

TACKLING RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA:

PRACTICAL ACTION AT THE LOCAL LEVEL

Community relations

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FOREWORD

This is one of a series of booklets designed to accompany the report **Community and ethnic relations in Europe**, published by the Council of Europe in 1991¹. *By community relations* is meant all aspects of the relations between migrants or ethnic groups of immigrant origin and the host society, and the report sets out proposals for a comprehensive approach to community relations policy in the Organisation's member States².

Following on from its work on community relations, the European Committee on Migration (CDMG) has now embarked on a new project entitled: *The integration of immigrants: towards equal opportunities*. This project aims to promote the exchange of practical experience between people who are attempting, in a variety of different ways, to put the community relations approach into practice.

The present booklet is the outcome of a meeting held in Berlin in June 1993 on: *Tackling racism and xenophobia: practical action at the local level*.

A consultant, Professor Michael Banton (United Kingdom), played a leading part in the preparation of this meeting during which he acted as General Rapporteur. The participants at the meeting included the organisers of a variety of practical projects aiming in one way or another to deal with problems of racism and xenophobia at the local level; a number of officials with policy-making responsibilities in this field also took part. The full list of speakers and projects is given at the end of the booklet: this will enable readers who so wish to make contact with those responsible for the various

¹ It can be ordered under the reference MG-CR (91) 1 final E.

² These number 33 at present: Andorra, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom.

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training initiatives.

The first part of the booklet comprises the *Conclusions* drawn up by the consultant on the basis of the proceedings in Berlin. For those wishing to know more about the initiatives presented at the meeting, there follows a series of shortened versions of the case-study papers which were prepared by those responsible.

Since the time of the Berlin meeting issues of racism and xenophobia have continued to attract growing concern throughout Europe. This led the Council of Europe Summit Conference of Heads of State and Government to launch a Plan of Action on combating racism, xenophobia, antisemitism and intolerance. It is hoped that the publication of the present booklet will be a valuable contribution to the achievement of the goals of the Plan of Action and that it will be widely used by people involved in action to counter racism and xenophobia in Europe.

Finally, I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the consultant, and all who took part in the meeting, especially those whose written contributions are summarised here.

Robin Guthrie
Director of Social and Economic Affairs
Council of Europe

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Conclusions

by the General Rapporteur

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1. The Council of Europe convened in Berlin from 15-18 June 1993 an expert meeting on practical action at the local level to combat racism and xenophobia. This report contains a summary account of that meeting in relation to the Council's programme of work in the migration field. Since much local action against racism and xenophobia is undertaken in implementation of national policies and is influenced by them, the meeting was obliged at certain points to note the bearing of national policies upon local action. Since, also, no description of a local level project can be representative of all the action against racism and xenophobia in that state, it is necessary to provide some outline of the problems to be addressed by policies in order to locate descriptions of particular local projects in their wider framework. This report therefore includes ten sections. Paragraphs 2-3 summarize the relevant work of the Council. Paragraphs 4-15 attempt the difficult task of comparing eight member States' policies for community relations. Paragraphs 16-22 summarize the international obligations of states. Paragraphs 23-26 outline the possible forms of local action. Paragraphs 27-35 describe the contributions made at the meeting. Paragraphs 36-47 set out the meeting's recommendations to governments and some more general conclusions.

The Council of Europe

2. As was explained by Mr Robin Guthrie at the opening session, the Council's work is based on three principles: human rights, pluralist democracy, and the rule of law. The European Committee on Migration (CEMG) has been charged to "develop European co-operation on migration, on the situation of populations of migrant origin and refugees and on community relations". Its Community Relations Project defined community relations as "the totality of relations between the indigenous population and the various migrant or ethnic groups of immigrant origin". As part of that project a report by Robin Oakley on Racial Violence and Harassment in Europe (MG-CR (91) 3 rev 2) had been published. It contained an appendix listing specific action that could be undertaken by governments, police, other public agencies and community groups. The Committee of Ministers took note of the Project's final report and in Recommendation N° R (92) 12 recommended that governments of member States "adopt explicit policies on community relations questions" (see para 18-20 below).

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3. The Berlin meeting was convened as part of Project III.3 "The integration of immigrants: towards equal opportunities". Mrs Mary Coussey, Chair of the specialist group responsible for the Project, explained that this was the third meeting in a series. The first had considered police training; the second, vocational training, while a fourth would be on employment. For this meeting member States had been invited to submit descriptions of local initiatives demonstrating practical and innovative attempts at resolving problems of racism and xenophobia and at preventing the growth of such problems. The specialist group had then selected ten projects from eight member States for consideration at the meeting. Participants were invited to look for examples of projects which could usefully inform practice at the local level in their own countries, and to exchange experience about the overcoming of obstacles.

The Member States

4. Member States differ in their experience of problems in this field and in their responses to them. There appear to be four chief dimensions of difference: (a) the history of immigration to the state in question; (b) the kinds of immigrant; (c) constitutional law in the receiving state; (d) the receiving state's policy for community relations (defined as including policies of national integration). These dimensions of difference have influenced the kinds of community relations policies developed in the eight states which submitted projects selected for discussion: Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

5. After 1945 states with colonial territories received immigrants from them who often possessed from the outset citizenship in the metropolitan country but who, because of their appearance, came to constitute visible minorities. This was a stimulus to the development of community relations policies. Other states received immigrants whose distinctive origins were not so apparent. Some immigrants came as migrant workers or as temporary visitors but then gradually became settlers. Thus the social status of an immigrant can change without the alteration being reflected in that immigrant's legal status, while different states employ different classifications. Since the social differences, and changes in the lives of settled immigrants, can be very important, it is advisable to recognize at least five classes of immigrant:

(a) visitors and tourists;

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- (b) asylum-seekers and refugees;
- (c) migrant workers (including contract workers like the Vietnamese earlier employed in some East European countries);
- (d) settlers (including economic migrants);
- (e) clandestine or illegal immigrants.

The first three classes pose no serious problems for the receiving states unless they are numerically large. Since the migrants are expected to leave at some stage only short-term readjustments are called for. Migrant workers are imported to do work the native workers do not want to undertake, but settlers (or so-called "permanent immigrants") are perceived as competitors for the preferred jobs, for housing, and for social services. They can form a distinctive section of the population, so that the state may be obligated to introduce new arrangements to help them secure equality of opportunity. The policy arguments about the admission of settlers are different from the arguments about the other classes of immigrants. The resident population's attitudes towards them - both attitudes of hostility and of developing solidarity - are also different from their attitudes towards the first three classes.

6. Constitutional provisions are often crucial. The question of whether Muslim girls could wear head scarves to school was a national issue in France but not in Britain. The Rushdie affair precipitated national doubts in Britain about the law of blasphemy, but could never do so in France. The constitutional right of asylum and the law about citizenship pose problems for Germany that do not have equivalents in the other countries considered here. A different aspect, but one which may also be mentioned at this point, is that the Black Power movement in the United States had a distinctive influence upon migrants from the New World and upon English-speaking countries. Some other receiving countries have been much affected by increased assertiveness within the Islamic world. Factors such as these have all had their effects upon the development of community relations policies.

7. Many of the Council of Europe's member States, as parties to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, have accepted an obligation to pursue a policy for the elimination of discrimination. Their actions in fulfilment (or partial fulfilment!) of that obligation are reviewed in some documents listed in the references at the end of this report, and are the subject of periodic reports to the UN. Therefore they and other "anti-racism" policies need not be reviewed here.

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8. Many member States have concluded that actions to combat discrimination are negative in character and not by themselves sufficient. They have therefore promulgated positive policies to help immigrants and others respond to the social and political problems that arise when immigrants seek entry into the receiving society. For example, Sweden in 1975 rejected any idea of a guest-worker policy and declared that its actions would be based on the three principles of equality, freedom of choice and partnership. These are worth quoting. They have been described by Tomas Hammar in the following terms: "The goal of equality implies the continued efforts to give immigrants the same living standard as the rest of the population. The goal of freedom of choice implies that public initiatives are to be taken to assure members of ethnic and linguistic minorities living in Sweden a genuine choice between retaining and developing their cultural identity and assuming a Swedish cultural identity. The goal of partnership implies that the different immigrant and minority groups on the one hand and the native population on the other both benefit from working together." Subsequent experience has led to a declaration that freedom of choice "must exist in parallel with respect for the underlying values of Swedish society, including tolerance for different ways of thought, protection of democratic freedoms and rights, and consideration for the position of women and children. Most of these are also embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights..." (Regeringens Proposition 1989/90:86 page 8). Since 1976 settled immigrants (many of whom come from SE Europe) have been entitled to vote in local elections.

9. The migrants who came to Britain from the West Indies in and shortly after 1948 were officially described as migrant workers. By 1958 it was apparent that most of them, and of the subsequent immigrants from South Asian countries, would be settlers. A policy of integration was announced in 1965. In the same year the first statute against racial discrimination was enacted and a state agency (now called the Commission for Racial Equality) was established. It supports eighty-eight local Racial Equality Councils which are also, in part, locally funded. Official policy has most recently been defined as declaring that the government, acting in concert with other public and private agencies, will make it possible for everyone "to participate freely and fully in the economic, social and public life of the nation while having the freedom to maintain their own religious and cultural identity".

10. In the Netherlands it had become apparent by 1983 that most of the immigrants from Suriname, Indonesia, the North African countries and Turkey would be settlers. The dangers of the politicization of the racial issue also became evident, so in

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1984 the *Landelijk Bureau Racismebestrijding* was founded by several independent associations; it receives government funding. There is also a national anti-discrimination information centre and forty local Anti-discrimination Centres to help victims. Dutch minorities policy "is directed towards the achievement of a society in which the members of minority groups living in the Netherlands are given an equal place in society and full opportunities for development, both as individuals and as members of groups". It has three components: "a. the reduction of social and economic deprivation (the so-called anti-deprivation policy under which 15 groups are recognized as needing assistance); "b. the prevention and combating of discrimination and - where necessary - improvement in legal status (the so-called anti-discrimination policy); c. the creation of conditions in which minorities can emancipate and participate in society (the so-called integration policy)". The government has set aside special funds to implement this policy in co-operation with local and regional authorities as well as the voluntary sector. Settled immigrants enjoy voting rights at local elections.

11. France, in article 2 of its constitution, declares that it "is an indivisible, secular, democratic and social republic. It assures equality before the law to all citizens without distinction as to race or religion. It respects all faiths". This forbids the recognition of any minorities and French data protection law does not allow for information about an individual's ethnic origin to be stored without that individual's permission. For many years, policy has been based on the principle of the "integration" of immigrants into French society (which, however the term may be understood by public opinion, is not officially intended to imply full cultural assimilation). The response to the growing conflict and controversy over immigration has been to create a range of new official bodies charged with developing co-ordinated policies. Of these, the most notable is the Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme, established in 1984, which publishes a substantial report every year on the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Much official action concentrates upon penalizing any ideological expression of racism or antisemitism. Citizenship has not hitherto provided any basis for distinguishing the civil status of immigrants and the 1993 amendment to the law seems unlikely to make any great change to this. Given the secular nature of the republic and the high percentage of Muslims, questions of policies towards settlers can easily be caught up with questions of religion.

12. Germany has for long declared that it is not a country of immigration, yet, paradoxically, the proportion of immigrants may be higher than in any other country in the world! The percentage of residents who enjoy citizenship in the country is lower than

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in any other European country. Persons of German ethnic origin living in other countries but who have lost all connection with the German language and culture have been able legally to return, while the number of asylum-seekers admitted has also been very high. A Federal Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs has been in office for several years, but most of the practical action occurs at the level of Länder or municipalities. Uncertainty about whether guest-workers would return to their countries of origin, about the legal status of their children, and apprehensions about Islam, seem to have combined with constitutional doubts and the problems of German unification to postpone any attempt to resolve the problems of community relations policy.

13. Norway decided in 1979-80 that immigrants should themselves choose in what measure they wished to preserve and develop their language and culture; but they could neither place themselves outside Norwegian society nor could they follow practices in conflict with Norwegian laws and regulations. The principle of freedom of choice has since been reformulated to state that respect is needed for distinctive languages and cultures as a means towards greater social equality; it is complemented by the principles of co-operation, reciprocity and tolerance. Immigrants with a residence permit may vote in local elections. In 1992, the authorities launched an Action Plan against Racism. The plan includes various measures like training and education, improved statistics and documentation, law reforms, local projects involving multi-agencies and further research on various aspects of discrimination and racism.

14. Austria is notable for having a highly developed policy for the representation and protection of its national minorities and for its reception of very many refugees, but it has not as yet publicized any community relations policy concerning other kinds of immigrant.

15. Italy also has such a policy for its national minorities. It is faced by massive problems resulting from illegal immigration. An estimated 15 per cent of alien residents are clandestine immigrants. The government introduced a scheme under which illegal immigrants were to register and have their status regularized, but very many chose not to register.

International obligations

16. The possibilities of action at the local level are also influenced by whatever

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action has been taken by the state to fulfil obligations assumed at the international level, notably in connection with: (a) the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [ICERD]; (b) the ILO Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention 111; (c) the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly's recommendation 1134 (1990) on the Rights of Minorities, and its Committee of Ministers' Recommendation N° R (92) 12 on Community Relations; (d) the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry into Racism and Xenophobia of the European Parliament, 1991, and Resolution 90/C 157/101 on the fight against racism and xenophobia of the EC and Representatives of the Governments of the member States; (e) the Document of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Copenhagen 1990.

17. It should also be noted that the UN General Assembly is likely shortly to declare a Third Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, to start from 10 December 1993. This will draw its authority from the UN Charter and will involve all UN member States, not just those which are parties to the ICERD. The Council of Europe should therefore ensure that its plans harmonize with, and complement, its member States' UN obligations.

18. Under 16(a) it should be noted that ICERD 2(1) obligates states parties "to pursue... a policy of eliminating racial discrimination".

19. In connection with 16(c) it should be noted that recommendation 1134 begins by acknowledging that "there are many kinds of minorities in Europe"; it goes on to specify the rights of national and linguistic minorities but adds nothing to the scope of article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights concerning the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. This has a special relevance because settler groups can fall into the gap between recommendation R (92) 12's concern with "lawfully resident migrants and populations of immigrant origin" and the longer established national and linguistic minorities that are citizens of the country in question.

20. Regarding 16(d) attention may be drawn to the following recommendations:

52. That an anti-discrimination law be enacted condemning all racist acts and enabling legal persons such as associations to bring prosecutions for racist acts or appear as joint plaintiffs.

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- 57. That member States work against the ghettoization of their ethnic minorities and adapt their housing policies to provide inexpensive and adequate housing to encourage integration.
- 65. That member States set up appropriate mechanisms responsible for monitoring the strict application of conventions, resolutions and directives and of legislation concerning acts of racism, antisemitism or xenophobia.
- 74. That member States ensure that the persons concerned are better informed of the means available to oppose any discrimination to which they may be subject.

21. When the EC established a body concerned with the interests of immigrants there were objections to calling it the Migrants Forum. If a resident of a country has made his or her home there, and is a citizen, is that person still to be called a migrant? Are the children of immigrants also to be accounted migrants? The use of such nomenclature can hinder integration. In some states there is pressure for the recognition of a category in between those of citizens and aliens, i.e. of permanently-settled residents of non-EC citizenship. It has been suggested that they be known in English as "denizens". Recommendation R (92) 12 is much concerned with them. It states that the "explicit policies" should be based on principles of security of residence, equality of opportunity, measures against racism and xenophobia, the social participation of migrants, and an attitude of openness towards their cultures.

22. State policies for the elimination of racial discrimination are usually part of larger policies concerning migrant labour, aliens, national integration and community relations in the sense in which this expression has been used by the Council of Europe. It should be noted that the statements of British and Swedish policy make no use of the concept of integration but are phrased in terms of the rights of individuals.

The objectives and possible forms of local action

23. To provide a framework within which to locate the local projects discussed in the Berlin meeting, a more detailed list of fields of action is required. One possible list may be derived from Article 5 of the ICERD, viz:

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- (a) action to ensure equality before the law. It needs to be emphasized that all occupational groups whose work involves them in personal contact with members of the public, not just the police, require training to respond to cultural and social differences in the populations with whom they have to deal. There are, however, some specific problems in this field, such as those of ensuring adequate action to prevent racial attacks and to punish incitement to racial hatred either in speech or writing.
- (b) the equal exercise of political rights;
- (c) other civil rights, including freedom of religion;
- (d) economic rights, notably the rights to work and to trade union activity;
- (e) housing;
- (f) health and medical care;
- (g) social services;
- (h) education and training;
- (i) cultural activities.

This is a list of state obligations. It can be supplemented by the obligation under ICERD Article 2 (1) (e) "to encourage... integrationist multi-racial organizations and movements and other means of eliminating barriers between races". Social activities which permit members of different ethnic groups to meet one another on an equal and personal basis can be very important to action against racism and xenophobia and can be included under (i) above. To judge from their reports submitted under ICERD, many Council of Europe member States do not fully appreciate the extent of their obligations under this article and the great importance of action at the local level both to spread awareness of them and to encourage appropriate attitudes among those who have to provide the services in question. Reference to such a list also helps demonstrate that the projects described at the Berlin meeting cover only a small selection of the topics that need consideration.

24. The success of national policies often depends upon local action to see that they are effectively implemented. One of the fallacies of the 1960s was the assumption that if the dissemination of ideas of racial superiority was proscribed by law, this would put an end to racial discrimination. Subsequent experience suggests that the difficulties in making such laws effective were under-estimated. Police and prosecutors have not always acted with due expedition. Those who disseminate racist propaganda can be deterred only by criminal sanctions, and if their activities are not stopped they have a bad

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effect upon some of the young men who might not otherwise be troublesome. All over Europe the movement of public opinion has been to favour tighter control upon immigration. This does not necessarily entail hostility towards immigrants (or settlers), but extremist political groups have used hostility to immigration as a justification for hostility towards immigrants. Only the state and national leaders can counter this.

25. Opinion poll figures in Britain show declines in the social distance whites expressed towards members of ethnic minorities during the same period that attitudes towards further immigration were hardening. Figures from Sweden suggest a similar pattern, and it may well have been replicated elsewhere. Leaving aside those people who are attracted to authoritarian ideologies, among the bulk of the population the reduction of discrimination seems to be associated with social trends that lead to closer personal acquaintance between members of ethnic groups, enabling individuals mentally to put themselves into the other party's position. The prohibition of the ideological expression of racism and xenophobia is insufficient by itself to secure equality of opportunity for immigrants and their descendants. Hence the importance of societies and events that promote informal social contacts as described in some of the projects presented at the Berlin meeting.

26. In current economic circumstances there is great pressure on public spending. Any proposals for funding projects in this field should therefore consider whether any measures can be agreed with the funding agency for calculating the benefits that have been obtained, i.e., whether the scheme gives value for money. In some areas, e.g., health, it should not be difficult to identify indices, e.g., the proportion of patients from particular groups treated for particular maladies. Governments may need to be reminded that if they guarantee any rights under ICERD Article 5 (including those listed in paragraph 23 above) then they are obliged to guarantee them to everybody in their country without distinction as to race or ethnic origin; and to assure effective remedies to anyone who has reason to think that he or she has not been treated equally in this respect. To discharge their obligations, governments need to check in some way upon what happens in practice, either by the keeping of ethnic records or by special studies. Both EC and Council of Europe resolutions have emphasized how important it is that member States discharge obligations assumed under ICERD.

The opening addresses

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27. Mr Manfred Harrer, Head of Department at the German Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, declared that the fight against violence and intolerance should not be seen as a short-term or reactive exercise. The murders at Mölln and Solingen were incidents committed by extremists of the far right. Potential victims had to be protected not only by action against the perpetrators but also by preventive measures drawing in all sectors of society. The Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs was spending annually some 90 million DM on measures for the social, linguistic and occupational integration of immigrant workers. Berlin was a particularly suitable setting for such a meeting since its rise in the eighteenth century had owed much to immigrant workers. Berlin had passed through a bad phase in the Nazi period, but now it was responding to a new influx and its population included more than 140,000 residents of Turkish origin. In the coming years Western countries with their high living standards would attract many more migrants, so the integration of those who had already been received would depend upon better immigration control as well as upon action against racism and xenophobia.

The keynote address

28. Mr Michel Wieviorka of the *Centre d'Analyse et d'Intervention Sociologique, Paris*, contended that racism in Europe had undergone substantial changes since the 1950s and 1960s. Whereas earlier, racial ideology had very often been used to define certain classes of people as inferior, particularly immigrants when defined in terms of their place on the labour market, since the 70s and 80s racism had been increasingly used to differentiate groups. It was as if the majority group, instead of saying to the newcomers: "you have a place in our society, but an inferior one because of your race", were now saying: "you have no place at all in our society because you are too different". These changes became clearer when considered from three different angles: that of society proper, that of the state and that of the nation.

From the social angle, the majority of European societies had ceased some twenty years ago to be definable in industrial terms. From the political angle, the welfare state was in crisis, and had been for the previous ten years or so. Finally, as far as the nation was concerned, national identity was increasingly bound up with the idea of modernity or progress, less and less a symbolic and cultural framework for the modernisation process; indeed national identity was becoming more and more xenophobic, racist and inward-looking.

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In response to a number of questions, Mr Michel Wieviorka explained that people in France no longer, or rarely, said, as they used to: "I am not a racist, but ...", they would now say: "I used not to be a racist, but I have become one", adding that there were reasons for that change. It was as if a taboo had been lifted. Michel Wieviorka also said that the vocabulary employed might vary considerably from one country to another. For example, in the United Kingdom and the United States one could talk about "race relations", whereas the equivalent expression in France ("relations de race") would sound exceedingly racist. Finally, Michel Wieviorka drew attention to the differences between the American model, which recognised the rights of minorities, and the French model, which was strictly individualist.

The working groups

29. Group A discussed five projects: a Swedish festival that brought together asylum-seekers and local residents; the work of a centre in Vienna which provides information and counselling for immigrants and mediates conflicts; a regional co-ordination office in the Saarland, Germany, which furnishes information and counselling to immigrants and seeks to influence attitudes in the receiving society; a bureau in Rotterdam which helps the victims of racial discrimination and resolves problems in their relations with others; and a co-ordinating office within the prefectural administration of the Rhone, France.

30. The working group concluded that the success of any such project depended upon the generation of commitment among the groups towards which it was directed. It agreed three guidelines. Firstly, projects should specify which "tools" or services they were offering to which groups. They should identify problems, ascertain how likely groups were to become emotionally involved in their resolution and how much they could contribute to this; then later there should be an evaluation and a report. Secondly, projects should consider how they might best channel and develop the goodwill existing in the receiving society. Some groups want "to do something against racism" but do not know what, or can offer only limited help. The drafting of an anti-discrimination code of conduct for the Rotterdam police was cited as a service which had this function. Thirdly, if projects are to have lasting value they must develop both an infrastructure and a network. The infrastructure must bring together relevant government offices, professional organisations and minority associations. The network can be built up by the preparation

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of up-to-date lists of the various persons able to help with particular problems. Some participants maintained that because the lessons of earlier experience had not been properly digested new bodies were sometimes created which proceeded to "re-invent the wheel".

31. Group B discussed five projects: the mobilization of opinion in a Norwegian town that had been targeted by an anti-immigration campaign; the appointment of a mediator within the administration of a French town; a regional office within the German administration that exercised mediatory functions; an Italian initiative promoting inter-cultural communication; and an attempt to co-ordinate action against racial attacks in a London borough.

32. The working group reached six conclusions: firstly, projects will be curative when they are directed towards a specific objective, and preventive when they succeed in improving the sensitiveness of people in the population in question. Secondly, it was important to involve local officials and politicians, experts and practitioners in the establishment of long-term strategies which were ready with a reaction at the first signs of trouble. Thirdly, the frontiers between public and private action were often fluid. Fourthly, the judicious selection of appropriate tools and methods of mediation was often decisive to the success of a project. Fifthly, knowledge of legal remedies and the ability to make full use of them could be equally decisive. Sixthly, the active participation of immigrant groups and a concern for the victims of racism was essential. These conclusions in turn suggested six objectives for projects: firstly, to promote dialogue with administrative organs, particularly the police. Secondly, to help elected representatives and officials appreciate the importance of high standards of conduct in this field, including the avoidance of offensive forms of speech. Thirdly, to facilitate the participation by local groups in the local media of mass communication in order to ameliorate the sometimes unfavourable public image of immigrants. Fourthly, to assist local immigrant associations, both financially and by allowing them to make representations on behalf of their members in the courts and other fora. Fifthly, to promote inter-cultural exchanges, especially in schools. Sixthly, to establish means for the exchange of information about impending problems and the lessons learned from projects.

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Other presentations

33. Two presentations concerned the current situation in Germany. Dr Volker Klepp, the Berlin representative of the *Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer*, first described the position of the Commissioner of the German Federal Government on Foreign Nationals. The Commissioner is working with a staff of fifteen, who are not part of the German government (which has no ministry responsible for policy regarding immigrants). Yet, she has an advisory function vis-à-vis the government and submits an annual report to parliament. The Commissioner looks after the situation of non-German residents and their problems except for ethnic Germans and asylum-seekers. Recently she submitted proposals for new legislation regarding dual citizenship, suffrage for foreigners, and an anti-discrimination law.

34. Mrs Barbara John, *Ausländer Beauftragte des Senats von Berlin*, explained that Berlin was the first Land to appoint someone like herself to be responsible for questions relating to foreigners. Fourteen per cent of the Berlin population were foreigners, many of whom had either been born in the city or had lived there for twenty years. The German constitution gave responsibility for immigration to the federal government, and for integration to the Länder. The Berlin Senat spends about 120 million DM annually, half of it through the schools. It was clear that immigration and policies for ethnic minorities would be of central importance to the big cities for many years to come. Replying to questions, Mrs John rejected the claim that present policies had failed. She said that it was the right-wing extremists who wished to give that impression, and that had there been no foreigners at all those extremists would have picked on some other scapegoat group instead.

35. Mr Wolfgang Wilkes, director of the *Werkstatt der Kulturen* in Berlin, gave a talk about his workshop which brought out the importance of cultural activity (film, art, theatre, dance, music) as means of promoting integration, especially among the young. A series of videos were shown by him and by other participants and descriptions were circulated of some projects which had not been selected for discussion in the working groups. These came from Belgium, France, Finland, Germany, Portugal, Italy, Sweden, and Britain.

Recommendations to governments

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36. *Social indicators.* Over and above their obligations to pursue a policy to combat racial discrimination, most states have formulated policies to promote good community relations or national integration. Member States are recommended to identify social indicators by which progress in the implementation of these policies can be assessed. The identification of social indicators will encourage clearer thought about policy objectives; it will help governments decide what they expect from local action to combat racism and xenophobia; and it will assist those who plan local action³.

37. *Ministerial responsibility.* In each member State, one minister should be responsible for the co-ordination of action in implementation of the policy for community relations. The minister should be authorized to draw the attention of other ministers to any weakness in the implementation of the policy. Reports on the implementation of the policy should be published either annually or biennially.

38. *Private action.* Since action in this field is labour-intensive, it is also expensive. Therefore the national policy should make optimal use of private voluntary action. If social indicators are regularly publicized, private persons will be able to identify the fields in which they can best contribute.

39. *Nomenclature.* The names by which official bodies designate sections of the population influence ideas about, and attitudes towards, people in these groups. To name all persons of minority ethnic origin "immigrants", is to neglect the moral rights of persons who, even if they are different appearance or citizenship status, have become settled members of society. New situations and the emergence of new classes of resident often require the invention of new designations. Ministers are advised to

³ Reference may be made to three documents which were not before the meeting. A report of the Haut Conseil à l'intégration with the title *L'intégration à la française*, published in Paris in April 1993, contains at pages 300-48 a substantial discussion of indicators of integration. An obvious indicator of the incidence of racial discrimination is provided by statistics of racial attacks. German data on such attacks is relatively detailed. The characteristics of a large sample of offenders were analysed in a very enlightening report published in May by the Federal Ministry for Women and Youth. Other important indicators of possible discrimination can be derived from employment statistics and from experimental studies of recruitment to jobs. A report of the International Labour Office, *Testing Discrimination in Natural Experiments*, 1992, outlines a planned eleven-country study to be based upon situation testing.

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cultivate a terminology which acknowledges and reflects changes in the social identities of those who settle in new countries.

40. Paragraphs 36-39 above present, in slightly revised terms, four propositions which were put to the Berlin meeting and received the general assent of all participants. Only one qualification was advanced. One participant was concerned lest the classification of different kinds of immigrant increase hostility towards the kind that is least liked.

41. It is also necessary to recall here the recommendations which were explicit or implicit in the conclusions of the working groups listed in paragraphs 30 and 32. Discussion in these groups brought out very clearly how important it can be to involve the institutions of local government and to co-ordinate activity by the great variety of official bodies which have responsibilities for anti-racism measures intended to protect persons of all categories and/or for integration policies intended for settled immigrants. The valuable contributions of non-governmental initiatives often depend in some degree upon support from official institutions.

Other conclusions

42. There was general support for certain additional observations. One was that it had been difficult to draw conclusions from the comparison of projects as diverse as those selected. Any future meetings of this kind should have a narrower focus more closely related to the particular themes of Project III.3.

43. It was recognized that it is often important for a local project to work within an equal opportunities context, mobilizing a maximal

constituency, co-operating with the authorities and avoiding any perception that it speaks for a special interest group. Notwithstanding this, there will also be occasions when official bodies neglect their responsibilities and local groups will have to risk their displeasure.

44. The meeting agreed that it is often important to note the possible implications for community relations of general social changes. Legislation governing the institutions

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of the welfare state is subject to continuous revision. There will be opportunities to influence that revision in directions that promote better community relations.

45. One participant observed that it is all too easy for a politician to declare that he or she is firmly opposed to racism, when what was wanted was that they should indicate just which positive measures they were prepared to support. Many of the problems of racism and xenophobia are inter-twined with the problems of decaying inner city neighbourhoods, and cannot be satisfactorily tackled apart from that context. As another emphasized, there are no simple solutions. Rhetorical references to the evils of racism can divert attention from the social conditions in which expressions of group hostility find support. Work in this field has to be based on careful analysis of the causes of social tendencies, and it has to be long-term. The Council of Europe could develop as a resource centre for member States, advising them on the merits of alternative approaches. Another participant wondered whether the different ways of talking about community relations might not be deceptive in concealing the similarities of approach in actual practice; the development of social indicators might help bring out these similarities.

46. The meeting also recalled that several of the participants who had been engaged in local action had warned against what they perceived as official complacency concerning current trends, the efficacy of current programmes, and the changes likely when the next generation comes to the years of adulthood.

47. In closing the meeting, the Chairman, Mr Petter Drefvelin, observed that everyone had been troubled by recent events which

showed that our fundamental values were threatened. The fight would not be won by mass demonstrations alone and the results of the meeting should give ministers a better understanding of possible ways ahead. Many governments were continuing with policies which had a negative impact upon members of the ethnic minorities and were not addressing the long-term issues.

Michael Banton

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THE HOMOGENEITY OF RACISM IN EUROPE TODAY

by Michel Wieviorka

Almost three years ago now, I had agreed to take the scientific responsibility for an international colloquy on racism and, in this capacity, invited Professor Banton who turned down my invitation on the following grounds: "For the past twenty years I have been a persistent critic of the expanded and uncritical use of the concept of racism (...) I have nothing new to add to what I have earlier written (...) and am therefore unattracted to the sort of conference you propose." His presence here today is clearly an invitation to exercise caution in our usage of the concept of racism. It also perhaps signals that what has been happening in Europe over the last few years forces us to give fresh thought to the issues to which Professor Banton did indeed make a major contribution throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

So what, then, is happening? Throughout Europe, we would appear to be witnessing a dual process whereby on the one hand racism is gaining in force and on the other, its meaning is changing or at least shifting. I am not going to describe the practical manifestations of this dual phenomenon here as this would take up rather a lot of time.

I would simply point to the fact that it takes on, from one country to another, relatively varied forms: growing prejudices which are increasingly openly expressed, as though all taboos had been lifted, discrimination, segregation, the rise of parties and organisations in which racism is a more or less central component of action and rhetoric, be it the extreme right or nationalist populism, violence, occurring either in daily life, politically and ideologically unstructured, or conversely going hand in hand with action by political movements. I scarcely need mention the spectacular rise of parties that swing between populism and the extreme right, such as the National Front in France, the Vlaams Blok in Flanders, or the Leagues in Northern Italy, the creation of neo-Nazi or comparable organisations, the spread of racist violence in Germany or daily racial harassment in Great Britain.

On the other hand, should we not also be very cautious, guard against over-simplifying the picture, excessive dramatisation, formulations that all too rapidly tar all the

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protagonists with the same brush and in particular against branding with the accusation of racist behaviour that which calls for a more precise and subtle assessment?

Racism is nothing new, and we would indeed have very short memories if we had forgotten the massive and open nature of what was an opinion and not a crime or an offence before the war, open and virulent anti-semitism, colonial racism or the way in which immigrant workers, who had come in response to appeals from economies which only started to slow down at the beginning of the 1970s, were constantly subjected to scorn or made to feel inferior. But even if there is no doubt about the historical depth of the phenomenon, the meanings which it conveys seem to have undergone such a far-reaching change that a new vocabulary has appeared, with neo-racism, cultural racism or "*différentialisme*"⁴ signalling the shift in behaviour and rhetoric which are increasingly dominated by references to difference, by an appeal to reject Others on the grounds of the uncompromising nature of their religion, culture or ethnic origin. Racism today, just as yesterday, is a combination of inferiorisation and exploitation, a principle which accords the victim-group a place in society as long as it is the lowest, and a principle of differentiation, which conversely demands that it be marginalised, or even expelled⁵. However, it now seems that the second principle has the upper hand, and that the identities, be they real or imagined, of groups that are the target of racism, pose a threat to the dominant identity, the nation and Christianity, whilst the economic slump and unemployment appear to make inferiority-based racism less likely or realistic.

A comparative approach

This portrayal of recent developments runs through the majority of analyses of racism in Europe today, to the stage where it seems to provide the best response to the central question of this paper, which sets out to examine the hypothesis of sociological homogeneity of racism in Europe today. Does this not lie in the primacy of its "differentialist" dimensions and in the decline of its inegalitarian bias? It is not possible to

⁴ Cf. *Racisme et modernité*, edited by Michel Wieviorka, Paris, La Découverte, 1993.

⁵ Cf. Pierre-André Taguieff, *La force du préjugé*, Paris, La Découverte, 1988; Michel Wieviorka, *L'espace du racisme*, Paris, Seuil, 1991.

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make do with such a reply at the outset. First of all it is too general to be adopted as it stands. It would appear to correspond to the European experience, but also includes tendencies that are apparent all over the world, whenever the upsurge of nationalism, religion or ethnicity takes the form of a rise in racism. It thus removes practically all specificity from the part of the world that concerns us here.

Secondly, this reply runs the risk of being too weak and dangerously simplified. It contrasts the two fundamental lines of reasoning behind racism instead of showing how they prop each other up, blend, fuel and mutually strengthen one another. It could even, ultimately, make us unquestioning and liable to misinterpret. When racism is targeted at populations of immigrant origin, it creates cultural images that only partly correspond to these groups. As it is, however, so often linked to exclusion and social failure, so often goes hand-in-hand with social mobility trends, and produces so many situations of mixed segregation, social and racial, at the same time it can never be reduced to the idea of pure "differentialist" rejection.

This finding of growing tendencies towards "differentialism" would often seem to be nothing more than an assertion advanced without any real empirical back-up, which contends that racism is booming. The assertion seems plausible but does call for a measure of caution. Do opinion polls, for example, which do indicate strong racial and xenophobic prejudices, tell us anything about the spread of these prejudices or the fact that they are being expressed more openly and easily than before, as though all prohibitions and taboos had been lifted? Do all acts of violence that are termed racist still fully warrant this description and is the fact that they are picked up not linked to the way the media work, or even to exaggerated anti-racist sensibilities, whereas they may have received less media coverage in the past? Do statistics on acts of racism inform us about the development of racism itself or rather the activities of anti-racist organisations and police forces?

An upsurge of "*différentialisme*" in Europe should not be dismissed. But if we want to investigate what makes the racist phenomenon unique, we have to go beyond an unduly hasty interpretation and devise an argument that is both tight and at the same time able to take account both of observable differences between the countries concerned as well as similarities. Nationalism/populism, or comparable movements, are relatively strong political forces in France, Belgium and Italy, something that is not the case in the United Kingdom for example; the violence that has swept through Germany since reunification has no equivalent elsewhere. How, then, can we speak of the homogeneity of racism in

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Europe when forms of contempt and hate, the way they are politicised, the way they take a foothold and are then potentially translated into violence vary so markedly from one country to the next? How can we bridge this divide intellectually, without denying it?

The response to this question can only be the immediate assertion that a single principle, the "differentialist" upsurge of cultural racism, is enough to account for what is common to the majority of European countries. Ultimately, it is the homogeneity of this trend and its possible European specificity that needs to be demonstrated and analysed, failing which there is a serious risk of viewing the phenomenon which needs to be explained as the explanation itself.

To get from many to one, from heterogeneity to a homogenous theory, without losing sight of reality, we need to organise into a coherent whole those hypotheses which will enable us to postulate and then to test the idea of the homogeneity of the phenomenon with which we are concerned. This whole can only be theoretical and it must be viewed as a tool or an instrument which, when applied to observable data, either confirm or challenge the idea to be tested. The more intelligible it makes this data the more useful what it has to illustrate will be, and equally the more we will be entitled to deem it relevant.

The idea here is to set out the overall argument which we are going to use to examine the recent upsurge of racism in several European countries and to determine any possible homogeneity. In other words, we need to adopt a standpoint that makes for a comparative approach.

The idea of studying racism at European level is not in itself original and others have already attempted to come up with data justifying a comparison on this scale. In 1988, for example, the European Community commissioned a wide-ranging survey on racist and xenophobic prejudices and attitudes. This survey provides a certain amount of information about the differences in this field between one country of the European Community and another⁶. It also has the added advantage of drawing our attention to a

⁶ Eurobaromètre, *L'opinion publique dans la Communauté Européenne*, Commission of the European Communities, 1989; for more detailed comparisons, cf. Thomas F Pettigrew and R W Meertens, "Le racisme voilé: dimensions et mesure", in *Racisme et modernité*, op. cit. pp. 109-126, and James Jackson, "Racisme institutionnel et ignorance pluraliste: une comparaison transnationale", *ibid.*, pp. 244-262.

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problem that its authors encountered very quickly, namely the categories which spontaneously attest to racism and related issues in each country: national cultures weigh extremely heavily in this respect, which means that some words are impossible to translate, that others have positive connotations in one language, negative in another. There is nothing unusual, for example, of speaking of "race relations" in the United Kingdom, nor in the United States, but who would dare to mention "*relations de race*" in France? In France we use the concept of "*laïcité*", which for us is self evident, but for which there is no satisfactory equivalent in English, German or Italian.

This brings us on to setting out our methodological approach. We are not concerned here with isolating the empirical reality of racism on the basis of the same set of questions applied to several countries, as in the survey mentioned above, but of giving ourselves the means to test an argument by projecting it onto the data on racism to which we may have access. I might also add that I will essentially be drawing on the situation in five countries- the United Kingdom, Belgium, Germany, France and Italy- sufficiently varied for us to consider that their underlying homogeneity, if it is proven, has not been skewed by our selection.

The three dimensions of racism

Sociology is not able to do justice to racism in terms of its anthropological potential, nor can it offer a blanket explanation of the phenomenon. It is perhaps even powerless to reach its hard core, as Serge Moscovici⁷ asserts, and to grasp, for example, the mental processes or reasoning through which it takes shape. The nature of its contribution is quite different. It sheds light on the conditions that allow it to breed and is able to show how the inner workings of a society, social change and the transformation of relations in society are likely to foster or spark prejudices or attitudes of violence, discrimination, racist segregation or even to fuel doctrines, schools of thought or ideological/political forces rooted in racism.

Looking at the matter from this angle then, three sets of conditions that directly affect the rise of racism can be identified, at least for present-day Europe.

⁷ Serge Moscovici, "Le ressentiment", in *Le Genre Humain*, No. 11, autumn-winter 1994-1995 p. 181.

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The first set is of a strictly social nature, referring directly to the way in which a society either structures itself or stops structuring itself on the basis of a central conflict, to the way in which it is divided into strata, to the processes of upward and downward mobility that drive it, and accordingly to the hopes, disappointments and fears they generate, fuelled especially by situations of change when they trigger failure and social exclusion, or at least fear thereof. Racism, for example, finds fertile ground when social movements fragment, the labour market shrinks, "poor whites" affected by the economic crisis or loss of status begin to feel helpless or even in phases of economic growth and progress where it is linked to putting certain groups on a socially inferior footing on the grounds of race.

The second set of conditions that favour racism no longer refers to society in the strictest sense of the term, but to the State. Its policies, the way in which it either subscribes to or ignores the principles of equality and social redistribution or the direction it gives to the functioning of institutions such as the judiciary, police and state education means that the State - and we are referring here only to present-day European states - has a considerable influence on racism. This influence is even more direct in areas such as immigration or nationality policy and, naturally, explicitly anti-racist campaigns. A State that either cannot or will not subscribe to welfare state policies, for example, will exacerbate populist tendencies which harbour racism. A State that encourages cultural pluralism and even enforces "positive discrimination" by such means as quotas for ethnic minorities in public employment or universities will have a complex impact on intercultural tensions where racism, once again, is likely to find some room for expression - but also, moreover, to recede.

Lastly, the third set of conditions favourable to racism concerns the issue of identities and more specifically the national identity. The national consciousness can either shun all racist temptations and instead put its weight behind universal values of reason and progress or just as easily refuse to waver in its extreme "differentialism", charged with appeals to the homogeneity of society, xenophobia and even to racism. The more this second variant prevails, because the nation feels threatened perhaps or because it is in a phase of expansion or conquest, the more potential there is for racism, the full impact of which Etienne Balibar⁸ has illustrated.

⁸ Etienne Balibar, Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Classe, Nation. Les identités ambiguës*, Paris, La Découverte, 1989.

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Society, State, Nation: in analytical terms the conditions that favour racism are divided into three distinct groups, but they also draw on each other; this means that racism is not only a complex and contradictory phenomenon but also an element of syncretic rhetoric and behaviour where it is combined with, for example in populism, outstanding social demands, criticism of the State and the ruling class and with sinister nationalism.

The European integration model

Once we have accepted that there are three dimensions to the issue, we can go on to the second stage of our argument.

Our hypothesis here is first of all that the five countries concerned, and certainly many others too, have been able, each in their own way, to devise an integration formula for society, the State and the nation which amounted to a relatively coherent whole - corresponding to what we will term the European integration model. Secondly, this formula was at its peak after the Second World War in the 1950s and 1960s. And thirdly, scope for racism has opened up as this model has crumbled, with degrees and speed varying from one country to another.

What we need now is to paint a picture, which may not be sophisticated and precise but at least sturdy, of the European integration model before it started to unravel, as will be considered thereafter.

Society in Western Europe meant, until recently, industrial society. This expression points not only to the huge size of the proletariat or the predominance of manufacturing labour, it also implies that the most significant social relationships are formed by industrial production and define a central conflict that pits the workers' movement against management. This structural conflict has conditioned social, political, cultural and intellectual life well beyond the factories and workshops, to the point of influencing the main debates in society and providing the rationale and the point of reference for a whole range of campaigns that nonetheless had no real or immediate link with industrial labour.

The pan-European student riots at the end of the 1960s often looked for their deepest meaning not in university problems but in the criticism of capitalism and association with the labour movement, for which some wanted to serve as the vanguard along Leninist

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lines and others claimed to revive or subscribe to in a more populist way.

When the European integration model was at its peak, the State was obviously not exactly the same in France, Italy, Germany, Belgium or the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, there are striking similarities. It saw itself as a vehicle for redistribution and social assistance and the British Labour Party as well the German Social Democrats or the Belgian "pillars" system show that the notion of the welfare state was full of vitality at the time. The State was not destabilised by the national question as long as the social question took precedence. This formed part of the framework drawn up by the State and the nation, even when the State is weak and despised and nationalism limited, as in Italy, where at the beginning of the 1970s trade unions and employers sought agreements whereby the unions would moderate their wage demands in return for efforts by the employers to develop the Mezzogiorno and better integrate it into the north of the country.

In this context of relative integration of society, State and nation, any minorities of foreign origin are essentially perceived and defined in terms of labour even if they themselves call for an identity on, say, a national level, as was the case for Algerian workers in France before and at the time of the Algerian war. Whenever linguistic and religious issues were raised, they occasionally prompted major political debates and sometimes reflected extremely old opposition, but never went as far as to weaken the State itself.

National identity then, though its strength also varies from country to country, is a major characteristic: it always includes an extremely significant dimension of universalism, be it a kind of nationalism that is still imbued with dreams of power linked to the impending end of colonialism or views whereby the nation cannot be detached from the idea of economic and political progress. Ultimately, the nation is above all the best-adapted framework for modernisation, which ties in with analyses by authors such as Ernest Gellner⁹.

It would not be right to reduce national consciousness in the countries under consideration to its references to universal values alone. At the time there were also currents more attracted by "differentialist" thinking and by narrow nationalism. But on the whole the nation remained indissociable from plans to modernise, in which it made room

⁹ Ernest Gellner, *Nations et nationalisme*, Paris, Payot, 1989 (first ed. 1983).

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for socialist, social-democrat, Christian-democrat or communist ideas, as well as references to economic progress and to political and even cultural modernisation.

The notions of industrial society, egalitarian and redistributive State and universal nation vary from one country to another. But until the 1960s in the United Kingdom, later still elsewhere, in France, Germany, Belgium or in Italy, they were the components of a model that was sufficiently integrated everywhere for all to be able to define themselves with no great difficulty as being based on these three elements. Thus an expression such as "national society" or better still that of "national industrial society" deserves to be applied to the United Kingdom and France¹⁰ up until the 1960s, as well as, though perhaps with rather more qualifications, to the other countries we are considering.

These general remarks call for further explanation on two points. All this should not conjure up the image of industrial societies with powerful structures everywhere, of states able to fully live up to the concept of the welfare state and national identities overwhelmingly linked to universal values. Not only is the historical reality less clear than has just been suggested but also, and above all, the three elements of our model have never been perfectly integrated. Our model is a theoretical outline which essentially aims to pinpoint the time of maximum integration of the three constituent elements, which themselves were at their height in the 1950s and 1960s. It would be wrong to go any further and thereby construct a myth which provides a synthesis that was only ever partial on the basis of something imaginary. The second point that needs to be clarified concerns racism. As we have already said this has never been far from the social, ideological and political scenes of the countries under consideration, with the exception of Italy, though we should perhaps qualify this stereotyped remark.

Broadly speaking, in the years from the end of the Second World War to the start of what was at first viewed as an economic slump, in 1973 or 1974, racism was a phenomenon that should not be underestimated. For one thing, the old ideological trends, inherited from classical racism such as it took shape as modernity¹¹ progressed, and often in

¹⁰ Cf Didier Lapeyronnie, Marcïn Frybes, *L'intégration des minorités immigrées. Etude comparative France-Grande-Bretagne*, Paris, ADRI, 1990.

¹¹ Cf for example Michael Banton, *The Idea of Race*, London, Tavistock, 1977, and *Racial Theories*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

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opposition to it, in the name of tradition and rejection of decline, still had a certain amount of life left in them; what is more, the demands of economic growth and the migratory movements stemming from decolonisation brought in their wake, except in Italy (where the major phenomenon was the influx of southerners to the northern industrial cities), an immigrant labour force on which a type of racism that viewed them as inferior descended. This made it easier to exploit them and often included an element of colonial-type contempt. The cultural and "differentialist" aspects which were to be features of racism later on were, on the other hand, fairly weak, which is paradoxical since the cultural differences were considerably greater at the time when immigrants were not culturally integrated in the host societies and since the majority were convinced that they would return to their country of origin, whereas today their cultural and political integration, at least in countries which operate on the basis of *ius soli*, is far more rapid and widespread than in the past. "Differentialism", then, essentially takes the form of a refusal to recognise the Other, a lack of comprehension comparable to that described, for the black American by Ralph Ellison in "Invisible Man" and which Günther Wallraff exposed, as it were, in his best seller "*Ganz unten*"¹².

The distinctive feature of the racism at the time when national industrial societies in Europe were at their height is thus that it was guided by an inegalitarian logic and was still largely formed by the organicist, directly racial categories that took shape in the course of XIX century.

The breakdown of the European model

Everything changes from the 1960 and especially 1970s onwards. Industrial society is running out of steam - and is not experiencing the "resurgence" which Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno¹³ spoke of - with a series of major labour protests, particularly in France and Italy, up to the student uprising of 1968. Admittedly the workers movement did not disappear from the social scene, but it did lose its central position and ceased to

¹² Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man*, New York, Random House, 1952; Günther Wallraff, *Tête de Turc*, Paris. La Découverte, 1986 (originally published under the title *Ganz unten*).

¹³ Colin Crouch, Alessandro Pizzorno, *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*. London, MacMillan, 1978, (2 vol.).

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form the focus of protest on the basis of which social, political, cultural and intellectual life was organised. Its struggles became either sectoral or corporatist, whilst the trade unions became institutionalised and outbursts of violence were sparked by desperate radicalism that was not dealt with in the planned far-reaching changes the workers organisations were promising.

This evolution also saw the party political system transformed, with the main opposition that had characterised it between the forces of the left identified with the representation of workers demands and the forces of the right who were suppose to resist them, losing its significance.

A major consequence of this transformation, which also saw the massive dismantling of industry and the decline of the share of the labour force employed in industry, was in the growth of socio-economic dualism. Whereas industrial society accorded everyone a dominant or inferior position in society, the dualist society separates two sub-sets which become removed from one another: on the one hand, the mass of middle and upper classes, who participate in employment and consumption and have access to good health care and education, and on the other, the world of the excluded and society's rejects. It should be pointed out that the post-industrial era does not necessarily bring about this dualism, at least in its most extreme forms, as the situation in Japan shows, where the unemployment rate is little over 2%.

As far as the State is concerned, it became increasingly incapable of functioning according to the principles of the welfare state. As time went by, it became less able to ensure or to force upon companies operating in international markets where competition was stiff the wage increases which provided the financial resources necessary for redistribution for social assistance. The philosophy of Labour and Social Democracy entered a period of decline, whilst liberal ideas became increasingly popular and made more and more headway in economic and political life. Institutions that came directly under the State- the police, the judiciary, schools- were the subject of fresh debate, their classic functions of order, standards and socialisation challenged to the extent that this often amounted to turning criticism of the State on its head. In the 1960s and at the beginning of 1970s the State had often been accused of imposing an oppressive order or, in the Marxist version of this critique, of ensuring the perpetuation of domination rooted in production; the thinking of Michel Foucault and his denunciation of the "société disciplinaire" were taken up widely, whereas today the state's most active critics reproach it for its inability to check the decline of institutions, to impose a degree of order

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or at least to promote norms of socialisation. Whilst people used to worry about the role of state education in maintaining or reinforcing social inequality, concern is today centred above all on the crisis in schools, on the difficulties they experience in being a forum for both social and cultural integration at the same time.

Over a twenty-year period, the debates and the tensions surrounding national identity amounted to a reversal of the tide of history. Until the 1950s and even 60s, the strength of the European integration model, regardless of the national variants, lay in its capacity to absorb and reduce cultural, linguistic and regional differences or at least to manage them so that they did not appear to undermine the unity of society. Localisation, as it has always functioned in Italy or in the German Länder, or religious, linguistic or regional pluralism, as it inspires and even structures the political culture of countries such as the Netherlands or Belgium with their "pillars," are clearly very different from France's centralising Jacobinism. But none could be said, until the 1960s, to seriously call into question national integration.

The transformation in this field first of all went through a phase of disputes and affirmations of identity which either seemed to undo, to go against what the nation, in its modernity, had created in the course of previous centuries or gave rise to cultural forms which were at the same time breaks with the trends of industrial society. Whilst the national question was given a boost by the upsurge or the revival of regionalist, national or nationalist movements, occasionally imbued with Marxist-Leninist thinking, at the same time, notably in Belgium and in France, the Jewish community underwent a change, distancing itself from assimilation or far-reaching integration, models that were also linked to modernity and more precisely to the Enlightenment, thereby affirming its identity in a very visible way.

On the other hand, by paving the way for new socio-cultural conflicts, the ecology and feminist movements or even the anti-missile protests of the 1980s called for identities and occasionally forms of community life that broke with the integrating structures of national societies.

This transformation gained pace and scope with regard to the immigration issue. It was initially raised forcefully in the United Kingdom at the end of the 1960s notably with the famous declarations by Enoch Powell about the rivers of blood that immigration would cause to flow, the rise of the National Front and, by way of contrast, Roy Jenkins' open embrace of a multi-ethnic society. It occurred much later elsewhere, with Italy bringing up

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the rear, quite simply because it only became a country of immigration from the middle of the 1980s and did not become aware of the phenomenon until near the end of the decade.

Immigration is not in itself the main source of changes affecting the national consciousness. Instead it is the focal point around which fears and emotions largely stemming from other sources crystallise.

The reason we are witnessing the rise of sinister, narrow and xenophobic nationalism all over Europe, the reason rising concerns are leading to a perception of immigrants invading national territory, rejecting cultural integration and flaunting their differences, is primarily because the national identity is very much threatened by the Americanisation of culture, the internationalisation of the economy and European construction. It can also be explained by the fact that the decline of industrial society and unrelenting socio-economic dualisation and unemployment lead to real difficulties, a loss of traditional points of references, fears which are allayed by differentialist appeals to the nation or to a smaller community, the region or even the town. Cultural and historical identity is weighed down by social demands that have not been adequately met and culminate in nationalism or regionalism and more frequently in a brand of populism that combines extremely negative representations of the state, accused of neglect, corruption or impotence, rejection of the political and intellectual classes, with the full weight of hatred and exasperation being brought to bear on immigrants or their equivalents (the French speak of immigrants, the Germans of foreigners, the British of blacks or racial minorities, etc).

The new problem, with regard to immigration, is not the phenomenon itself, which often goes back a long way, even if it has only really been discovered recently, particularly in countries with a great capacity for integration, such as France, where work on the history of immigration only really started from the 1980s with research by Gérard Noiriel or Yves Lequin, for example. It is more the changes that have characterised immigration since the end of the 1960s: family reunion, integration in the tertiary sector and the unofficial economy, great vulnerability to unemployment, the development of self-employment, difficulties specific to the second generation.

But what is most important, in terms of what interests us here, are the tendencies to ethnicise immigration as well as the dialectic of identities which emerges from this basis. In the past, the immigrant was either supposed to become assimilated, and thereby

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become incorporated in the national integration model, or return to his or her country of origin. Immigrants had an inferior position in the host society. Today they are increasingly perceived as impossible to assimilate, suspected of seeking only to promote their differences, which are reckoned to be insurmountable, but are also viewed, because they seem to be set to stay for life, as immigrants and their descendants, in the host country, being molly-coddled by the public authorities and as wrongfully having jobs which, in view of the economic crisis, should go to nationals. As the great diversity of research on immigration shows¹⁴, this perception bears very little relation to reality, it is a social construct, but its effects also serve, to use Merton's terms, as a self-fulfilling prophecy: the ethnicisation of minorities is a result of processes which are initially strongly influenced by the way in which these minorities are perceived and treated by the dominant group.

Racism's new breeding ground

The breakdown of the European integration model, as has been briefly outlined above, opens up new prospects for racism. Before this breakdown became clear, racism was dominated by notions of inferiority, whereas the differentialist approach is now gaining ground. The Other is no longer so much defined in labour categories and as a party to social relations but increasingly in terms of culture, religion, national or ethnic origin and ultimately race.

Racism linked to triumphant modernism either naturalised, in order to crush them, groups of people who opposed the construction or rapid development, both domestically and abroad, of industrial national societies, or claimed to bring them into the modern world of progress,

education or health from below, making them inferior in order to better exploit them in field or factory. This type of racism is on the wane, but that does not mean that the phenomenon has simply disappeared, rather that it has developed either towards more extreme forms of "differentialist" racism, appealing to a cultural and racial identity

¹⁴. cf. for example volume I of the proceedings of the ADRI, *L'intégration des minorités immigrées en Europe*, Paris, CNFPT, 1990.

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threatened by the emergence or invasion of other identities, or towards intermediate forms, which combine a degree of "differentialism", and an urgent call to restore the old ways in which minorities were made inferior. In other words, racism in Europe was for a long time an element of modernism which it accompanied (colonial racism) just as much as it fought against it in the name of tradition, even if it only did so in its nationalist and anti-modern dimensions in the case of anti-semitism. The dislocation of the European integration model, the decomposition of national societies signal a crisis of modernity and even perhaps the dawn of post-modernity. Racism is then an expression of this crisis, either conveying the difficult or impossible desire to maintain the modern dimension of a national society which particularly often takes the form of national populism by the excluded or those who dread their downfall and social exclusion, or else it turns itself completely on its head to become anti-modern instead of post-modern. The anti-modernity of classic racist nationalism, haunted by the idea of racial interbreeding and decay, becomes overwhelmingly a call for the separation of cultures and resistance to invasion by groups that are deemed to pose a great threat to national culture.

Various forms of a single underlying tendency

The homogeneity of racism in Europe today thus stems, according to our hypothesis, from the growing separation in each of the countries concerned of identities and subjectivity, beginning with the nation, and modernisation, from the dissolution of all that these national industrial societies integrated, from the end of a relatively direct link between society in the strictest sense, the State and the political system and national culture or identity.

But can this hypothesis account for the fairly wide diversity of concrete forms of racism in the countries under consideration?

We need to make a further observation here which only serves to back up our main hypothesis. The concrete forms of historical change can indeed vary considerably from one national experience to another, at the same time essentially being formed by processes stemming from a single logic. The breakdown of national industrial societies is a widespread reality whose modalities are conditioned by factors that are specific to each, in particular the way in which each basic component of

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their three dimensions was formed in the past and resists its crisis or decline.

Thus Germany, which was able to better manage the modernisation of its system of industrial relations very early on and where the exclusively social or socio-economic crisis is essentially due to reunification and its enormous cost, is distinct from the four other countries where the crumbling of industrial society and the trade union movement set in earlier and is, generally speaking, far more dramatic. Italy can also be singled out, and to a lesser extent Belgium, where the State crisis is a quasi-structural factor, originating in what Salvatore Palidda termed an anamorphosis¹⁵, in contrast to France, the United Kingdom and Germany where this phenomenon is less pronounced. We might also point out that the nation, in each case, was formed by very different processes, with corresponding results, that the history of military and colonial expansion assumed distinct forms, that the political cultures there are varied and that interregional tensions or the existence of nationalist movements, for example Scottish, Irish, Corsican, Flemish or Sardinian, vary considerably in significance and scope.

These observations should not prompt us to abandon our central hypothesis but rather to make it more intricate by introducing a notion of distinct destructuring scenarios.

If we were being more specific, and had more time at our disposal, what we should in fact do is track, country by country, the processes that are more anchored, according to the case, in one of the three basic components of our three-dimensional model and whose historical chronology points to a development that follows the same general tendency which may, at the same time, take a variety of different turns.

¹⁵. Salvatore Palidda, "L'anamorphose de l'Etat-nation: le cas italien", in *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, vol XCIII, 1992, pp, 269-298.

PROJECT DESCRIPTIONS

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1. A local response to racial violence: The North Plaistow Project United Kingdom

Initiating the project

In 1987, the Metropolitan Police, the London Borough of Newham, Newham Council for Racial Equality (NCRE), Victim Support Newham (VSN) and the Home Office formed a local multi-agency partnership to develop a comprehensive response to racial attacks and harassment in North Plaistow, an east London housing district¹⁶. The project aimed to prevent racial harassment and attacks, assist victims, identify and take action against perpetrators and tackle under-reporting by more efficient use of existing resources and through co-operation among the agencies involved. A local steering committee comprised of officers and elected members of the local authority, senior police officers and senior representatives of the other agencies was convened to direct and oversee the project's development. A working group comprised of community police officers, officers from local authority housing, social services, education and chief executive's

¹⁶ A few words should be said about the locality at this point. East London, of which North Plaistow is a part, has a long history of racial antipathy and exclusionism, territorial defensiveness and violence directed specifically against ethnic minorities. East London, is cited as the geographical origin of the skinheads and of the term "Paki-bashing" to describe systematic attacks on the Asian community circa 1969. In the mid-1970s East London localities were foci for racial violence and were explicitly racist political parties (such as the National Front) were most successful electorally (Husbands 1983). This violence continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s with peaks in 1978-1981 and again in 1985 (Hesse *et al* 1992). During the mid-1980s, Newham also saw numerous clashes between the police and Asian self-defence organisations. The issue of racial violence was highly politicised over this period, as evidenced by the often acrimonious debate among the police, local authority and community organisations conducted in the local press. In 1987 (at the start of the North Plaistow project) police statistics indicated that Newham had the highest rate of recorded racial incidents in Greater London (364), and that Plaistow North housing district had the highest number of recorded cases in Newham.

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departments and representatives of NCRE and VSN was also formed to carry out the day-to-day work of the project. A consultant was employed by the Home Office to organise and facilitate working relationships among the agencies involved and to participate actively in all the work of the project. A Home Office funded researcher assisted the consultant and undertook the evaluation.

Problem description

As a first step, the working group produced an objective description of racial harassment and of the existing responses to it in the project area. This description involved analysis of police records, a series of group interviews with the staff of local agencies and a victimisation survey¹⁷

The survey of local residents confirmed official records and local opinion that racial harassment was, and was seen as, a serious problem in the project area. Between one in five and one in six Afro-Caribbean and Asian men and women said they had suffered a racially motivated incident in an 18 month period. Racist insults, verbal abuse, threats and property damage were predominant, but stone-throwing, serious assault and arson were also mentioned. Those most fearful of racial attack were Asian women, nearly three-quarters of whom worried a "great deal or a "fair amount" about themselves or a member of their family being victimised. When perpetrators were identified they were reported to be mainly groups of white males aged between 11 and 25. In few cases was the offender known to the victim. There were some specific locations where incidents were most prevalent, though it was less easy to identify when they were most likely to occur.

Many of those surveyed thought that local agencies were not very helpful to the victims of racial harassment. Of those victims who had contacted the police or housing department, fewer than one in ten said that they were very satisfied with the way in which their case had been handled, while nearly one in five said that they were very dissatisfied. The most common reasons for dissatisfaction were that the agencies didn't

¹⁷ The survey was based on a random sample of 751 and a 'booster' sample of 399 Asian respondents, giving a total sample size of 1150 drawn from residents of the study site. 163 respondents reported being the victim of a racial incident, 114 of whom provided details of their experience.

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do enough to help, that they failed to keep the respondent informed about the progress of their case, or that they seemed not to be interested. Eight per cent of victims thought that the extent of racial harassment had declined over the past five years, just under half thought that it had stayed the same, while 28% thought that it had worsened.

In the group interviews, officers from each agency pointed to weaknesses in the way in which they responded to both victims and perpetrators and offered suggestions as to how their response might be improved. In particular, officers pointed to limits in their statutory powers and a lack of communication about racial harassment cases *within* as well as between agencies.

Developing an action plan

The working group then began to develop a range of initiatives to address various aspects of the problems of racial harassment and attack. Although the terms of reference were intended to provide the members of the working group with as much latitude to develop initiatives as they wished, in the event they were constrained by existing legal and administrative definitions of racial harassment, and by a concern for availability of resources. Working group members - all of whom were experienced officers within their own organisation - were reluctant to recommend initiatives that went beyond the established practice of their agency, or those that required new resources. In their usual roles, working group members would be defending their organisation's interests and operating within their limitations. They anticipated correctly that their agencies would resist new ideas. The task that faced them required them to step away from their normal practices and to confront problems with their own agency's response to racial harassment in front of officers from other departments and organisations.

Despite these constraints, an action plan was produced which included more than 20 separate initiatives. The majority represented enhanced *single-agency* procedures - such as targeted patrolling and an outreach programme undertaken by the police; upgraded lighting and environmental improvements by the local authority technical services department; improvements in immediate response and follow-up by the housing department; and the introduction of recording and monitoring procedures in local schools by the education department. The joint initiatives which were developed aimed to improve communication and co-operation between agencies. These included the development of referral systems between housing, police and Victim Support and the

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production of an information pack for victims.

Implementation and evaluation

The development of an appropriate evaluation strategy for the project was not at all straightforward. The project was concerned with the responses of several very different agencies working towards several distinct goals: improving communication and co-operation between agencies, preventing racial attacks and harassment, encouraging reporting, tackling perpetrators and supporting victims. The evaluation involved assessing how the initiatives were actually implemented and carried out on the ground (*process* evaluation) and assessing their effect in reducing the extent of racial harassment (*impact* evaluation).

Each agency took responsibility for implementing the initiatives in which they were involved. As the process evaluation unfolded, however, it became clear that the working and steering groups had failed to specify clearly enough how the initiatives were to be implemented. Interviews with members of both the steering and working groups suggested that changes in practices had not been communicated effectively down through their organisations. Some first-line managers had not been informed adequately of the purpose of the project or of what their responsibilities were. In turn, front line staff who were actually to carry out the initiatives were not fully aware of what was expected of them. It became apparent that many of the initiatives had not been fully implemented and some had not been implemented at all. In the final report on the project it was concluded that the style of preventive policing, the quality of services for victims and the way in which perpetrators were dealt with remained largely unchanged from that at the start of the project.

In common with many other developmental projects, most of the lessons learnt from the North Plaistow experience are to do with over-ambitious expectations, unforeseen constraints, and mistaken assumptions. The agencies involved shared an assumption that a co-ordinated, multi-agency approach offered a number of significant advantages over unilateral action. However, the consensus view that good cannot help but come from greater co-ordination hides the fact that different agencies hold different stated and unstated goals for participating in such a multi-agency effort. Co-ordination may be suggested as a means of establishing a comprehensive response, realigning cross purposes, avoiding duplication, filling gaps in service delivery and meeting client demand

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for resources (Rein, 1983). As well as these stated objectives, each agency will have its own reasons for advocating multi-agency co-ordination which stem from their different statutory responsibilities, organisational environments, and methods of operation. It must be recognised that the goals of each agency involved may not necessarily be compatible, and may sometimes conflict with each other.

At one point in this project, for example, it was suggested that interviews with the parties involved in a racial incident should be conducted jointly by council and police officers. However, this initiative did not get off the ground because it was found that the legal approaches taken by each agency were at odds with one another. In preparing *civil* cases, council departments took a victim-centred approach which entailed accepting the victims' perception of events at face value and acting to some degree as their advocate. By way of contrast, the police approach was geared to the requirements of *criminal* law, and typically involved challenging victims' evidence in the same way that they would challenge that of any other witness or of the alleged perpetrator. Consequently, a shared approach could not be agreed, even in principle.

Attempting to co-ordinate the work of several agencies does not, of itself, lead to the solution of problems. It will not compensate for any single agency's failure to come to grips with a problem. Most certainly, it will do little to alleviate problems of co-ordination *within* agencies. Multi-agency co-ordination can only augment effective action taken by individual agencies.

The first steps for those considering multi-agency working are to decide very precisely what their common goals are and whether co-ordination is the best means of achieving them. Having agreed upon general goals, agencies must agree on more detailed aims, such as which aspects of their operational procedures are to be co-ordinated, exactly how this will be done and what they hope to achieve.

Although the multi-agency approach seeks to make a more efficient use of existing resources, the need for additional resources to develop some joint initiatives should not be overlooked. In North Plaistow, officer time had to be dedicated to the collection, analysis and interpretation of information, and to the development and implementation of joint initiatives. Some initiatives needed financial support, at least in the form of 'seed-corn' money. In this project, the task of developing new initiatives was undermined because there was no guarantee of resources to support them. For others taking this route, the financial foundation of the project should be made clear early on and shared

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equitably among the agencies involved.

The failure to involve community members fully was a source of disappointment throughout the project's life. The original intention was for members of the community to participate in the steering and working group of the project, but this met with little success. As a result, the project became almost exclusively agency-centred. In our final report on the project we attributed this to the use of an unduly restrictive definition of the 'local community', weakness in the mechanism for including community participation, failure to capitalise on the willingness of those who did express their desire to become involved and the formality of the 'agency dominated committee'. We concluded that community participation in a strategy to combat racial violence was vital, and that all possible ways to involve the community and ensure the representation of their views should be explored.

Constraints on implementing a locally co-ordinated approach

The North Plaistow project, in common with many others, made a number of assumptions about the degree to which implementation of its action initiatives would be straight forward. It was assumed, for example, that having agreed a set of new or revised procedures, the steps necessary to mesh them with existing procedures would be readily apparent to and automatically undertaken by the representatives of the agencies involved. However, implementation was more complex and needed a greater degree of guidance than had been anticipated. For future attempts to introduce locally co-ordinated action, it is essential that a plan for translating policy into practice is agreed in advance which identifies organisational constraints which could affect implementation.

Three types of constraints on implementing organisational change were identified. A range of *internal constraints* (operating within individual agencies) affected the ability to change or suspend existing policies, even in a small site for a limited period of time. Implementing new initiatives involved going through a lengthy and complex decision-making process within each organisation. For example before the police could refer racial attacks to Victim Support a new internal procedure had to be agreed between three separate elements of the police organisation - the first response units (or 'reliefs'), the community contact team and the crime desk - each of which had separate line management and were located in different parts of the police station. Internal constraints also stemmed from the inflexibility of each organisation's structure, ideology and working

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practices. These factors affected the ability of officers to be critical of their organisations, to accept ideas which challenged traditional ways of looking at the problem, and therefore to develop innovative multi-agency strategies. Perhaps the greatest internal constraint concerns the services which agencies are in a position to provide. What each can offer is limited by its statutory powers and the resources that it has at its disposal. For example, a housing department's primary concern is the provision and management of public housing. While it may seek to prevent people from being harassed (using legal measures, for instance), there are strict limits on its ability to do this.

Inter-agency constraints on co-ordination arise from differences in the priorities, ideological perspectives and practices of participating organisations. The degree to which these conflicts affected this project can be seen in the failure to agree a definition of racial harassment for practical purposes. Even at the end of the project there was still disagreement between ground level police and housing officers over whether a given incident was racially motivated, or merely a neighbour dispute. Multi-agency co-operation implies and requires consensus in the ideas underpinning action. Conflict, although it may be necessary to bring about change, endangers the basis for co-operation. In North Plaistow, this meant that initiatives for which agreement among the agencies involved seemed unlikely were avoided or, if they were suggested at all, were abandoned quickly in the belief that disagreement would undermine the principle of co-operation that brought them together.

Finally, there are a set of *external constraints* which are imposed by the procedures, practices and legal frameworks of agencies and which lie completely outside of local control. For example, some key posts such as housing department officers responsible for monitoring racial harassment cases (race equality officers) rely on central government funding. The prosecuting authorities (the Crown Prosecution Service or CPS) make the ultimate decision in prosecuting of harassment and attack cases, and obviously the outcome of any prosecution lies with the courts. The policies of the CPS, the higher tiers of police management, the courts, the probation service and central government departments influence the outcomes of legal action, the implementation of new procedures, and the allocation of resources.

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Implications for other European countries

The key question for the purposes of this paper is: how can the lessons learnt from this project be of benefit to those wishing to develop a local response to racial violence in other European countries?

First, one should point to the *potential* of the co-ordinated approach. The idea that all the state and voluntary organisations which have a responsibility for tackling racial violence in a particular locality should try to work together to support victims, prosecute perpetrators and prevent attacks from occurring is an appealing one. It is one that, on the surface, may appear to be an unproblematically 'good thing' and, in theory, the idea has tremendous potential. For example, the behaviour of perpetrators of racial attacks or harassment could be challenged by probation officers, social workers, youth leaders, teachers as well as dealt with by the police, housing officials and the courts. Similarly, victims of attacks or harassment could be supported by support workers from specialist support agencies such as Victim Support, public housing authorities, community workers, tenants associations, church groups, teachers and ordinary citizens. Who could oppose such united opposition to such a divisive and abhorrent social problem? Indeed, in certain specific circumstances, action co-ordinated between the police and other agencies has advantages over the actions of agencies acting alone.

While recognising the potential of such an approach, however, it is important to bear in mind its limitations. It is clear, for example, that multi-agency co-operation will not, in and of itself, solve the problems of racism and violence. Most importantly, attempts to initiate co-ordinated or joint action *cannot substitute for effective action by individual agencies*. The most important lesson for others going down this road, therefore, is national and local police forces, authorities responsible for public housing, social services, education and the welfare of ethnic minorities must ensure the adequacy of their *individual* responses as well as attempting to develop co-ordinated policies.

It is also important to bear in mind the problems encountered in implementing a co-ordinated response to the problem of racial violence in North Plaistow. If the East London experience holds for other European countries, the statutory and voluntary agencies and community groups responding to 'racial violence' will conceptualise the problem differently, have competing views about the causes of the problem and,

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therefore, have different views about how it should be prevented or responded to. It must be recognised that by its very nature, views about what the problem is and what should be done about it will conflict. As the coverage of the 'outbreaks' of violent racism in European countries during the summer of 1992 illustrate, the problem of violence directed against 'foreigners' is, tragically, as likely to be attributed to the presence of the 'foreigners' themselves as to resurgent nationalism, xenophobia or racial hatred. Obviously, the conceptualisation of the problem has profound implications for the development of its solution.

The participants in a multi-agency initiative may also have different stated and unstated goals for co-ordination which may well be incompatible or in conflict. For example, ethnic minority communities' goal of using the multi-agency approach to gain greater police protection, is not compatible with the desire of the police to broaden the burden of responsibility for the dealing with the problem. Even when an agreement about what is to be done is reached among decision-makers, there are further problems in implementing any co-ordinated strategy which has been agreed upon. The officers responsible for implementing single- or multi-agency policies may resist, ignore or subvert instructions aiming to change their working practices.

Conclusion

Racial violence takes many forms - from violent disorder directed against ethnic minorities of the sort witnessed in Rostock and elsewhere; sporadic arson attacks, physical violence and murder of ethnic minority individuals; to sustained campaigns of harassment on the homes of ethnic minority families. In whatever form, racial attacks and harassment are unquestionably the most obnoxious and

destructive aspect of... racial discrimination¹⁸ and must be overcome. The question of *how* to overcome racial violence, therefore, has become one of the most pressing concerns for black and other ethnic minority communities, anti-racist activists, police and

¹⁸ Comment made by Kenneth Baker, former Home Secretary, in the foreword to The Second Report of the *Inter-Departmental Racial Attacks Group* (Home Office, 1991).

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governments across Europe. Most specifically, police forces, local government agencies (particularly those responsible for public housing) and organisations representing ethnic minority communities must be prepared and equipped to respond to racial violence in all its forms.

The idea that various statutory and community organisations should work in partnership to tackle this problem is an appealing one, but one that is beset with practical problems. Lack of consensus over how the problem is to be defined, explained and tackled undermines the basis for collective action. Conflict over the goals of co-ordination may lead to agencies working at cross-purposes. Local organisations must be clear about what they can do individually to tackle racial violence within their areas of responsibility and statutory powers. Collective action will be most effective when co-operating agencies have gone to the limit of their individual action and now seek to go further.

Finally, how 'the community' is represented in such a locally co-ordinated approach is of crucial importance to its effectiveness, though by no means unproblematic. Racial violence is a problem which arises from a 'community' divided against itself. It may prove to be impossible to find consensus among the inhabitants of a locality when some oppose the presence of ethnic minorities as strongly as others oppose racism and racial hatred.

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The success with which central and local government agencies, the police and communities themselves resolve the problems outlined in this paper will affect the extent to which racism and racial violence are controlled or entrenched in the coming decade.

Benjamin Bowling

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2. Regional Co-ordination Office for action against xenophobia

Völklingen (Saar)
Germany

History

Since 1 May 1991, the Community Centre of the "Arbeitskammer" in Völklingen has been running a pilot project for regional coordination of measures against xenophobia.

The fact that the project, which was called "Coordination Office", was directly and smoothly launched by the Community Centre in Saarstrasse proved to be a great advantage. To be precise, the project became an integral part of the Community Centre. The latter had already a considerable number of useful contacts and its staff had the broad information and experience needed for the starting of the pilot project. Therefore, far from having to start from nothing, one was able to draw on long experience in many fields dealing with immigrants and their integration.

To clarify this state of affairs, a brief explanation of the social function of the Community Centre is necessary: the Centre is under the joint administrative responsibility of the "Arbeitskammer" of Saarland and "Leben und Lernen e.V." (Association for Life and Learning). The Association has been endeavouring for 8 years to promote harmonious relations between Germans and their neighbours of foreign origin within the Völklingen area. The site of the Community Centre in Unter-Werden is not accidental. It is justified by the high rate of immigrants (40%) living in that district of the town of Völklingen (which already has an immigration population of 12%). So the establishment of that institution on the present location, with the aim of promoting social peace among the different communities and helping underprivileged children and families, especially those of foreign origin, proved highly beneficial. The fact that up to now hardly any manifest violent expression of xenophobia has been recorded, is doubtlessly due to the efforts of the institution.

Efforts made in social work focusing on youth, both in educational and extra-educational fields, and taking into account the multi-ethnic nature of an immigrant society, are

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starting to bear fruit.

People are realising that preventive measures against xenophobia and the fight against prejudices have always been of central importance for the Community Centre. The present Coordination Office took over many activities previously initiated by the Community Centre.

However, when rejection and violence against immigrants started to escalate everywhere, that is around 1990, the Community Centre was not able to satisfy on its own the enormous need for information and action within its regional boundaries. There was a need for staff and financial means in proportion to the scope of that dangerous development. It is only through the creation of the Coordination Office that those needs could be met.

It should be understood that the launching of the Coordination Office was not a reaction to an increase in racism in the district (although the district is not free thereof), it was rather an answer to the increased and widespread racist tendencies in society as a whole, which also increased the regional importance of the project as an information centre.

Context

The above will have made it clear that all the measures of the Coordination Office fit into the plans and objectives of the Community Centre. However, the Coordination Office is autonomous in the way it conducts its activities. This does not exclude cooperation with other institutions, but, on the contrary, is one of its aims. For example, the Office can work together with other institutions in organising anti-racist public meetings and information campaigns, study groups or seminars.

Objectives

The main objectives of the pilot project Coordination Office are counselling and information but also raising awareness of the problem among the public.

In general, the Coordination Office defines itself as a service or an information office at

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the disposal of all social groups and bodies, but also any individual dealing with xenophobia and right-wing extremism and wishing to take action in some way against this disquieting problem, is welcome. Another priority is to heighten public awareness and to sensitise the population to the manifold and complex manifestations of these evils.

In order to fulfil these objectives, which amount to the creation of an immigrant-friendly atmosphere, a realistic evaluation of the means of such a project is necessary. This means especially that one has to be conscious of the fact that all measures against the different forms of xenophobia and racism can only achieve a partial success. They should be seen as a means of limiting damage, for the social structure and the socio-economic factors which are the cause of xenophobia lie hidden and certainly cannot be changed by this project alone.

If one were to rely on the findings of many social experts, which reveal that racist attitudes, far from being just a minority problem, have reached the general public, then the objectives pursued must be different from those adopted to help resolve the problem of right-wing extremist parties, organisations or violent groups.

The objectives of the project do not, therefore, primarily focus on those groups. They consist rather in the confrontation with racism in daily life and in systems, that is, where it usually goes unnoticed or has become institutionalised. It goes without saying that it is only through the involvement of the victims themselves, the immigrants, that the necessary sensitivity to these subtle forms of racism will be acquired. The Coordination Office has therefore, from the beginning, attached a great importance to the involvement of immigrants and their interest groups in all the activities initiated by it. This would not have been possible without credibility of all the measures against xenophobia. Without acceptance by the immigrants, any measures would run the risk of degenerating into paternalism. Any action taken against the will of those concerned would not do a service to relations between Germans and immigrants.

In order to fulfil those objectives, we are also fighting for an increased influence of the "Ausländer-Beiräte" (Immigrants' Consultative Committees within the Municipal Council) and other bodies at the municipal level. For if a town were ready to go far beyond its previous legal provisions and possibilities, such a town would have proved its solidarity with its inhabitants of foreign origin. If a municipality also defended with determination the interests of that target group, explaining to the people that these interests are connected

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with those of the German population, and especially of the underprivileged, such a municipality would be investing in its long-term protection against the escalation of xenophobia. The "Ausländer-Beirat" of Völklingen and the Coordination Office consider the promotion of that new political way of thinking to be a principal objective as a preventive measure.

Organisation

From a formal point of view, the staff of the Coordination Office consists only of a team working part-time and other voluntary co-workers with an annual average of ten hours per week. In reality, these figures are higher, since the Coordination Office is assisted in its duties by certain activities of the Community Centre. This does not mean, however, that the Coordination Office has 20 staff members at its disposal, but that it sometimes gets some help from other colleagues.

In the end, the whole planning, implementation and evaluation work is done by a small team of three people. Ultimately, the aforementioned part-time team assumes responsibility for all the measures taken and it is therefore exposed to public criticism or even hostility. The project is mainly financed by the Federal Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs and partly by the "Arbeitskammer" of the Land of Saarland. Other public bodies like the municipality, the "Stadtverband" (union of neighbouring towns) or the regional government (of Saarland) do not participate in its funding, but negotiations with them for a possible continuation of the project under their own administration are under way. However, a permanent institutionalisation at the end of the pilot phase, in April 1994, is rendered difficult by the budget problems currently being experienced by the Saarland regional government and the Municipality (crisis of the steel industry).

Methods

Xenophobia, as already mentioned, has long become part of daily life and it exists at every level of society. This is reflected in the number and nature of the various fields of action in which possibilities for intervention and prevention can be found. The Coordinating Office has therefore singled out a number of fields which it considers, together with their corresponding target groups, to be particularly relevant. But first of all there are regional aspects which determine its approach:

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Introduction: Location (Völklingen)

The medium-sized town of Völklingen (12% immigrants) is a traditional site for iron and steel industries and it has been suffering for many years from the crisis in these industries and its impact on the labour market. Despite the efforts of the municipality, this one-sidedness of the economic structure is reflected in the town's budget.

As a result, the attitudes and action of the population, the administration, political leaders and other social groups are less determined by the will to improve their relations with immigrants than by worries about employment and the environment.

In the whole of Saarland there are very few social institutions whose main aim is the promotion of harmonious relations between the different national and ethnic groups. The "Ausländer-Beiräte", which already existed in other federal Länder as far back as the seventies, were established here in 1990.

The operational methods of the Coordination Office differ, therefore, from those of similar institutions in metropolises like Berlin, Düsseldorf or Frankfurt. The reason for this is the regional specificity of the socio-economic and socio-cultural factors already mentioned. A great part of the things which are meanwhile taken for granted there are still unimaginable here. This must be seriously worked on.

Fields of action

* Plans for a "Mediothek" (media centre)

Up to now, the availability in libraries of information material on issues concerning immigrants (such as xenophobia, social work and education, right-wing extremism, migration, etc) is very limited. That is why we see a focal point of our work in the setting up of a theme-oriented "Mediothek". On the one hand, this will enable us to broaden our background knowledge and, on the other hand, to assist interested persons in choosing appropriate literature and other information material (films, exhibitions). In addition to the mere distribution of information material, another principal duty will be to make available documentation, reports and discussion papers. This summary of published opinions can also be used in schools for discussion and information. The main target groups of this kind of action are schools and teachers. Other contacts could be youth centres, nursery

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schools, churches and study groups with immigrant-friendly intentions.

* Expert meetings

Expert meetings can help complete and deepen already existing knowledge. Scientific texts and data or statements and the experiences of immigrants are often better understood on such occasions than when they are published elsewhere. They also have a snowball effect. However, they should not be organised too often, otherwise there may be an inflational development or timetable problems. The best method is to combine them with other public meetings if possible.

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* Schools

Unfortunately, violence and xenophobia have also become part of school life. When one believes that xenophobic prejudices are due to a cognitive deficit, then the school seems to be the best institution to fight against it. However, this thinking should not lead to a mere cognitive reductionism. Affective learning must also take place by all possible means. The following three examples will illustrate the correct approach for action in schools:

First example: Visit by two representatives of the Coordination Office and the "Ausländer-Beirat" to one high school:

During a two-hour class in social science, it was possible to listen to the opinions of the pupils and to exert a direct influence on them. This involved a discussion on simple facts in the form of figures and data as well as a subjective description of the personal experiences of an average Turkish worker who has been living in Germany for 20 years.

Conclusion: These personal experiences fitted well into the context and lent some affective character to even very dry facts, thereby making it possible for them to remain longer in the pupils' memory.

Second example: Counselling and participation in the organisation of a "Project Week" in many schools (9th class of Comprehensive School):

The action began with a short briefing on xenophobia and right-wing extremism as well as an introduction of the Coordination Office to the teachers. Here again, we tried to strike a balance between affective and cognitive elements. This involved the following units: slides about Turkey, invitation to immigrants to come and participate, discussion between representatives of the Coordination Office and two school classes, a visit to a district with a high immigrant population followed by reflection on that experience, lessons in the Persian language and in the Persian way of teaching, and visits (in small groups) to a number of families from Africa and Asia seeking asylum in Germany. These units were followed by an evaluation of the "Project Week" by the pupils.

Conclusion: The framework of the "Project Week" provides a valuable opportunity to confront the manifold aspects of the immigrants' problems in a deeper and more efficient way. The very first contact with asylum-seekers in their own homes, and the experience

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of their hospitality, made many pupils change their opinions about them - something that even ten lectures would not have achieved.

Third example: The hiring of a drama group. The drama group "Comic On" from Cologne was once hired to perform its play "Peter Steffens - Ein Neonazi erzählt" (Peter Steffens - a Neo-nazi tells it all), which has since become known through Germany. All together four hundred boys and girls from different types of schools took advantage of the opportunity to come and see the play and took part in the discussions with the actors on the topic which followed the performance.

Conclusion: The play gave most of the young people present an insight into the biography and the mind of a young right-wing extremist. At the same time, they were able to compare him with themselves and to better understand their own state of mind.

* Study groups

The Coordination Office has initiated two study groups. It has also been working for a few weeks on setting up the structure of a commission formed by the Ministry of Education which aims at solving the problem of right-wing extremism and xenophobia in schools.

This study group, officially called a Commission, could play a very important role in the future. It was brought into being by ministerial decree and it tries, through mobilisation of all the social groups concerned, to fight against right-wing extremist and xenophobic tendencies in schools. Thanks to close cooperation with the Ministry, some of the structural problems within the school system already mentioned were tackled and solved through adequate reforms. A representative of the Coordination Office has been working for a few weeks with the team charged with designing the structure and defining the objectives of the Commission. The Coordination Office has prepared a paper for the Commission, part of which is being considered for introduction into the school curriculum.

Conclusion: The work of the study groups is very time-consuming. But with regard to the opinion-making process on the immigrant question it is a suitable forum, which can sometimes exert influence where it is most needed. Participants can bring a snowball effect into public opinion, which often leads to a more serious discussion of the problem. Regarding the Commission, one will have to wait and see whether such an unwieldy

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structure as the school system and the ministerial bureaucracy will leave the beaten track and take a new direction.

* City planning

According to specialised publications, most towns have hardly taken immigrants into account when making their city planning. This clearly shows what the responsible officials think of them: they are still making the error of considering that immigrants are staying on a temporary basis. Considering the fact that the great majority of immigrants presently working in Germany, and their families, have the intention of remaining, those responsible for city planning must take them into consideration. One quite often hears Germans living in disadvantaged districts which will eventually be redeveloped saying "Since immigrants (Turks, asylum-seekers) came to live here, the whole district looks dilapidated". The truth is - and the Coordination Office is directly confronted with this in its environment - that these districts are not put in that state by the presence of immigrants, but by the fact that they are underprivileged in every aspect: traffic planning, pollution, infrastructure, etc. Against this background, any private or public investment seems to have no sense. Those who can afford to do so move to other places, while the poor, mostly immigrant families, move in. The neighbourhood changes its social and physical aspects, it becomes an "immigrant district".

Superficially considered, the above statement, in the view of its authors, seems to have some logic; a logic within which makes it easy to understand why it is so difficult for them to develop positive relations with their immigrant neighbours. Looking at the problem in that way, we can see that xenophobic attitudes are being nurtured. The Coordination Office considers a stronger promotion of those arguments and consultancy on city planning projects to be one of its future fields of activity. Indeed, it has been exerting some influence, for a few months now, on those responsible for a redevelopment project being planned by the town authorities. The planning authorities have recognised the Coordination Office as an important partner and have accepted the blue-print of its plan "Keeping a multi-cultural district", with the intention of drawing at least some ideas or opinions from it in order to find appropriate solutions.

Future city planning, involving sociological expertise, and considering former "Gastarbeiter" (foreign work force) as immigrants, is likely, through well-targeted measures, to prevent negative developments from taking place. For if city planning authorities made public investments in places where many immigrants live, even

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Germans would realise that their problems are being taken seriously, and that a district does not automatically become dilapidated simply because immigrants live there. A municipality which claims it has no funds for this should not be surprised if the integration of the different communities and more harmonious relations among them remain unattainable. What happened in Liverpool or "the inner-city war" is a warning. It could also become a reality here sooner than some people think.

Outcomes and main lessons

The experience gathered by the pilot project during its two years of activity as coordinator of regional measures against xenophobia shows one thing very clearly: there is still much to do. The scope of its influence and the demand for its services have long gone beyond the region of Völklingen. The project has gained recognition and importance all over Saarland. But at the same time this has also shown its limits and difficulties. With the present number of staff members, many demands cannot be satisfied. Committed volunteers are working daily at the Coordination Office, but there are limits here, too. On the other hand, the continuation of activities at the regional as well as the Land (Saarland) level is of great importance, especially because the project could eventually be taken over by other institutions. That is the only way to persuade Land and municipal officials that it is of prime importance for the public that they should take over the project.

We think that this report has summarised the wide range of action through which the fight against xenophobia is possible and urgently needed. The various actions presented here are real propositions, aimed at different target groups and designed to achieve two main goals: First, the achievement of a better sensitivity to the social problem that xenophobia represents, through an understanding of - among other things - its origin. Second, the development of efficient counter-measures. Although these goals have first of all a preventive character, they do not fit into the definition of socially preventive models in the Heitmeyers' sense.

The term prevention also designates another aspect, namely circumspection, long-term thinking and patience. "Ad hoc-ism" and other well-meant action, big or small, have often proven to be counter-productive. Furthermore, they mostly direct their attention to the manifest expressions of xenophobia, while ignoring its subtle versions and its structural origins. Its structure did not emerge overnight. It is the result of a long development

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process. Indeed, many activists, whether in schools, churches or elsewhere, render their own access to the causes and the background of this problem impossible because they are often too impatient.

Up to now, and for the reasons already mentioned, the Coordination Office has not been able to exploit its chances in the targeted areas of intervention, at least not as much as it wishes and deems necessary. For instance, we think that the area of schools alone would demand more work than our present Coordination Office can cope with, if it was to be covered more intensively and extensively. Many activities have just been initiated and it is too early to judge their efficiency.

It has also been pointed out that efficient action in the fields discussed can only bear fruit if all those politically responsible can be made to participate. Political talk alone, as we hear it everywhere, is useless, if nothing real comes out of it. Readiness to support a project with the objectives of those of the Coordination Office can be a tangible thing. Yet another real long-term objective is the creation of a suitable social and political environment at every level.

However, the creation of a suitable environment will only be possible when the State and other institutions have at last become conscious of the political time-bomb consisting in the refusal to recognise that we are an immigrant society. The majority of them, and the population in general, have not yet recognised this fact. The Coordination Office and the Community Centre will jointly do their part of the task of explaining to the population the inevitability and the necessity of being a multi-ethnic, immigration society. Today, at a time when Europe is uniting, this is more necessary than ever. Once again, it is up to the political authorities, including the European ones, to supply the necessary financial means.

Franz-Joseph Koenen

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3. The District Offices of the Viennese Integration Fund Vienna, Austria

History

With growing immigration to Vienna during the last five years the issue of integration has grown more prominent than ever. Although Austria and especially Vienna have not experienced waves of racist hatred and harassment, a rise in misunderstandings and conflicts between Austrian and foreign citizens has to be registered. Recent surveys show that, especially amongst lower social strata with a low level of education, hostility towards immigrants is growing. Although xenophobia does not correlate with actual negative experiences with foreigners, xenophobic attitudes are widespread, especially in the districts with a high concentration of foreign citizens. People there tend to perceive immigrants as hostile competitors in increasingly difficult conditions in the labour and housing markets.

Percentage of foreign citizens in the district of Vienna (31 December 1991) and changes since 1987:

District	Percentage of foreign citizens	Increase between 1987 and 1991
15th	29,7%	+112,6%
17th	23,7%	+78,8%
5th	23,0%	+64,1%
20th	22,5%	+110,4%
16th	19,8%	+85,4%

The deterioration of the climate between natives and immigrants led the City of Vienna to set up a special body as a mediating institution between the city government and all organisations involved in immigration policy: *the Viennese Integration Fund*. It was founded in October 1992 and is designed to address both the native and the immigrant population and to develop concepts for integration policy at the local level.

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The Viennese Integration Fund (VIF) was set up by the City Council of Vienna as a separate legal body not involved in local government structures. The Fund is presided over by the Mayor of Vienna, his deputy and the Director-General of Caritas Austria. Representatives of the city government, the political parties and the leading migrant organisations are involved in the decision-making process by participating in the steering committee and the advisory board of the Fund.

As the central office of the VIF is not suitable for personal consultations, sub-offices will be set up in the districts most affected by the influx of migrants.

These districts have to cope with special problems:

- Migrants' lack of information about how to deal with problems of daily life and informal social demands; Natives' lack of information about the social and cultural background of the migrant population.
- Serious communication problems between natives and migrants.
- Misunderstandings in houses with residents of different ethnic groups; migrants are misused by landlords to give trouble to older native tenants; speculation, overcrowding, bad sanitary conditions, "city-nomads".
- Overcrowding of public open spaces (parks etc.).
- No official relations and few informal relations with the migrants; no representative partners within the local migrant population.

The concept of the district offices was developed by the city district representatives and the VIF on the basis of long experience with local consulting-offices (concerning migrants and the urban renewal programme).

Two important criteria determine the establishment of a district office: a high percentage of migrant population and a positive attitude of the district politicians towards the integration of the migrant population.

The first district office is being opened in June 1993 in the 20th district of Vienna (Brigittenau).

In the 20th district there live 77,098 inhabitants (31 December 1992); 17,098 inhabitants (23%) are foreign citizens. Within the urban renewal area (most of the houses there were

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built about 100 years ago) the percentage of foreign citizens is 31,2%; in some elementary schools more than 70% of the children are foreign nationals. Most of the migrants are citizens of former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

Context

The district offices of the VIF are to promote integration by direct communication with residents, local administration offices and other institutions. Not being part of any large-scale programme they are to coordinate and support other programmes and actions to combat racism and xenophobia.

Objectives

- * To prepare and realize the general objectives of the VIF:
 - to develop a continuous and long-term integration policy for the City of Vienna;
 - to develop new approaches and rules for the interrelations between the native and migrant population.

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- * To improve the social climate, and to reduce anxiety, prejudice and frustrations on both sides.
- * To develop strategies for conflict-management and to promote cooperation.
- * To spot shortcomings within the official administration and other institutions concerning organisational and personal matters and to make proposals for improvement.
- * To institutionalize continuous dialogue with the migrant residents and to involve them step by step in the decision-making process at the district level.

The staff of the district offices will consist of one native and two migrants who will open up access to the migrant residents and be able to protect their interests and meet their needs in an authentic way. As traditionally most of the so-called "guest-workers" are Yugoslav or Turkish citizens, there is a special need to employ persons with these languages as their mother tongue.

Organisation

The district offices are financed out of the VIF budget and therefore indirectly by the city. The VIF is responsible for planning, implementation and evaluation. A special coordinator for the district offices coordinates the implementation activities in accordance with the plan. Support by the District Council is very important for channelling wishes and demands to the central bureaucracy. Cooperation is practised with local administration and non-governmental and private institutions. The district offices of the VIF are not intended to replace existing institutions but should function as a guide.

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Methods

* Talking, dialogue, discussion - active, initiatory and mediating -designed so as:

to develop positive contacts with the official representatives of the residents and the administration,
to develop positive contacts with the migrants in the district,
to develop multi-lingual communication in cooperation with local newspapers and the local TV.

Information and assistance to the migrants; development of simple information equipment adapted to lower levels of education (bulletins, leaflets, videos etc.)

Provision and coordination of practical integration programmes such as vocational training, language courses etc.

Conflict-management based on the principle of mutual respect.

Comprehending the obstacles to integration within the official administration, identifying shortcomings and developing proposals to improve the situation.

Methodological principles:

Pragmatism and practice take precedence over ideology and theory.
The main target groups are the residents, both native and migrant. Preparation and transmission of information has to be adjusted to these target groups.

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The mediating of political demands to municipal politicians, the upper levels of the administration and to experts is very important, but it has to be handled by the central office of the VIF.

As the project is only just starting, it is not yet possible to describe the outcomes and the main lessons learnt. But it has been welcomed with enthusiasm in the 20th district.

Bruni Schröcker

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4. Coming together in Strängnäs

The Globetree Foundation

Sweden

The situation in Strängnäs

Strängnäs, a small town 120 km south-west of Stockholm, received 500 asylum-seekers at a former mental hospital called Sundby Park. It was then the biggest centre for asylum-seekers in Sweden. The authorities had only one week to prepare the community for the opening of the centre. The population of Strängnäs rejected the idea of having a huge asylum-centre. Strängnäs people had a reputation for being hostile toward foreigners; tensions rose and incidents happened especially involving young people. These made the asylum-seekers cautious, and they began to stay away from the town. A teacher at Sundby Park then called the Globetree Foundation to ask for assistance in solving the problem.

At the time of the project many asylum-seekers were coming to Sweden. To find good places for the people became very difficult and information to the people living around existing or new asylum-centres was poor because of the emergency. So problems arose all over Sweden. Suddenly a small community had people of different nationalities living amongst them. The Swedish government formed a group to tackle the difficulties: the Commission against Racism and Xenophobia. The project got some financial support from the Commission. Also the Swedish Immigration Board took great interest in the project and joined several meetings with the working group and others.

The project was documented in a 16mm film and is covered in a magazine distributed by the State Immigration department and the Globetree Foundation. Whenever similar problems arose, e.g. when a district had to establish an asylum-centre, or problems between the local population and foreigners came up in a particular locality, the local Immigration Office showed how Strängnäs solved its problems of racism and xenophobia.

The project was supported by the silent majority of the town; this meant that the few overt racists did not have ground for further growth. The asylum-seekers were involved

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in the project from the outset. Globetree had its base in the asylum-seekers' centre at Strängnäs. By meeting each ethnic group with an interpreter we learned a lot about their views and experiences - why they were in Sweden and how they related to Sweden and Swedes. They shared both positive and negative reactions. All reacted positively towards the project. Many reacted in amazement: that so much interest, time and commitment grew out of the difficulties they had all met; and that they were being taken seriously.

The main objective was to awaken the silent majority of the Strängnäs population. We were well aware that many people strongly rejected the asylum centre. However, many of those in opposition had only superficial knowledge of the situation. With a deeper insight many would take a more positive stand. Many children had picked up negative responses from their homes and the press. We believed that personal experience would enable those children to change their attitudes. We decided to work through the schools and the teachers.

What happened

First of all, teachers from the asylum centre and teachers and school leaders from schools of Strängnäs came together with pre-school teachers, parent groups, NGO's concerned with children and the media. We had heard before that the main problems in the town were among children between 13 and 16 years old. Our project proposal therefore aimed at a programme for that age group.

All teachers in the 12 schools and leaders of pre-schools took part in half-day seminars. We opened the seminars with a performance by Globteatern (the Globe theatre) entitled "We are far more than two". These seminars were an important preparation for the project. The teachers asked the working group many questions and received information material.

Performances were put on for the different age groups.

One evening we put on a performance at the residential centre for asylum-seekers, and later on we invited them to discuss the performance: 500 people turned up! We simply couldn't have discussions with so many people so we changed it into an evening of artistic performances by Swedes and by many different nationalities among the asylum-seekers. This was the first time that the different groups within the residential centre had

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really met one another, and some days later, the personnel of the residential centre declared that many tensions between different groups had relaxed.

The idea of a big fiesta then began to take shape. School classes made stage programmes, exhibitions, presents and so on. All the children in the area got involved. Next to the residential centre stood a huge sports hall with space for more than 5,000 and we chose this for the "welcome party" called "*Coming together in Strängnäs*". Thus, on 30 May 1989 over 3500 youngsters and adults welcomed 500 foreigners seeking asylum in Sweden. Children and young people from twelve schools and all the pre-schools in the district hailed the foreign guests in a three-hour performance consisting in a varied and imaginative series of songs, poems, dramas, mask plays, mime and music. The children's creative powers showed a way to bridge tensions and difficulties. The Swedish Minister of Immigration was guest of honour.

"Coming together in Strängnäs" became the Event of the Year. The local newspaper followed the process and let the children speak of their ideas and work. Earlier negative headlines disappeared. Reporters now tried to analyze the problems. The national Swedish press also covered the project.

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Organisation and methods

The project involved all schools and pre-schools in the Strängnäs municipality. The Globetree Foundation was responsible for coordinating the project. Financial support for the project was requested from several government and non-governmental organisations. The planning of the project was done within the working group. A final evaluation has not yet been made but Globetree conducted follow-up interviews in schools during May 1993.

Twelve schools participated, with all their teachers and a total of 2,500 pupils. The project involved five hundred asylum-seekers and families living in Sundby Park. It also involved many of the local organisations in the Strängnäs municipality. Financial support came from: State organisations, regional organisations, municipal organisations and non-governmental organisations.

The asylum-seekers and immigrant groups of Strängnäs were active partners in the implementation of the project. We founded the idea of using artistic means to work out problems and conflicts in the schools. This method was applied in later projects.

Art, theatre, mime, music, song and dance, were the main methods of linking all the participants. Performances from "Globteatern", a branch of the Globetree, were performed for all schools, asylum-seekers and participants. In the next stage all groups worked out their performances. Dramatized stories, historical plays and various other presentations would add up to a big event, which rounded off the project in Strängnäs municipality. On 31 May 1,500 people performed on stage in a three hour performance witnessed by an audience of 3,500. Every school and most ethnic groups had at least one group performing.

Evaluation of results

An immediate success could be seen half way through the project. The negative forces were de-activated. No more incidents involving foreigners and the local population were reported after the Welcome Party for the Asylum-Seekers. However, one year later the asylum-centre in Strängnäs was discontinued, so we have no knowledge of long-term effects.

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A 16 mm film was made by Globetree with support from the Labour Market Department. A booklet was made of the project and published by the Ministry for Immigration. The material - in Swedish - is presently used by both government organisations and non-governmental organisations working on problems of racism and xenophobia.

When working with creative energies, it is not easy to measure results. Entering schools with a programme based on creative activities and asking for the involvement of children and pupils elicited varying reactions from teachers and school heads.

The project took place in the years 1988 and 1989. In May 1993 Globetree returned to Strängnäs for a review of the project. Preliminary conclusions from this review are: children retained fond memories of the event while adults recalled the hard work and associated frustrations. All agreed that they had learned a lot in the period and that it had been good fun as well as having an important purpose.

We based our work on our own experience. We encountered many different cultures in the world during five years spent collecting material (film, photo, sound recording and text) for our educational performances. This base acquired in remote areas of Africa, Asia and Americas was very important for our work in the project. Our own experience of travelling the world and of meeting children and adults in Sweden is that one must reach beyond discussions and information. Theatre is an excellent tool for this purpose. It builds bridges between ethnic groups and forms a base for deeper understanding between people.

Globetree has developed a general manual based on the Strängnäs experiences for those who want to work with this model. Courses combining theory and practice are available upon request.

To make a real difference in an area where racism and xenophobia are growing it is important to make the project **big**. It is not enough to focus on the noisy few - the main work is to reach out to the silent majority. To break the silence one needs energy - to make sound out of silence. Artistic methods provide such energy.

Furthermore it is important to form a good working-group having people from both outside the community and within the community. It is essential to involve experienced persons who are prepared to tackle difficulties; persons who see problems as a challenge - as a means to develop.

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Our experience was that artistic expression is vital in developing deeper mutual understanding, in overcoming language barriers and unshared cultural heritage. Drama teachers, artists, musicians and producers are key people for our type of project. Also, if both local people and asylum-seekers and immigrants have a common goal, then learning processes evolve naturally. The diversity of traditional and cultural backgrounds then supports and encourages meetings about our different heritages. Fun, curiosity and creativity then supersede suspicious attitudes and ignorance.

We would make the following recommendations to other groups and projects:

* *Good personal knowledge of both target groups:* Having travelled in many countries, Globetree has acquired many experiences from ethnic groups. In Sweden we have used theatre performances for many years for teaching about other cultures in schools. We appreciate and use the cultural diversity we have in Sweden and in other countries as an opportunity for learning. Intimate knowledge of peoples, cultures and traditions is essential to create and support an atmosphere of mutual trust.

* *True commitment:* A big project like this is more than an office hours activity - it demands a 24 hours a day commitment. Our stay at the asylum centre was only one of many adjustments to the project, many of which can only be made if there is true commitment. Therefore preparation for change and the courage to take risks are essential for difficult projects.

* *Art as tool and language:* Globetree uses theatre, dramatization and mime as means of communication. Therefore we operated mainly on an emotional level in the project. Since both the Swedes and the asylum-seekers participated in the same performances, a common experience allowed different cultural interpretations. Opening up and exchanging ideas and experiences replaced earlier confrontations and accusations. The asylum-seekers could converse on a equal footing with the Swedes since several of them had talents in various arts. Knowledge and talents shown were impressive, both in the residential centre and in Strängnäs Community. A mutual respect evolved, even between different ethnic groups who were often in conflict before.

* *A strong working group:* Having worked through our own conflicts in earlier years we could work efficiently outwards. In this way, we could quickly solve major conflicts among groups, schools and interested parties in Strängnäs Community without getting bogged

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down.

The working group in Strängnäs was a great facilitator. The group was a balanced mix of representatives from different institutions, persons with different backgrounds and experiences, all highly committed, well informed and willing to work day and night. No major conflicts occurred within the group during the whole project. The group members' networks of personal contact enabled news of the project to spread through the entire community.

* *Good communication.* The Strängnäs group and Globetree had to fight together to be heard and understood by relevant institutions, administrative bodies and the press. Late night phone calls and urgent meetings solved emerging conflicts. Mutual trust, quick decision-making and good local knowledge solved problems along the way. Three years after the project, those who participated in the working group are still good friends!

* *Being outsiders.* Globetree has its base in Stockholm. We lacked local specific knowledge and had no local interests or obligations. This meant that we were allowed to make mistakes or to make a wrong move and could still be forgiven. We also knew that we would return to Stockholm after the project. We could take unpopular decisions and allow people to get angry with us. We had an objective freedom that would not have been possible if we were Strängnäs people ourselves.

* *Curiosity.* We came with many questions in mind. We looked for answers with the children, teachers, asylum-seekers and groups we met. The project grew in its own way - we all allowed it to grow. Many ideas from people in the district came into the project. Many joined because their ideas were respected.

* *Shared responsibility.* Working with a municipality of 26,000 people needed good organisation. Several of us were good organisers, taking responsibility in the many different areas of the project. As the project grew, responsibilities had to be shared. Schools also had to take their share in overall responsibility. We believe that local participation becomes more and more necessary as a project grows in size. Events began to slip from the working group's control at several points and not always having everything under control gave birth to some brilliant solutions. Everyone in the working group and also people from outside shared worries and pleasure in the project. Altogether the project became a true community effort of Strängnäs.

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Kajsa Dahlström

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5. The anti-racism co-ordination unit

Office of the Prefect, Rhône-Alpes Department
France

Context

In 1990 the French parliament passed an Act (the law of 13 July 1990), formally reaffirming the authorities' determination to punish all acts of racism, anti-Semitism or xenophobia. Section 1 of the Act states: "All discrimination on grounds of ethnic origin, nationality, race or religion shall be prohibited".

A government directive was then issued which reminded the Prefect (chief administrative officer) in each department that he was required to bring the full force of the law to bear on this type of discrimination as manifested, for example, in newspaper articles, cinema films, desecration of graves, graffiti, the wearing of racist or anti-Semitic items or badges.

Under ministerial guidelines issued in 1990, pilot local anti-racist units were set up in three departments. At the end of 1991 the verdict on the pilot projects was favourable and it was decided to extend the experiment to a further three departments, including Rhône (Lyon and the surrounding area).

Aims of the local unit to combat racism and anti-semitism

The first meeting of the unit was held on 28 April 1992.

As well as representatives of the Prefect's office and the police and heads of local branches of central government departments, the

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committee comprises representatives of the district Bar, elected representatives (the Chairman of the District Council, members of parliament, mayors, etc) and representatives of local associations and local religious communities.

The aims of the unit are:

- * to monitor and study manifestations of racism and provide an early-warning system;
- * to gather information on enforcement of relevant law and local implementation of crime policy so as, among other things, to involve local associations in preventive action;
- * to evaluate anti-racist action and promote local prevention and training schemes;
- * to promote communication between the administrative authorities concerned, local associations and the Prime Minister's national anti-racist co-ordination unit.

Structure and approach

Three working parties were set up :

- *security*: police; courts and gendarmerie, chaired by the Public Prosecutor;
- *schools and firms*: (education, training, access to employment), chaired jointly by the Area Inspector of Schools and the District Director of Labour and Employment;
- *quality of life*: (housing schemes and housing provision), chaired jointly by the District Director of Housing and the Deputy Prefect in charge of urban policy.

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The procedure was the same for all three working parties:

- an initial observation phase, for recording of all matters or occurrences known to have been of a racist nature, followed by consideration of practical ways of tackling racism and anti-semitism.

The main conclusions all three working parties reached were that in everyday life, racist occurrences are hard to prove and expose (with the exception of flagrant examples such as desecration of graveyards) and that there is a need for better co-operation and circulation of information and for regular contact between the various agencies involved.

Outcomes

TRADITIONAL METHODS RETAINED

The main anti-racist strategies here were:

- protection of sensitive targets such as places of worship;
- more frequent intercultural seminars;
- innovatory measures: use of neighbourhood mediators (for example, the work of a policeman of North African origin was extremely encouraging);
- neighbourhood policing of urban housing schemes and sensitive districts;
- summertime preventive schemes, recreation centres for the young, sports activities run by the police;
- a help and advice service;
- maintaining a population mix in housing schemes so as to avoid creating ghettos;

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- action involving local academics to raise awareness of the histories and civilisations of the various ethnic groups;
- public debates between elected representatives, local associations and neighbourhood communities.

The effect was to bring communities closer together and improve relations between them.

NEW PROPOSALS

First working party

- More informed officialdom : the police, the gendarmerie and the prosecution service have been reminded of the importance of handling sympathetically and investigating all complaints of racist occurrences covered by the law.

The intention is that local police stations, commanding officers at the Gendarmerie and the Public Prosecutor or his chief deputy can be directly contacted by associations or the public in the event of any difficulties.

- Regular information about the progress of cases: the Public Prosecutor undertook to keep the working party and associations regularly informed of action on complaints or reports.
- Multidisciplinary discussions on a case-by-case basis: so far, despite the good intentions, there has not been any feedback to the working party from participants concerning specific or badly handled cases of racism or xenophobia.
- A meeting between local associations and police trade unions was suggested but has not yet taken place.
- At the suggestion of local associations, on the spot meetings (in specific neighbourhoods) with local associations were planned but have still not come to pass.

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Second working party

- Education: the finding was that it is adults who are responsible for racism and xenophobia, which do not exist among the young. The working party stressed the need for civics/ history and civilisation courses and for teacher-training on racism. They also wanted to highlight and encourage the successes of children from immigrant communities so as to counter the unfavourable image which people had of some nationalities.
- Training and employment: given the genuine problems which foreigners had in finding jobs or getting accepted for training, the District Director of Labour, Employment and Training gave a firm undertaking to step up enforcement of the regulations laying down penalties for acts of racism or xenophobia by training agencies or employers. There is to be a drive to sensitise employers to the issue, through the Groupement Interprofessionnel Lyonnais.

Third working party

Since housing is the main area of discrimination:

- diversify the housing supply by bringing in the voluntary sector to assist the social housing agencies and redressing the balance between the public and private sectors;
- increase the granting of Assisted Rent Loans, of which there is only a 50% take-up in the case of foreigners;
- at local level tackle foreigners' housing problems as part of the recent action plan on housing for the deprived (Besson Act). The recent reorganisation of the interministerial housing service should make it possible to keep an eye on how well the most difficult cases were being dealt with;
- develop local participation and partnership, for example with neighbourhood /associations in projects involving subletting and support from social workers;

- in difficult neighbourhoods, set up or develop provision (eg intercultural mediators) for helping to defuse neighbourhood tensions - over young people's behaviour, for example.

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Afterword

The government having decided that the scheme on the whole was working well, it was decided to extend it to the whole of France in March 1993.

Etienne Guyot

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6. Building an infrastructure against racism

Rotterdam Anti-Discrimination Action Council

This paper describes the history and present activities of RADAR, the Rotterdam Anti-Discrimination Action Council. Founded in 1983 as the first local Anti-Discrimination Centre in the Netherlands, this initiative was followed by several other local or regional organisations which operate as private initiatives in several Dutch cities. Their aim is to fight and prevent discrimination by taking action in individual cases and seeking solutions on a political level. Their grassroots orientation enables them to keep abreast of current circumstances and developments. In short, initiatives like RADAR provide an action centre and meeting point for individuals and organisations committed to the eradication of discrimination.

History

RADAR, in full the 'Rotterdamse Anti Discriminatie Actie Raad' (Rotterdam Anti-Discrimination Action Council), was launched in October 1983.

The start of this Anti-discrimination Centre was prepared by an initiative of a group of people with a variety of social and ethnic backgrounds, all of whom participated in the founding committee of the organisation at the request of the City Hall.

The practical blueprint for the organisation and its first programme for investigation of and action against racism was written on the basis of a broad consultation of various organisations, groups and private persons in key positions in the Rotterdam community (politicians, migrant organisations, labour unions, employers, church committees, people active in the field of education, housing, police and justice, lawyers etc.).

The local authorities provided the required financial means for starting the bureau but hardly desired any influence on the first programme of activities. In this way, City Hall stressed the importance of an independent, private initiative against racism.

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RADAR was the first local project in the field of professionally equipped anti-discrimination work in the Netherlands. By means of this spearhead position RADAR was able, by a process of trial and error, to achieve a certain method of working which proved to be relatively successful. RADAR was and still is one of the largest of the local projects in the Netherlands. In this way, the organisation was able to set a standard. RADAR also is one of the founders of the Dutch Federation of Anti-Discrimination Centres.

Manifestations against racism and xenophobia which were at the origin of this project are still important for political support.

- In 1982, following the rise of extra-parliamentary racist movements, racism managed to gain a foothold in the Dutch political arena with the election of a representative of a racist party to the Lower House of Parliament. Racism became a force to be reckoned with, albeit in the face of vigorous opposition. Since then, political parties embracing racist principles have gained seats on several local councils. Though relatively insignificant in number, they have continued to win support. Despite sharp internal divisions and an almost negligible rank and file, they nevertheless seem likely to grow.
- In 1983 the Dutch government published the first national document on minority policy in the Netherlands. This document was based on the recognition that migrants were here to stay. The goal of the policy was to restrict the admission of new labour migrants to the Netherlands. In return, a number of measures were announced to strengthen the position of migrants who were legally allowed to stay. In this context, the importance of an active policy against discrimination was stressed. The document also contained a proposal for the founding of a national office against racism. The national document also created more financial possibilities for local minority policy, especially in urban areas.
- Opinion polls are conducted at regular intervals to gauge the views and attitudes of the Dutch to ethnic minorities. Though their findings are not entirely conclusive over the years, there are clear signs of a decline in tolerance (Social and Cultural Report, 1991).
- Before RADAR was founded, there had already been a limited number of

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reports concerning racist and discriminatory incidents. Information concerning these incidents was not readily available so it was hard to know their exact dimensions.

RADAR was not, however, founded as a response to numerous reports of racist incidents. It was not until RADAR was founded in Rotterdam that a central institute was available and it became clear how many incidents had to be dealt with. Ironically, it is very difficult to prove the necessity for an anti-discrimination centre if a central place for registration and analysis of incidents and complaints concerning racism is not available.

- There was and is evidence of growing tolerance of verbal discrimination and a hardening of attitudes with regard to the integration of ethnic minorities in Dutch society. A similar trend is evident in the public's response to such activities as threatening behaviour, physical violence, and arson or attempted arson towards ethnic minorities.

There was and still is a great taboo on overt racism and discrimination in the Netherlands. It is socially unacceptable to express racist points of view or to promote discrimination. There are also relatively few cases of violence against migrants or racial harassment compared with reports from other European countries.

This does not mean that racism and/or discrimination do not exist; they are perhaps more latent. For example: racist political parties are gaining growing support, but still have great difficulties in attracting rank and file members.

Evolution of the main tasks

RADAR began as a research institute, aiming at the investigation of structural patterns of racism in society. Three developments made it necessary to modify the first programme of activities:

- from the day RADAR opened its office, members of staff have been confronted with individual complaints and reports concerning racism and discrimination. Basically set up as a research institute, RADAR was insufficiently equipped for the individual handling of cases, but it soon developed a special department for individual support and advice.
- also from the very beginning, RADAR was approached by people who were alarmed by the growing racism and discrimination and wanted to take action. They asked for support for several activities in schools, neighbourhood projects etc. RADAR developed a special information service which later developed into the independent foundation ARIC (see below).
- the start of RADAR took place at the same time that racism managed to gain a foothold in the Dutch political arena. Many people were extremely alarmed by these developments. Efforts were made to limit the success of racist parties in elections. These actions took a lot of time.

Important lessons from this first period:

- * Topics of the day have a major impact on the planning and agenda of anti-discrimination centres.
- * The handling of requests for information and complaints concerning racism are the first areas where an organisation like RADAR has to prove its credibility.

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Present tasks:

- a. One of RADAR's primary tasks is to assist victims of racism and discrimination and to investigate individual complaints about racism and discrimination. At the moment RADAR receives some 500 complaints a year. The number of complaints shows a tendency to grow.
- b. Activities directed against organised racist or discriminating groups, their activities and propaganda.
- c. Information service for people and organisations wanting to start activities against racism and discrimination. Partly this concerns incidental requests for information from individuals. On the other hand, there are also structural information programmes planned, aiming at particular sectors such as education or neighbourhood projects.
- d. Lobbying and counselling, especially aimed at the local municipality. These activities are of increasing importance to promote structural measures against discrimination and racism. Trends in and analysis of individual complaints are often agenda-setting for these activities.
- e. The same goes for action research. In recent years RADAR has done research on the distribution of housing amongst migrants and, in some cases, proved structural discrimination. Presently research is being done on discrimination in the labour market. Research activities are of special significance in discovering forms of indirect discrimination.

RADAR is a local centre which works mainly for the city of Rotterdam. At the request of another municipality in the neighbourhood of Rotterdam, a RADAR bureau was opened there. There have also been requests from smaller cities in the vicinity of Rotterdam to create separate RADAR offices there as well or to work closely together in building an organisation there. RADAR supports this development, because a lot of the problems RADAR is concerned with (e.g. the labour market or housing market) go beyond city

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boundaries.

Objectives

- * *To support people who are victims of discrimination and racism.* Anti-discrimination centres are independent and easily accessible to people from all walks of life. Studies have shown that people are more likely to report incidents to them than to government agencies concerned with the same problem.
- * *To expose discrimination.* Many forms of discrimination are directed against individuals. Collecting and analysing the details of individual incidents makes it possible to chart the phenomena centrally and consequently develop action programmes and strategies to tackle the problem at its roots.
- * *To provide information and support projects designed to increase tolerance.* An organisation like RADAR is a focal point in the fight against racism; it is in a position to improve expertise in the field and it provides a forum in which people and organisations can join forces.

In short: an organisation like RADAR is concerned with building an infrastructure against racism, which ensures that negative tendencies are recognized and met with at an early stage and that positive tendencies are optimised through the support of a specialised anti-discrimination centre.

Small, local agencies like RADAR are better equipped to keep abreast of circumstances and events in the areas they cover and to respond to them appropriately.

Migrants have always been involved in deciding on the objectives. From the start of the project, approximately half of the members of the board have been of foreign origin. A growing number of staff members are migrants (at the moment 50%).

Context

An organisation like RADAR needs to work closely together with several related

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organisations and institutions locally and nationally.
On the local level, attention can be focused on:

- * *The necessity of gaining public consent.* By and large, organisations like RADAR operate on the basis of public consent. For this reason, they generally try to enlist the support of a wide range of social and political organisations and to promote their representation on management board, advisory councils etc.

On the one hand, our work requires us to have access to the largest possible network of contacts, and on the other hand, the support of a wide spectrum of opinion gives a certain legitimacy to our activities and helps us keep abreast of trends at grassroots level.

- * *The need to work in close co-operation with several local institutions and organisations.* In spite of the importance of specialised anti-discrimination centres, an organisation like RADAR has an important task in encouraging other organisations to adopt their own strategies and provide support and advice. Indeed, measures to combat discrimination are substantially more effective if they are planned and implemented within the organisation in which the problem occurs, providing they are able to create a basis of support and so ensure continuity. Only in this way is it possible to build a wider infrastructure. An anti-discrimination centre like RADAR provides these organisations with support, advice and encouragement.

- * *The importance of exchange of information and of cooperative action with various authorities.* The relationship between anti-discrimination centres and the authorities is rather ambivalent. On the one hand, the centres are heavily dependent on local and regional funding, while on the other, their work is often directed against the authorities.

This ambivalence is perhaps most apparent in the relationship between anti-discrimination centres and the police. RADAR and the police work closely together to prosecute cases of discrimination. At the same time however, a considerable number of incidents reported to centres like RADAR concern racial discrimination by the police force themselves. In some cases, therefore, the authorities work in partnership with organisations like RADAR, while in

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others they are, in a sense, their adversary.

Furthermore, the instruments available are largely defined by the standards and parameters set by central government. Recently, for example, the central authorities tightened up legislation and commissioned a code of conduct against discrimination, while the Police and Public Prosecution Department gave higher priority to charges of discrimination.

On a national level, local and regional centres participate in a number of national forums and work together with national organisations concerned with fighting racism and discrimination, such as:

- the Anne Frank Foundation in Amsterdam, which produces a lot of information and material such as exhibitions, publications and projects which are relevant for and are used by anti-discrimination centres.
- the Anti-Racism Information Centre (ARIC) in Rotterdam is the most important information centre on racism and discrimination in the Netherlands. It distributes a database computer programme with the most relevant information about these subjects and also acts as an information network between several anti-discrimination centres.
- the National Bureau against Racism (*Landelijk Bureau Racismebestrijding*) in Utrecht, the most important national - mainly juridically orientated - research institute concerning racism and discrimination. This institute has an exemplary function for local bureaus as far as research and juridical advice is concerned.
- the Anti-Discrimination Consultative Committee (*Anti Discriminatie Overleg*) in Utrecht which focuses strongly on the often negative presentation of migrants in the media and research on this issue.
- the Dutch Federation of Anti-Discrimination Centres, which enables the local and regional centres to exchange information and know-how and to present a united front as a professional interest group.

RADAR was one of the founders of the Dutch Federation of Anti-Discrimination Centres. ARIC started off as the local information department of RADAR but now is an

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independent organisation operating on an nationwide scale.

Organisation

Form of organisation:

Radar is a foundation with an independent, non-governmental status. Members of the board participate as private persons and are therefore not representatives of specific organisations, but they are chosen from certain relevant sectors of Rotterdam society.

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Financial basis:

- For its structural activities RADAR is mainly financed by the local authorities.
- At present however, most of its budget is directed towards activities on a project basis, aimed at a certain issue and/ or for a limited period of time. These projects are also mainly financed by departments of the local authority.
- For some of its small-scale activities RADAR is sponsored by private funds.

In the past years the total annual budget amounted to figures between six and eight hundred thousand guilders.

Staff and voluntary participants

At the moment RADAR employs eight people, four of whom are of Dutch origin and four of foreign origin. The team is multi-disciplinary and has workers with a social science or juridical background as well as social workers. Furthermore a variable number of trainees work for RADAR.

As a foundation, RADAR has a board as the highest policy-deciding body in the organisation. Beside the board there are several committees which cover a specific parts of society such as schooling and education, police and justice, labour market and housing market. Committees are usually formed by experts in the field in question. Members of the board and members of committees all participate on a voluntary basis.

Methods

Instruments and strategies:

- * RADAR has no investigative authority and is not a semi-judicial institute.
- * RADAR makes little use of legal instruments, since there is often insufficient evidence or insufficient grounds for prosecution. In any event, it is uncertain how effective this type of action is. Many complaints are dealt with by arranging a dialogue between the victim and the alleged offender, enabling both sides to be heard and given opportunity for consultation and discussion. If the dispute cannot be resolved by this means, other methods may be

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employed, such as political lobbying, mobilisation of public opinion, publicity etc.

- * To operate effectively, centres like RADAR depend on wide public support, which constitutes a source of their legitimacy. Measures against racism are formulated in the broadest terms possible in order to secure the support of a wide cross-section of the public. The aim is to ensure that a wide range of political and religious associations, migrants' organisations, workers' and employers' associations, schools etc. are represented in the anti-racist movement.
- * Anti-discrimination centres must essentially be pragmatic in their approach, pursuing practical action programmes with feasible objectives, rather than indulging in theoretical debate. It is important for them to distinguish between cases in which they can take effective action and ones they are not in fact equipped to deal with.
- * Codes of practice against discrimination and racism are of growing importance to enhance the discussion about the need for action against racism in various institutions and organisations.

Main target-groups:

- For individual help and advice: all citizens of foreign origin in Rotterdam who are confronted with discrimination.
- In motivating people to take action against racism: all citizens of Rotterdam.
- In influencing behaviour, politics and certain practices: Dutch people, institutions, organisations, politicians and other decision-makers. As far as institutions are concerned, institutions in the field of labour market, housing, education, police, politics and justice are of special importance.
- In coalitions: migrant organisations, church committees and other relevant organisations.

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Outcomes

- * The expertise in anti-discrimination work in the Netherlands has grown considerably during the last decade. Not only has the number of local or regional bureaus grown, but the support for these organisations on a national level has also improved. The centres are more and more recognized as professionally qualified institutes which have an important role in the fight against racism.
- * Individual cases of complaints and other events which reach an anti-discrimination centre are of the greatest importance in convincing organisations and institutions of the need for an active policy against racism. As such they are very important as an eye-opener.
- * The awareness that racism and discrimination are problems which ask for a focus of attention has grown. More and more organisations are appointing specialised anti-discrimination officers. To give an example: RADAR brought about the appointment of co-ordinating officials for the prosecution of racism in every police department and in the public prosecution office.

A specialised anti-discrimination centre like RADAR also has a major task in seeing that the struggle against racism and discrimination remains an important issue on the political agenda.
- * During the first years of RADAR, most of our policy advice was not requested by organisations or authorities concerned, but was on our own initiative. Nowadays, the advice of RADAR is more and more sought.

At the moment, so many organisations seek our advice in establishing codes of practice against racism that we have a 'waiting-list'.
- * Another example is a request made by one of the police departments in Rotterdam. They asked RADAR to develop a programme, aimed at intensifying the role of the police in the struggle against discrimination, both within the police department and within Rotterdam society. The police department also supported us in the request for the necessary funds from the local authorities. A number of years ago, it would have been unthinkable for

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the police to ask RADAR to develop a project like this.

- * Another important aspect is the fact that a specialised anti-discrimination centre like RADAR is in a position to find out what works and what doesn't. An organisation like RADAR is also in the position to discover what fails in the available instruments to fight racism.
- * We have come a long way in building an infrastructure against racism - at any rate in the sense that the exchange of crucial information between general private organisations, authorities and specialised anti-discrimination organisations is relatively good.

Main lessons

- * Anti-discrimination offices like RADAR must always be on the alert not to be used as an excuse for other organisations to do nothing. Therefore, activities like those of RADAR are always complementary and must never become a substitute for specific activities of other institutions, organisations and authorities.
- * You cannot do everything at once, so priorities must be set. Altering racist attitudes is very difficult and is a long-term process. A lot of forms of discrimination are more concrete in their manifestation and therefore are easier to recognize and to alter. That is why we often give priority to the battle against discrimination.

From the strategic point of view, it is often ineffective to stress racism too much. You cannot speak about racism without questioning *intentions*. The discussion about discrimination concerns the *effects* of certain practices and can be handled in a more matter-of-fact way.
- * There are a lot of people willing to undertake action against racism who are seeking support. It is important to make sure that they get it. They can reach places which an Anti-Discrimination Centre cannot, because they are continuously present in contexts where we are not. When equipped with the right arguments and materials, they are our guarantee for a permanent small-

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scale campaign to oppose racism wherever it manifests itself.
An organisation which neglects these positive forces in society misses at least half the opportunities to alter situations in a positive way.

- * Legal conditions are important as principles which set a norm of what is allowed and what is not. Their importance as practical means of action should not be over-estimated. In our experience, only few cases offer concrete points of contact for legal action.
- * Studies have shown that people are more likely to report incidents to private organisations specialised in the fight against racism than to government agencies concerned with the same problem.
- * The combination of individual help for victims of racism with structural work like counselling, information service and action research within one organisation results in a qualitatively strong combination of tasks.
One should however, take precautions to ensure that growth of the individual work does not interfere with the structural agenda or vice versa.
RADAR has done this by making a clear division of people occupied with individual work and people with structural tasks.
- * Anti-discrimination centres like RADAR are a vital part of the local infrastructure against racism. Their effectiveness and authority nevertheless depend to a large extent on a wide range of other organisations and government agencies working in related areas.
- * Authority in the sense of a broad basis of support in the Dutch context is of greater significance than formal competence.
- * The authority of the organisation is enhanced by involving people with very varied social, political and ethnic backgrounds in the board and other policy-deciding bodies in the organisation. This can only work as long as an anti-discrimination centre like RADAR remains a one-issue movement. RADAR is concerned with the struggle against discrimination only and does not seek to express a common viewpoint on other matters.
- * Last but not least: projects like RADAR are not aimed at eliminating discrimination or racism, but at drawing attention to problems and negative

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developments in good time, while it is still possible to take measures to ensure that things do not get out of hand.

Cyriel Triesscheijn

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7. The Brumunddal Action Plan

Norway

History

Racial problems in Brumunddal started at the end of the 1980s when there was a series of violent acts against immigrants residing in the vicinity. Several arrests were made and some local young people were sentenced in June 1989. Since then, there has been a shooting incident, a mugging episode, several cases of destruction to private and public property, and bullying and threatening behaviour towards immigrants, both adults and children.

These problems reached a climax on 31 August 1991 when a nationally known anti-immigrant speaker came to Brumunddal with several of his supporters to hold an open air meeting. Several members of anti-racist groups, mainly from Oslo, had also travelled to Brumunddal for the occasion. In the clash that followed, several local youths sided with the anti-immigrant speaker and helped to beat up the anti-racists. The street fight received wide media coverage nationally and was a shock for the majority of the local population.

Until now, there have been only a handful of incidents in Norway which can be classified as racist violence. But a third of these have taken place in Brumunddal. Therefore, Brumunddal is atypical for Norway - thus we have to take into account that we are speaking of very small numbers here.

A voluntary organisation ("*Brumunddal pa nye veier*" - "Brumunddal on new paths"), which had been formed in the spring of 1991, made immediate contact with the mayor and the Municipal Executive in the municipality who brought the matter to the Minister of Local Government and Labour. The Minister immediately set up an ad-hoc committee with members from the local administration, "Brumunddal on new paths" and the central administration, to resolve the acute situation in Brumunddal and to suggest more long-term measures in Brumunddal which could also be of use to other local communities facing similar problems.

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The ad-hoc committee commenced its work in September 1991 and produced a plan in December 1991. The **Brumunddal Action Plan** is a pilot project and involved measures at both the local and central government levels for a period of three years (1992-1994). The Ministry of Local Government has given a 5 million kroner grant to the project so far. In addition, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and the Directorate of Immigrant Affairs have made separate contributions. The Brumunddal Action Plan has been approved by the Ringsaker Board of Aldermen and it is planned that the municipality should integrate the plan's most successful measures into its normal budget after the three-year period.

Objectives of the Brumunddal Action Plan

In order to resolve the acute local situation and to generate experience which would be useful to other local communities facing similar problems, the Brumunddal Action Plan formulated its main objective as follows:

to encourage and coordinate local activities and measures which contribute towards creating good relations between immigrants and the rest of the local population, and to make Brumunddal a good place to live in for everyone.

Local measures

- Most of the local measures are directed towards *local youth* in general, and in particular towards the youth who are assumed to be directly involved in harassing immigrants or who are at risk of being recruited into such activity. In other words, most of the local measures are preventive in character. They include specially tailored employment and training schemes, social work, youth club activities, information and youth counselling etc.
- *Information* in its widest sense is also another important measure. The local administration, politicians, schools, groups and organisations and the local population in general have received information about racism and immigration issues.
- Integration measures in *local groups and voluntary organisations* have also been implemented. Funding has been made available to such organisations so that

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arenas for contact between immigrants and the local population can be increased and developed.

- *Police work* has also been a focus. The police did not seem to take the situation seriously when the first racial incidents occurred. The general attitude then was that "boys will be boys". The Action Plan has therefore included concrete measures to improve the cooperation between the local administration and the police force in particular, and to raise the level of consciousness and knowledge in the police force on related issues.

Development of the Action Plan

The Brumunddal Action Plan is a pilot project for Norway. In other words, we have had to learn from our own experience and mistakes. The project has therefore developed and readjusted its focus along the way.

In the beginning, some measures implemented were directed towards resolving the acute racial situation as quickly as possible. This part of the Action Plan had a "fire-fighting" character. This also meant that there was not enough time for a deep analysis of the situation before measures were taken. Therefore, in the immediate period that followed, the Action plan has been devoted towards developing a common, public diagnosis of the problems facing the local community. In addition, a social anthropologist has been engaged to study local cultural processes in general and local youth culture in particular. The results of this study will be available in the autumn of 1993.

The original Action Plan had few measures directed toward the immigrant population in particular. Nor were the immigrants involved in the initial development of the plan. Therefore, specific efforts have since been made to obtain the immigrants' points of view and suggestions for possible measures especially concerning services provided by the local administration. A special study has been commissioned and the results will also be available in the autumn of 1993.

Other new measures which have been developed include: community development projects, physical training for the unemployed, contact with the trade unions, attitudinal studies and several mobilisation measures in cooperation with the voluntary organisation "Brumunddal on new paths".

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Though the problem of racism is complex, we have chosen, on the basis of our experience, to focus especially on more general marginalisation processes both at school and in the work place among the local youth. Such processes make these youth more vulnerable to the activities and propaganda of the more racist elements in the community. Therefore, in the next phase of the Action Plan, we wish to focus more on the youth programmes in the local administration.

Another central aim in the coming period will be to strengthen efforts towards integrating immigrants in existing local education, employment and leisure activities. In addition, another challenge will be to include the immigrants in the further development of the project.

Local project organisation

The Brumunddal Action Plan is a three year cooperative project (1992-1994) between the Ringsaker municipality and the Ministry of Local Government and Labour.

A *project coordinator* has been hired in the Ringsaker municipality to coordinate and direct the project activities at local level. This includes activities in the local administration, contact with relevant voluntary organisations and contact with central government authorities. The project coordinator also participates in all the meetings held in the *voluntary organisation* "Brumunddal on new paths".

The multi-agency approach has made it necessary to establish a *multi-agency* contact group representing the various relevant sectors in the local administration. The police are also represented in this group. The responsibility of this group is to coordinate efforts in the local administration, to evaluate these and to suggest new priorities in the development of the project.

Two *external consultants* who are specialists in community development have also been affiliated to the project.

The *mayor* and the *Municipal Executive* are also heavily involved in the Action Plan, thus contributing towards integrating the plan into both local politics and the local administration.

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At the national level, the Ministry of Local Government and Labour is responsible for continuous contact between all participants, local and central, in the Brumunddal Action Plan and for linking the project to wider national programmes against racism.

Wider national programmes

The Brumunddal Action Plan is directly linked to wider national programmes to combat racism. Indirectly, it is linked to national programmes to promote equal opportunity for persons with immigrant backgrounds.

The Brumunddal Action Plan is a project within the framework of the main Norwegian policy document ("*Handlingsplan mot rasisme og etnisk diskriminering*") to combat racism and ethnic discrimination - both individual and institutional, intentional or unintended - which was launched by the Norwegian government in May 1992. This document lists the main tasks for the period 1992-1995. Target groups include victims, perpetrators and relevant institutions. Methods include initiating research and documentation, systematising and disseminating experience from local projects, integrating anti-discrimination perspectives in relevant institutions, and evaluating and establishing a national system for mediation, complaints and monitoring. A project coordinator has been appointed to lead the Norwegian multi-agency anti-discrimination project.

To date, a seminar on the balance between legal protection from racism and freedom of speech has been held (December 1992). The seminar sparked off a public debate which resulted in a debate in Parliament on the effectiveness of Norwegian legislation against racist utterances in public, including racial vilification. Subsequently, the Director of Public Prosecutions has renewed his commitment to put existing legislation into effect. The Minister of Justice has also taken the initiative of making certain provisions in the law more explicit, thus improving legal protection in this area.

A working group appointed by the Ministry of Local Government and Labour has submitted a report on how to improve data collection on racial violence and harassment (December 1992). The suggestions submitted by the working group are now in the process of being implemented in the relevant institutions.

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Several research projects have also been commissioned. As a general principle, dissemination of research results is given high priority.

Outcomes

Locally, the Brumunddal Action Plan has generated several positive results. Those who were harassed earlier (either because of their immigrant backgrounds or because of their positive stand against racism) have experienced a significant reduction in such occurrences. Another concrete result is the increase in the number of activities dealing with related topics in schools, voluntary organisations, the local administration etc.

On a more long-term basis, the local administration has realised that it needs to adopt a perspective whereby the problem of young people who have harassed local immigrants and persons having spoken out against racism is seen as a structural, and not only as an isolated problem. This has implications for the way in which the local administration organizes its youth programmes in the future. More concretely, it needs to focus better on how to prevent the marginalisation of youth in the local community.

Main lessons

There is a strong focus on dissemination of results and experience in the Brumunddal Action plan. To date, a report on the work of the external consultants in community development who were engaged during the project's first year has been published. Furthermore, the local project coordinator and the mayor of the municipality have given talks and interviews, taken part in television programmes etc. on their experience.

Though the Action Plan is not yet completed, there are several lessons which can be drawn already.

The importance of *broad based support* in the local population for such a plan. Much of the work in the Action Plan in the first year has consisted in involving the local population, especially the local administration and voluntary organisations, so that they feel a kind of "ownership" of it. This should mean that the activities do not disappear when the project period and external funding is terminated.

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Much effort has therefore been directed towards developing a *common understanding* of the local history and the current situation. This has been necessary for Brumunddal because it had received so much negative media coverage. It has been important for the local community to publicly discuss questions like: what type of place is Brumunddal? Why has Brumunddal become an arena for racists to express themselves? The mayor, the local project coordinator and local experts have assisted the external consultants in this ongoing discussion.

Such diagnostic discussions have also been necessary within the local administration because the Action Plan adopts a multi-agency approach.

Admitting that there is a local problem is a necessary first step.

In general, part of the work of developing a common understanding, both within the local community and in the local administration, has also included the discussion and development of a *common language and use of concepts*.

The general public and the local administration have also participated in discussions of what needs to be done and the *possibilities for action*. The external consultants have contributed by making the possible alternatives clearer to everyone.

It is important that *concrete* measures are taken, and that the *responsibility is spread and shared* among relevant institutions. The local project coordinator should not sit alone with the responsibility for making the project a success.

New channels for cooperation e.g. with voluntary organisations, and within the local administration itself, need to be established. The first step needs to be taken by the management in the local administration.

The *systematisation of learning and of experiences* with the Action Plan must be public and continuous.

The *leadership and example of local politicians and leading personalities* cannot be underestimated. This is a condition for the local population to mobilise and to act swiftly and unambiguously when acute racial incidents occur. In the case of Brumunddal, the swift and positive action of leading national politicians also played an important role.

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Cooperation with the police is crucial for dealing with an acute racial incident, and for longer term prevention measures.

The *role of the media* is also clear. In the case of Brumunddal, we have seen how reporting methods can sway public opinion, and therefore public action, in one way or the other.

Not all the most effective measures are dependent on fresh funding. Thus in some cases, *reorganisation of existing programmes* and *new channels of cooperation* have been equally effective in producing results.

Measures connected with employment and the police have been more effective in the short term because of the involvement of *central authorities*. However, it remains to be seen whether this will be the case in the long run.

Finally, the Action Plan has rephrased its goal slightly: the aim is not to work for a conflict-free situation, but to work for *a level of activity and consciousness in the local community which can be mobilised* when an acute racial incident occurs, and to work towards promoting tolerance in its widest sense in the long run.

Roy Carstens

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8. Potsdam Regional Office for questions concerning foreigners

Potsdam, Germany

Introduction

The Regional Office for Questions concerning Foreigners (RAA) in Potsdam was founded in 1992. Regional Offices for Questions concerning Foreigners exist in several cities in the Western part of Germany. The earliest was founded ten years ago. The idea of making its organisation a public association (a registered society) was extended to East Berlin immediately after unification, and from there to the other new federal Länder, beginning with Brandenburg.

Racism and xenophobia are as widely spread and as deeply rooted in Brandenburg as in the other federal Länder of Germany, with the difference that there are very few immigrants in the new eastern federal Länder. So the question is not primarily how to integrate the immigrants, but how to reduce racism. Although Brandenburg has a common border with Poland and although people asking for asylum, especially those coming from the East, enter Germany via Brandenburg, the percentage of foreigners is still very low (2%).

Description of the work of the RAA Potsdam

Sometimes I think we are confidence tricksters. We want to push back racism, fight right-wing extremism, and reduce the tendency to violence by working in schools, in cultural work with youth, and through training and counselling for foreigners and Germans.

We create expectations no one can fulfil. We can carry out projects at best only on individual points and models. Our primarily "pedagogical interventions" do not even touch the social causes of the present miserable situation, which, in many people's minds, is reflected against those they consider to be "weaker". We are a "repair shop" and even have to watch out that we are not used by others as an excuse for avoiding responsibility - under the catchphrase: "That's what the RAA is for". Only the knowledge

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that there are many individuals and groups working towards the same goals allows us to live with the tension between disillusionment and persistence in details.

We have not existed for very long. We are a public service association (Regionale Arbeitsstellen für Ausländerfragen e.V. Brandenburg und Berlin, main office in the eastern part of Berlin). We are far enough removed from the State to have some freedom of action and to apply for project funds, but close enough to the State to have access to schools and be entrusted with the execution of a federal State pilot project.

In the federal Land of Brandenburg there is, so far, an RAA in Potsdam and one in Frankfurt-am-Oder. Five more offices in Brandenburg are to follow in the first half of 1993: in Angermünde, Lübbenau, Storkow, Wittenberge and, probably, in Strausberg. The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport will then delegate a total of eight teachers to the RAA's, teaching six hours a week. Six social workers will also work on site, paid by the Ministry of Labour, Social Benefits, Health and Women through the Commissioner for Foreigners. Nine people, four of them in employment-creation jobs and two delegated teachers, currently work in the Potsdam RAA, which coordinates the other RAA's. The other three are financed through the pilot project. A mobile counselling team of four people, who "live out of their suitcases" in changing locations, is affiliated with the Potsdam RAA. Our work is supported by the Freudenberg Foundation in Weinheim, near Heidelberg.

In 1992 we began several undertakings that we wish to continue and develop further in 1993.

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Allow me to sketch some of them:

"Days Against Exclusion and Violence"

We support schools in preparing and carrying out project days devoted to the idea of people of varying origins living together and to the reduction of violence. The form the support takes ranges from supplying speakers, through the sharing of experience in content and organisation, to direct cooperation in organising. When a teacher first dares to break through the normal instruction mode in this way, he/she is usually astonished at how easy it is. The pupils generally express the wish that project-oriented learning be continued.

We are presently working on intensifying our counselling of teaching faculties: a person with an East German biography and one with a West German biography - a so-called East-West tandem - spends one week taking part in a school's preparations for a project week and a second week in its execution. We have found more than 20 people with experience inside or outside the school and with varying specialised competencies in the areas of reduction of violence and multi-cultural learning. From their work together, we expect not only many new ideas on how to awaken curiosity and interest in foreigners while reducing hatred, but also - through mutual training - the formation of a pool of speakers, counsellors and multipliers. People who can reduce the feelings of helplessness in this situation, so new to all of us, are presently very rare.

Music workshops with foreign artists

First, in the framework of the "Culture Circus" during the "Week of the Foreign Resident", in autumn 1992, we brought music and theatre groups together with interested communities. But we did not feel these one-off performances had exhausted the possibilities for contact with a foreign culture. Since then, our Bulgarian colleague in particular has been experimenting with a combination of workshops and performances. We find again and again that, especially when young people are motivated and given instruction enabling them to take part themselves, music can soften the initial, sometimes open, hostility towards foreign guests. However, it is questionable whether more is achieved than the intensification of such stereotypes as "blacks simply have rhythm". We are now seeking ways to anchor people's minds the reduction of hostility that has taken place at the level of feelings.

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Referral of foreign speakers

The colleague from the Potsdam RAA most in demand is a black African, a teacher from Zaire who also has a doctorate in economics at Berlin's Freie Universität. Throughout the federal Land of Brandenburg, from the kindergartens to the high schools, he patiently and knowledgeably reports on the African continent and on the difficulty of a black African living in Germany. We know that, in some small communities, his visit was the topic of conversation for days afterwards. Recently he has also been speaking at other institutions, for example at the Bundeswehr, Germany's army. We also provide other foreign speakers, and not just to schools. We are establishing contact with the Commissioners for Foreigners in Potsdam's Police Presidium.

Working Groups outside of schools

We have begun booking creative artists, for example a puppet show or a circus clown, in schools. Over a period of several days, together with teachers and pupils, partly during classes and partly outside of school, they develop a project towards the acceptance of foreigners and the non-violent solution of conflicts. But the process is not finished with the end of the performance. Instead, every project, including the project weeks, should give rise to one or more working groups outside of the school. Initial experience shows that this is possible.

In this way, we try to contribute to providing new afternoon activities for children and young people to replace those that have vanished. Themes and forms must be found that enable them to develop their own activity while simultaneously dealing with and forming ties with adults. For it is undisputed that the emotional neglect of many children and young people and their desensitisation through passivity is one of the causes of their readiness to commit violence and right-wing extremism.

German as a foreign language

Children and young people who are refugees, applicants for asylum or ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe often speak little or no German. Teachers in the federal Land of Brandenburg are not properly prepared to confront this situation. The desire to be trained

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in "German as a foreign language", including information on the causes of migration and the differences between cultures, is correspondingly high. We have a specialist from the University of Potsdam "Work Team on Migration and Foreign Policy" and other experts who carry out intensive, on-site advanced training, generally eight hours at a stretch, thus reducing insecurities about new tasks. These advanced training courses are held in cooperation with the Brandenburg Land Pedagogical Institute (PLIB).

We hope that such training courses will lead to supplementary courses of study as a standard subject in the advanced training of teachers. Together with the PLIB, we issued invitations to two rounds of talks with this aim in November 1992 and January 1993. The "associated" specialists presented a strategy paper.

Care of Bosnian war refugees

Together with the "Initiative in Support of the Peace Movement in Former Yugoslavia" and with the "South-East Europe Cultural Association", both based in Berlin, the Potsdam RAA developed the project "Breaking through the isolation of the war refugees from former Yugoslavia". It began in October 1992 and is going well, it is initially planned to last through to June 1993.

Psychologists, doctors, teachers and others from Bosnia, Croatia and Serbia, mostly women, some themselves refugees, many of them bilingual, as well as some Germans, are assigned in groups of three to one of Brandenburg's five war refugee hostels. Their tasks include supporting the adults in dealing with problems, teaching the young their native language, working with children and young people outside of school, and establishing contact with Germans. Part of the project is a monthly team meeting and advanced training for the team and for the directors and employees of the hostels.

Mobile Roma counselling

The need in Brandenburg for a Roma counselling centre to visit hostels is due to the wide gap between the Roma culture and our own and to the problems that German offices, hostel personnel and broad segments of the population have with the Roma people, in particular those coming from Romania and seeking asylum. These problems are due, at least in part, to mutual ignorance of each other's cultural backgrounds and to

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massive problems in communication.

A Rom and two Bulgarians, one of whom speaks Romanian, work in the mobile counselling centre. The work is coordinated by a German colleague in the RAA. At least once a week, this team spends a whole day in one or several hostels. It seeks to reduce basic difficulties and to prevent conflicts which might arise.

In conclusion, let me mention the work emphasis currently being planned. They too include work with children and young people as well as with adults:

- Multi-cultural learning in kindergartens and day-care centres;
- Contributions to a media pedagogy that concentrates on dealing with violence in the media;
- The formation of openness to the world through identification with words and music, taking up the thread of the East German songwriter tradition;
- Reducing the indifference towards the withdrawal of CIS forces by holding talks after showing Helga Reidemeister's film "Rodina means Homeland";
- Contributing towards German-Polish understanding by initiating German-Polish history study groups and through contacts between school classes, particularly in the primary grades.

We believe our work to be a contribution to society's condemnation of racism, right-wing extremism and violence. We want to achieve a situation in which more and more people openly demonstrate this condemnation in everyday life - in the institutions and in politics, in words and deeds.

Hilde Schramm

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9. Cultural activities In the Region of Lazio Italy

Context

Lazio probably has a higher concentration of foreigners, particularly non-EU citizens, than any other region of Italy. A full 25% of the country's foreign population live in Lazio, mostly in the city of Rome, which accounts for 90% of the region's immigrant population; further heavy concentrations of foreigners are to be found in Latina and in a number of other localities, principally in the environs of Rome.

The majority of foreigners - particularly certain nationalities - work in domestic service, the construction sector, catering and related activities (such as fast food outlets and bakeries), craft businesses and door-to-door sales. Minors are generally integrated into state schools.

Although the majority of the region's foreign immigrant population seem to be in a relatively stable situation with regard to work, housing and so on, the others have acute problems, particularly in these two fields. In other words, their main problem lies in fully integrating into our society.

This is due to the pattern of immigration with Italy and to the lack of adequate services, which stems partly from the sudden and unforeseen development of immigration, but also sometimes from an underlying mistrust or latent racism, either engendered or encouraged by the current economic situation.

Racism and xenophobia

The fact that a considerable proportion of Lazio's population has either direct or indirect experience of immigration has meant that serious outbreaks of racism and xenophobia have so far been avoided. In our opinion, an additional factor is that the basic culture of the Italian population, deriving as it does from a kaleidoscope of extremely diverse and

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varied cultural origins, is conducive to a certain degree of tolerance.

However, forms of racism - albeit latent - do exist in our region. There have been incidents of intolerance, and some of these have been extremely serious. For example, the fact that some nationalities have more difficulty than others in getting access to certain types of employment shows that racism exists and is more widespread than it seems .

It is also clear that, without going so far as to speak of extremism, cultural stereotypes do have an influence, and a certain dichotomy is developing between rational attitudes (which lead to acceptance) and an emotional response of fear and concern with regard to "others", who are, especially at the present time, seen as antagonists or threats.

A survey in a school, in which French students also took part revealed, on the one hand, sympathy for multiculturalism and awareness of the need to accept diversity and, on the other, a deep-seated fear that immigration might pose a threat to the country and to every individual, especially as far as the problems of violence, unemployment and so on were concerned (cultural stereotyping).

The xenophobia which has begun to emerge in the region (manifested in recent widespread incidents of intolerance) has done so mostly in areas with large foreign immigrant communities, which have formed spontaneously, often in conditions of extreme hardship, and creating problems for the local community precisely because of inadequate living conditions and the associated problems of marginalisation.

However, it must be said that intolerance towards foreigners occurs not only in disadvantaged areas with a high proportion of foreign immigrants but also in areas where there has merely been an appreciable increase in the number of foreigners.

Programmes

The Region is aware of this situation, and particularly of the fact that racism and xenophobia are generated by cultural paradigms as well as by marginalisation and must consequently be tackled primarily at a cultural level. It therefore decided to launch a whole series of initiatives aimed at fostering solidarity, knowledge of different cultures and education for co-existence and interculturalism, initiatives which have now been in

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operation for some time .

These consciousness-raising activities have focused on two areas in particular: familiarisation with immigrants' cultures and experiences, and creating a culture of mutual solidarity (including educating people to live together, combating xenophobia and working for the protection of immigrants' cultures of origin).

Obviously, if these kinds of cultural initiative are to be really effective, they must be integrated into a range of political initiatives aimed at eliminating the root causes of the phenomenon which, as I have suggested, are often of an economic and social nature.

Therefore, in addition to specific initiatives, we need also to envisage -particularly at present - policies in the housing, employment and health sectors in order to counter the risks inherent in the current economic situation, which could spark a "revolt of the poor".

Initiatives

This document will focus on just some of the whole range of initiatives which have been taken.

Inter-community links:

This programme has been running for a number of years and involves a series of events organised over a two-week period in various venues (such as historic towns or fairs) accessible to the whole population, Italian and foreign immigrant alike, and which give these groups the opportunity to get to know each other, to meet and to participate in joint activities.

Alongside a cultural area with stands for the various communities and ethnic groups there is an area where people can watch dance or music productions put on by local communities, see films, exhibitions or fashion shows, and also learn traditional or other dances. During the event, debates and meetings of various kinds are also held on the issues of immigration, interculturalism and integration into society and employment. Lastly, there is a special section for intercultural activities for children.

These events, which have been taking place for several years now, have quite a

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following and have generated closer links between the ethnic groups present and various groups, schools and individual visitors.

Our next step is to develop this type of initiative by decentralising and extending the programme (in a limited way, given the relatively high costs and the difficulty of putting stands together) to peripheral areas, especially districts with a high proportion of foreign immigrants.

Information:

A second initiative aimed at the population as a whole concerns the press and involves using regular channels to disseminate a daily bulletin dealing specifically with intercultural and immigration matters and providing information on the various public and private-sector initiatives in this field.

Although barely out of its pilot phase, which involved putting out an occasional Monday supplement to a major Roman daily newspaper (the "Paese Sera"), this initiative has already had a considerable impact.

The aim of the widely published initiative is to raise public awareness of the questions at issue. Although the initial outlay was fairly considerable, it should become self-financing in time.

Given that it has been well-received by both the Roman and immigrant population, it is soon to be extended at the end of the pilot phase.

In the field of education, three specific initiatives are being carried out in conjunction with schools, immigrant communities, non-governmental organisations, trade unions and social welfare organisations, namely:

A TWINNING CAMPAIGN BETWEEN SCHOOLS IN LAZIO AND SCHOOLS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

This campaign, which was launched around three years ago and is financed from various sources, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under international co-operation and development education legislation, involves various schools in the region and schools in developing countries. This campaign has aroused interest on the part of teachers and primary and secondary school pupils, and the immigrant population

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participates directly (for example, as intermediaries with countries of origin).

In the course of the campaign, initial and in-service training seminars for teachers have been organised in co-operation with partners in developing countries, and meetings and exchanges have been arranged between pupils in the schools participating in the programme.

One of the most noteworthy results of this campaign has been the participation of (mainly technical and vocational) schools in practical co-operative development initiatives in their twin countries, some of which have even been directly managed by the parties concerned.

INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION CAMPAIGN

Also in the educational field, this campaign is more recent and still has to be extended to all the schools in Lazio.

The campaign will involve a number of information and training programmes (in various subjects for various operators), together with the production of teaching materials and courses and a scheme of classroom visits, by representatives of the various ethnic groups (to be chosen by the schools themselves).

A considerable number of schools are already involved in this campaign, which is based on initiatives which have already been developed and uses existing materials and equipment (see below).

THE "PER DIRE UGUALI" (TO SPEAK AS EQUALS) CAMPAIGN

This campaign deals specifically with the fight against racism and xenophobia and is aimed at upper secondary schools. It too focuses on a whole range of training, information and other similar activities.

As a result of the campaign, a whole series of links has been established between schools and the worlds of scientific research and specialised publishing, voluntary organisations and other social forces.

As its name suggests, the aim of the project, which our region launched several years

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ago in conjunction with the CIDI (national teachers' organisation), is to make pupils aware of reciprocal similarities and differences, with a view to building a single cultural framework within which each person's identity can be respected.

Teaching material has already been designed and produced for this project in the form of study packs for pupils in compulsory education, containing information, comparisons and exercises to stimulate research and thinking on certain aspects of life and culture in the North and South of the planet.

The project has also led to the development of a game which the object is to construct a whole out of regular polygons with equal but differently-coloured sides. The game has been distributed to certain schools, but further development has been slow due to the extremely high production costs.

Recently the "Kaleidoscope" project material, which is known and used in several regions of Italy, has been revised and submitted jointly to the EU by Italy, other European countries (Spain) and developing countries (including Tunisia), with a view to obtaining funding. The purpose of the revised project is the testing and use of the material in other countries.

Teaching materials have also been developed for other sectors, in the framework of various regional projects.

Lastly, we have endeavoured and are continuing to endeavour to lay foundations which can prevent the racism always latent in humanity from evolving into more extreme forms and which may indeed even lead to its eradication.

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10. Measures against racism and animosity towards foreigners in Berlin

Germany

The situation in the reunited City of Berlin

As a consequence of the political changes in Eastern and Southeastern Europe since the disappearance of the internal German borders, a heavy immigration influx from these areas to the Federal Republic has resulted; Berlin, the nearest Central European metropolis to the East and the city with the largest population of sedentary minorities from these countries, is especially affected immigration. This influx will no doubt eventually subside, but, depending upon circumstances, could increase again.

The authoritarian structures inherent in former GDR society, with heavy reliance upon indoctrination and rejection of everything foreign, have produced certain ascertainable differences in the attitudes of East Berliners as compared to their Western countrymen on the issue of non-Germans living in Germany. Incidents of hate crimes involving violent right-wing German youths have taken place for the most part in East Berlin.

But the population of East Berlin can by no means be characterized as entirely xenophobic. The latest opinion polls have shown that the differences between East and West regarding openness toward foreigners have decreased; interestingly enough, this openness falls short in the East when those polled were asked about their willingness to have closer contact with non-Germans (in areas such as friendship, marriage, etc.)

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Facts and figures

- Berlin has a foreign population of about 11%, in numbers, about 385,000
- there are only about 2-3% of non-Germans living in the eastern city districts, the majority of them being former contract workers from Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and Poland
- the Turkish population makes up the largest percentage of foreigners, numbering about 139,000, followed by approximately 30,000 Poles
- there are currently about 45,000 refugees and asylum-seekers living in the city and receiving welfare

Animosity towards foreigners, discrimination and tolerance

There are various problem areas regarding ethnic discrimination that can be distinguished among the complaints that have come through the Office of the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs¹⁹. These findings correspond for the most part with the findings of the commissions for equal opportunity and anti-discrimination established in some European countries a few years ago:

- violent attacks on persons or their property with xenophobic or racist motives;
- unequal treatment in the access to jobs and housing, in educational and vocational training institutions and in community services and establishments;
- discriminatory insults, humiliating treatment and threats at the workplace or in vocational training institutions, in the media and by political organisations;

¹⁹ "Die Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats", which has been translated here as the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs, is a state office devoted to foreigners and the difficulties they may encounter during their residence in the city of Berlin. The office also provides extensive information brochures and counselling services free of charge to the public.

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- violence between youths of different nationality and origin.

Compared with other German cities, Berlin ranks low on the list of occurrences of punishable offences of violent nature directed against foreigners or asylum-seekers. There are a number of reasons for this:

- * a long history of living side-by-side with Berliners of various nationalities and origins in West Berlin,
- * a city policy that places a high value on foreigners and their integration into German society,
- * public relations work that is admired by other cities,
- * a large number of counselling centres and self-help organisations that deal with the specific problems of the various non-German groups and embrace the ideals of intercultural understanding;
- * preventive measures by the police and the readiness of police forces to effectively protect asylum seekers' housing in the event of threatening situations.

Despite these relatively positive influences, the fact that foreign companies and foreign businessmen continue to express concern for their safety in Germany cannot be overlooked. This is of special importance to Berlin and points to the fact that beyond objective security, subjective feelings of security must be strengthened for foreigners in this city. This is not only dependent upon effective police protection in threatening situations, but also upon a noticeable tolerance and acceptance for foreigners in daily situations.

The Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs has recently been concerned about the number of reports she received regarding incidents of non-Germans having been abused or insulted on the basis of their ethnic background by on-duty Berlin police officers. In one case, antisemitic insults were reported. The Commissioner demanded an unconditional explanation from the responsible parties; judicial inquiries are proceeding. As of yet there have been no definitive results. Such occurrences jeopardize the efforts, supported by the Commissioner, of the Berlin police force to establish a trustworthy relationship with the

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non-German population.

Ethnic discrimination in everyday situations - attempted solutions

The vast majority of complaints reported to the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs in connection with ethnic discrimination deal with unequal treatment in everyday situations. They include:

- unequal treatment in access to jobs or at the workplace
- unequal treatment in access to housing as well as discrimination by neighbours
- unequal treatment in the areas of education and vocational training
- unequal treatment in community services and establishments (especially in discotheques and restaurants)
- discriminatory insults, humiliations and threats at the workplace or place of study, in the media and commercial advertising and through political organisations and anonymous individuals.

Ethnic discrimination, i.e., unequal treatment due to skin colour or country of origin, can be most easily substantiated if the characteristics of a punishable offence have been fulfilled. In most cases, the victims have the law on their side. More subtle methods of alienation and unconscious or unintentional discrimination often go unnoticed. Subjectively perceived snubs cannot always be substantiated. Considering the continuous wave of xenophobic and racially motivated acts of violence that have caused a sense of insecurity among ethnic minorities, it is understandable that even relatively minor occurrences in everyday situations pose a subjectively greater threat and psychological burden than was the case a few years ago. Ethnic discrimination is but one of many factors that play a role in conflicts, be they at the workplace, in school or in disputes between neighbours.

The *Isolated Case Intervention* of the "Project for Non-violent Intercultural Understanding" in the Office of the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs aims at solving conflicts and bringing about arbitration to reduce prejudices between neighbours and in schools. Long-term prevention serves the interests of public relations as mentioned above.

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For the last seven years, the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs has pursued complaints about discrimination against non-German, especially Turkish, youths at the doors of Berlin discotheques. The findings of the first few years were evaluated in an investigation that was presented in 1990. The researchers came to the conclusion that ethnic discrimination inside and at the entrance to Berlin discotheques takes place on a significant scale. It was recommended to the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs that the well practised routine - consistently following up on all complaints and promoting the elimination of discrimination through talks with the owners and managers of discotheques - be continued. In serious cases, the district offices can withdraw the proprietor's licence on the basis of violation of the requirements of the Berlin restaurant code.

In 1992, as in previous years, the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs held talks with public housing authorities and various employers in order to work towards the equality of ethnic minorities in access to housing and employment opportunities and in the existing work and rental situations. The Federal Office for Employment, however, could not be convinced that the notation "foreigner: yes/no" be removed from the computer files of the Central Employment Office. This differentiation is of no consequence for a business and plays no role whatsoever in the qualifications of a prospective employee; rather, it represents an blatant, impermissible case of discrimination.

Resulting from discussions with the advertising departments of larger daily newspapers, such discriminatory notations as "no foreigners" or "Germans only" have for the most part been eliminated from the job advertisements.

With regard to remarks and portrayals reinforcing prejudices that appeared in a series of economic publications, the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs formally criticized the editor, an effective procedure with successful results in the majority of cases. In contrast, effective measures are hardly possible to combat general and concrete threats (such as anonymous letters and leaflets) that members of ethnic minorities as well as the Office of the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs receive. Judicial inquiries are usually set into motion after such incidents.

Measures employed in the individual administrative Departments in Berlin

Police Department.

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a) planned restructuring of police administration, so that direct and continuous contacts and encounters with immigrant organisations, minority representatives and advisory boards are guaranteed (this has already been discussed in police headquarters and the first steps have been taken)

b) the creation and implementation of continuing education courses for police officers aimed at professionalizing their behaviour when dealing with minorities (the key factors are improving their presence and emphasizing sensitivity during vocational training). The training department of the police force is already working on this and is being advised by the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs.

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Civil Service:

Campaigns for a strengthened recruiting and placement of ethnic and cultural minorities in the administrations and municipal undertakings of the state of Berlin as well as in the police force. The civil service should break new ground in this area.

Schools:

- the project "Schools against Violence", begun last year, includes measures against xenophobia and racism in the form of workshops, treatment of this topic in the classroom, field-trips to memorial sites and awareness-building among teachers and other influential persons (through continuing education).

- exchange and encounter programmes must be expanded.

Youth groups:

The interdepartmental urgent action programme of the Senate called "Youth with a Future" concerns itself with young peoples' issues and can be regarded as a preventive measure against animosity towards foreigners.

The following achievements are worthy of mention:

- extended opening hours of youth centres at the weekends and during school vacations
- the use of schools for free time activities
- continuation and expansion of "street-worker programmes" (there are 17 teams working in the western city districts and five in the east)
- support for preventive measures in sports, for example, a soccer fan project, a sports project as well as assistance to youth sports clubs (i.e., in Lichtenberg)

The following projects from the Senate Administration for Social Affairs (through which the Office of the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs operates) are of special importance in the combating of racism and animosity towards foreigners:

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- the Cultural Workshop, located on Wissemstraße, creates possibilities for intercultural encounters, especially for youths
- the programme "Youth with a Future"

Tasks of the "Project for non-violent intercultural understanding"

- the advice and documentation for individual cases of ethnic discrimination
- arbitration talks in conflict situations
- discussions with public housing authorities, discotheque owners, employers and representatives of the Berlin administration about possibilities for dealing with conflicts and the equal treatment of non-Germans and ethnic minorities
- organisational help and steering of the content of the project "Youth Against Violence"
- Training Courses Against Discrimination and Violence" for juvenile delinquents and those who influence them
- assistance with the interdepartmental "Independent Commission for the Opposition and Prevention of Violence in Berlin"
- the distribution of information and public relations work (through continuing education courses, parents' nights, etc) in schools and businesses
- the preparation of suggestions for new legal regulations taking the initiatives on the national and European level into consideration

Educational efforts and preventive measures

In 1992, twenty "Training Courses Against Discrimination and Violence" with a total of about 200 participants took place; each lasted at least two days. These courses were

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prepared and carried out in cooperation with the Juvenile Courts of the city districts. The participants were youths, adolescents and young adults who have become known to the courts through participation in acts of violence. The goal of these courses is to develop, together with the young people concerned, behavioural tactics for dealing with conflict situations. These ideas were also used, with certain modifications, in seminars held by teachers and social workers in 1992 with a total of 110 participants.

At the end of 1990, Berlin youths of various nationalities from the entire city participated in the project "Youth Against Violence" initiated by the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs. The young people in this "anti-movement" want to enhance awareness of the escalation of violence in their age-group and present non-violent alternatives in order to work against the inclination to carry weapons. This project advertises its goals with information materials and meetings; through the "snowball effect" it has initiated new anti-violence groups in schools, free time institutions, sports clubs, church groups etc. This project is supported logistically and in content by the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs.

The "Project for Non-Violent Intercultural Understanding" is at the disposal of schools (especially on theme days), businesses, parents' initiatives, youth groups etc. for information about relevant themes; it participates with contributions in continuing education courses (especially for multipliers). The need for information and enlightenment in this area is contained in two brochures published by the Commissioner of Foreigners' Affairs: "I don't have anything against foreigners, but..." (1991), which discusses the usual prejudices in an informative and argumentative manner; "Turning Your Back on Violence" (1992) contains material about Berlin youths in their search for new norms and social manners in an intercultural milieu.

A network of contact persons in numerous Berlin schools through which measures against discrimination and violence can be intensified and expanded is being built up. With the help of this network, it is hoped that individual cases of conflict and discrimination, many of which are taken to the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs, can be settled at their places of origin.

The "Project for Non-violent Intercultural Understanding" also advises the victims of hate crimes with xenophobic and racist motives. In 1992, a few complaints about the delayed arrivals or improper behaviour of police officers responding to emergency calls were made; these complaints have not as yet been cleared up.

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The first suggestions for a new concept for the Berlin police force have been drawn up by the interdepartmental commission "Berlin Against Violence" in relation to the treatment of ethnic and cultural minorities. They emphasize training and continuing education, contact between the police forces and minority organisations, directed advertising and an opening of the police service to ethnic minorities, as well as the naming of a commissioner for foreigners' affairs to the police force.

The "Project for Non-violent Intercultural Understanding" is planning to systematize the previous listings and documentations of complaints relating to ethnic discrimination so that a long-range picture of proven cases of discrimination can be presented.

Publically effective measures from the Office of the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs

Under the motto "Living Together", the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs appeals to the public for integration, openness and readiness for the tolerance of foreigners; it also provides German and non-German Berliners alike with important information. The goal of this public relations exercise is to present positive integrational and political principles.

One emphasis of public relations work is the literature offering background information about the various nationalities in Berlin, aspects of their history, culture, religion and their life in the city. Other publications deal with specific questions such as vocational training, residence permits, retirement benefits and so forth. In addition to the publications in German, the Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs offers information literature in various foreign languages. The goal of promoting "togetherness" between Germans and non-Germans is served by advertising and billboard campaigns as well as informative video films. The Commissioner for Foreigners' Affairs supports, in the form of prizes and honours, persons and their works that are dedicated to public tolerance. Prizes for children's books and outstanding journalism are also included in this category.

In order to make clear the international and tolerant character of Germany's capital, the expansion of information opportunities for non-German Berliners and visitors is imperative. The tolerant and international aspects of the city's population must also be made visible in the form of advertisements.

In addition to this, information programmes, especially programmes broadcast in foreign languages on radio or television, if possible under public direction, are needed. At the

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moment, foreign-language programmes on SFB or West German Radio are unfortunately only broadcast on the unpopular short-wave frequencies. Such broadcasts are much more than a source of information for the non-German population living in Berlin; they are also an affirmation of the cultural uniqueness of the minorities in this city.

Barbara John

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List of speakers and projects

Chairman: Staatssekretär **Dr Werner TEGTMEIER**
Bundesministerium für Arbeit und
Sozialordnung, Postfach 14 02 80,
D-5300 BONN 1

Vice-Chairman: **Mr Petter J. DREFVELIN**
Director General, Dept. of Immigrant Affairs
Ministry of Local Government and Labour
P.O. Box 8112 Dep., N-0032 OSLO

General Rapporteur: **Professor Michael BANTON**
The Court House, Llanvair Discoed,
GB-GWENT NP6 6LX

SPEAKERS

M. Michel WIEVIORKA, Centre d'Analyse et d'Intervention Sociologique, 54, Bld Raspail
F-75006 PARIS

Dr Volker KLEPP, Berlin representative of the "Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für die
Belange der Ausländer", BERLIN

Mrs Barbara JOHN, Ausländerbeauftragte des Senats von Berlin,
Potsdamer Strasse 65, D-1000 BERLIN 30

Mrs Mary COUSSEY, Director of Employment Division, Commission for Racial Equality,
Elliot House, 10/12 Allington Street, GB-LONDON SW1E 5EH

Mr Robin GUTHRIE, Director of Social and Economic Affairs, Council of Europe, F-
67075 STRASBOURG Cedex

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WORKING GROUP A

Chairman: **M. Bertrand MAIN**, Chef du Bureau de l'Action Sociale, Direction de la Population et des Migrations, Ministère de la Santé, des Affaires Sociales et de la Ville, 1, place de Fontenoy, F-75700 PARIS

Rapporteur: **Mr Olaf STOMP**, LBR, P.O. Box 517, NL-3500 AM UTRECHT

WORKING GROUP B

Chairman: **Drs E L ENGELSMAN**, Director of Minorities, Refugees and Asylum-Seekers, Ministry of Welfare, Health and Culture, Postbus 5406, NL-2280 RIJSWIJK

Rapporteur: **M. Taha MELLOUK**, 57 rue de l'Egalité F-93350 LE BOURGET

PROJECTS

Vienna Integration Fund:

Dr Bruni SCHRÖCKER, Wiener Integrationsfonds, Friedrich Schmidt Platz, 3, A-1080 WIEN

Departmental Coordination Unit for Combating Racism (Préfecture du Rhône):

M. Etienne GUYOT, Secrétaire Général Adjoint, Préfecture du Rhône et de la Région Rhône-Alpes, 106 rue Pierre Corneille, F-69000 LYON

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Local Mediator, Saint-Dizier:

Mme Eveline PERNOT, Direction Départementale des Affaires Sanitaires et Sociales de la Haute Marne, Cité administrative départementale, B.P. 569, F-52012 CHAUMONT CEDEX

Regional Coordination Office for Action against Xenophobia, Völklingen (Saar):

Mr Franz-Josef KOENEN, Arbeitskammer des Saarlandes, Regionale Koordinationsstelle, Poststrasse 44, D-6620 VÖLKLINGEN

Regional Office for Questions concerning Foreigners, Potsdam :

Dr Hilde SCHRAMM, Regionale Arbeitsstelle für Ausländerfragen, Lotte-Pulewka-Strasse 4, D-1595 POTSDAM

Intercultural Training in the Province of Modena:

M. Claudio CERNESI, Comune di Fiorano-Modena, Via G. d'Arezzo 18, I-41049 SASSUOLO

Rotterdam Anti-Discrimination Council (RADAR):

Mr Cyriel TRIESCHEIJN, Rotterdam Anti-discrimination Bureau (RADAR), Grote Kerkplein 5, NL - 3011 GC ROTTERDAM

Brumunddal Action Plan:

Mr Roy CARSTENS, Local Coordinator of Brumunddal Project, Ringsaker Kommune, N-2381 BRUMUNDDAL

Ms LONG Litt Woon, Ministry of Local Government and Labour, P.O. Box 8112 Dep., N-0032 OSLO

Coming together in Strängnäs:

Mrs Kajsa B DAHLSTRÖM, The Globetree Foundation, PO Box 22206, S-104 22 STOCKHOLM

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North Plaistow Project:

Mr Benjamin BOWLING, Home Office, Research and Planning Unit, 50 Queen Anne's Gate, GB-LONDON SW1H 9AT

Audio-visual presentation:

Compsition française: Company "Forbidden Fruits":

M. Gennaro PITISCI, Compagnie du BROCOLI, 107 Quai de la Haine, B-7140 MORLANWELZ

"Foreign Input into the French Heritage":

Fonds d'Action sociale pour les travailleurs immigrés et leurs familles, 209 rue de Bercy, F-75585 PARIS CEDEX

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