ANTI-RACIST MOVEMENTS IN THE EU

BETWEEN EUROPEANISATION AND NATIONAL TRAJECTORIES

STEFANO FELLA AND CARLO RUZZA

Anti-Racist Movements in the EU

This page intentionally left blank

Anti-Racist Movements in the EU

Between Europeanisation and National Trajectories

Edited by

Stefano Fella
Former Lecturer in Politics, London Metropolitan University, UK

and

Carlo Ruzza
Professor of Political Sociology at the Universities of Leicester, UK, and Trento, Italy

palgrave
macmillan

Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2013 978-0-230-29090-7

First published 2013 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-33172-7 ISBN 978-1-137-28466-2
DOI 10.1057/9781137284662

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
22 21 20 19 18 17 16 15 14 13

Contents

Figures and Tables

Figures

Tables

Acknowledgements

This book brings together research on issues of racism and anti-racism developed over many years. It originated in research undertaken for an EU 5th framework programme funded project – Civil Society and European Governance (CIVGOV) – which ran from 2003 to 2006 and analysed the relationship between civil society and governance in three policy sectors (anti-racism, environmental policy and regionalism) at the EU and national level in ten countries. Five of the country case studies in this book (on the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Spain and Poland) are drawn from (and further develop) research undertaken on the anti-racist movement for this project, as are the introduction and comparative conclusions. The chapter on Germany in this book was commissioned separately. We would like to thank the European Commission for their financial support for the CIVGOV project. We are particularly grateful for the support of the scientific officers of the commission, Angela Liberatore and Alessia Bursi. The project was coordinated by the University of Trento, Jean Monnet Centre, under the scientific direction of Carlo Ruzza. Stefano Fella was the project manager and research coordinator of the project. We would like to thank all those involved in the coordinating team at the University of Trento, particularly Emanuela Bozzini who coordinated data analysis and undertook interviews, and Stijn Smismans who led the EU-level research work, and all those who undertook fieldwork for the Italian team, particularly Giulia Bigot, Stefano Petrolini and Maria Laura Russo. We would also like to thank Enzo Loner for his support with data analysis and Nanette Schuppers who assisted in project administration and editing and analysing of reports. We are also grateful to all the project partners, particularly those who contributed to this book. We would like to thank Hans-Jorg Trenz for the particular insights he brought to the European level of work and Simona Piattoni for her collaboration in the scientific coordination of the project.

Dissemination of the CIVGOV project findings, including workshops in which the research on the anti-racist sector was discussed, also took place under the auspices of the CINEFOGO Network of Excellence (Civil Society and New Forms of Governance) which ran from September 2005 to December 2009 and was supported by an EU-FP6 grant and

generous support from the involved institutions. This network enabled some researchers to continue their work on anti-racist movements and to meet at conferences and workshops. Special thanks go to its overall coordinator Professor Thomas Boje of Roskilde University and to all his academic team and to Marta Nachtmann Josephsen and Ellen-Kristina Kristensen who administered the network. CINEFOGO was a very large network comprising 43 institutions over 50 workpackages, each involving several activities and events. These gave us the opportunity to exchange ideas on the role of social movements and civil society organisations with colleagues throughout Europe.

We are grateful to a number of academic colleagues interested in issues of racism and anti-racism with whom we have exchanged ideas and collaborated at conferences and in other publications. These include Laura Balbo, Helena Flam, Jens Rydgren and Ruth Wodak. Carlo would like to thank Lella Pileri for all her support, and all his colleagues at the University of Leicester who listened to his presentations and commented on them, particularly Ellen Annandale, Barbara Misztal and John Williams. Stefano would like to thank Wilf Sullivan of the TUC and Chris Nicholas of UCU for the insights they provided into the UK anti-racist sector, and Gita Prabhu for her support as he finally sought to put the project to bed.

Special thanks should also go to the large number of organisations and individuals in the anti-racist sector who agreed to be interviewed in the course of this research. Without their input, this book would never have been possible.

Finally, our thanks go to the editorial team at Palgrave for their patience and support in getting this volume into production and bringing the project to fruition, and to Gita Prabhu for producing the cover design.

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	Conseul 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
OFPRA	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

Contributors

Emanuela Bozzini is Fulbright Schuman Fellow at the Center for Environment and Society of the University of Maryland, USA. She teaches environmental politics and European Union politics at the University of Trento, Italy, and has previously been based at the universities of Florence and Essex. Her research interests focus on issues of civil society participation in democratic governance.

Stefano Fella works for the University and College Union and previously lectured in politics at London Metropolitan University, UK, and coordinated EU research projects related to civil society and anti-racism, and racism and xenophobia at the University of Trento, Italy. His publications include (with Carlo Ruzza) *Reinventing the Italian Right: Territorial Politics, Populism and Post-Fascism* (2009); (as sole author) *New Labour and the European Union, Political Strategy, Policy Transition and the Amsterdam Treaty Negotiation* (2002); and (co-editor with Mary Farrell and Michael Newman) *European Integration in the Twenty-First Century – Unity in Diversity?* (2002). He was guest editor of a special issue 'Politics in Italy – Still in Transition' of the *Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* (August 2006). He writes on British and Italian politics, Britain and the EU, the extreme and populist right, and the politics of race and immigration, and has published several book chapters, as well as articles in *Acta Politica*, *Policy and Politics*, *Modern Italy*, *Parliamentary Affairs* and *Political Quarterly*.

Margarita Gómez-Reino is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Science and Administration at the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Spain. She graduated in law at the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain, and received her PhD in political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA. She has been Fulbright-MEC Researcher and European Commission Marie Curie Research Fellow at the University of Utrecht, Netherlands. Her research fields cover new patterns of political mobilisation in European comparative perspective, in particular in relation to nationalist parties and new radical-right parties, the Europeanisation of political actors and attitudes of support and rejection of the European Union. She has taken

part in several national and international research projects funded by the CICYT and the European Commission. She is the author of a number of books, chapters and articles in international journals (*South European Society and Politics*, *Party Politics*, among others).

Lilian Mathieu is Research Director of the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS) and works at the Ecole normale supérieure (ENS) in Lyon, France. He works mainly on social movements and prostitution policies, and has recently published *La Démocratie protestataire* (2011) and *L'Espace des mouvements sociaux* (2012).

Carlo Ruzza is Professor of Political Sociology at the universities of Leicester, UK, and Trento, Italy. He has previously taught at the universities of Essex and Surrey, and was Jean Monnet Fellow at the European Institute in Florence, Italy. His research interests focus upon the advocacy role of civil society organisations, the impact of social movements on public policy, populism and right-wing parties. His book publications include *Migrants in the Health Care System* (with Christiane Falge and Oliver Schmidtke, 2012), *Reinventing the Italian Right: Territorial Politics, Populism and Post-Fascism* (with Stefano Fella, 2009) and *Europe and Civil Society: Movement Coalitions and European Governance* (2007). His edited books include *Conflict, Citizenship and Civil Society* (co-edited with P. Baert, S. Koniordos, G. Procacci, 2009), *Governance and Civil Society: Policy Perspectives* and *Europe and Civil Society: Normative Dimensions* (both co-edited with Vincent Della Sala, 2007). He has published in several peer-reviewed journals, including *The Journal of European Integration*, *West European Politics*, *Acta Politica*, *Innovation*, *Theory and Society*, *The International Journal of Sociology*, *European Political Science*, *The Journal of Political Ideologies*, *The Journal of Civil Society*, *The Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans* and *Policy and Society*.

Iyiola Solanke is Senior Lecturer in Law at the University of Leeds, UK, and Visiting Professor at Wake Forest University Law School, USA. She lectures on European Union Law and Anti-Discrimination Law. She is Academic Fellow of the Inner Temple and Visiting Fellow at the European Institute, LSE. She was previously Jean Monnet Fellow at the University of Michigan Law School, USA. She has published on judicial independence and diversity, intersectionality and anti-racial discrimination law in Britain and Germany. She is the author of the book *The Evolution of Anti-Racial Discrimination Law in Britain and Germany* (2011, paperback).

Maciej Witkowski obtained a PhD in sociology from the University of Silesia, Poland. His current research interests include state-less ethnic minorities, cross-cultural methodology, discourse analysis, civil society movements, Roma studies and cross-cultural communication. He is experienced in ethnographic field research carried out among Roma, Kashubians, inhabitants of Spisz, the Lithuanian minority in Poland and the Polish minority in Lithuania.

Kazimiera Wódz is Professor of Sociology and Head of the Department of Cultural Studies, University of Silesia, Institute of Sociology, Katowice, Poland. Her research interests include cultural studies, European studies, urban and regional studies, political sociology, social work and social policy. She has published over 250 articles, and edited and co-edited many books and scientific reports, and has worked on several international projects, dealing with different aspects of regional transformations ('Social History of Poverty in Central Europe, The Polish Case' – grant funded by the Institute of Human Sciences, Vienna, 1997–1999; CIVGOV, 2003–2006, 5th EU FP; 'Identity, Diversity and Citizenship in the European Union' – grant funded by James Madison Trust, 2004–2005; SPHERE 2008–2011, 7th EU FP).

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 2000[1] 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

S. Fella et al. (eds.), *Anti-Racist Movements in the EU*

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.

International migration and its impact on Europe

The focus of anti-racist policy and activism in most EU states (particularly the EU15 prior to the eastwards enlargement of 2004) relates to the treatment of new immigrant communities in the decades since the Second World War. There were different phases of immigration, impacting differently across these states and with different origins. Three distinct periods of immigration can be identified (Geddes 2003: 17–19). The first period was one of primary labour immigration, generally to northern Europe, occurring between the 1950s and mid-1970s (the end of the post-war economic boom). In countries such as Britain, France and the Netherlands with a colonial past, this involved mass immigration from the former colonies. Other countries such as Germany invited 'guest workers', often through labour migration agreements with third countries such as Turkey. In this period, southern European countries such as Italy, Portugal and Spain remained countries of emigration, with large numbers moving from these countries to find work in northern Europe (many also migrating from the south to the north within Italy). The second period followed the cessation of labour immigration recruitment in the mid-1970s. Most states ceased to permit immigration for labour purposes (except for highly skilled migrants), but immigration continued due to family reunion, while migrant communities expanded to include the children of migrants born in the host country.

A third wave of migration began after the Cold War, with the collapse of the Communist bloc making transit easier and a number of military conflicts also causing large population movements. This has led to both a diversification of the countries of origin of migrants to Europe and a widening of the destination countries. In this period, southern European countries, including Spain, Italy and Greece, have also become countries of mass immigration. While much of this migration has come through the asylum route – impacting across the EU and causing controversy in countries such as the United Kingdom which had progressively closed down other routes of migration – this migration has also been characterised by its irregular nature. Large numbers have entered through clandestine routes, often taking advantage of long and not particularly well-monitored borders along the southern European coastline. Given that many migrants entering this way have northern European countries as their ultimate desired destination, at a time when the EU (since the 1980s) has moved to reduce its own internal borders, this has led to pressure from northern European governments on their southern European counterparts to implement stricter immigration and border

controls. A significant share of the regular immigrant presence in these countries has developed via the route of migrants entering the country irregularly and then being 'regularised' through a government amnesty of irregular migrants.

The third wave of migration identified above, characterised particularly by irregular entry routes from the south and east, has contributed to pressures for European coordination of immigration and asylum policies, characterised by critics as a 'Fortress Europe' approach and denounced variously as racist, xenophobic, Islamophobic or xeno-racist by some. The 'Fortress Europe' approach was also applied in the context of the eastern enlargement of the EU in 2004 (Geddes 2003: 179–180). The new Members States of central and eastern Europe were obliged to tighten their own external borders as part of the transitional process to membership, while most of the existing EU Member States imposed transitional controls to prevent the citizens of these countries from taking advantage of the EU 'right' to freedom of movement in order to migrate westwards.

According to figures from Eurostat, in 2010 there were 32.5 million persons living in the 27 EU states who were not citizens of the state in which they resided (6.5 per cent of the population); 12.3 million of these were citizens of another EU state, while 20.2 million were citizens of non-EU states. Seventy-five per cent of the 'foreign' population resided in five EU states: Germany, Spain, the United Kingdom, Italy and France (Eurostat 2011). The total figure for foreign-born residents was actually higher at 47.3 million (9.4 per cent of the total population). Many of these persons would have acquired the citizenship of the host state and would no longer be classed as 'foreign' citizens. However, this does not necessarily give them an escape from being on the receiving end of racist or discriminatory behaviour in their new home countries.

Despite the transitional controls imposed by some states, internal migration within the EU (by citizens of one EU state to another) appeared to significantly increase following the 2004 enlargement to the East. For example, over 500,000 Poles migrated to the United Kingdom (which did not impose any transitional arrangements preventing migration from the new states) following the Polish accession to the EU in 2004. Romanians living in Italy number close to one million,[2] although many of these migrated before the Romanian accession to the EU in 2007 (a similar number of Romanians have migrated to Spain). According to the Eurostat data cited above, over a quarter of foreign nationals living in the EU states come from Turkey, Romania, Morocco and Poland. That the largest 'national groups' from outside of the EU

are also predominantly Muslim and between them number around four million is also notable.

The strengthening of Europe's external borders has come hand in hand with a process of dismantling of internal borders between EU states (with the latter making the former more necessary in the eyes of many policy-makers). Measures to facilitate the free movement of European nationals were given impetus initially by the Single European Act (SEA) in 1985 and then by the Treaty on European Union (TEU) of 1992 which established the concept of EU citizenship (bestowed automatically on citizens of EU Member States). This left third-country nationals with legal residence rights within a Member State, but not with citizenship of that state, with a 'second class' status as they could not access this right to free movement. In relation to this point, the differing national policy traditions as regards access to citizenship are noteworthy. These differing traditions have wider implications in terms of the integration of immigration and patterns of discrimination within these countries. In the United Kingdom, post-war immigrants from the former colonies initially arrived as carriers of UK passports, and their descendants born on UK soil automatically acquired UK citizenship. Prior to independence in 1962, Algeria was considered part of France and Algerians could move there freely. Even after independence and as in other former colonies, those born in Algeria prior to the date of independence could continue to claim French citizenship, while the children of migrants from the former colonies born on French soil automatically acquired French citizenship (Geddes 2003: 56–58). The United Kingdom's multicultural tradition has been much discussed, and can be contrasted with the assimilationist tradition of France, in which separate 'minorities' are not recognised. In Germany, on the other hand, immigrants were generally 'guest workers' and denied citizenship, as were the children of guest workers born on German soil. However, controversial changes to German citizenship law in 2000 meant that citizenship could now be acquired by persons born in the country, even if the parents were not citizens, as is the case in the United Kingdom. In Italy, on the other hand, the Italian-born children of non-Italians must wait until they are 18 years old before they can apply, and long-term non-Italian residents face a long wait and a bureaucratic obstacle course if they wish to apply for citizenship (Bigot and Fella 2008).

Differential access to full citizenship and the rights associated with it are just one aspect of the discriminatory mechanisms facing immigrants and other minorities within EU states. Whilst public rejection of racism is considerable in many EU states when it is manifested in overtly racist

statements and actions, it has often proved more difficult to sensitise public opinion and develop a consensus over the existence of sometimes less visible direct and indirect forms of discrimination based on race or ethnicity and the necessary measures to address them. Such discrimination is often apparent in relation to access to employment, housing, welfare, education, health care, social and other services, and has also been observed more broadly in the way in which institutions are organised or in societal structures in general. In some countries legislation to address these and other aspects of racial discrimination has developed over a number of decades, whilst the EU directives of 2000 have established a common European framework for tackling them. In the United Kingdom, where policy to counter racial discrimination has been developed and debated over a number of decades, recent discussion has focused on institutional discrimination, defined in the pivotal report of the Macpherson inquiry in 1999 as: 'The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people' (Bell 2009: 11).

The EUMC, recently superseded by the European Union Fundamental Rights Agency (EUFRA), was charged with the task of monitoring and collecting data on racism and discrimination in Europe. However, as noted above, there are inconsistencies and lacunae when it comes to comprehensive collection of data on discriminatory processes as well as racist crimes and other racist incidents. For example, only Finland, Sweden and the United Kingdom regularly collect and publish systematic data on racist crimes (EUFRA 2010a). Nevertheless, the EUFRA annual report for 2010 reports that discrimination in the EU is demonstrably high in the fields of employment, housing, education and health care, although there are relevant differences among countries (EUFRA 2010a). Knowledge of rights in matters of discrimination is low, with over a third of the European population admitting to lacking adequate information on the subject, and, in addition, individuals who perceive discrimination often do not know who to turn to for advice and redress (EUFRA 2010a).

For these and other reasons the full range of activities of organisations opposing racism are important. These include information and awareness activities, activities of cultural sensitisation, advocacy efforts and political initiatives as well as protest activities associated

with social movements. However, in many EU states they operate in a public climate in which the media or political parties have employed ethno-populist frames presenting migrants and minorities as a threat to national culture and security, as a drain on economic resources and sometimes (notably in relation to Muslim communities) as a threat to liberal values. The populist, extreme and generally xenophobic right has achieved political success in mobilising around these frames in a number of EU states, and even where its success has been limited, these frames have also found their way into the discourse of 'mainstream' political parties. Indeed, political parties and actors across the political spectrum and across the EU have openly reflected on the demands placed on public services, the impact on labour markets and unemployment levels, and the implications for national identity and the cohesion of communities of large-scale immigration. In doing so political actors will argue that they represent popular concerns about immigration. Such concerns are reflected in public opinion surveys, which are explored in more detail in the next section.

Public opinion, anti-immigration sentiment and perceptions of discrimination

The general background factor that has made issues of ethnicity and race particularly relevant in recent years is migration. Worries about immigration in particular have remained at a stable and high level throughout our case studies in recent years. High levels of electoral support for parties of the extreme or radical populist right, such as the Front National (FN) in France or the Northern League (LN) in Italy, may be one indication of popular identification with anti-immigrant frames. However, this is not to say that similar sentiments are not popular in those countries where such parties have not been particularly successful, such as the United Kingdom, Germany and Spain. The popularity of such parties will relate to a range of historical and political factors, the nature of political and cultural opportunities and the agency of the parties themselves (Mudde 2007; Ruzza and Fella 2009). A global attitudes survey by the Pew Research Center in 2007[3] showed a high percentage of respondents in all the EU states surveyed agreeing with the statement, 'We should further restrict and control immigration.' Agreement with this was particularly high in Italy where 87 per cent agreed with this statement (and where the xenophobic and populist right-wing LN has been a governing party in the periods 2001–2006 and 2008–2011). It was also notably higher in Spain and in the United Kingdom, where

the extreme right has not been successful, than in France, where the extreme right FN has in recent presidential elections polled between 10 and 18 per cent of the vote. The figure with respect to agreement with the statement in Spain was 77 per cent, for Britain it was 75 per cent and for France it was 68 per cent. In Germany the figure was 66 per cent, and in Poland (where mass immigration has not really occurred) it was 53 per cent (Pew Research Center 2007). The Transatlantic Trends surveys published in 2011 and in previous years suggest that immigration was considered by the public in the United Kingdom to be a much bigger problem than elsewhere (see Figure 1.1): 68 per cent of respondents in the United Kingdom viewed immigration as 'more of a problem than opportunity' in 2011. This compared to 58 per cent in Spain, 48 per cent in Italy, 46 per cent in France and 43 per cent in Germany (Transatlantic Trends 2011). Such surveys provide a snapshot of opinion at a particular time, and can be prone to marked variation which is often related to a range of factors influencing public debate in a particular country at that time. The strength of response in particular countries also appears to vary in relation to the type of question asked, with the question identifying the need for government action in the Pew survey getting the strongest response in Italy, whereas the Transatlantic Trends question

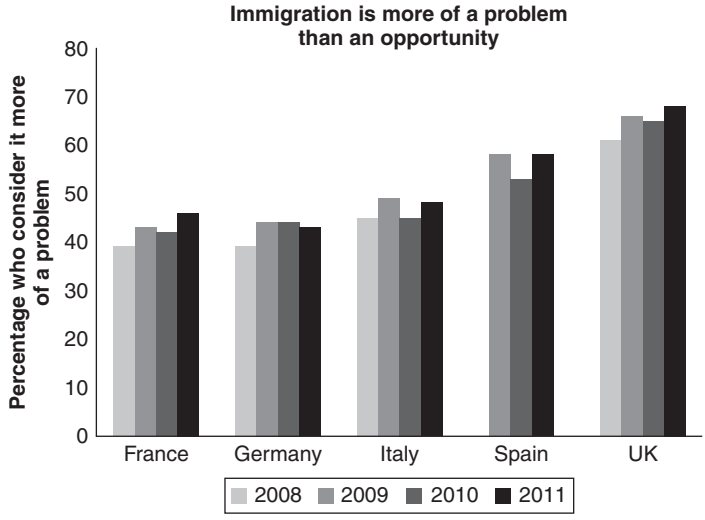

Figure 1.1 Percentage of respondents considering immigration 'more of a problem than an opportunity' in 2008–2011
Source: Adapted from Transatlantic Trends (2011: 5).