

ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENTS IN THE EU

**BETWEEN EUROPEANISATION
AND NATIONAL TRAJECTORIES**

STEFANO FELLA AND CARLO RUZZA



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Between Europeanisation and National Trajectories

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADEFRA	Afro-Deutsche Frauen (Association of Black German Women)
ADG	Antidiskriminierungsgesetz (Anti-discrimination law)
AIESEC	Association internationale des étudiants en sciences économiques et commerciales (International Association for Science, Economics & Commercial Students)
AN	Alleanza Nazionale (National Alliance)
ANAFE	Association d'assistance aux frontières pour les étrangers (Association for Help at the Borders for Foreigners)
ANL	Anti-Nazi League
ANOLF	Associazione Nazionale Oltre Le Frontiere (National Association beyond Frontiers)
ARA	Anti-Racist Alliance
ARCI	Associazione Ricreativa e Culturale Italiana (Italian Recreational and Cultural Association)
ATIME	Asociación de Trabajadores Inmigrantes Marroquíes en España (Association of Moroccan Migrant Workers in Spain)
BDA	Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände (Association of Employers in Germany)
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
BNP	British National Party
CCOO	Comisiones Obreras (Workers' Councils)
CDU	Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union)
CEAR	Comité Español de Ayuda al Refugiado (Spanish Committee on Refugees)
CERD	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CESTIM	Centro Studi Immigrazione (Centre for the Study of Immigration)
CGIL	Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (Italian General Labour Confederation)
CGT	Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Workers)

CIE	Centri di identificazione ed espulsione (Centres for Identification and Deportation)
CIS	Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (Centre for Sociological Research)
CISL	Confederazione Italiana Sindacato Lavoratori (Italian Confederation of Workers Union)
CNCDH	Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme (National Advisory Commission on Human Rights)
CODAC	Comité départemental d'accès à la citoyenneté (Departmental commissions for access to citizenship)
COSPE	Cooperazione per lo Sviluppo dei Paesi Emergenti (Cooperation for Development of Emerging Countries)
CPT	Centro di Permanenza Temporanea (Centre of Temporary Permanence)
CRAN	Conseil représentatif des associations noires (Representative Council of Black Associations)
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CSU	Christlich Soziale Union (Christian Social Union)
DG	Directorate-General
DG JLS	Directorate-General Freedom, Security and Justice
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (Confederation of German Trade Unions)
EC	European Community
ECRE	European Council on Refugees and Exiles
ECRI	European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
EDL	English Defence League
EEC	European Economic Community
EESC	European Economic and Social Committee
EHRC	Equality and Human Rights Commission
EKD	Evangelische Kirche Deutschland (Evangelical Church of Germany)
ENAR	European Network against Racism
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
EUFRA	European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
EUMC	European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
EWL	European Women's Lobby

FASTI	Fédération des associations de solidarité avec les travailleurs immigrés (Federation of Solidarity Associations with Migrant Workers)
FI	Forza Italia (Go Italy)
FN	Front national (National Front)
GG	Grundgesetz (German Constitution)
GISTI	Groupe d'information et de soutien aux immigrés (Group for Information and Support for Migrants)
GONGOs	Government-organised non-governmental organisations
GRINGOs	Government-run/initiated non-governmental organisations
HALDE	Haute autorité de lutte contre les discriminations et pour l'égalité (High Authority against Discriminations and for Equality)
IAS	Immigration Advisory Service
IBPP	Institution Building Partnership Programme
IGM	Industriegewerkschaft Metall (Industrial Union of Metalworkers)
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMSERSO	Instituto de Migraciones y Servicios Sociales (Institute for Migration and Social Services)
IRR	Institute for Race Relations
ISTAT	Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (Italian National Statistical Institute)
LDH	Ligue des droits de l'homme (League for Human Rights)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
LICRA	Ligue contre le racisme et l'antisémitisme (League against Racism and Anti-Semitism)
LN	Lega Nord (Northern League)
MCS	Marginalised civil society
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
MIB	Mouvement de l'immigration et des banlieues (Movement of Immigration and Suburbs)
MPG	Migration Policy Group
MRAP	Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples (Movement against Racism and for Friendship among Peoples)
MSI	Movimento Sociale Italiano (Italian Social Movement)
NF	National Front
NGOs	Non-governmental organisations
OAS	Organisation armée secrète (Secret Army Organization)

OCS	Organised civil society
OFPPA	Office français de protection des réfugiés et apatrides (French Office for the Protection of Refugees and the Stateless)
PDL	Popolo della libertà (People of Freedom)
POS	Political Opportunity Structure
QCS	Quasi-civil society
RAXEN	Racism and Xenophobia European Network
REC	Race Equality Council
RESF	Réseau éducation sans frontière (Education without Borders Network)
RF	Rifondazione Comunista (Communist Refoundation)
SCALP	Section carrément anti-Le Pen (Radically Anti-Le Pen Section)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SWP	Socialist Workers Party
TUC	Trades Union Congress
UAF	Unite Against Fascism
UDC	Unione dei Democratici Cristiani e di Centro (Union of Christian and Centrist Democrats)
UGT	Unión General de Trabajadores (General Union of Workers)
UKIP	United Kingdom Independence Party
UKREN	UK Race and Europe Network
UMP	Union pour un mouvement populaire (Union for a Popular Movement)
UNAR	Ufficio Nazionale Antidiscriminazioni Razziali (National Office against Racial Discrimination)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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1

Introduction: Anti-Racist Movements in the European Union: Between National Specificity and Europeanisation

Stefano Fella and Carlo Ruzza

The Treaty of Amsterdam, agreed to by the European Union (EU) heads of government in June 1997, provided the EU with a new common framework for combating racial discrimination within its borders. The European directives that were subsequently adopted in 2000¹ under this framework have required the adoption of new national legislation across the EU Member States, linking the national and European policy-making spheres in a new way. In some cases Member States have implemented specific legislation and policy to combat racial discrimination for the first time. The new policy-making environment has also impacted on associations and organisations which have developed to oppose and combat racism and racial discrimination or defend the rights and interests of groups, such as migrants, that are vulnerable to racism. This altered environment has created new opportunities for such associations and organisations to influence policy-making. Nevertheless, the common overarching policy framework provided by the EU needs to be set against the backdrop of stark differences in terms of the national policy framework in which the directives have been implemented and in which anti-racist movements operate. These differences are related to the level of development, sophistication and institutionalisation of existing national policy and legislation to combat racism and racial discrimination, the nature and level of racism and discrimination in the Member State concerned, and the way in which racism manifests itself, and public attitudes to the issue as well as the attitude of government actors and political parties. More broadly, the political, socio-economic

and cultural contexts in which policies and movements emerge vary considerably. Indeed, differing national contexts are highly significant in understanding the nature and level of sophistication of the anti-racist movement across the Member States. Furthermore, a key variable in understanding the degree of development of both official anti-racist policy and the movement sector is the existence and nature of particular national or ethnic minority and migrant populations within the state concerned. This book aims to provide an understanding of the different national contexts in which anti-racist movements operate in the EU on the basis of six national case studies of EU Member States, reflecting both the north–south and east–west divide in terms of national policy contexts.

This introductory chapter provides an overview of the context in which anti-racist movements operate in Europe, identifying common traits and axes of variation within the movements discussed in the subsequent chapters. We will first consider the changing historical, political and geographical context of racism in Europe, and then identify groups particularly vulnerable to racism in Europe, exploring the impact of international migration and reactions to it in relation to this, before identifying key facets of anti-racist mobilisation in Europe today.

The historical and geographical context of racism in Europe

Racism has manifested itself in different ways across Europe and over time. Classical biological theories of racism were generally discredited in the wake of the Second World War. Such theories, based on notions of biological differences between distinct racial groups and a hierarchy between them, were in the past used to justify imperialism, slavery, racial laws and the Holocaust (Bell 2009). In recent decades attention has focused on notions of cultural racism – based not on hierarchies between races but on ‘cultural difference’ between different ethnic groups. The notion of ‘cultural difference’ and the need to protect the cultural cohesion of communities (viewed as necessary for social cohesion) by keeping people from different cultures in their respective homelands was associated with French *Nouvelle Droite* thinking and has been appropriated by the extreme and populist right across Europe (Rydgren 2005), but has also found its way into ‘mainstream’ political discussion. The notion of cultural difference has been particularly emphasised in debates concerning Muslim migration and the presence of sizeable and growing Muslim minority populations in European nations. Aspects of

this debate have been denounced as Islamophobic by anti-racist and pro-migrant activists across the EU.

A European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) report on the experience of Muslims in the EU in 2006 estimated the Muslim population in the EU at around 13 million, including 3.5 million in France, 3.4 million in Germany, 1.6 million in the United Kingdom and just over one million in Spain. Most of these were recent migrants (since the 1950s) and their descendants, although there were also small and long-standing Muslim communities in different parts of Europe stretching back centuries (EUMC 2006). The report noted that Muslims 'experience various levels of discrimination and marginalisation in employment, education and housing, and are also victims of negative stereotyping and prejudicial attitudes... vulnerable to discrimination and manifestations of Islamophobia in the form of anything from verbal threats through to physical attacks on people and property'. It also noted that racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia are mutually reinforcing phenomena and that 'hostility against Muslims should thus be seen in the context of a more general climate of hostility towards migrants and ethnic minorities' (EUMC 2006: 108). However, as with racism aimed at other minorities, there is a general problem in terms of consistency and effectiveness of data collection across the EU as regards incidents of Islamophobia.

Since the attacks of 11 September 2001 in particular, European governments have, often acting under the cloak of EU-level agreements, tightened security policies which have, according to some critics, targeted Muslim communities in a discriminatory fashion, exacerbating a climate of increasing public hostility towards them (Fekete 2009). More generally, EU states have, over the last decade and often within the framework of EU-level agreements, institutionalised stricter border controls, making entry more difficult for third-country nationals seeking asylum on the grounds of persecution in their own country, a right to asylum ostensibly guaranteed under the 1951 United Nations (UN) Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Moreover, even where asylum seekers have managed to reach the EU, their rights have been increasingly curtailed by national legislation which restricts their freedom of movement and their entitlement to welfare benefits. This has happened within a climate of media and wider public hostility, whereby asylum seekers are characterised as 'bogus' – seeking entry for economic reasons rather than persecution in their home country (as if the desire for a better life itself should be treated as a crime). Fekete refers to a demonisation of the people that the capitalist Western world is seeking to exclude, and

uses the definition of 'xeno-racism' offered by Sivanandan to denounce the treatment of migrants of all ethnic groups:

It is a racism that is not just directed at those with darker skins, from the former colonial territories, but at the newer categories of the displaced, the dispossessed and the uprooted, who are beating at western Europe's doors.... It is a racism, that is, that cannot be colour-coded, directed as it is at poor whites as well, and passed off as xenophobia, a 'natural' fear of strangers. But in the way in which it denigrates and reifies people before segregating and/or expelling them, it is a xenophobia that bears all the marks of the old racism. It is racism in substance, but 'xeno' in form. It is a racism meted out to impoverished strangers even if they are white. It is xeno-racism.

(Sivanandan 2001, cited in Fekete 2009: 19–20)

Nevertheless, racism and discrimination in Europe are directed not just against newcomers, but against settled communities of migrants and their descendants, sometimes of several generations standing, and in some cases against historic 'minorities' who have been present on the territory for centuries. In the latter category are the Roma, the presence of whom in Europe can be traced back to migration from the Indian subcontinent between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. They are a particularly sizeable minority in some of the Central and Eastern European countries that have joined the EU since 2004, numbering between eight and 10 million in these states (Geddes 2003: 6). Freedom of movement within the EU has led to significant movement of Roma from these states after 2004 to some of the older EU states (for example, significant numbers of Roma have migrated from Romania to Italy, which already had a smaller historic Roma community of its own). Another longer-established minority that has faced discrimination of extreme proportions is the Jewish one. There is a long ignoble history of anti-Semitism in Europe which also shaped earlier debates on anti-racism. Whilst anti-Semitism appeared to have declined in the aftermath of the Second World War, it has remained integral for some extremist neo-Nazi groups, while the conflict in the Middle East has also led to the blurring of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism in some instances and increasing incidences of the latter. Eastern enlargement of the EU brought into the fold countries such as Poland where anti-Semitism was still a major cause of concern within the anti-racism sector, as the chapter on Poland in this book will show.