereotypes to "Living Together" **10** Perceive Migration as a Universal Phenomenon. Europeans were Immigrants. The Reflective Argument: current Host Societies remember Emigration

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120

**"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"**
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

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**Bibliography**

"Living Together: European Citizenship
against Racism and Xenophobia"

FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT

*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

121

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122

**"Living Together: European Citizenship against Racism and Xenophobia"**
FINAL COMPARATIVE AND COMPREHENSIVE REPORT
*Project* [JLS/FRC/036]

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