Reading list day 1 - From experiences to concepts: Racism and discrimination in migration studies

Mandatory readings

- Erel, U., Murji, K., & Nahaboo, Z. (2016). Understanding the contemporary race–migration nexus. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 39(8), 1339–1360. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1161808
- Simon, P. (2021). Discrimination. In R. Zapata-Barrero, D. Jacobs, & R. Kastoryano, Contested Concepts in Migration Studies (1st ed., pp. 78–94). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003119333-6

Further readings (suggested)

- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2015). More than Prejudice: Restatement, Reflections, and New Directions in Critical Race Theory. Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 1(1), 73–87. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214557042
- Mulinari, D., & Neergaard, A. (2017). Theorising Racism: Exploring the Swedish racial regime. Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 7(2), 88. https://doi.org/10.1515/njmr-2017-0016
- Fibbi, R., Midtbøen, A. H., & Simon, P. (2021). Migration and Discrimination: IMISCOE Short Reader. Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-67281-2

Understanding the contemporary race–migration nexus

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Understanding the contemporary race–migration nexus

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ABSTRACT
The linkage between race and migration, especially in the UK since the 1990s, has shifted from a focus on postcolonial migrants to focus on newer groups, while migration within the European Union has also altered the discussion of racism and migration. This critical review provides a framework for understanding how race is conceptualized (or ignored) in contemporary scholarship on migration. We identify three, partly overlapping nexi between migration and racialization: (1) 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism'; (2) 'Complex Migrations – Differentialist Racialization'; (3) 'Post-racial Migrations – Beyond Racism'. The article analyses what each of these nexi bring into focus as well as what they neglect. The concept of race–migration nexus aids a fuller understanding of how migration and contemporary racialization are co-constructed. Scholars need to consider the relationship between migration and race to better address pressing issues of racism against migrants and settled communities.

Introduction

The academic study of migration, ethnicity and racism were once largely co-terminous, particularly in the UK. In a context where migrants or 'immigrants' meant racialized people of Caribbean, Asian and African origin, the reasons for this close connection are evident (cf. Khan and Weekes-Bernard 2015). That focus obscured other kinds of migrants, particularly 'white' migrants, leading one researcher to observe the absence of a body of literature constituting a sociology of migration (Phizacklea 1984). In the last two decades and particularly since the expansion of the European Union (EU), there has been extensive research on migration. The various ways of categorizing migrants who arrive from countries within and beyond Europe have given impetus

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to important questions about how the relationship between race, racialization and migration is conceived in an era of overlapping national and international border controls.

Although race has seemingly disappeared as a public policy issue, we think it is analytically central as racial inequalities remain socially pervasive. For instance, although there is more differentiation within groups, racial inequalities persist in income, access to jobs, health and education (Institute for Race Relations 2015). At the same time, in mainland Europe, the question of race has been configured quite differently, from the 'race-blind' republican tradition of France, to the focus on ethnicity rather than race in Germany, in which there is an avoidance of race as an analytical concept (Grigolo, Hermanin, and Möschel 2011). However, across the EU the landscape and content of migration debates has been altered significantly. While the main empirical thrust of this article is on research about and from the UK, we think it is important to contextualize that with regard to some work from and about continental European countries, since there has been a long-standing debate on the analytical linkages between migration and race from which our analysis has benefitted. We do not claim that simply by drawing on some key examples from continental Europe we can fully do justice to this diverse context. Instead we are mobilizing these analyses to support our understanding of the UK in a wider context.

Two brief examples illustrate why the UK cannot be discussed in isolation from the rest of Europe. One is that the 'European anxiety' regarding the place of Islam in Europe, and in the public sphere, has raised new debates about cultural otherness in terms of toleration (Meer 2013) as the case of the headscarf in France illustrates (Parekh 2006). This issue is linked to declining support for multiculturalism and the rise of right-wing political parties and movements in Britain and Europe. Second, wars in Africa and the Middle East have added to the flow of migrants, with 2015 witnessing unprecedented numbers of refugees reaching the continent's southern borders and on to countries beyond such as Germany and Sweden. Migrants often take desperate measures and unsanctioned journeys to cross the Mediterranean Sea. In response, many Southern European states have increasingly militarized their immigration controls. As migrants challenge their position as outsiders, they also contest the legitimacy of European exclusionary migration and asylum policies (Holmes and Castañenda 2016). Thus, Europe's 'cultural' and physical borders have come under strain in ways that do not allow any individual members of the EU to exist in isolation.

The race–immigration landscape

Understanding the contemporary ways in which race and racism relate to migration has become urgent for scholars and anti-racist activists (Davison

and Shire 2015; Saenz and Douglas 2015; Treitler 2013). This critical review of how race and racism figure in contemporary migration research aims to clarify the ways in which the relations between race and migration are currently configured. While British scholarship on race and racism has often been in dialogue with US scholarship, recent work on migration to the UK has begun to take more notice of European debates. This has taken place at a time where British research foci have shifted from research on 'race relations' towards the study of migration, often in the context of policy concerns of social cohesion and integration. Additionally, critical work on migration issues in other parts of Europe has problematized a lack of engagement in migration research with questions of race and racism (e.g. El-Tayeb 2011; Erel 2009; Wilpert 2003). A recent discourse and content analysis of highly cited works on European migration and ethnic minority scholarship finds that the concepts of race and racism are rarely spoken about (Lentin 2014). Recognition of racism as a structuring feature of European societies is needed to address how Europe's migration regimes articulate and are articulated by racialization and coloniality (Gutiérrez Rodríguez, Boatca, and Costa 2010; Lentin 2014; Mignolo 2012; Möschel 2011).

This review draws on recent literature on migration and race, mainly in the UK context, with some supporting key examples from other European countries. We began with a systematic literature review entailing a title and keyword search of 'race', 'racism' and 'migration' using Web of Science, JSTOR and publishers websites from 1989 to June 2014. The initial focus was papers where race is implicitly or explicitly referred to in the title, abstract or the substance of the work: 442 articles that included the word 'race'; 239 articles that included the word 'racism' and 439 that included the word 'migration'. In selecting a smaller sample to focus on, we used the criteria of how representative they were for exemplifying the contemporary theoretical strands of inquiry into race and migration. We have had to make choices as to what to include and inevitably there are exclusions; we do not claim to have exhaustively explored all the ways in which the literature links migration and racialization.

Our critical review argues there are a number of ways in which the connection between race and migration is conceived. Three articulations of the race–migration nexus are identified:

(1) 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism'; this approach emphasizes the continuity of historic linkages between post-war race-making and migration, underlining similarities between racialized citizens and non-citizens as subjects of migration discourse.
(2) 'Complex Migrations – Differentialist Racialization'; this approach focuses on processes of racialization that differentially shape migrant subjects to effect disadvantages unique to their citizenship status. It also highlights

intersecting formations of race. It does not deny that race is analytically relevant for understanding migration, rather it explores how connections between racialization and migration are shaped through gender, class and geography.

(3) 'Post-racial Migrations – Beyond Racism'; this approach raises the question as to whether race, racism and racialization are meaningful analytical categories for making sense of distinctions between host and immigrant, and between old and newer migration discourses, amounting to a denial of the significance of race and racism.

The three nexi emerged as key themes in much of the work reviewed. While recognizing that they do not cover all arguments in this wide-ranging literature we found that versions of these approaches appear either implicitly or explicitly in many works. For current purposes, we have sorted these into three nexi; these can be thought of like lenses on a camera in bringing particular constellations of the migration–racialization nexus into analytical focus, while other aspects of this constellation remain in the background. However, these lenses or nexi are not mutually exclusive, they do not amount to a coherent theorization, even though they are supported by particular theories. In fact, some pieces of research contain more than one nexus, and scholars may choose to emphasize different strands in different works. So, it is not our intention to propose these nexi to categorize particular pieces or schools of research. Instead, we see them as heuristic devices, which can be helpful in identifying some key structures and arguments in the literature. While not explicitly mapping onto a specific theory, we argue in the conclusion that these nexi have implications for an anti-racist politics, not so much mapping out a clear direction, but rather in inviting future research to consider how analytical points of departure for engaging with race–migration relate to anti-racist politics.

In identifying these nexi, the paper addresses a number of conceptual issues: How do new and settled communities shape and are shaped by migration discourses? How do migrants emerge as subjects of, or beyond, racism? Each race–migration nexus addresses these questions in different ways. In outlining the main claims of each nexus, we assess their contribution to understanding contemporary migration. Providing a survey of how race has been used for making sense of new migrations, or absent from analysis, is a first but necessary step in improving our understanding of the changing relationship between race and migration. The analytical overview here addresses the multiple, often discrepant, ways migrants are discussed in racialized and (post-) racial terms.

Analytically, the paper draws on the concept of racialization, highlighting how the construction of race is shaped historically and how the usage of that idea forms a basis for exclusionary practices through cultural or political

processes where race is invoked as an explanation and specific ideological practices in which race is deployed (Murji and Solomos 2005). Drawing on Kibria, Bowman, and O'Leary, we take a social constructionist approach to race as a political project rooted in colonialism and imperialism, viewing race as an ascribed but highly generative difference, 'given and used by those in power to define others as different and inferior' (2013, 3). As an exclusionary practice of co-constituting hierarchies an 'us' and 'them' in essentialized terms, this process of racialization implies the formation of a 'separate species' without necessarily relying upon notions of biological distinctiveness (Sheth 2009, 51). The performative force of race shapes racial boundaries through ideas, practices and institutions that 'have consequences for those who are defined by them, in terms of choices, opportunities and resources' (Kibria, Bowman, and O'Leary 2013, 4). Therefore, we propose to analyse the race–migration nexus as 'a fluid and intertwined bundle of linkages between race and immigration, specifically among the institutions, ideologies, and practices that define these arenas' (Kibria, Bowman, and O'Leary 2013, 5).

The 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism' nexus

The first nexus for conceptualizing race and migration emphasizes the continuity between recent political debates and ones from the 1950s onwards. The stress on continuity suggests that racism is still an important aspect of contemporary migration discourses, even if the groups targeted and some of the issues have altered. It also suggests that the status of racially subjugated citizens, from the former colonies but long settled in Europe, can be compared to the position of newer groups even though they have a different citizenship status.

Although in the 1950s opinion polls in the UK revealed a general preference for 'coloured' Commonwealth immigrants over European aliens (Miles 1990, 284), during the early post-war years, European migrant workers were recruited into labour shortage sectors on contracts tying them to their employment. While their working conditions and conditional immigration status marked them as Other, their categorization as white rendered them desirable immigrants in the eyes of government and employers (McDowell 2009). However, the 1960s response to immigration overwhelmingly shifted towards more stringent controls regulating Commonwealth citizens' arrival (Miles 1990, 284). This disproportionately affected non-white Commonwealth citizens. From the 1960s onwards, political discourse re-cast Commonwealth citizens from fellow subjects to 'immigrants'. Over the following decades, decolonization and increasing migration from Commonwealth countries meant that the 'multi-racial family' of the Commonwealth became reconceived as a 'domestic' problem of 'multi-racial' Britain (Webster 2005, 158). A stratification of immigrants prevailed between white and non-white, and

within these categories (Ford 2011, 1033). In nations such as Germany, where migrants were recruited as 'guest workers' who could not easily naturalize, the recruitment of foreign workers from Europe was also preferred to those from Africa and Asia (Schönwälder 2004).

Thus, the key theme in such research is how the subjects of post-war racialization continue to be produced through contemporary migration regimes. It highlights the role of racially selective migration policies, arguing that the same logic of official and popular racism separating citizens who 'belong' from those who do not (Hampshire 2005, 17) is reproduced through current migration regimes. Where migration legislation of the post-war period restricted entry of black commonwealth citizens while largely continuing to allow white migration through the Patriality Act (1968), the current points-based system indirectly favours 'EU (European, White, Christian) entrants' (McGhee 2009, 53–54). This is underlined in Garner's (2007, 14) concept of the EU as a 'racial supra-state', effectively precluding non-EU low-skilled workers from entry except through non-work-related routes such as family migration, asylum or as undocumented migrants (Yuval-Davis, Anthias, and Kofman 2005).

These approaches draw attention to the institutional racism of EU migration policy in creating or reinforcing classed and racialized occupational pathways for new migrants. For example, migrants from outside the EU get disproportionally channelled into lower paid jobs. A study of Ghanaian migrants in London demonstrates how racialized discrimination in the labour market is reinforced by immigration status, with those holding temporary residence and restrictions on work (e.g. student visas) finding it difficult to access skilled jobs (Herbert et al. 2008, 107–109). This analysis connects to the racial dimensions of the 'fortress Europe' thesis where internal borders of exclusion co-exist with Europe's external frontiers of exclusion. The European dimension is emphasized in research with Nigerian, Somali and Eritrean migrants in Italy who referred to 'Europe' as the end point of their journey (Kovačič and Erjavec 2010, 174–175). Prior to migration, they viewed the EU as a space of opportunity and potential equality, yet once inside this gave way to a perception of the EU as mired in exclusion and racism (Kovačič and Erjavec 2010, 180–181). This sheds a critical light on the European self-presentation as birthplace and haven of human rights, an image that is shattered by a common experience of African migrants' disillusionment. By scrutinizing the European level, such research addresses a new, supra-national site of institutional racism, but continues to work with clear boundaries between a white Europe and black immigrants. Other research shows that such an approach needs to be complemented by considering how Europeans, too, can be subjected to racialization.

The example of Roma holding European citizenship provides an apt example for the racialization of EU citizens and its contradictory articulation

in migration policy. The treatment of the Roma presents a case where racialized national immigration regimes came into conflict with the EU's basic tenet of European citizens' freedom of movement. Despite many holding formal rights of EU citizenship, entitling them to intra-EU mobility, Roma were targeted for deportation from an EU member state. Gehring documents how the French expulsion of Roma, who held a European member states' citizenship, in 2010 was met by condemnation from the European Commission (the body assigned to ensure EU laws are respected), which in turn prompted an 'anti-Roma summit' of German, Greek, Italian, UK, Spanish and Belgian interior ministers (2013, 18). In the event, these member states accepted the Commission's rebuke, although the Commission did not have the capacity to ensure member states comply with its directives (Gehring 2013, 22). This shows how the racialization of Roma people, the largest national minority within the EU, curtails their ability to substantiate their formal rights. The racial labelling of Roma in the EU has subjected them to de facto immigration control unlike other EU migrants. This illustrates how racialization of groups, such as the Roma, internally differentiates those holding European citizenship for the purpose of border control.

It has been argued that the racialization of European migrants has a longer history, reaching into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For instance, post-war Irish immigrants to the UK were racialized, leading Kushner to argue that 'racialization cuts across such constructed binaries as white/black, colonizer/colonized' (2005, 221). Meer (2013) has made a similar argument around the racialization of Islam and Judaism over more than four centuries in Europe. What is distinctive in the contemporary European context is how the so-called new racisms become applied to white migrants. Fox, Moroşanu, and Szilassy (2012, 685–691) argue that while European migrants to the UK may experience racialized inclusion on the basis of shared whiteness, this can be accompanied by media discourses utilizing a culturalist discourse as a basis of exclusion. Fox et al.'s study looks at the construction of different Eastern European groups and exemplifies an approach that draws attention to a fluidly conceived relationship between migration and racialization; it argues that particular groups of migrants are 'whitened' or 'darkened' (Fox, Moroşanu, and Szilassy 2012, 692) as a means of legitimating exclusion.

The ways in which racialization and immigration are connected affects the ability to attain formal citizenship. An example of this is the Secure Borders, Safe Haven White Paper, 2002, which instigated a process of recasting contemporary debates on migration as issues of integration and citizenship, moving away from explicit naming of race and equality (Back et al. 2002). In turn, integration has been made a precondition for acquiring British citizenship. As integration becomes a quality, it is assessed through knowledge of language and 'British life' (McGhee 2006, 118–120). The requirement that migrants integrate was presented as contributing to harmonious

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communities free from racism and segregation; indeed, stringent immigration controls were presented as a means of regulating animosity between ethnic groups (Kyriakides 2008, 606).

This 'new assimilationism' (Back et al. 2002) echoes the language of 'good race relations' of post-war Britain. Yet, there is a key difference: even if for post-war migrants equality was presented as conditional on their integration, by and large postcolonial migrants already held British citizenship. In the current policy, migrants' integration is seen as precondition for achieving formal rights of residence and finally citizenship. More specifically, as Blackledge argues, institutional racism is perpetuated through language as a marker of difference – political emphasis on making English proficiency a condition for citizenship and integration links community cohesion, integration and immigration policy. He concludes that 'English language dominance is conflated with a racialised "white" dominance, the extension of an existing gatekeeping device to prevent the participation in society of some linguistic minorities can be nothing other than discriminatory' (Blackledge 2006, 77). Language tests for immigrants have been introduced in Europe to ensure they are able to communicate and autonomously participate in the institutions of state and society (Goodman 2010, 15). However, this official rhetoric obscures that for many recent and older immigrants (such as British Asians) availability of affordable language courses, rather than unwillingness to learn is a problem. Presenting both groups as unwilling or unable to learn the official language of the host country can thus serve as an argument of unassimilable cultural difference. Language and values function as a civically agreed necessity, albeit a post-racial mask for new processes of racializing migrants (Lentin and Titley 2011). This occurs on a European-wide scale as progressively blurred culturalist and racialist politics of integration serve to legitimate increasingly stringent immigration controls on third country nationals: formal tests for citizenship were practised in six countries in 1998, rising to nineteen by 2010 (Goodman 2010, 16). Therefore, the demand to integrate is posed not simply to new migrants but also to established ethnic minority groups, both of whom are subjected to processes of racialization.

The nexus of a largely unchanging racism can give the impression that the racialization of ethnic minority nationals and recent migrants is based on the same constructions of difference from a 'host' society. For example, Ehrkamp (2006) uses terms such as 'Turkish immigrants' in contrast to 'White Germans' unintentionally collapsing settled and recent Turkish arrivals. This leads to the assumption that informal belonging (experienced through everyday Othering) and formal belonging (whether one is a Turkish–German citizen or a recently arrived migrant with Turkish citizenship) mutually reinforce each other. To the extent that this analysis is true, it emphasizes continuity between recent migrants and second- or third-generation children of

migrants. As a rhetorical political device, it supports intergenerational solidarity in the face of racism. Yet, it does not pay attention to the stratifying power of citizenship and migration status (Morris 2003). In the case of migrants with Turkish citizenship and German-Turks, this continuous experience of racialization and positioning as newcomers without social rights, can arguably be related to the ongoing group replenishment through new migrants, including family migrants, from Turkey to Germany (Jiménez 2008). However, whether or not group replenishment is ongoing, the strategy of casting ethnic groups as if they were recent arrivals is in itself an extremely effective form of racialization. The expansive category of 'immigrant' constructs and justifies its polysemic subjects as ever external to the European nation, and therefore unentitled (El-Tayeb 2011). The continuing analytical relevance of racialization resides in how racialized subjects are produced despite changing markers of difference applied to migrants. This outlook underscores the notion that the relationship between racism and migration has remained largely unchanged from the post-war New Commonwealth arrivals, minority ethnic 'communities' through to contemporary non-white migrants.

While the 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism' nexus is valuable for capturing the continuities of racialization diachronically and across its shifting social referents, it elides the complex issues of how racialization operates differently depending on citizenship status. The next nexus assessed attempts to redress this issue.

The 'Complex Migrations – Differential Racialization' nexus

In 2013 the UK Home Office launched a campaign in which vans in some parts of the country carried a message inviting illegal immigrants to 'Go Home'. The message was intended for undocumented migrants, but it was swiftly perceived as a 'repatriation' agenda for all racialized nationals (Jones et al. 2015). The Go Home campaign exemplifies how immigrant status continues to be a 'temporary and permanent condition', sustained through 'informal' controls on belonging such as 'race', culture and religion (El-Tayeb 2008, 651–652). Viewing the Go Home campaign through the 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism' nexus, as discussed in the previous section, suggests the continuing slippage between racialized nationals and recent arrivals from overseas. However, the message of the campaign, and its plural signification, also indicates that a variety of subjects come under the heading 'immigrant' who elude a common racialization. In contrast to the 'Changing Migration – Continuities of Racism' nexus emphasis on diachronic continuities the 'Complex Migrations – Differential Racialization' nexus makes visible the ways immigrants and settled communities emerge as uniquely racialized subjects through distinct, yet overlapping, hierarchies of legal status, gender, culture, class and social space, facilitating politically discontinuous subject

positions. Within the 'Complex Migrations – Differential Racialization' nexus we also find the creation of a racialized British subject position as a legitimating device for racializing recent migrants. This section assesses how this nexus works towards identifying these multiple, intersecting relations between racialization and migration.

This nexus relates to, but is not synonymous with, the concept of 'differentialist racism' (Taguieff [1987] 2001), which accounts for the persistence of racialized hierarchies despite the mainstreaming of anti-racism, namely through positing the existence of reified and incompatible cultures producing harm when contact occurs (Balibar 2007, 21). As biological racism becomes discredited in political life, the newness of the 'new' racism emerges not by framing race in cultural terms but through regulating and normalizing where differentialist racism can be legitimately applied. For example, instead of differentialist racism being applied to all those made to fall within a particular label of immigrant (e.g. Muslim), it emerges in tandem with a culturalist racism that subdivides their ranking as integrated subjects (e.g. 'good' Muslims, wealthy immigrants etc.) in contradistinction to those cast beyond the pale (e.g. 'bad' Muslims, poor immigrants etc.). Of course, subjects' positioning as 'integrated' means they are always at risk of becoming constituted as a threatening 'them' (Hage 1998; Lentin and Titley 2011; Winter 2011).

Initially, it appears that the familiar insights of this nexus simply enable one to view the creation of 'contingent insiders': the emergence of subjects through a singular practice of dividing and ranking populations as more or less belonging to the nation (Back, Sinha, and Bryan 2012, 140). However, the nexus can also be used to draw attention to more than the 'immigrant' as a category of gradation that situates racialized nationals as a precarious 'us' in relation to new undesired others. The key feature of this nexus is how it makes visible the multiple and co-existing stratifications that emerge through racialization, as opposed to a singular in-group/out-group continuum upon which all migrants (and settled communities) are mapped.

An example of this is Cole's disaggregation of subjects of racialization which distinguishes between 'colour-coded racism' (e.g. black, Asian); 'non-colour-coded racism' (e.g. anti-Semitism); 'xeno-racism' (white immigrants and nth generation citizens); 'anti-asylum-seeker racism' and 'Islamophobia' (Cole 2009, 1673–1682). The construction and effects of these forms of racialization are not interchangeable. For example, Islamophobia is expressed primarily through fear of an 'enemy within' (2009, 1681). In contrast, 'xeno-racism' is said to predominantly focus upon East European EU citizens' economic migration (Cole 2009, 1678). Unlike the figure of the Muslim, who becomes framed as a threat to liberal values or social cohesion, the figure of the East European migrant is primarily framed as a parasite that undermines economic prosperity.

As migrants are differentially racialized, depending on legal status and social esteem, incommensurable effects of racialization ensue. The initial anti-terrorism Prevent Strategy in the UK demonstrated how Muslim nationals became cast as potential terrorists, blurring the lines between policing and community integration initiatives (Kundnani 2009). In contrast, the racialization of economic migrants from the EU creates co-citizens as foreigners in a rather different sense. Unlike the mainstream approach to the British Muslim population, European citizens from overseas are normalized as others whose presence is increasingly considered an artificial imposition by the EU. The possibility of 'repatriating' recent European arrivals leads to an increasingly legitimized debate on whether to strip Europeans of citizenship rights through withdrawal from the EU. What this illustrates is how two distinct migrant/ racialized subject positions are constructed, their interaction with citizenship discourse and the somewhat divergent effects this has upon the racialized individuals themselves.

An important aspect of the 'Complex Migrations – Differential Racialization' nexus is how it also makes visible the production of migrants through the intersections of social positionings, power relations and hierarchies. Gender, class and territorial origin informed differential access to equal citizenship for post-war migrants (Paul 1997, 12–13). This perspective continues to be refined as qualities of racialization become viewed as interdependent with gendered divisions of labour, identifications and reasons for migration (Anthias 2012, 105–106; Yuval-Davis 2011).

These inflections shape the very notions and relationship between racialization and migration. They are captured by Mishra Tarc's discussion of 'race moves' (Mishra Tarc 2013, 381). The idea that 'race moves' enables a focus not only on the shifting subjects of racialization, but how it spatially moves and is transformed as it enters the intimate (Mishra Tarc 2013, 381). For instance, the linkages between racialization and migration make little sense without acknowledging that gendered class relations can 'trump shared experiences of skin colour and ethnicity, where professional elites intensively seek out domestic, childrearing, and other forms of legal and illegal service support in the privacy of their homes, work and play' (Mishra Tarc 2013, 373). Similarly, with regard to Sweden, Mulinari and Neergaard (2012, 16), suggest that gendered and classed positioning is generative of two discourses: 'exploitative racism' of elites sees certain groups of migrants, such as domestic and care workers, as useful supporting their right to be on the national territory; in contrast, 'exclusionary racism' of the 'losers' of neoliberalism, aims to expel migrants, especially those categorized as Muslim from the territory as they are seen as a cultural threat. Seeing the creation of migrant subject positions through the intersections of race, class, gender and status has been a prominent way of revealing the heterogeneous ways migrants experience domination (Gutiérrez-Rodríguez 2010; Yuval-Davis

2011). This manner of producing migrants can be contextualized through a recent analysis of hostility towards the Roma in Italy. Woodcock (2010) demonstrates how the 'nomad camps' of the Roma were not a matter of choice due to a transient lifestyle, but the result of blocked access to rights other migrants enjoy (Woodcock 2010, 474, cf. Sigona 2015). In other words, a diasporic cultural status can itself be produced through racialization, a result of the stereotype of Roma as travellers along with their non-recognition as refugees (in the Italian case, arrivals from post-Yugoslavia) (Woodcock 2010, 474). Gender plays a central role in producing Roma as racialized migrants. Italian women are positioned as threatened by the Roma, in turn symbolically functioning as foundations upon which the victimhood of the authentic Italian people is established (Woodcock 2010, 485–487). This process in turn feeds into security policies justifying demolition of Roma residences, thereby inducing further mobility (Woodcock 2010, 487). Demonstrating how the feminized body becomes a trope for national security, under threat from racialized others (McClintock 1993) in a 'Complex Migrations – Differential Racism' nexus, exemplifies how careful deployments of patriarchal gendered relations within dominant society, and the hyper-sexualized figure of the other, can work in tandem to produce the other as perpetual migrants (symbolic or otherwise).

This nexus not only pays attention to intersectionality, but also hones in on how the racialization of space shapes the positioning of migrants. For instance, Garner's (2013) study of Portishead, England, uncovers how migrants' racialized bodies intersect with the associated infrastructural need for an asylum processing centre and better transportation links, both of which are considered to restructure the environment as other to village life. As asylum seekers are represented as urban bodies, juxtaposed to quiet village life, an urban/rural cleavage emerges as a proxy for racialization. It is expressed through a 'NIMBY-ism' ('Not-in-my-backyard'), enacted in residents' campaigns against city plans that facilitate asylum-seeker entry (Garner 2013, 506, 509–510). The changing ways in which space inflects racialization are demonstrated by Millington's distinction between the ideal-typical pre-1990s inner city and post-1990s outer-inner city. The study explores the dispersal of racialized populations from the inner city to the outer-inner city since the 1990s (Millington 2012, 17–19). This spatial positioning of racialized and migrant groups is class differentiated and dynamic, since the centripetal force of global cities like London for low wage employment is matched by a centrifugal expulsion and displacement of migrants from affluent areas. As racialized migrants disperse into the peripheries of London and beyond, corporate multiculturalist narratives seize on this to rebrand and revitalize dejected areas as multicultural and modern, such as in Southend-on-Sea (Millington 2012, 16). This exemplifies effects of racialization and migration, which cannot be adequately grasped through an analytic of 'Changing

Migration – Continuities of Racism' nexus. The 'positive' urban racialization operates through valuing the benefits of 'visible' difference for business and image, without necessarily facilitating migrants to accrue the benefits of this value.

The arrival of new migrants, as a catalyst for rebranding and regenerating towns, can contribute to new spatial dynamics among racialized settled communities. This can have contradictory effects. Consider Peterborough, a small town in the East of England. Recent migrants' difficulty in accessing affordable housing meant they relied on Pakistani landlords, who in turn used the profits to afford more coveted suburban and rural housing for their own families. Yet, these opportunities for migrants to access inner city housing and settled minorities to access suburban housing was problematized by white locals, who situated both groups as undesirable newcomers. The 'Complex Migrations – Differential Racism' nexus brings into focus the ways in which migration can create an economic opportunity for racialized settled communities at the same time as reinforcing racialized moral exclusions (Erel 2011, 2063).

The nexus is helpful for analysing how asylum seekers are positioned. In a study of hierarchical racialized mobility within the EU, Garner argues that the racialization of asylum-seekers is based upon 'the group's social status, rather than shared physical characteristics' (Garner 2013, 504). This indicates how citizenship and residence status has itself begun to play a relatively autonomous role as a mechanism of racialization. Unlike the figure of the economic migrant or British racialized other, the racialization of asylum seekers is based precisely on their lack of group identity, instead this identity emerges as a state of exception, so that the racialized figure of asylum seeker has the unique effect, to enable the state to present itself as sovereign in the face of an increasingly 'borderless world' (Garner 2007, 21).

What is distinctive about the contemporary denigration of asylum seekers, and its extension to refugees and European citizens, is that racialized difference has also become a position from which to act as an agent of racialization. It is not only white British populations who express racist attitudes towards migrants. The UK government's strategy of 'managed migration' includes 'managed settlement', which seeks to take into account the impact of new arrivals on 'host' communities. Importantly, unlike the historical equation of host and white, the host is considered to include diverse 'settled communities' (McGhee 2006, 122–123). This raises the under researched issue that racialized British citizens can participate in the process of racializing new migrants. For example, a sizeable minority of those categorized as British Asians have been shown to express anti-immigration sentiment comparable to that of a white British population (Lowles and Painter 2012). Parts of this constituency have, arguably, been represented in UK party politics. Ethnic minority members of UKIP [the UK Independence Party] have staked their inclusion in a multicultural Britain, while acknowledging that racism persists. At the

same time, this becomes a platform from which to claim that the targeted banning of certain migrants does not constitute a racist practice (Nahaboo 2015). Yet, a recent study of black and minority ethnic people's views on migration also highlights ambivalence. Regardless of individual black and minority ethnic people's attitudes towards immigration to the UK, they tended to feel stigmatized and threatened by current anti-immigration rhetoric, even if they were British born or British citizens. The study also highlights that the subject position of 'immigrant' or 'black and minority ethnic citizen' cannot always be neatly delineated, but that many who identify as black and minority British have personal or familial experiences of migration and, while sharing views on immigration with the broader British public, tended to have an overall more positive assessment of the impact of immigration (Khan and Weekes-Bernard 2015).

Through this nexus, we can see that it is not migrants that become racialized. Racialization produces various categories of migrants. Like the 'Changing Migration – Continuities of Racism' nexus, the physical movement of people is less important for how racialization constructs the migrant. But unlike the 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism' nexus, it suggests that migrants are differentially positioned under multiple, and at times contradictory, regimes of domination.

The 'Post-racial Migrations – Beyond Racialization' nexus

The third and final nexus distinguishes contemporary experiences of migration as illustrating that race does not matter. While our own position is to explore and make explicit the usefulness of racialization for the study of migration, we are including this nexus, albeit more briefly, for the sake of completeness. The 'post-racial' covers a range of views: the assertion that racial hierarchies have been overcome, liberal policies that seek to redress racial inequalities with difference-blind strategies, and lastly perspectives that aspire for a society which is no longer institutionally or privately marked by racial perceptibility (Goldberg 2015). But for the purposes of the 'Post-racial Migrations – Beyond Racialization' nexus we delineate two perspectives. One argues that contemporary migration regimes make no formal distinctions based on the 'colour' of migrants. The other focuses on how new technologies of surveillance, such as biometrics, indicate an unprecedented individualization of the migrant that appears to be irreducible to racial categories and hence to racial discrimination.

Since the 1990s, a 'super-diversity' (Vertovec 2007) of migrants' trajectories, legal statuses, ethnic, national and socio-economic positions has meant that new migrants cannot be fully mapped onto post-war immigration discourse. Asylum seekers and migrants arriving from non-Commonwealth countries have experiences of exclusion and subordination that do not always neatly

fit into an analytical frame of white British and postcolonial. New immigration experiences emerge at the interstices of diverse migration trajectories, residence status as well as cultural and linguistic skills. While this observation can certainly support perspectives on race–migration that are attuned to the complexity of racialization, the notion that society is increasingly super-diverse can lead to other conclusions. If language and residential status are of great importance for determining the provision and enjoyment of local public services, it is argued that civic belonging rather than racialization shape the experiences of migrants and settled communities. Knowledge of English, whether through British multiculturalist political theory or far-right discourse, becomes an incontestable civic necessity, and the image of well integrated, English speaking settled ethnic minorities may be invoked as examples of how race is not a helpful category for social analysis or political activism (Ahmed 2004).

Arguing that the racialization of migrants is being overcome is well represented in political and media discourses, especially when migrants emerge as a synonym for nth generation citizens. In *The British Dream*, David Goodhart argues that the problem of migration is not to be found in racial practices but rather the capacity of the local community to provide the housing, healthcare and schooling that is required to handle the influx of people (Goodhart 2013). In addition, he finds it problematic to treat race as a central variable for inequalities since the range of advantage and disadvantage, between and within different ethnic groups in Britain, means that no systematic racialization can be discerned (Goodhart 2013). Critics argue that the liberal post-racial turn functions as a euphemism for racialist discourses on immigrants. Viewing society as 'too diverse' for social democracy and cohesion has performative effects that legitimate racism towards those classed as immigrants (Lentin and Titley 2011).

In a connected development, migration is framed as post-racial via the new technologies of surveillance. This seemingly 'deracializes' migration because it individualizes migrants one the basis of particular risky profiles. Post-racialists claim that any racial overtones of these technologies are incidental rather than structurally rooted. Unsurprisingly such claims have been challenged. For instance, a focus on 'biological citizenship' is illustrative of a growing strand of research in migration studies analysing how the collection of biometric data bears traces of colonial racialization (Ajana 2012, 864–865). Such critical approaches to the production of migrants through biometrics support the 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism' nexus. However, in so far as biometrics draws attention to new processes of racialization, the data regarding residence, access to social rights and physical characteristics produced becomes encoded in highly individualized terms. This is why qualitative research on experiences of applying and holding a biometric residence permits also highlights a more amorphous feeling of being 'different' (Warren

and Mavroudi 2011). Thus, while containing elements of racialization, biometrics marks an individualized construction of migrants in excess of processes of race-making.

Recognizing these complexities of racialization has led to two positions. The first post-racial approach abandons racialization as an adequate concept for understanding how immigrants are constructed and stratified. Yet, an analysis employing the 'New Migrations – Differential Racism' nexus would come to the conclusion that these examples testify to the dynamic subjects and effects of racialization. Therefore, the inclusion of racialized nationals facilitates the right to refuse 'national belonging' (Hage 1998) to new migrants. Alternatively, the second 'biological citizenship' perspective cuts across citizenship status to shape the meaning of civil liberties for all citizens and migrants (as exemplified by the ID cards debates) (Ajana 2012, 856). At first glance, this appears to confirm a post-racial turn in migration controls, further substantiating the simultaneously generalized and individualized feeling of difference for recipients of the new forms of governmentality. However, the claim that race is becoming obsolete is problematic as the new technological practices of securitization disproportionately affects non-white others (Ajana 2012). While the post-racial argument suggests that racism is external to European identity (Lentin 2014), we would problematize this, and instead propose to explore in detail how migrations and racializations are co-constructed in differentiated, dynamic and complex ways.

Conclusion

This paper sought to understand and highlight the distinct ways in which race and racialization are invoked in research on migration. The three race–migration nexi identified provide a means to make sense of contemporary connections between racialization and migration. While there are overlaps between them, the different perspectives presented emphasize different subjects of a politics of race and migration, different analytic foci and ultimately different anti-racist strategies. Our argument is that the way in which the nexus of migration and racialization is conceived and conceptualized is important not only to understand contemporary migrations empirically. Identifying these race–migration nexi helps make more explicit shifting and evolving forms of constituting racial subjects through migration regimes. This can be applied for analysing how the relation between racialization and migration is lived out in a range of social sites, such as the labour market. Racialization is an important analytic concept to make sense of such processes and relations. Identifying and clarifying the range of ways it is employed in migration research hopes to strengthen future work in both migration and critical race studies. While the race–migration nexi we have

identified are often invoked as if they are competing truth claims, this paper highlights how each brings into focus a different aspect of analysis, each with different effects on how to formulate and pursue anti-racism. By focusing on the race–migration nexi, we were also able to highlight how agents and objects of racialization can emerge within the same broad analytical approach.

This review has focused on describing the analytical purview of different race–migration nexi. We believe that its value for scholars working across race and migration studies is that it enables a more reflexive understanding of how racialization can be used as a concept to analyse the positioning of contemporary migrants. Yet, the analysis can also pose questions as to the implications for an anti-racist politics afforded by each. The 'Changing Migrations – Continuities of Racism' nexus underlines the significance of existing politics of anti-racism and equal opportunities as tools for combatting racism. This builds on and extends black Britons' anti-racist struggles, which were often closely bound up with struggles against racist immigration controls (e.g. Fekete 2001; Sivanandan 1990; Virdee 2014). Looking at the conflation of migration status and racialization in British far-right racism, Redclift argues that it has 'legitimated the diminishing protection for foreign nationals living in the UK, [and] has also targeted long-settled black and minority ethnic communities' (2014, 579). So contemporary cultural 'common-sense racism' 'positions asylum seekers, new migrants and Muslims as the enemies within and without our borders' (Redclift 2014, 579). While this can be read as an affirmation of the centrality of a black British subject for formulating anti-racist politics, the 'Complex Migrations – Differential Racism' nexus attends to how the political construction of a 'black' identity has lost its stability as a pan-ethnic point of anti-racist identification (Hall 1992), noting how the racializing culture and colour lines have become supplemented by new multiple categories of citizenship. This nexus invites anti-racist struggles to take into account the overlapping and discrepant colour and culture lines, drawing attention to how racialization operates through multiple migration pathways and the citizenship and residence rights they are bound up in. Finally, these analyses, we argue render questionable the 'Postracial Migration – Beyond Racialization' nexus's claim that the current complexities of migration undoes the necessity of an anti-racist politics to engage with racialization both alongside and through migration politics. Rather, the contemporary intersections of race and religion, particularly Islam, are closely intertwined in the spectre of 'the Muslim' as a migrant/security threat. Forced migration and refugee movements across Europe have brought race into the everyday domain in ways that have framed debates about the social and cultural identities of Europe and the foundations of the EU. Racialization remains an indispensable analytic to understand such shifts.

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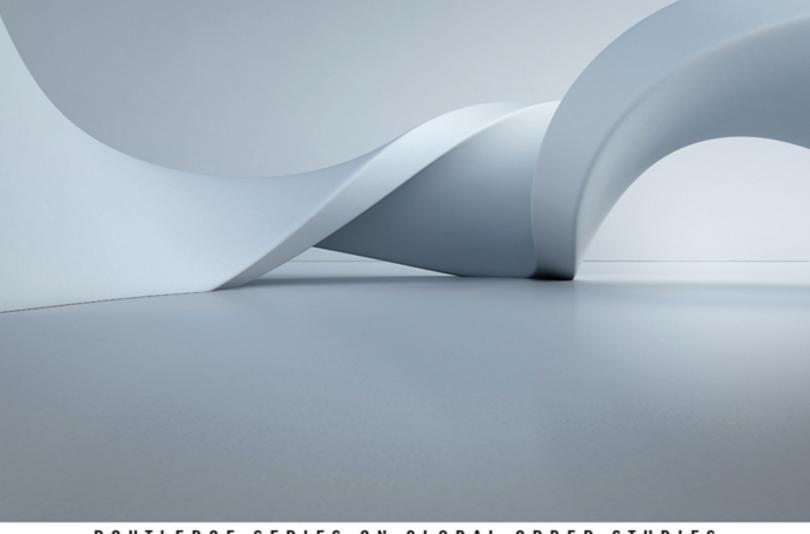## Disclosure statement

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DISCRIMINATION

Studying the racialized structure of disadvantage

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1 Introduction

It is a commonplace to say that the intensification of migrations since the 1950s has increased the ethno-racial diversity of most societies across the world.[1] This diversity has not only deeply transformed the structures and the imaginaries of these societies, but it has fostered pervasive ethno-racial inequalities in different domains of social life as well. Such inequalities are definitely not new and were observed all along the centuries in colonial empires, during slavery and after its abolition, in caste system societies, and in multiracial and multiethnic societies that preexisted mass-migration times. However, what is new at the turn of the twenty-first century is that the reproduction of these inequalities takes place in formally equalitarian societies, that is, societies that have endorsed principles of equality enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Indeed, the sequence opened by decolonization, the disqualification of legal racial

segregation (like Jim Crow in the United States or apartheid in South Africa), and the adoption of international treaties banning racial discrimination such as Convention 111 of the International Labour Organization (ILO) on discrimination in employment and occupation (1958) and the UN International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) (1965) has installed formal equality as a core principle for most countries in the world and popularized the concept of discrimination.

Even if discrimination is as old as human societies, the use of the concept was quite limited in social sciences until the 1960s, at least in the European social sciences, to qualify the disparities in opportunities, achievements, and outcomes that would be attached to ascribed ethno-racial characteristics. It was mainly elaborated in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century and onward in relation with prejudices and racial oppression against the black population (Anderson, 2010). In the European academic and political arenas, the experiences of ethno-racial stigmatization, subordination, and exclusion have been studied and debated under the heading of racism or antisemitism. These experiences did not receive the attention they deserved as more subtle, often invisible, processes of 'everyday racism'. In the same token, discrimination relates with the concept of inequality, which shares the same meaning of disadvantage in life's chances. Discrimination does not apply only to ethnic and racial distinctions but has wide-ranging implementation for categorical differences, such as gender, age, religion, disability, sexual orientation, or gender identity. The list can be expanded to more grounds, and if each of these categories has their specific history of domination and subordination, they share similar consequences that can be studied under the heading of discrimination. It is not that easy to trace distinctions between discrimination and germane concepts such as racism (sexism, ableism, homophobia, Islamophobia, antisemitism, transphobia), inequalities, injustice, stigmatization, or exclusion, and we might be tempted to consider them as interchangeable representations of negative consequences of categorical differences that derive from deeply entrenched hierarchical structures of power, prestige, and statuses.

Like for racism, there are different approaches of discrimination that might diverge from each other depending on their standpoint regarding the definitions, mechanisms, and policies to redress unfair treatments and the

structures of (dis)advantage. In this chapter, I would like to address some of the debates on the study of discrimination in the scholarship. After stressing what the conceptual toolkit of discrimination has changed in the study and understanding of inequalities, I will venture into three sites of public and academic controversies. The bulk of the controversies resides in the importance given to the systemic dimension of discrimination, and in relation with this structural underpinning, the notions of (white) privilege and advantage of a group upon the others in a hierarchical ethno-racial stratification, and the role of public institutions and the state in the preservation of a system of discrimination. Another thread of controversies tackles the empirical assessment of discrimination with a twofold concern: the identification and measurement of discrimination, which relates to the relative validity of subjective report of experiences of discrimination, and the categories by which ethnic and racial discrimination can be outspoken and measured. These controversies build on a broader conversation about the role of statistics in the knowledge of and the action against discrimination.

2 Discrimination as an analytical tool to uncover the structure of disadvantage

In the aftermath of World War II, the international community adopted a proactive anti-racism strategy based on the reassertion of the fundamental principle of equality of everyone regardless of their race, color, or ethnicity among other personal characteristics or status and casted the antidiscrimination struggle as one of the quintessential democratic causes. The refutation of scientific theories of race led to the disqualification of the biological foundation of race as applied to human populations. These transformations of the notion of race has entailed different consequences for legal and political actions. The ban of the notion of race itself in legal texts, public speeches, and descriptions of population has been enforced in countries that have adopted more or less strict official *colorblindness*. Most of western and southern European countries could be described as promoting colorblindness. Another strategy consists in maintaining race as a population category and a tool for antiracist action: This would be the case of *race conscious* societies (and thus policies).

In this context, 'race' is understood as a social construct grounded in the historical legacy of scientific racism, colonialization, and classification systems that continue to shape social representations and cognitive patterns, and even are reproduced and perpetuated by institutions and patterns of interactions in societies (Guillaumin, 1972; Markus and Moya, 2010). Even though there is a 'constructivist' consensus in social science on the fact that race does not have any biological or genetic underpinning (Brubaker, 2009), beliefs about race as a *natural* and *essentialist* characteristic still persist (Morning, 2011). The 'genomic revolution' has blurred this demarcation and reinstalled the legitimacy of racial categories, rebranded as geographic ancestry, in the realm of sciences (Duster, 2015; Roth et al., 2020). However, even if the beliefs in the existence of racial hierarchies grounded in biology have declined over time, processes of racialization have taken new ways to develop, ascribed identities and frames of understanding social situations. In its seminal definition by Banton or Miles, racialization was explicitly referring to the use of biological/phenotypical markers to categorize and thus inferiorize 'others'.[2] The main issue about racialization and its relation to race is whether racialization as ascription of racial markers is intrinsically racist, in the sense that it posits people in a hierarchical racial system, or it could be *descriptive* in the sense that it refers to the process of perceiving racialized markers disconnected from a hierarchical assessment (Murji and Solomos, 2005).

Parallel to this redefinition of race and ethnicity, racism has also undergone a profound evolution. The deligitimization, and even demonization, of public expressions of 'inegalitarian racism' (Taguieff, 1988) – that is, negative statements of behaviors based on the inferiorization of racialized others – has produced a retreat of blatant racism and thus the emergence of a so-called new or modern racism since the mid-1970s (Miles and Brown, 2003; Sniderman et al., 1991). It is argued that the new racism manipulates culture and collective values as parameters for hierarchization and operates in a covert manner (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1988). If blatant racism has not completely disappeared and even might undergo a resurgence in the 2000s, the attention paid to more subtle type of racism, fueled by the circulation of cultural stereotypes and milder prejudices activated in implicit biases, does not mean that this form of racism was not already operating in the past but, rather, that it was somehow hidden behind the highly visible instances of official racism and racialized hate speeches (Pettigrew and

Meertens, 1995; Essed, 1991). New theories on 'racism without race', or even 'racism without racists', try to account for this new context (Bonilla-Silva, 1997, 2010). Dovidio et al. (2015) elaborate the concept of aversive racism to describe allegedly unconscious biases combined with a denial of being racially prejudiced and an endorsement of egalitarian values. They push further the contradictions of racially charged negative feelings combined with formal equality endorsement and speak of a 'colorblind racism', a type of racism that could apply to most European countries where formal equality and prohibition of explicit racist speeches and behaviors might lead to think that racism is a residual misconception that will gradually disappear.

It is in this background of the transformations of conceptions of racism that we should understand the striking development of the use of the concept of discrimination. The concept was already mentioned in the American scientific literature at the beginning of the twentieth century in the aftermath of the abolition of slavery to describe interracial relations.[3] In Europe, there is a sharp distinction between the UK and continental Europe in this regard. The development of studies referring explicitly to discrimination in the UK has a clear link to the postcolonial migration after World War II and the foundation of ethnic and racial studies in the 1960s. In European non-English-speaking journals, the concept was mainly coined by the feminist literature until the 1990s when publications about ethnic and racial discrimination began to appear before being widespread in the 2010s. If the year 2000 stands as a turning point in the development of research and public interest about discrimination in continental Europe, it coincides with the legal recognition of discrimination by the European parliament through a directive 'implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin', more commonly called the 'Race Equality Directive' (de Witte, 2010; Chopin and Germaine, 2017).

If racism can be defined as ideologies about racial hierarchies, negatives opinions and hostile behaviors against stigmatized out-group members, discrimination refers to unfair treatment or decisions producing a disadvantage for individuals or groups grounded on ascribed categories. Discrimination is typically a hidden part of decisions, selection processes, and choices that are generally not explicitly justified by aversion against individuals with stigmatized ethnic or racial characteristics, but biases can be observed in the processes which affect significantly the outcomes of those

who are ascribed to ethno-racial categories. In most instances, discrimination is not intentional, and it is often an unintended consequence of unconscious activation of prejudices and stereotypes (which does not preclude that there are explicit and intentional discriminations in some circumstances). The concept of implicit bias formulated in the social psychology literature (Greenwald and Banaji, 1995) describes accurately the process of routinized but unconscious activation of racialized stereotypes and prejudice by social agents in different area of social life (Fiske, 1998; Blommaert et al., 2012).

The paradigm of discrimination helps to uncover the structure of disadvantage in formally equalitarian societies: It offers a powerful conceptual and operational frame to evaluate, monitor, and eventually revise apparently merit-based and neutral processes of access to power, privilege, goods, and services. The focus on procedural and organizational processes, jointly with the notion of implicit bias, gives ways to understand systemic discrimination, that is, the routinized incorporation of ethno-racial biases into the conception of decision-making and organizational structure and implementation of procedures. The disadvantages result not only from the biases in the selection and allocation processes but also from the very conception of the institutions and organizations that are meant to fulfill the needs and properties of the dominant group. In this respect, tackling discrimination invites monitoring all procedures to identify how dominant norms, values, and conceptions are producing unfair disadvantage throughout their mundane operations. Systemic discrimination is decomposed in more specific concepts like *institutional racism* (or institutional discrimination), as theorized by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) in their landmark book *Black Power, the Politics of Liberation in America* and coined in the Mc Pherson report (1999) about reforming policing in the UK (Holdaway and O'Neill, 2006).[4] That discrimination exists as a system is emphasized by Reskin, who refers to the interlinkage between racial disparities as *überdiscrimination*, 'a phenomenon that shapes our culture, cognitions, and institutions, thereby distorting whether and how we perceive and make sense of racial disparities' (Reskin, 2012).

The sociological concept of systemic discrimination as a structure of disadvantage shares commonalities with the legal definition of indirect discrimination, defined in the Race European Directive as

an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice that would put persons of a racial or ethnic origin at a particular disadvantage compared with other persons, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary.[5]

It also finds an echo in the canonical approach in economics where 'taste based discrimination' (Becker, 1957) – discrimination based on prejudice and aversion against stigmatized groups – is distinctive from 'statistical discrimination' (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972) – where ethnic and racial selection is understood as a way to compensate the uncertainty of information about the productivity of applicants. In the latter case, these biases are understood as rationale and non-racist decision-making processes commanded by a reduction of risks in hiring, or other type of selection, by opposition to 'taste-based' decision, where preference for in-group and potential hostility against out-group members shapes the process. Statistical discrimination theory fits well with the implicit biases approach, but they both miss one important dimension if they fail to acknowledge the racist dimension behind the stereotypes that are activated in the course of the decision-making process. These disconnected framings of racial disadvantages would gained to be integrated into the theories of racial formation and racial order (Winant, 2015; Elias and Feagin, 2016; Emirbaier and Desmond, 2015).

The discrimination paradigm also revisits the canonical assimilation and integration theories and the related policies. The main concern of assimilation and integration theories is to describe the process of incorporation of newcomers into the mainstream society in which these newcomers (which includes immigrants, second generations, and potentially further descendants) undergo a process of self-transformation by adjusting to the dominant norms, values, and practices. The updated version acknowledging a 'two-way' process by which the mainstream society incorporates elements from the minorities in the course of their assimilation – rebranded as integration – does not fundamentally change the expectation that immigrants and their descendants should undergo a transformative process to access the full enjoyment of the resources of the mainstream society. In the discrimination paradigm, the burden of adaptation shifts from minorities to the mainstream institutions. In this framing, the structures and

institutions of the society have the duty of equalizing the conditions of participation, irrespective of categorical differences (Fredman, 2016). Race, gender, religion, health status, sexual orientation should not hinder full enjoyment of rights and opportunities, which means that the condition for participation does not depend on the conformation of individuals and groups to a specific norm. On the contrary, if the conception or implementation of the norm generates undue disadvantages, they are deemed to be discriminatory and should be revised to broaden the access to a diversity of participants (Simon, 2005).

It is easy to understand that the two normative regime of framings often clash when they are turned into policies, especially when the national models of integration adopt assimilationist creeds (Joppke, 2007; Simon and Sala Pala, 2009). For sure, theories of assimilation and integration clearly identify penalties faced by migrants and ethnic minorities as hindering the process of acculturation and incorporation into mainstream society. However, they tend to overlook the role of the ethnicization or racialization of non-white minorities and the paramount responsibilities of the structures of mainstream society in the process of incorporation, rather than the lack of adaptation of outsiders. Along these two dimensions, discrimination research offers a different perspective than the studies of assimilation and integration.

Another important contribution of discrimination studies is to deal with different grounds or criteria of categorical differences. Even if each of these grounds has its specific history of domination, which results in unfair treatment, they are treated as equivalent in their mechanism and consequences. The discrimination laws refer to multiple discriminations to account for the articulation or cumulative disadvantages produced by gender, race, disability, age, religion, and so forth. Such framing could easily fit the approach in terms of intersectionality that has precisely been elaborated by critical race theorists in the context of the implementation of the American antidiscrimination law (Collins, 2015). Discrimination studies are more and more opened to comparisons between grounds (race and gender being the most frequent articulation in the literature) and/or between countries, even though specialization in a specific type of discrimination remains the rule.

3 Measuring discrimination

Since most of discrimination is nested into chains of decision-making and apparently neutral procedures, measuring such a phenomenon is quite a challenge. If discrimination is pervasive and can be found everywhere, and at the same time is invisible and can hardly be observed 'in the act', how can it be assessed? Different methods have been developed which can be distributed in five types of quantitative assessment of discrimination (Blank et al., 2004; Fibbi et al., 2021):

- Experimental studies trying to reproduce discriminatory decisions. Their strength is to be able to identify causal effect linked to a specific category under scrutiny. The most known of these methods is correspondence testing, which clearly demonstrates how gate keepers (generally employers or landlords) select applicants on their ethnicity, race, or religion, among other information delivered by CVs. In this case, discrimination is caught in the act. Different measurements of implicit biases, like Implicit Association Test (IAT), enter in this category, even though implicit biases do not necessarily end up in discrimination.
- Estimations of the disparities between potentially discriminated groups and mainstream population by controlling as much as possible for observed variables. This is known as discriminatory residuals and has received a lot of methodological developments in the field of econometrics. It can be applied to different situations, ranging from unemployment, wage gaps, occupational clustering, housing segregation, access to health services, probability of developing certain type of pathologies, school dropout, and so forth.
- Opinions and attitudes toward out-groups are classical studies aiming at revealing the magnitude and contents of prejudice and stereotypes about minorities.
- Measurements based on self-reported experience or perception of discrimination.
- Legal complaints collected in judicial or police procedures.

These types fall into three categories of measurement: (a) methods that reproduce selection tests by trying to highlight the direct consideration of one or more prohibited characteristics; (b) methods that focus on detecting discrimination indirectly through the biases, distortions, and disproportionate

consequences (disparate impacts) that a procedure produces on individuals with one or more of the prohibited characteristics; (c) methods that approach discrimination through the experience of potential victims.

Each method has its own range of validity, and if they provide an assessment of discrimination, none delivers the ultimate measure that could encompass all of them. The methods of the first type have an experimental dimension insofar as they seek to capture discrimination in situation, in the sense that they reproduce processes with a control of the criteria involved in decision-making. Testing is the best example of this type of method, but there are other approaches in social psychology that fall within this category, like vignettes (Maxwell, 2015), videos, or laboratory experiments (Pager and Shepherd, 2008). Randomized and carefully controlled experiments create the conditions to control as much as possible and as such are able to isolate the impact of the tested category on the outcome (Bertrand and Duflo, 2016). The methodology of testing has gradually stabilized, but comparing results obtained over time, between different segments of the labor or housing market, or between countries proved to be hard. However, several meta-analyses of testings on the labor or housing markets published recently have developed a promising methodology to undertake comparative assessments, opening to more generalized findings (Quillian et al., 2019; Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016; Auspurg et al., 2019; Di Stasio et al., 2019). These studies provide a very convincing argument for raising awareness among stakeholders and public opinion about the existence of biases and discrimination. They are also used as a policy tool to monitor hiring procedures in large firms and evidences in legal litigations.

The methods of the second type are quite diverse but ultimately rely on the same scheme: define the characteristic whose impact is to be assessed, record as far as possible all the variables that are relevant for the indicator to be screened (access to employment or housing, wages, educational orientation, etc.), and then apply multivariate models to identify the specific contribution of the characteristic once the effect of other variables has been mitigated. The rationale behind these statistical models is that the residual gap that will remain can be called 'ethnic penalties' (Heath and Cheung, 2007) and is equivalent to discrimination, independently of the intentions or the conscious experience of the individuals involved. The challenge is, therefore, to demonstrate the presumption of discrimination by ruling out all other known and justified sources of differential between population

categories. The next difficulty is to measure the intensity of discrimination and its consequences in terms of unemployment, career, or salary, to take only examples on the labor market. The areas where discrimination can be assessed are numerous and go far beyond the usual sectors of employment, housing, or education. Obtaining loans in banks, accessing consumer goods, ethnic profiling by the police, and disparities in the sentencing system are all situations where discrimination occurs and significantly affects the opportunities of discriminated individuals and groups (Ayres, 2001; Pager and Shepherd, 2008; Jobard et al., 2012).

There are debates about the quality of the estimates; critics focus on the effect of unobserved variables and selection biases (Veenman, 2010). In sharp contrast with the international literature on disparities on the labor market, which identifies the residual gaps that cannot be explained by productivity properties as discrimination, Koopmans found that most of these gaps can be explained by 'sociocultural (lack of) assimilation' (Koopmans, 2016), that is, language proficiency, media usage, social and family networks, and values. However, this provocative argument builds on a dataset that might not authorize such a wide-ranging conclusion, especially when it goes against the findings of so many experimental and econometric studies.

While it is important to measure so-called objective discrimination, in the sense that it is measured *indirectly* by reliable statistical methods, it is equally meaningful to collect the experience of discrimination directly from those who are exposed to it. Mainly called 'perceived discrimination', the self-reported experience of discrimination is now asked in many national surveys, such as in France (Beauchemin et al., 2018), the Netherlands (Andriessen et al., 2014), Germany (Diehl et al., 2021), or the United States (Lee et al., 2019; Boutwell et al., 2017). The European Social Survey has also introduced a question on perceived group discrimination, which is not exactly a personal self-reported experience of discrimination but refers to the sense of belonging to a group discriminated against. A self-reported experience of discrimination is collected by the survey on discrimination in the EU 28 implemented by the Fundamental Rights Agency – The EU-MIDIS survey (Minorities and Discrimination survey) (FRA, 2017).

Measures based on self-reporting are raising many issues because of their subjective dimension. The spelling of the questions insists on the feeling of discrimination, or a subjective perception, justifying why the indicator is

called in the international literature 'perceived discrimination' rather than self-reported discrimination, like I have chosen to name it here. The notion of perception is ambiguous because by design reports of experience in surveys are always based on a subjective assessment, and it is magnified in the case of discrimination by its fuzziness: Who can be sure if s/he has experienced such a situation as a discrimination? Indeed, many filters obviously interfere between the experience of discrimination and its collection in a survey. These filters may contribute to overestimation of the phenomenon by excessive association of any negative experience with discrimination or to underestimation of it by denial, indifference, lack of consciousness of the mere existence of ethnic or racial penalties, or simply invisibility of the discrimination. However, all the studies that have tried to cross-check the self-report concluded to a certain credibility of the report of experience of discrimination, and more generally to an under-report than an excessive victimization (Beauchemin et al., 2018; Diehl et al., 2021). For example, D. Meurs using the Trajectories and Origins data compared self-reported discrimination in employment with probability to be unemployed and found a consistent correlation giving credit to the experience (Meurs, 2017).

It is undoubtedly in the field of health that research on the measurement of discrimination has been most extensive. The results of epidemiological studies linking discrimination and cardiovascular diseases, stress and depression or psychiatric pathologies, have important implications for public health policies, which explains the proliferation of studies (Krieger et al., 2005; Williams and Mohammed, 2009). These studies have stabilized question grids allowing to collect discrimination experiences from respondents while testing their reliability in estimating their influence on health status. They also compared the consistency between different types of measures and concluded that explicit (with a direct question) and implicit (with Implicit Association Tests) measures were collecting equally valid dimensions of discrimination (Krieger et al., 2010).

We should reserve the term 'perceived discrimination' to items about perception of discrimination in a country, like in the Eurobarometers about discrimination where respondents are asked if they think that discrimination on different grounds are widespread or not in their respective country, or a group-belonging question like in the European Social Survey which asks: 'Would you describe yourself as being a member of a group that is discriminated against in this country?' (European Commission, 2015). These

indicators are clearly referring to a perception or a representation of discrimination, not an experience.

A counter-intuitive finding with the indicator of self-reported discrimination is what is called the 'integration paradox': the higher level of discrimination reported by descendants of immigrants compared to immigrants with the same ethno-racial background, and also among the highly educated minorities (Steinman, 2018; Verkuyten, 2016; Diehl et al., 2021). The fact that social mobility and cultural assimilation do not reduce the experience of discrimination stands in sharp contradiction with the expectations of the political models of integration and the theories of assimilation. In a certain way, it is believed that class mitigates racism, and since 'money whitens', educated and successful minorities should be protected from the scourge of racism. There are two types of explanation, nonexclusive to each other, for these repeated findings:[6] (1) Being educated, socially integrated, and formally full member of their society, the successful second generation consider themselves as legitimate to expect equal treatment, respect, and dignity and thus, compared to immigrants, do feel more intensely the inequalities they face in their everyday life, and (2) because they are socially mobile and educated, they enter into social milieu where they are not expected, like executive positions in medicine, law firms, engineering, banking, and so forth or in well-off neighborhoods where they face higher level of discrimination as they are transgressing the boundaries of class, race, and gender.

4 Who is discriminated against? A problem of categories

Collecting data on ethnic and racial discrimination raises a problem of identification of minority groups. There is an ontological problem in producing data on discrimination: It requires reusing the categories by which the disadvantage occurs. In most cases, these categories like sex, age, religion, or health status are considered neutral in themselves, even though their meanings are intrinsically produced by a system of inequality. In the case of ethnicity and race, categories are rooted in a history of racialization and domination. Their legitimacy as descriptive population categories is

debated, and in the context of colorblind societies, explicit racial categories, if not ethnic categories, are officially banned. Therefore, the problem is not so much the measurement of discrimination as we have seen in the previous section but the identification of those who are discriminated against.

Migration-related diversity has been designed from the beginning of mass migration on place of birth of the individuals (foreign born) or their citizenship (foreigners). In countries where the citizenship regime is restricted, the boundary between 'us' and 'them' is drawn by citizenship status over generations, and in a certain way ethnic and racial discrimination conflates with nationality. This is not the case in countries with more open citizenship regimes where immigrants become citizens in the course of their stay and their native-born children are full citizens of their country of residence. If most European countries collect data on foreigners (nationality) and immigrants (place of birth), a limited number identifies the second generation (i.e., the children of immigrant born in the country of immigration) (Simon, 2012). The strategy of using first and second generation as proxies for ethnicity is implemented in official statistics in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Data on second generations can also be found in France, Germany, and Switzerland, among others, in specialized surveys with limitations in size and scope.[7] If these proxies still have a statistical accuracy since most on non-European immigration occurred in the second half of the twentieth century, the succession of generations is reaching a tipping point in the west European countries, where racialized groups will turn into statistical invisibility at the third generation. This process is already well advanced in the oldest countries of immigration, like France, Germany, Switzerland, or the Netherlands. Asking questions about grandparents and the previous generations is not an option, since it would require making hard decisions to classify those with mixed ancestry (how many ancestors are needed to belong to one category?), not to mention the problems in memory to retrieve all valuable information about grandparents.

This is one of the reasons for traditional immigration countries (the United States, Canada, Australia) to collect data on race and ethnicity through self-identification questions. Data on ethnicity per se are collected in censuses in Eastern Europe to describe national minorities, as well as in the UK and Ireland, which are the only Western European countries to produce statistics by ethno-racial categories. The information is collected by self-identification either with an open question about one's ethnicity or by ticking a box (or

several in case of multiple choices) in a list of categories. In the case of the UK and Ireland, these questions do not mention explicitly race, even though the categories are combining racial, ethno-cultural, regional, and national references. The 'ethnic group question' in the census in England and Wales refers to 'White', 'Black British', 'Asian British', or 'Arab', among other items.

The shift from nativity-based to self-identified ethno-racial categories is a bone of contention in continental Europe and also fuels debates in the United States and Canada. Ethno-racial statistical categories raise ethical, political, legal, and methodological issues: *ethical* because the choice to re-use for a different purpose the very categories which convey stereotypes and prejudices at the heart of discrimination entails significant consequences; *political* because European countries have adopted a colorblind strategy after 1945, meaning that their political philosophies consider that racial terminologies are producing racism by themselves and should be strictly avoided (depending of countries, ethnicity receive the same blame);[8] *legal* because most European countries interpret the provisions of the European directive on data protection and their transposition in national laws as a legal prohibition; *methodological* because there is no standardized format to collect personal information on ethnicity or race and there are several methodological pitfalls commented in the scientific literature.

The main critics against these categories address their dark history rooted in slavery, colonization, and scientific racism; the reification of identities produced by the performative power of statistics; their failure to grasp the complexity of identities; the danger of misuse of data for stigmatization or persecution of minorities; and the legal constraints under the data protection provisions. Controversies about so-called ethnic statistics have impeded the development of these categorizations in most European societies, but at the same time hindering the implementation of positive actions against discrimination (Simon, 2017; Grigolo et al., 2011). There are also convincing reasons to collect data on race and ethnicity: Racialization that statistics would reinforce is already pervasive in all de facto multicultural societies; minority organizations tend to claim recognition by the state and argue that being identified in official statistics is a tool to fight against inequalities and discrimination; the methodological flaws of ethno-racial categories are common to other type of statistics that are usually collected; effective antidiscrimination policies require extensive statistical monitoring.

The discrepancies between official categories and those exposed to discrimination have fostered debates between state members and International Human Rights Organizations – such as the UN Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) at the Council of Europe, or the EU Fundamental Rights Agency – which claim that more data broken down by ethnicity, color, nationality, and religion are needed to document and act against racism and discrimination. There is obviously no easy solution, but the accuracy of data for the measurement of discrimination is a strategic issue for both research and policies.

5 Conclusion

As most countries in the world have become de facto multicultural by their population and have endorsed principles of equality, they experience pervasive ethnic and racial inequalities that have stimulated research on discrimination. In a coordinated agenda, scholarship in social science and policies has tried to make sense of discrimination, and for the latter to implement actions against them. Even if the understanding of the structures of disadvantage and their consequences on societies and minorities life chances alike have made progress in the last decades, there are still different views of the explanations for discrimination, the respective role of institutions, ideologies and social interactions in their (re)production, and the strategies to improve equality. How far race as a category should shape research in social science spurs recurring debates between scholars advocating for a de-racialization of intellectual frames (Wimmer, 2015) and attributing the racial trope to the cultural hegemony of the United States on the international scientific field (Wacquant, 1997), and those considering that racism is a defining function of the state and thus race is an intractable organizing dimension of multicultural societies (Lentin, 2020; Elias and Feagin, 2016; Goldberg, 2002). These discursive struggles in social sciences have their counterparts in political models and cultural frames. The stark opposition between race-conscious and colorblind societies echoes the methodological nationalism when it comes to study discrimination. These cultural frames do not only shape the philosophies of antidiscrimination – to demarcate Adrian Favell's concept of philosophies of integration – they influence how

racialized minorities perceive, interpret, and cope with racism and discrimination (Lamont et al., 2016). Plaut et al. found in their study about the consequences of colorblind beliefs on minorities' perception that 'paradoxically, emphasizing minimization of group differences reinforces majority dominance and minority marginalization' (Plaut et al., 2009). It might be possible that rather than offering more protection to minorities by reducing ethno-racial ascription in laws, statistics, and policies, colorblindness is reinforcing stigmatization and curtails effective antidiscrimination policies.

Notes

1. This chapter builds partly on Fibbi et al. (2021) to which the reader can refer for further discussion.
2. See Barot and Bird (2001) for a genealogy of the concept of racialization.
3. The concept can mainly be found in legal studies at the beginning of the twentieth century, but W.E. DuBois mentions explicitly 'color discrimination' in his famous book *The Soul of the Black Folk* (1903).
4. As quoted by Holdaway and O'Neill, McPherson defines institutional racism as 'The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racial stereotyping.'
5. EU directive 2000/43/EC.
6. Although André and Dronkers (2017) find a higher level of in-group discrimination among the first generation compared to the second. However, they use the indicator from the European Social Survey and this might explain why their findings contradict the theory of the integration paradox.
7. These surveys do not allow for fine grain territorial analysis, such as residential segregation or local rate of unemployment.
8. Sweden and Austria have deleted the reference to 'race' in their national law against discrimination. A similar decision has been taken in France in 2020.

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More than Prejudice: Restatement, Reflections, and New Directions in Critical Race Theory

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Abstract

Racism has always been "more than prejudice," but mainstream social analysts have mostly framed race matters as organized by the logic of prejudice. In this paper, I do four things. First, I restate my criticism of the dominant approach to race matters and emphasize the need to ground our racial analysis materially, that is, understanding that racism is systemic and rooted in differences in power between the races. Second, I reflect critically on my own theorization on race (the racialized social system approach) and acknowledge that I should have explained better the role of culture and ideology in the making and remaking of race. Third, I describe some of the work I have done since this early work. Fourth, I advance several new directions for research and theory in the field of race stratification.

Keywords

race, racism, theory, color-blind, racialized

Twenty-five years ago, while teaching a course inappropriately labeled "Problems of American Racial and Ethnic Minorities" at the University of Wisconsin–Madison, I formed the core ideas for my 1997 *American Sociological Review* (hereafter *ASR*) article "Rethinking Racism." After surveying the basic materials for the class, I was profoundly unhappy with the theoretical basis that all textbooks and, for that matter, most analysts of racial matters used: the prejudice approach (e.g., attitude or belief that operates at the individual level). Nevertheless, I found a few gems, such as an article by British scholar Charles Husbands (1984), David Wellman's important book *Portraits of White Racism* (1993), particularly his provocatively titled chapter "Prejudiced People Are Not the Only Racists in America," Omi and Winant's groundbreaking *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (1986), and Manning Marable's monumental *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America* (1983), that gave me some of the tools and language I needed for

elaborating my structural theory of racism. Albeit, ultimately, none of these authors' theorizations gave me the clarity and satisfaction I was looking for, they all helped me figure out what was desperately needed in the field of racial ethnic matters: a coherent theory of how racism works, operates, and becomes institutionalized. For me, race was but an epiphenomenon of a system of racial domination, a system I believed emerged in modernity (Mitchell 2012).

For those interested in the history of knowledge in sociology, I will share some personal background that might explain the kind of work I have done in the field of race and ethnicity. At the time I was trying to theorize "racism" in a more rigorous

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way, I was transitioning from being a class-is-everything type Marxist[1] to a race scholar, fighting the monster of structuralism—a monster which I probably will never rid completely from my system, and working on a dissertation titled "Squatters, Politics, and State Reponses in Puerto Rico: The Political Economy of Squatting in Puerto Rico, 1900–1992" (1993), which had absolutely nothing to do with race. My dissertation topic surprises those who know me only as a professional sociologist (my life since 1993) but not those who knew me before coming to the United States to work on my PhD. In Puerto Rico I worked with squatters in a community called *Villa Sin Miedo* and was a minor leader in the student strike of 1981 (Picó, Pabón, and Alejandro 1982), which paralyzed the University of Puerto Rico–Río Piedras for four months. This political work shaped me forever even though I shifted my main focus of interest to the issue of racial justice. Second, all my formal academic work in Wisconsin was in the areas of development, political sociology, and class analysis. In fact, I never took a course on race in college or graduate school! Accordingly, my early theoretical work on racism has the strong imprint of a scholar in transition as I, much like my fellow Caribbean colleague and friend, Charles W. Mills, moved from class to race (Mills 2003). I slowly morphed into a "race scholar" from the late 1980s onward and did not feel as a member of the club until the middle part of the 1990s.

Now onto the four things I do in this essay. First, I restate the basics of what I said in "Rethinking Racism" (Bonilla-Silva 1997) and in several follow-up papers on racial theory. Second, I reflect on this work and its limitations. Third, I describe some of the work I have done since this early work. Fourth, I offer some suggestions about future directions on racial theory and in the field of racial and ethnic stratification.

RESTATEMENT

About half of my *ASR* piece was dedicated to a critique of the "prejudice problematic" and the major alternatives to this theorization—all which, despite their contributions, were still wedded to the prejudice perspective. My criticism revolved around the theoretical limitations derived from conceiving racism as an attitude or belief that operates at the individual level. Specifically, I outlined six major problems with this perspective, namely, (1) racism is viewed as external to the structure of society, (2) racism is psychologized, (3) racism is treated as a static phenomenon, (4) racism is regarded as irrational behavior, (5) the analysis of racism is limited to the "racists" and their overt racialized behavior, and (6) racism is seen as something societies have today because of the sins in their past (e.g., slavery, colonization, and genocide). My counter arguments to each of these limitations were that (1) racism is embedded in the structure of a society, (2) racism has a psychology, but it is fundamentally organized around a material reality (i.e., racism has what I characterized as a "material foundation"), (3) racism changes over time, (4) racism has a "rationality" (actors support or resist a racial order in various ways because they believe doing so is beneficial to them), (5) overt, covert, and normative racialized behaviors (following the racial etiquette of a racial order) are all paths that "racial subjects" (Goldberg 1997) have in any society, and (6) racism has a contemporary foundation and is not a mere remnant of the past (Bonilla-Silva 2001:25–36).

The prejudice approach so central in sociology and psychology is ultimately a direct reflection of the "common sense" view on racism and does not provide an adequate causal explanation of why whites follow the racial protocols of a society. If the core of the phenomenon coded as "racism" is prejudice, then education and time should have cured this disease a long time ago. People today are more educated than ever before in American history (Wagner and Zick 1995), yet "prejudice," particularly in its new forms, remains unabated in the United States and the world (Pettigrew 2008). Those who subscribe to the racism-is-prejudice view do all sorts of contortions to account for the continuation of racism in America. Some remain convinced that "cohort replacement" will take care of business—that is, that as the remaining racists die off, prejudice will dissipate (Schuman et al. 1997). Others insist that education is still the key to solve our racial troubles, while others regard the problem now as a regional one (Valentino and Sears 2005). But these analysts still base their assessments on answers to basic, dated questions on race (e.g., "If a black family with about your same income moves into your neighborhood, do you mind it a little, a lot, or not at all?"[2]), whereas the bulk of survey analysts on racial attitudes have reached a consensus: that a new type of prejudice orients how the majority of whites frames race issues in post–Civil Rights America (Sears, Sidanius, and Bobo 2000).

I named the alternative perspective for studying racism the "racialized social system" approach—not the most elegant or sticky term, but it was the

concept that came to me then. By this I meant "societies in which economic, political, social, and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races" (Bonilla-Silva 2001:37). The basis of my theory was that racialization[3] forms a real structure—that racialized groups are hierarchically ordered and "social relations" and "practices" emerge that fit the position of the groups in the racial regime. Those at the top of the order develop views and practices that support the racial status quo and those at the bottom develop views and practices that challenge it. Although "prejudice" is part of the structure of any racialized society, I argued then and still believe today that the analytical crux for understanding racism is uncovering the mechanisms and practices (behaviors, styles, cultural affectations, traditions, and organizational procedures) at the social, economic, ideological, and political levels responsible for the reproduction of racial domination. I labeled my approach as *materialist* because the views and behaviors of actors are fundamentally connected to their position a racial regime.

Racial ideology (the equivalent to "prejudice" in my theorization) is one of the central elements for the maintenance of racial order but cannot by itself guarantee racial domination. Why do I think that prejudice alone cannot guarantee racial domination? Because, as I wrote recently (Bonilla-Silva forthcoming),

> variations on the level and kind of prejudice among the individuals in a population would produce randomness in racial outcomes and, hence, domination would be contingent; the fact that racial domination is reproduced in everyday life in (mostly) consistent fashion reflects the fact that (most) actors follow the "path of least resistance" (Johnson 2006) and behave as expected. Of course, not all actors comply with the rules of engagement and follow the racial etiquette of a society which is why social control strategies and sanctions against transgressors are always part of any racial order. But it is because some actors do not play the game that the system is ultimately unstable and subject to change.

Another important point in my theorization was the idea that there is no one "racism" but rather variations in how racial regimes are organized and, hence, variations in the racial ideologies of those regimes. In the article I alluded to the history of the Unites States' racial regime and *grosso modo* suggested that it had gone through three periods, namely, slavery (conquest and genocide), Jim Crow, and what I labeled then as the "new racism" or the post–Civil Rights racial regime characterized by subtle, institutionalized, and seemingly nonracial practices and mechanisms to reproduce racial inequality (for a full description of the new racism and its typical mechanisms, see Chapter 4 in my *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post–Civil Rights Era*).

Last, I outlined a social constructionist view on races, but with a structuralist, Poulantzas-inspired bent. Races, I wrote, "are the effect of racial practices of opposition" at the various levels. And because races are always in a relation of opposition, *racial contestation* is the crucial driving force of any racialized social system. Although much of this contestation, as I elaborated, "is expressed at the individual level and disjointed, sometimes it becomes collective and general and can effect meaningful systemic changes in a society's racial organization" (Bonilla-Silva 2001:43). And, like most social constructionists, I also argued that although the meaning and content of the "races" change over time, "race is not a secondary category of group association" (Bonilla-Silva 2001:41).

It is interesting that few analysts, if any, have publicly[4] criticized the most controversial elements of my "Rethinking Racism" article: the notion that whites form a social collectivity (Lewis 2004) and that, as such, they develop a racial interest to preserve the racial status quo. Those claims, constitutive of my materialist interpretation of racial matters, were the core to my theory. The other critical race theories I reviewed in the piece and elsewhere (Bonilla-Silva 2001), namely, Feagin, Vera, and Batur's racism as "societal waste" (2001), Feagin's "systemic racism" (2006), Omi and Winant's "racial formation" (1986), and even the early "institutional racism" work of Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) and Charles Hamilton (1967) all missed a clear explanation of why whites follow a racialized path in life, an explanation of why certain social actors behave in racist ways. For instance, the most sophisticated racial theory until the 1980s, Omi and Winant's racial formation approach,[5] does not explain why race is a vital social category. If racial formations exist in the world, they must exist for a reason. Absence of this explanation makes their theory incoherent, unstable, and dependent on elite-led *racial projects* (Omi and Winant 1994) (are nonelite whites nonracialized subjects with no interest in racial

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domination?). This is why Omi and Winant end up saying things such as blacks can be racist (I have made a distinction between exhibiting prejudicial attitudes and commanding a racial structure [Bonilla-Silva 2014:220–1]) or that advocating for majority-minority districts is essentialist and racist. Blacks and people of color can be "prejudiced" (and they are, albeit surveys suggest they are less so than whites [Krysan 2011]), but so far no society has created a social order fundamentally organized around the logic and practice of black or brown supremacy. To be clear, I believe that any racial group could, given conditions and opportunities, create an order to their own benefit and that no racial group is morally superior (Graves 2001). But black or brown supremacy has not materialized, and given the historical resistance to racial domination, it is highly unlikely that the struggles against white supremacy will result in pro-black and pro-brown racial regimes. For example, in the aftermath of South Africa's Apartheid regime, a situation where one would expect a lot of animosity against whites, the ANC worked quite hard against the development of a race-based regime and insisted on democracy and racial reconciliation (Giliomee, Myburgh, and Schlemmer 2001).

To Omi and Winant's claim that majority-minority districts are an essentialist and racist practice, my response is that to get beyond race we must go *through* race (see Guinier 1994 on why we need majority-minority districts). Assuming that race-based policies are racist ignores that the goal of such policies is to advance racial justice and, more significantly, that these policies are needed because we still have a race-based reality. Therefore, the reason to have majority-minority districts, affirmative action, and many other race-based social policies in America is because race still matters, positively for whites and negatively for nonwhites.

Mainstream and some progressive social analysts cannot accept the argument that racism is structural because they are white and whites form a social collectivity (Lewis 2004) bonded by the fact that they receive benefits from the way the racial regime is organized. Social analysts are part of the racial regime in which they live; hence, their views are ultimately dependent on their position in the regime. I know this is a very controversial statement and want to be clear that some whites appreciate that racism is structural. What I am suggesting is that the identity of all analysts affects what they see and study and poses general limits on their ability to understand the world (Bonilla-Silva and Zuberi 2008). This argument is not just about race but about all social locations (most men cannot truly appreciate that they benefit from patriarchy and most elite people cannot accept they are the beneficiaries of class privilege) and has been made by many others in the past (Mills 1997; Schmitt, Branscombe, and Brehm 2004).

REFLECTIONS

I wrote my race theory article almost twenty years ago; thus, with the benefit of time, maturity, and security (I am a full professor), I can now reflect on my arguments and evaluate areas that need work or modification. For the sake of simplicity, I outline my reflections below.

First, like almost all race and class theorists, I did not deal very well with the intersectionality challenge. Like many, I acknowledged that race, class, and gender matter; that the categories work together; and that in all modern societies there is a "matrix of domination" (Collins 1990). But I did not develop a theoretical apparatus to deal with intersectionality and make predictions about when race trumps class or gender or vice versa or whether these categories always have the same level of salience regardless of contexts. I will have a bit more to say about this in the section "New Directions."

Second, I wish I had spent more time explaining that racism as ideology ("prejudice") is also material and consequential.[6] But when I wrote the article I believed it was imperative to emphasize the material aspects of racism given that mainstream analysts were focusing (and still are) almost all their attention on the psychology of racism, that is, on the study of prejudice. Like Marx and Engels, I regret the one-sidedness in my earlier work,[7] but I hope that my later work on racial ideology—both theoretical and empirical (see next section)—is evidence of my belief about the centrality and, indeed, materiality of racial ideology.

Why do I say that racism as ideology is material and, therefore, consequential? Because ideology, racial or otherwise, is intrinsically connected to domination, as Marx and Engels argued in *The German Ideology* (1985). Ideology[8] is material force as we are all "interpellated" by it (Althusser 1972) and without racial ideology or prejudice (Bonilla-Silva 2001), Europeans could not have conquered, enslaved, and exploited people based on the claim that some people are different (better) than others (Hall 1997). They needed an ideology to convince them that the people they were

subordinating were inferior, lesser beings and that Europeans were the "chosen people" (Gossett 1997; Hannaford 1996). Last, racialized societies could not survive without ideology as it fulfills five vital social functions, namely, accounting for the existence of racial inequality, providing basic rules on engagement in interracial interactions, furnishing the basis for actors' racial subjectivity, shaping and influencing the views of dominated actors, and, by claiming universality, hiding the fact of racial domination (see Chapter 3 in *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post–Civil Right Era*). Hence, racial ideology, one may say, is *co-constitutive* of all racial domination situations. Albeit the prejudice of individuals[9] is not—and can never be—the basis for maintaining racial inequality, racial domination would not be possible without ideology.

Third, in a theory piece I could not explain and illustrate adequately how races and racial formations, as historical productions, are always "in the making" (Thompson 1963). I addressed briefly the making of races by saying,

> The placement of a group of people in a racial category stemmed initially from the interests of powerful actors in the social system (e.g., the capitalists class, the planter class, colonizers). After racial categories were employed to organize social relations in societies, however, race became an independent element in the operation of the system. (Bonilla-Silva 1997:473)

But this statement was not sufficient to guide analysts to do the necessary empirical work: to examine not just the historical making of race but also the continuous process of remaking races throughout history. Race has a "changing same" (Gilroy 1993) character, but it is in constant flux and we must examine its remaking in societies. This constant change (or constant remaking) is due to factors such as racial contestation, the changing demography of a racial formation (in our contemporary landscape, all races are going through monumental changes, a point I have addressed in my work on the Latin Americanization of racial stratification in the United States [Bonilla-Silva 2004]), and the impact of sociopolitical developments in the world-system (e.g., the Civil Rights movement in the United States empowered people of color in Latin American and Caribbean countries to question racism in their own countries).

These are the major weaknesses I see in how I framed racial things twenty years ago. But as real

as they are, they pale in comparison with what I think is still attractive about my theory: its material explanation of racial matters, which has opened space for much thinking and writing on race.

MY THEORETICAL WORK AFTER RACIALIZED SOCIAL SYSTEM ARGUMENT

After I finished my *ASR* piece, I worked frantically on two papers—a long monograph on what I called the "new racism" or the post–Civil Rights set of arrangements responsible for the reproduction of racial inequality (Bonilla-Silva and Lewis 1999) and a paper challenging our understanding of prejudice as racial attitudes, urging analysts to understand it as racial ideology (Bonilla-Silva 2003). The thrust of my argument in the latter piece was that prejudice is the ideological expression of whites' dominance (prejudice is thus a collective rather than an individual attribute). Albeit racially subordinated subjects develop their own ideology, because of the privileged location of the dominant race, their views become normative and thus dominant as we all are affected by what sediments as (racial) common sense.

The following are a few important highlights of my theorization. First, racial ideology is flexible as it must deal with new information to maintain its legitimation purposes. Thus, for example, when multiculturalism and diversity emerged as demands of people of color in the 1970s and 1980s, the demands were rearticulated and today diversity and multiculturalism have become ideological (Embrick forthcoming). Second, although segments of every racial group have more influence than others in shaping the views of their group (white capitalists or elite blacks), all the members of any racial group participate in the creation, elaboration, and transformation of a racial ideology. The agency of segments of racial groups and of individuals in the groups accounts for the John Browns ("race traitors" if you will) as well as for the Clarence Thomases of the world (sell-outs). Last, although the ideas of the "ruling race" are the ruling ideas of a social formation, racial contestation and individuals' agency produce crises, which means that ideological domination is never all-encompassing.

After I finished these projects, I was pushed by a student at Michigan[10] to apply for the now-defunct Detroit Area Study. I applied reluctantly, thinking it was a waste of my time, and somehow got the deal. The data I gathered from that project are the foundation for my book *Racism without*

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Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America. In this book I deconstruct color-blind racism or the dominant racial ideology of the post–Civil Rights Era. This ideology, based on the frame I label as *abstract liberalism*,[11] is suave yet deadly as it reinforces the contemporary racial order of things in a "killing me softly" fashion. To illustrate how this ideology operates, I examine three recent racial incidents that transpired while I was working on this article. The first two were racist comments by two old white men: Mr. Bundy, the Nevada rancher who said that blacks would be better off picking cotton as slaves, and Mr. Sterling, the owner of the Clippers NBA team, who was taped telling his girlfriend he did not want her posing in pictures with blacks or bringing them to games. Both of these men were almost universally condemned as racist, and actions were taken immediately to address what they did (Bundy lost almost all the support he had from big honchos in the Republican party, and Sterling was fined and the Commissioner of the NBA is trying to force him to sell his team). In contrast, the Supreme Court's decision to uphold the Michigan ban against affirmative action, which is significantly more detrimental to the welfare of people of color, was not deemed racist and did not lead to any moral outrage or call to action from whites. The decision was not deemed racist because it was couched in color-blind racism's notions such as the idea that using race is itself racist ("How can one use race to try to move "beyond race"?[12]) or that including race as a factor in college admissions is not only "racism in reverse" but unnecessary as race is no longer a central factor in American life. The color-blind eyeglasses whites wear nowadays are tinted with the myth that race is no longer relevant in this nation. But their seemingly naïve color-blindness is just an ideology that legitimates contemporary racial inequality. Sadly, as all dominant ideologies, color-blind racism prevents whites from *seeing* and *understanding* our racial reality and, thus, whites and nonwhites, in general terms, see two very different realities (Norton and Sommers 2011). Accordingly, to challenge color-blind racism, the accompanying music of the "new racism" regime, will require more than just race dialogues, race workshops, tolerance, or clear and convincing data. We will need, as during the slavery and Jim Crow periods, social movements to fight against contemporary racial domination. This may not be sweet to the ears of most sociologists who believe that data are the antidote for every social disease, but it is derived from the

theorization I have advanced in my work as well as from the weight of the historical record.

In the past few years, after finishing a book on race and methodology with Tukufu Zuberi (2008) where we laid out some fundamental epistemological postulates with theoretical implications, I spent time working on a project dealing with the idea that there is something like a *racial grammar* organizing the normative field of racial transactions. Racial grammar, I have argued, facilitates racial domination and may be more central than coercion and other practices of social control for reproducing racial domination. On this I have written,

> The racial grammar helps accomplish this task [maintaining racial domination] by shaping in significant ways how we see/or don't see race in social phenomena, how we frame matters as racial or not race-related, and even how we feel about race matters. Racial grammar, I argue, is a *distillate* of racial ideology and, hence, of white supremacy. (Bonilla-Silva 2012:174)

I used seemingly disjointed examples (e.g., movies and TV shows, child abductions, school shootings, historically white colleges and universities, and others) to illustrate how the racial grammar works because I wanted to show that the grammar is "out there" affecting all sort of things. In terms of movies and television shows, I have argued that most are *white* yet they are read as universal, nonracial cultural artifacts. In contrast, when television shows or movies have a mostly minority cast, they are framed as black- or Latino-oriented products. In the paper and in a book chapter (Bonilla-Silva and Ashe 2014), I discuss how people of color are still underrepresented in white movies, how they play stereotypical roles, and how the plots reinforce a felicitous view of race matters in America (e.g., all interracial buddy movies begin with racial conflict but end with the main characters becoming the best of friends [Hughey 2009]). In the case of child abductions, I document how white children are overrepresented in news stories on these incidents even though 36 percent of all abductions involve children of color (Sedlak, Finkkelhor, and Hammer 2005). Similarly, when a white woman or young girl disappears, the white-dominated media reports the story intensely and consistently, which has led one analyst to label this as the "missing white woman syndrome" (Parks 2006). One grammatical element of these stories is that they are presented as universal stories of family pain and suffering, which would be the case if

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stories of missing minority women are shown at the same rate. Sadly, but racially predictably, this is not the case. As I pointed out:

> When Laci Peterson was brutally murdered by her husband in Modesto, California, in 2002, Evelyn Hernandez, a Salvadorean woman also went missing at the same time: her decapitated torso, like Laci's, was found in San Francisco Bay. In 2005, Natalee Holloway, a young woman, disappeared while on vacation in Aruba; LaToyia Figueroa, a black pregnant Puerto Rican woman from Chester, Philadelphia, also went missing, like Natalee, in 2005. (Bonilla-Silva 2012:177–8)

In the conclusion of the article I suggested that we should fight the racial grammar because it affects, as one would expect, whites but also non-whites. Although the racially subaltern always develop alternative ways of thinking and framing race matters, the racial grammar, like smog, affects us all in an invisible way.[13] We people of color cry watching white movies, feel for the families of missing white women or of abducted white children, and suffer when a shooting happens in a white school. But we must understand that most of these feelings and cognitions are not reciprocated because all these things "are not processed by whites the same way as folks of color . . . in short, these things are for whites ungrammatical" (Bonilla-Silva 2012:186).

NEW DIRECTIONS

The area of race and ethnic relations has, as I pointed out at the beginning of this essay, a very weak foundation. In this section I highlight new directions for scholars in the field to think, research, theorize, and ponder. Most of the subjects I point out deserve theoretical work, others just deserve attention, and yet others are mostly of interest to me (but, hopefully, to other race scholars, too). For ease of communication, I outline each area below.

Anchoring Race Theory in Latin America and the Caribbean

Although some analysts still believe that race goes back to antiquity, most (me included) argue that race is a relatively modern social category (but see Heng 2011 for a convincing argument about its roots in the Middle Ages) that emerged with the racialization of the proto-proletariat out of the peasantries in European nations and, more significantly, with the racialization of the peoples of the "new world" (Silverblatt 2004). Logically, then, racial theory should have been rooted in the experiences of the first peoples who experienced racialization, but that was not the case. Almost all of our racial and ethnic theorization has come from the United States or Europe (but not based on the racialization of the proto-proletariat). Even when Latin American and Caribbean writers have written about race, they have relied mostly on American or European theorizations. We would be in a better explanatory position today to understand not only race in the world-system, but even developments in the United States and Europe, if we were to go back and follow the King's advice in *Alice in Wonderland*, "begin at the beginning." Rooting our racial theory on the historical experiences of the oldest racial regimes in the world might help us understand things such as the importance of intermediate racial categories, the rationality of pigmentocratic regimes, the disappearance of race in discourse but not in practice, the seemingly nonconscious way in which race works in most of the world, and how color-blind racism, which is dominant in the Western nations of the world-system (Bonilla-Silva 2000), is but an offshoot of the racial democracy myth.

Epistemology and Race

Even though all are welcomed in "las viñas del Señor," I believe the bulk of the theoretical and empirical work needed to retool our field will come from subaltern analysts and progressive whites. This is because, as philosopher Charles Mills has argued, "hegemonic groups characteristically have experiences that foster illusory perceptions about society's functioning, whereas subordinate groups characteristically have experiences that (at least potentially) give rise to more adequate conceptualizations" (1998:28). Zuberi and I (2008) have argued for an epistemology of racial liberation to challenge "white logic" and "white methods," logic and methods that have reflected white supremacy and helped maintain racial domination. We have asked (and we hope young scholars of color and their allies have heard us) race scholars to decolonize their imagination, unlearn received truths on race, and conduct a "For-Us social science on racial affairs" (Zuberi and Bonilla-Silva 2008:338). But we are cognizant that mainstream race scholars, most of whom are white, will continue focusing on assimilation, insisting that ethnicity and boundaries are better conceptual tools to study race, and claiming that race is declining in significance while the world racism has made burns hot and heavy.

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Racialization of Space and Organizations

Sociologists have done a pretty decent job documenting and theorizing how class (Marx, Lefebvre,[14] and many others) and gender (from the work of Joanne Acker 1990 onward) shape space and organizations. But we are behind in theorizing how race does the same. While geographers and urban planners have worked hard at theorizing and investigating the racialization of space, we have barely begun doing work on this matter despite our work on ghettos, the urban underclass, residential apartheid, and the like (but see Lewis and Diamond as well as Anderson in this special issue and the 2013 edited book by Twine and Gardener, *Geographies of Privilege*). My own small contribution in this area has been empirical—the investigation of the racialization of colleges and universities in the United States, which led me to label most as HWCUs (historically white colleges and universities), that is, arguing that their history, demography, curriculum, climate, and symbols and traditions embody, signify, and reproduce whiteness and systemic racism.

Intermediate Racial Categories

A problem that has been tackled (albeit not settled) in Latin America and the Caribbean but not in the United States and Europe is the issue of intermediate racial groups. Most American analysts doing research in Latin America and the Caribbean believe mulattos, *mestizos*, browns, *ladinos, pardos*, or *trigueños* are no different from blacks and Indians. Thus, they interpret their claims of not being black or Indian as examples of false racial consciousness. But other scholars believe these sectors have an independent middle social location; hence, they regard their behaviors and consciousness as expressions of their racial standing. In my work I have taken a position close to the latter group but have claimed (Bonilla-Silva 2014) that it is better to conceive of racial groups in the Americas as inhabiting "spaces"—that is, as sharing a location without necessarily crystalizing into a social collectivity. I have used this argument for my thesis about the Latin Americanization of racial stratification in the United States, that is, my claim that we are developing three racial spaces (white, honorary white, and the collective black) and that a pigmentocratic logic will be a central factor for locating racial actors. Whether you agree or disagree with my prediction, we must investigate where Arabs, white Latinos, Asian Americans,

ethnic blacks, multiracial and biracial people, and others will fit in the more seemingly fluid American racial order that is emerging.

Racially Based Social Movements

The 1960s to early 1980s produced a fundamental shift in the theorization of social movements away from the collective behavior tradition (Smelser 1963) that emphasized the spontaneity of action to the organizational analysis of social action by authors in the Resource Mobilization tradition. The latter tradition, which used the Civil Rights Movements as its basic case study, unfortunately assumed that all movements have similar structures and goals. It is time for social movement analysts to rethink this position and contemplate the possibility that racially based social movements have their own specificities. And we have the foundational work of Aldon Morris (1984), but the task at a moment where most race-based social movements are happening in Latin America and elsewhere (Dixon and Burdick 2012; Mullings 2009; Yashar 2005) is to go against the (sociological) grain and consider whether, given the nature of racial domination, racially based movements deserve their own theorizations and concepts. (As an aside, the social movement party needs to be crashed as it has made generalizations that are problematic, such as the idea that all social movements, whether conservative or progressive, organize along similar lines.) Lacking a theory on race-based social movements may prevent us from adequately understanding how race rebellions emerge (Kelley 1996).

Intersectionality

I pointed out that most race and class theorists (most of whom are men) have done quite little work of theorizing "intersectionality." Intersectionality thinking has been mostly connected to the work done by women of color such as Collins, Nakano-Glenn, Crenshaw, Anzaldúa, Thornton Dill, and many others who have insisted that "forms of inequality are not additive, but intersecting" (Acker 2011:68). These scholars have recognized the limitations of the intersectionality challenge they have posed, such as (1) what are the definitions of the categories that intersect?, (2) if social categories are mutually reproduced, how does one study them?, and (3) what should be the level of analysis, macro, mezzo, or micro? At this juncture, intersectionality theory needs to move to the next level and

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move from the concept as a metaphor (Collins) to a more formalized theory or approach to produce new methods for investigating inequality. On this, the empirical work of Nakano-Glenn (1992, 2002) and the methodological observations of McCall (2005) may prove pivotal in shifting directions and forcing all of us to dig deeper theoretically so that we can make predictions about when, where, and why X category will be more salient than Y and Z.

Deep Whiteness

W. E. B. Du Bois stated in his essay "The Souls of White Folk" that "whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen!" and pondered about the "effect on a man or a nation when it comes passionately to believe such an extraordinary dictum?" (2003:56). Although we have developed a great amount of work on whiteness since "The Souls of White Folks" (e.g., the work of Cherryl Harris, Roediger, Lipsitz, Frankenberg, and many others), we have not answered Du Bois' poignant question. Even though Du Bois as well as Fanon (1967) provided a first-level answer by suggesting that in racialized regimes, whites develop a sense of superiority, "regular black folks"[15] have coined a term based on their experiences with white people[16] that may help deepen our understanding of whiteness: the "white shit." They use this term to critically capture things whites do and seem oblivious to, such as always wanting to educate people of color, always telling them how to pronounce words, and walking around as if they are God's gift to humanity. The term forces us to think about how the superiority complex of whites that Du Bois addressed, reinforced by years of living in a white supremacist world, has produced a *deep whiteness* that may not be seen as such even by "antiracist" whites (Wise 2008; Chapter 10 in Warren 2010; Hughey 2012). Accordingly, the investigation of deep whiteness, as part of a program to research the psychology of racial domination, is not only empirically important but politically fundamental. We cannot change the world of race if we do not know how deeply the practice of whiteness has affected those we wish to transform.

Racial Consciousness and Racial Behavior: On "Race Traitors"

Some analysts of racial attitudes have alluded to the issue of "racial consciousness" and how it leads to behavior congruent with it (Dawson 1994). But we know relatively little about why certain people do not exhibit the consciousness and behavior one would expect given their racial location. Why would anyone be a race traitor, whether white or non-white (but see Chapter 7 of my *Racism without Racists*)? What are the characteristics and experiences that lead some whites to relinquish the "wages of whiteness"? Is it class, education, socialization, activism[17] (O'Brien 2001), or what? (For the record, I have argued that education is not a sufficient factor to account for the existence of white race traitors.) And for black and brown folks, what factors lead them to become sell-outs? We know that there are tremendous financial benefits for those who sell out (Carbado and Gulati 2013); however, given these benefits, why do few people of color sell out? These are all burning questions that will require a refined structural racial theory to help us understand individual behavioral variations within racial groups (Robert Reece, one of my superb graduate students at Duke, is wrestling with this matter).

The Racialization of Immigrants

After the passage in 1986 of Reagan's Immigration Reform and Control Act, many sociology departments began looking for "immigration" scholars. This trend has grown exponentially since the late 1990s with the huge influx of Latinos from Mexico and Central America. But much of the immigration work has missed the boat by failing to address the racialization of immigrants. To date, few studies have sought to analyze the racialization of immigrants, that is, how some have been racialized "upward" (i.e., become white) and some "downward" (i.e., become non-white) (but see Roth 2012 and Molina 2014 for the racialization of Latinos). The focus so far has been mostly descriptive (how do they come and how are they received?), economistic (do we benefit from immigration?), and political (are immigrants good or bad for the nation?). Albeit these are all important matters, understanding the racialization of immigrants is central if we want to explore and predict how they will ultimately fit in the American racial landscape. (Bonus new direction: We have not done much work to theorize racialization itself and the bulk of the work, except for work on whiteness, has missed the agency of actors. Albeit race is mostly an externally imposed category, actors fight, reposition, and retool themselves as racial subjects and can even change their racial classification [e.g., traditional passing and the neo-passing of many Latinos, Middle Easterners, and Asian Americans]).

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Racial Socialization

The literature on racial socialization suggests that minority youth undergo a more thorough race-based socialization that teaches them cultural values and prepares them for bias and, in some cases, concentrates on mainstreaming them (see review by Hughes et al. 2006). But this literature has mostly focused on African Americans and failed to examine how, in addition to direct parental socialization, racial socialization happens indirectly and contextually. For whites, racial socialization may be strong but is mostly accomplished indirectly through what I have called the "white habitus."[18] White parents do not need to teach their children how to be white as their children learn the white ways through nonverbal behaviors (Castelli, De Dea, and Nesdale 2008), from cultural productions such as TV shows and movies, from inhabiting their racialized spaces (Ausdale and Feagin 2001), and from normativity itself that is pegged to the views, values, and style of the white middle class. For youth of color, there may be two paths: a strong protective socialization when raised in mostly minority settings and a more assimilationist but problematic socialization when raised in the white habitus (see study by Barr and Neville 2014 for a consideration on context on racial socialization). My concerns here are twofold: (1) expanding the racial groups we study (*all* actors undergo racial socialization) and (2) exploring the different ways in which racial socialization is accomplished. The new studies in this area may help us understand how youth learn skills for interracial interaction and what factors account for their crossing boundaries in terms of friendship and romantic partnerships.

Interracial Relationships

There is a vast literature on interracial relationships couched on the old notion of "social distance" (Bogardus 1926). This literature assumes that as interracial marriage increases, social distance decreases and assimilation occurs. Of course, this literature has been parochial and not considered that in countries like Brazil, Puerto Rico, or Mexico, interracial unions have led not to democratic racial regimes but to more complex and, ultimately, more formidable orders. Besides their parochialism, analysts in this tradition have done relatively little to explain why interracial attraction occurs in the first place, how it works, and whether interracial unions truly challenge the foundation of a racial regime. Is interracial attraction a purely instrumental "exchange" (Blau 1964) in which

actors exchange social status or seek more beautiful partners?[19] Some analysts have suggested that interracial couples are not "beyond race" (Moran 2001; Nemoto 2009), but we need more systematic work on the social psychology of interracial attraction as well as on the practice of interracial unions—the analysis of interracial relations does not end after relations are coded as interracial.

Local Racial Formations

I have been thinking for some years about the subject of local racial formations, that is, about how racial formations operate at the local level. Omi and Winant (1994), Feagin, and I have made mostly macrolevel claims about race in America, but racial formation always has a local component; that is, race, like class and gender, is locally lived and experienced and may have enough variance to warrant theorizing why this is the case. For example, during the slavery period, there was more flexibility in some localities that in others (e.g., Louisiana was more flexible on race matters than Mississippi). This was also the case during the Jim Crow period when segregation was enforced differently between states but also between localities and in regions within a state (for the case of Mexicans in Texas, see Montejano 1987). In my view, some of the central factors determining racial formation at the local level are racial history, racial demography, and level of urbanicity. But this is just a preliminary sketch of factors, and what we desperately need is comparative research on localities to extract a robust theory that can predict how and why race will be organized and lived in various contexts.

CONCLUSION

In this article I restated the basics of my materialist theorization on racism, reflected on the limitations of my theory, discussed some of the work I have done since my *ASR* piece, and suggested new directions for critical race theory and research. This should be all but, unfortunately, we must still do some defensive work against the various incarnations of (mostly white) academic myopia. Hence, I conclude by pointing out some of the most pressing things we must address.

As part of the struggle for racial emancipation, we must still defend critical race theory. We have not done an all-out, robust critique of those who argue for replacing race with ethnicity or any other category (Bruebaker and Cooper 2000).[20] In the same vein, we must debate vigorously those

scholars who have claimed that racism does not exist in France and who have labeled "imperialist" those who talk about race in Latin America (this statement shows, more than anything else, their cunning ignorance)[21] as well as those who interpret racial matters as a matter of "boundaries" (a soft approach to understand racism). We must also, once again, deal with the biological school of race and its related, perhaps more dangerous cousin: the networks-based version of race work. When we "killed" sociobiology some years ago, we thought we were done. But like Freddy Krueger, the biological monstrous tradition on race has come back dressed in new attires: evolutionary sociology, evolutionary psychology, biodemography, etc. (for a recent critique of this tradition, see Roberts 2012). And far too many well-intended social scientists slip into this tradition by studying the "race effect" in crime, disease, and the like rather than the "racism effect." On the networks version of race work, I point out that stating that "in a diverse demographic context, racial and gender groups self-segregate"[22] hints at a biological explanation from the backdoor. Description is never neutral or innocent.

Last, I received a lot of criticism for my critique of the Obama phenomenon, but I firmly believe that the politics of postracialism he represents, which are intrinsically connected to color-blind racism and the Latin Americanization of racial stratification in the United States, must be resisted. Postracialism is the highest stage of white supremacy and is in fact the reality of most societies in the world-system (race in most societies in the world works without having a discursive space). To repeat a point I made before: We cannot get to *post*-racialism without first eliminating the racialism from our midst.

I now go "on the run" to take cover.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

NOTES

1. I am still a Marxist, but one who believes that race, gender, and other social cleavages are not an epiphenomenon of class. All societies have a complex "matrix of domination" (Collins 1990), and reducing everything to class does not allow us to develop the politics we need for progressive social change. But unlike Marxists who became disenchanted with Marx and Marxism after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, I never abandoned the claim that class is a central factor shaping all societies and the idea that a democratic socialist economic and political system is preferable to a capitalist one (Bonilla-Silva 2014).

2. Visit the following website to view the Variable RACOBJCT: Neighborhood Integrated by Same SES: http://www3.norc.org/GSS+Website/Browse+GSS+Variables/Subject+Index/.

3. Omi and Winant regard racialization as "the extension of racial meaning to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group" (Omi and Winant 1994:64). I concur with this definition in general but add that the extension can also be to things (e.g., music, space, etc.) and, more significantly, that when groups are involved, racialization is accompanied by practices of racial domination. If someone is called black or white, it is because in that society the people labeled as such are already experiencing racialization—some as the dominant actors and others as the subordinated.

4. The debate I had in *ASR* in 1999 with Mara Loveman was not *directly* on these matters (see Loveman 1999 and Bonilla-Silva 1999). Of course, her claim that I was "essentializing" races indirectly challenged my materialist claim because if races are just one of the many names we can use to refer to people in groups, then groups themselves are not socially real. But her soft, boundary take on race and her sociology of group making did not advance our understanding of race (or of other social categories for that matter). It did make some white sociologists happy, but happiness is not a substitute for analysis.

5. Michael Omi and Howard Winant are colleagues and comrades in the struggle against racism. We have debated in various fora and I believe there is room for more. But I want to state for the historical record that our theoretical debate is not personal and that I admire and respect both of them for their long struggle for racial and social justice in America and in sociology. At the end of the day, we are closer theoretically and politically than our differences would suggest.

6. Although critics claim I do not take seriously prejudice or racial hostility (Bobo, etc.), I pointed out in my original article that racial ideology is relatively autonomous and can have "pertinent effects" and that it is not a mere "'superstructural' phenomenon (a mere reflection of the racialized system) but becomes the organizational map that guides actions of racial actors in society" and "becomes as real as the racial relations it organizes" (Bonilla-Silva 2001:45). More significantly, in the original manuscript I submitted to *ASR*, I included a long section explaining what I meant by "racial ideology." That piece appeared later as a chapter in my book *White*

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Supremacy and Racism in the Post–Civil Rights Era (2001) and in an article in the *Journal of Political Ideologies* (2003). Last, my book *Racism without Racists* (2014) is an examination of the dominant racial ideology of contemporary America, which I think is clear and convincing evidence that I take ideology seriously.

7. Engels wrote in 1890, "We had to stress this leading principle [the economic aspect] in the face of opponents who denied it, and we did not always have the time, space or opportunity to do justice to the other factors that interacted upon each other" (in *Collected Works*, Volume 48:36, New York, International Publishers).

8. I define ideology in my work as "the *broad mental and moral frameworks, or 'grids,' that social groups use to make sense of the world, to decide what is right and wrong, true or false, important or unimportant*" (Bonilla-Silva, 2001:62). For more, see Chapter 3 in my *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post–Civil Rights Era*.

9. No domination project can be organized around prejudice as such a foundation cannot guarantee systemic rewards for some and disadvantages for others. Thus, capitalism is not organized around elitism, patriarchy around the sexist views of men, and racism on the prejudice of whites. And this is why I argue that racism is systemic and produces practices, behaviors, and mechanisms that are responsible for the reproduction of racial order.

10. The student was Tyrone A. Forman, now vice provost for diversity at the University of Illinois at Chicago. I must state for the record that had Professor Forman not pushed me, I would not have applied to the DAS and would have not gathered the data that appear in my book *Racism without Racists*.

11. This frame uses liberalism in an abstract and decontextualized manner to justify racial affairs in a seemingly nonracial way.

12. Justice Scalia, citing Justice Harlan's dissenting statement in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (the case that upheld segregation under the "separate but equal" doctrine), stated that the Constitution is color-blind and claimed the decision of the "people of Michigan" to amend their state Constitution was also a knock on racial discrimination and, therefore, that it would be "shameful for us to stand in their way" (*Schuette v. Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action* 2014:18).

13. On this, see Weber's idea about discipline as a way in which habituation produces automatic obedience (Weber 1978: 53) as well as Foucault's notion of power as having worked in the minds and bodies of subjects (Foucault 1981).

14. Sociologists should read Henri Lefebvre's *State, Space, World* (2009) if, for no other reason, because of his conceptualization of "social space."

15. This term was used by a student of mine in a heated discussion in a class where "ethnic blacks" with African and Caribbean backgrounds were talking trash about other blacks. The student, who was from Georgia, fought back by self-identifying as a "regular black" and taught ethnic blacks a lesson by highlighting their silly sense of superiority.

16. Tim Wise is right when he writes that, "Black people understand race long before white people do" (2008:23).

17. O'Brien's mentions three elements that can account for why some whites become antiracist (activism, empathy through approximating experiences, and the turning point). But some work on antiracist groups suggests that even the antiracists have racialized cognitions and share views with the "racists" (Daniels 1997; Hughey 2012).

18. By white habitus I refer to how whites' racial isolation conditions all their views, cognitions, and emotions on racial matters.

19. In black communities it is commonplace to hear about brothers dating ugly white women, and some white men admit that by dating across the color line they can develop relationships with women who are more beautiful than those within their own racial group.

20. In their writing they show, without intending, their belonging to the white racial group. I ask readers to check the people whom they thank in their acknowledgements and you will see my point.

21. For a critique of these scholars, see French (2000) and Wieviorka (2004). For more on racism in France, see Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999) and for more on the Latin American case, see Hanchard (1994).

22. This is an invented quote, but not too far from what some of the people in this tradition claim. What these analysts fail to understand is that contexts such as universities or workplaces are racialized; hence, what they label as "self-segregation" is the product of both power dynamics in these contexts and the history of the groups before entering these contexts.

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Eduardo Bonilla-Silva is chair and professor of sociology at Duke University. His 1997 article in *ASR*, "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation," where he criticized mainstream analysis of race matters, has been very influential in the field of racial and ethnic relations. He has written six books to date, most notably *Racism without Racists: Color-blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America, White Logic, White Methods: Racism and Methodology*, and *White Supremacy and Racism in the Post–Civil Rights Era.*

THEORISING RACISM:
Exploring the Swedish racial regime

Abstract
Sociologists Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi (2001) assert that sociologists, protected by a myth of neutrality and objectivity, follow the understandings of racism in their analysis of inequality as relegated to a secondary status, either according to the Marxist tradition as the superstructure or within a Weberian framework as a form of status difference. The aim of the article is to put the study of racism, a fundamental principle of social organisation in modern society, at the centre of social theory. The aim is also to develop a productive dialogue with the traditions of Critical Race Theory (CRT), neo-Marxism and Black feminism; traditions that we will argue are highly relevant for the analysis of the Swedish racial regime.

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Introduction

In this article, we argue that there is much to wish for in the Swedish academy concerning the theoretical perspectives analysing racism particularly through viewpoints emphasising relations of power, social (in)justice and (in)equality linked to race, and racialisation. The aim is to put the concept of racism at the centre of social theory, developing a productive dialogue with the traditions of Critical Race Theory (CRT), neo-Marxism and Black feminism. We also aim to show how these theoretical traditions provide important tools for analysing the Swedish context.

This article is organised into five sections. First, research is introduced, arguing that racism as a central principle for social organisation in the West in general and Sweden in particular has been silenced or marginalised in scientific scholarship. Second, we introduce the concept of racial regime through a dialogue between neo-Marxism and CRT. In the third section, we discuss the strengths and the shortcomings of the concept of racialisation for an understanding of the ways in which race categorisations are both neglected and acted on in Sweden. Our discussion then continues in the fourth section with the contribution of Black feminism, emphasising the importance of the concept of intersectionality for an understanding of multiple inequalities within and among diverse racial regimes. In the fifth and final section, we explore through illustrations from the Swedish racial regime, how the theoretical discussions may be grasped through the concepts of exploitative and exclusionary racism.

Silence and negation of systemic racism

> First, even while elite and popular discourses across Europe are saturated with [the] process of racialisation, there is a disavowal of the relevance and toxicity of the social relations of race as a pan[-]European phenomenon, with its corresponding displacement of its relevance to a series of elsewhere (Lewis 2013: 870).

Postcolonial-inspired scholars have explored the continuity between popular and elite forms of racism and the ways that the category of race and the phenomena of racism are marginalised in social theory (Bhambra 2014; Boatcă 2015). Why is racism frequently denied or otherwise untheorized in social science and the humanities? One answer is provided by de-colonial scholars. They speak of the forms of epistemological racism at the core of the production of Western science, a nodal point regulated by a powerful connection in which *Cogito ego conquistus* ('I conquer; therefore, I am') preceded Europe's self-representation of *Cogito ergo sum* ('I think; therefore, I am'), thus subordinating the European knowledge production to European colonialism (Dussel 2003). Sociologists Bonilla-Silva and Baiocchi (2001) explain the dismissal of racism as a principle of social organisation in sociology, showing that the discipline has followed rather than challenged what they conceptualise as 'white racial common sense'. The authors assert that sociologists (we see it encompassing social scientists in general), protected by a myth

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of neutrality and objectivity, follow understandings of racism in their analysis of inequality as relegated to a secondary status.

The resistance to explore the role of racism in the construction of the social is also highly present within Swedish Academia. The State Institute for Race Biology (1922-1972) was a powerful symbol of the role that the Swedish academy played in the establishment and development of (scientific) eugenics and racism (Broberg & Tydén 2005).[1] Furthermore, there were many members and sympathisers of the Nazi Party among Swedish scholars during and after the Second World War (Catomeris 2004; Oredsson 1996). Thus, it is an understatement that Swedish Academia is in some respects firmly grounded on an earlier racist and colonial ideology that was severely challenged by the atrocities of the Second World War and the anticolonial struggles. However, to the extent that this heritage is made visible, it is located in the past (racism is understood as an expression of the historical period) or belongs to specific individuals (support for Nazism is interpreted as incompatible with 'good science' and understood as an individual path). The (close) relationship between science and the production and reproduction of ideologies of racism has been seldom explored in Swedish Academia (Mattson 2001; Catomeris 2004). In line with Goldberg (2009) we argue that the analytical category of race at the core of European and Swedish colonial modernity is located in other places and narrowed to scientific racism and the *Shoah* (Holocaust). This is, for instance, visible in the principal declaration of the government authority *Forum for Living History*, 'We are working for democracy and human equality. With the lessons of the Holocaust', which erases a long European history of colonial racism.[2] In the academia of the Scandinavian countries in general and in Sweden, where we are located, the study of racism and race inequalities has been extremely marginal to mainstream scholarship thus far, where racialisation and the social construction of race are replaced by terms such as migrants, integration, culture and religion (Hübinette & Lundström 2014; Schough, 2008).

However, in the margins of most disciplines, there is an emergent field, often inspired by critical social theory exploring the centrality of racism. More than ten years have passed since the government inquiry on 'Power, Integration and Structural Discrimination' produced 14 volumes and involved around 100 scholars in Sweden, as well as international contributions.[3] The inquiry's central challenge was the attempt to shift the agenda in social science and the humanities *from* studying the deviance of the immigrant and the notion of ethnicity as an experience of the other *to* an understanding of the diverse forms of racism as a structural phenomenon at the core of the construction of nation-states generally and Sweden in particular. Today, there is an increasing production of monographs, articles and research projects on topics such as the category of race, racism, racialisation and whiteness as mirrored in the establishment of the Uppsala 'Centre for Multidisciplinary Research on Racism' in 2016.

This emerging Swedish field of research is a central point of departure and inspiration in our argument for the need to conceptualise racism within and through a systemic frame grasped in the concept of racial regime.

Racial regime: at the crossroads between neo-Marxism and Critical Race Theory

My title today (Race and Racism. Authors' note) will displease many people. For some, it will be too provocative; any attempt to place race and racism on the agenda, let alone at the center

of debate, is deeply unpopular. In the academy we are often told that we are being too crude and simplistic, that things are more complicated than that, that we're being essentialist and missing the real problem—of social class (Gillborn 2015: 277).

Marxist theory has a central impact on the exploration and understanding of inequalities, particularly class inequalities. However, deterministic explanations within forms of orthodox Marxism have tended to conceptualise racism as serving the interests of capital owners by dividing the working class.

Racism within this tradition is generally understood as an effect of other fundamental class relations, analysed as an ideology employed by capital in organising exploitation in the sense of divide and rule. Furthermore, similar to gender, race is conceptualised as a social status that will wither away with the development of capitalism and especially with the strengthening of the collective organisation of the working class (Nelson & Grossberg 1988). From a theoretical perspective, orthodox Marxism needs to reinvent the idea of false consciousness to explain why workers who identify as Whites, despite the taken for granted general interest towards working class collectivity, actively partake in racism. Orthodox Marxism does not allow for what Roediger (1998) calls the 'wages of whiteness', that is, the material benefit of being conceptualised as White, even as a worker.

The argument, highly present in sections of the Swedish left, that the emergence of antiracism as a social movement has marginalised the central topic of social class; reducing the antiracist struggle to what they name as 'identity politics' is an illustration of orthodox Marxist understanding of the fundamental role of class relations vis-a-vis other social relations.[4] The notion that identity politics destroys working class collectivity is grounded in the underlying assumption of an 'authentic' male, white and straight working class. Beyond this desire to speak about class, a (White) desire for a (White) male working class seems to emerge, resisting to acknowledge the gendered and racialised composition of the Swedish working class (Neergaard 2017) and refusing to understand that race, following cultural theorist Stuart Hall's (Solomos 2014) argument, is the way that many people experience class (Mulinari & Neergaard 2004).

Among scholars in the US, there is also a long historical tradition of exploring how class and race relate. The Marxists Oliver C. Cox (1948) and Theodore Allen (2006/1975) are two outstanding academics who produced pioneering work, giving historical and theoretical explanations of race and class as interwoven processes. Cedric Robinson's (1983) scholarly intervention and particularly the concept of racial capitalism are at the core of the efforts to bridge neo-Marxism with the analysis of racism (Melamed 2015).

While the CRT has its roots in the exploration of race and the law, the tradition has expanded towards social science and the humanities. The key nodes in this field are an understanding of the category of race, particularly the construction of racial differences, as invented and recreated and an interpretation of racism as changing, flexible and particularly subtle, hidden beneath a version of what is natural, normal and right. In the words of Delgado and Stefanic:

The critical race theory (CRT) movement is a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. The movement considers many of the same issues that conventional civil rights and ethnic studies discourses take up, but places them in a broader perspective that includes economics, history, context, group- and self-interest, and even feelings and the unconscious.

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Unlike traditional civil rights, which embrace incrementalism and step-by-step progress, [the] critical race theory questions the very foundations of the liberal order, including [the] equality theory, legal reasoning, Enlightenment rationalism, and neutral principles of constitutional law (Delgado & Stefanic 2006: 2).

In Bonilla-Silva's (1997, 2015) scholarship, and more implicitly so, in the work of Omi and Winant (1994), who identify with CRT, the analytical frame of neo-Marxism in materially and structurally locating relations of power seems extremely relevant for the theoretisation of racism. Thus, when neo-Marxism refers to social formation as the actual combination of modes of production and the class structure, this inspiration has led to the growth of the concept of racial formation. A process, following Omi & Winant (1994: 61) 'by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings'. Or as we prefer, *racial regimes*, meaning 'societies in which economic, political, social, and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races' (Bonilla-Silva 1997: 469). For Winant and Omi (1994: 59), race is understood as a fluid, unstable and decentred concept of social meaning, constantly being transformed by political conflict, shaping the individual psyche and furnishing an irreducible component of collective identities and social structures. While the sociological theory attests that the state in terms of class relations has paid no attention to race, Winant and Omi provide a theory that takes its point of departure in the fundamental role that the state plays in the creation and reproduction of race classifications and racism.

At the core of the racial regimes is the struggle for humanness and citizenship status.

Following political philosopher David Goldberg's (2002, 2009) works, we understand the modern state, not only as an actor implicated in racist exclusion but also as racially configured and constituted. We are further inspired by Balibar and Wallerstein's (1991) productive dialogue on contemporary forms of racism. Balibar (1991) also argues that racism is indissolubly tied to the present social structure of the nation-state, as well as to the global division of labour. Thus, social conflicts on race are about the nature of the political constitution and the reconfiguration of central-peripheral relations among and between nation-states. Thus, they are at the core of classification systems regulating citizenship and who a political subject is (Boatcă 2015). Thus, racism is the dynamic of relationally defining who may embody a political subject position, the inclusion as well as the scope of citizenship, and who are not or more often less so. The racial regime is structured by polities, especially the central role of (nation-)states with the authority of granting or revoking, as well as limiting or expanding citizenship (Boatcă 2015).

While class analysis in an ideal way may be understood as the struggle of surplus labour, whereas patriarchy is the struggle around social reproduction, we contend that *the racial regime is the societal struggle around social relations in and across nation-states, configuring humanness and citizens by the constructions of race*.

Scholars disagree regarding the state's level of autonomy, that is, to what extent the interests of people that identified themselves as white will be conflated with those of the state, challenging the state's ability to develop antiracist projects. For some scholars (e.g., Delgado 1984), the state is radically and fundamentally conflated with whiteness. In continuing to theorise the state's role and based on an analysis of the US, Bracey (2015: 553) argues that six characteristics are central, as follows: racialisation of the state, the state as a White

institutional space, instrumentalism, interest-convergence, fluid boundaries and permanent racist orientation.

On the other hand, Omi and Winant (1994) argue that the state responds to social movements and is capable of transformation; while it is *racial,* it is not inherently *racist*. We are inspired by this understanding that combines a focus on structures (racial regime, racial state) with a focus on agency that conceptualises societal organisations around race as flexible, contextual and thus open to the impact and response of both migrant organisations and antiracist interventions. Despite historical variations and differences in the racial formations, Omi and Winant´s analysis provides a productive theoretical frame for analysing the Swedish racial regime and particularly the role of the (welfare) state in both migration regimes and 'integration' policies.

Racialisation: bridging Phenomenology and neo-Marxism

We argue that the concept of racialisation provides a sense of both process and agency that is central to identifying actors and institutions in creating classification systems based on race, as well as social movements and diverse actors challenging these classifications. In tracing the concept's genealogy, Barot and Bird (2001) argue that the critical use of the concept was developed in the Global South through Fanon's (1967) path-breaking contribution. The reintroduction and academic impact of the concept of racialisation in the Global North is ascribed to the work of sociologist Robert Miles (1993).

The phenomenological approach to race, central to Fanon's (2008/1952) work, highlights the process of racialisation – the ways that people perceive and understand race – and explore the fluidity of racial categories. Such an approach underlines the centrality of developing a hermeneutic of racialisation to address the ways that racial differences have been created and understood historically.

Fanon's (1967) contribution to the concept of racialisation is fundamental and, paradoxically, quite marginal to social science debates on the concept. On one side, he is extremely engaged and committed towards the identification of resistance strategies aiming to challenge racialisation, which he understands as a form of power and domination created and introduced by European colonialism. Fanon is ambivalent about what he understands as the historical need to racialise the struggle with responses (e.g., Black is beautiful) that while challenging the colonial system, reinforce its classification frames, such as his criticism of the concept of negritude. He firmly believes that the anticolonial struggle, framed through a national culture and identity, will create processes of de-racialisation, so central to his understanding of the strategies to heal the scars created by colonialism. The other side of the author's contribution is his focus on the violent process of racialisation and its consequences on the body and the psyche (Fanon 2008/1952).

What makes Fanon's work (2000/1952; 1967) so important is not only the link established between aspects of colonialism and aspects of psychology and embodiment, but also the extent to which a theorisation from the periphery successfully avoids the abstract ways in which much of sociology tackles issues of race and racism (Kane 2007). For Fanon (1967), racialisation is a process that (violently) constructs particular bodies and psyches, as well as locates gender and sexuality (not necessarily social class) at the core of how classification systems, such as erecting borders, are understood and acted on.

There is no 'fact' of blackness (or, by the same criterion, whiteness); both are a form of lived experience. According to David Macey

(1999), to mistake a lived experience for a fact is to betray Fanon's texts to such an extent as to make it almost incomprehensible. In a similar vein, however, at the same time challenging the nominalism of equating race with witchcraft or phlogiston, feminist philosopher Linda Alcoff (1999) argues that although racial classification operates on the basis of perceptual difference, what is perceived is dependent on racism as a knowledge system, thus avoiding the risk of an understanding of race that naturalize racial experiences. What these authors inspired by a phenomenological tradition, following Fanon, provide is a way to put bodies at the core of an understanding of racism.

The sociologist Robert Miles, who uses the term racialisation to connect it to inequality, labour and social class, speaks of it as a relational process, preferring to avoid the use of race as an analytical concept in favour of racialisation. He defines it as follows:

> […] in certain historical conjunctures and under specific material conditions, human beings attribute certain biological characteristics with meaning in order to differentiate, to exclude and to dominate: reproducing the idea of 'race', they create a racialised Other and simultaneously they racialise themselves (Miles 1993: 44).[5]

Besides avoiding the risk of reifying race, the use of racialisation has an additional benefit. As the end of the preceding quote outlines, racialisation is (and must) always (be) relational. Increasingly, the popularity and use of racialisation have resulted in the focus on the racialised others, to the detriment of studying the relation and simultaneously racialising themselves.

In writing from a Swedish vantage point, the concept of racialisation makes sense, but needs to be contextually applied. Taking neo-Marxism and CRT seriously requires systematic analyses of the Swedish racial regime. While such an account, in line with Omi & Winant (1994) is yet to be written, there are puzzle pieces that indicate a research agenda. The Swedish history of racism, we would suggest, is less linked to external colonialism compared to the classic colonial powers, although colonialism has always played a role in the Swedish racial regime, not the least by complying with colonialism (Keskinen et al. 2012), particularly by Sweden´s economic interests in the slave trade (Evans & Rydén 2007). Instead, it has primarily been a racism based on internal or proximate colonial processes (towards the Sami, Tornedalfinns and Finns) and the racialisation of Jews and Roma. The racial regime in Sweden of today, is, in our opinion, characterised on the one hand by a continuation of historically rooted racism towards Jews, Roma and Sami, and, on the other hand, by a variation of racialisations of migrants and their children (Hübinette & Tigervall 2009), especially Muslims (Mulinari & Neergaard 2012) and Afro Swedes (Mångkulturellt Centrum 2014) re-invoking colonial racist discourses of the 'the Other'.

In this sense, we argue that the Swedish racial regime is characterised by many parallel micro-processes of racialisation that produce the 'migrant other' through use of derogatory naming as 'svartskalle' (black-skull) or 'blatte' (wog). Thus, a central feature of racialisation processes is linked to or at least work through migration although skin colour and other phenotypical traits, as well as certain perceived cultural marks, target specific subgroups of the racialised others.

While studies on racism are increasing in Sweden, and attempts are being made (such as in this article) to adjust or to develop theoretical models for capturing systemic racism, much research remains to be done. The racialisation of Finnish, Turkish and Yugoslav migrants in the 1960s and the 1970s, including what seems at least partial de-racialised as the 'migrant other' and re-racialised as White, is an important task for future research. It directly addresses central issues concerning racialisation as a fluid social construct, unstable and with competing meanings that are parallel in time and place.

We argue for the concept of racial regime to grasp the macro-structural inscription of the category of race. In doing so, we suggest the centrality of understanding the modern state as powerfully configured through race. In this context, we see the concept of racialisation as important with its focus on process and agency central to the changing historical context in which race is created as one of the fundamental forms of human inequality.

Intersectionality and black feminism

Feminist scholarship has identified the specific role of women's bodies as symbolic boundaries of ethnic and national belonging as well as the specific role that cultural understanding of gender and sexuality play in the creation of the category of migrant women in the West (Mohanty 2003; Razack 2004; Keskinen 2012; Andreassen 2013).

We argue that taking racial regimes and racism seriously requires an intersectional approach. Gillborn (2015) asserts that for all the emphasis of the CRT on the central role of racism, CRT scholars tend to fail to explore how racial inequities are shaped by processes that also reflect and are influenced by other dimensions of identity and social structure. According to Gillborn (2015), this issue is where the notion of intersectionality is crucial.

The political and analytical contribution through the concept of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989) mirrors the efforts of a broad group of feminist scholars to inscribe race within gender studies. These efforts are expressed in the path breaking works of black feminist Patricia Hill Collins (1990); Chicano feminist Anzaldúa (2012/1987) and scholars with migrant background in Britain, such as Nira Yuval Davis and Floya Anthias (1992).

The concept of intersectionality within this genealogy grasps the efforts of feminist scholars to explore the connections between gender and imperialism/colonialism as systems regulated through race, providing an understanding of the ways through which relations of gender, race, class and sexuality generate complex matrices of domination (Collins 1990). Thus, it is about the simultaneous dynamics of power and an effort to explore the interconnections of different system of oppression and exploitation. An intersectional analysis not only conceptualises gender as inextricable from other social conditions of power, but also understands the hierarchies of class, race and achievement as substantially gendered.

While intersectionality has increasingly become institutionalised in gender studies, its origin among Black feminists and women of colour is increasingly becoming erased (Lewis 2013). Tomlinson (2013: 254) argues that this occurs through strategies of colonisation that 'suppress the availability of conceptual tools that will allow people to recognize, analyse, and debate what might count as structural racisms and how racial differences can be negotiated effectively'. Central to these strategies of exclusion are narratives of the development and success of the discipline of gender studies that locate Black feminism – often defined as political and experiential – in the past, which have currently been transcended through a more sophisticated and complex analysis (Hemmings 2005).

Our reading of the tradition of Black, Indigenous and Chicano feminism emphasises the ways through which the heterogeneity of social locations and gendered bodies are conceptualised and acted upon within these (more phenomenological inspired) traditions.

While intersectionality can be explored through different approaches, as argued by McCall (2005), our understanding underlines the double critical aspect of intersectionality, both as a methodological intervention, and as theoretical contribution in exploring complexity in power relations. This understanding maintains a direct link to the approach developed by Black feminists. It provides both a systemic understanding of power relations and an exploration, through terms such as embodied intersectionality (Mirza 2013) and translocational positionality (Anthias 2008) of how the lived experience of gendered racism is internalised and challenged through the body as a field of both oppression and resistance (Sandoval 2000; Wane et al. 2013).

An intersectional exploration demonstrates how Swedish narratives of modernity and gender equality are based on the concealment of the migrant women from Southern Europe. These women were in fact pioneers in transgressing gendered patterns through full-time employment and higher labour market participation and were more prevalent in the male bastions of industrial work in a gender-segregated labour market (de los Reyes 2006; Knocke 1991, 2006). Intersectionality provides a frame to analyse the diverse impacts of social policies and the welfare state among different groups of women. According to several studies, the 'women-friendly welfare state' is regulated by a racial regime that ranges from a hierarchy of selection regarding rights and benefits (Ålund 1991; Barzoo 2017) to reported racist experiences. Sawyer (2002) and Wikström (2007) apply intersectionality to study the complex ways racialisation creates hierarchies that regulate state institutions' interpretation of what a 'good family' is, which often pathologise and criminalise migrant families and neglect the strength and resilience of migrant mothers and transnational families. Furthermore, research demonstrates how (colonial) and (racist) desires regulate sexuality in both intimate relations and public discourse (Habel 2002; Farahani 2013).

In a study of women activists of the Sweden Democrats (Mulinari & Neergaard 2014; 2017), we introduced the concept of care racism, inspired by an intersectional analysis of the position of women (who see themselves as Whites) in a complex web of inequalities, where a central quality of care is the defence of family and kin supposedly threatened by migration. Care in this frame implies the exclusion, and expulsion of the migrant other. In reflecting on how racism and racialisation intersect with gender, the concept of care racism may be used to name the way that gender as a symbol and an identity enters racist agendas, as in the case of the Sweden Democrats, through positioning women as carers of the (White/Swedish) family and the (White) Swedish nation. Care racism naturalises racist violence as a natural human drift of 'caring for one's own'. While the language of love is quite present in racist agendas, as Ahmed (2004) asserts, the focus on care grasps the specificity of the Swedish experience of the 'people's home'.

Thus, an intersectional analysis also focuses on the ambivalent position of women, identified as belonging to the nation. It is embodied in right-wing xenophobic discourses, as both symbols of the nation and objects of protection but also as threats to the nation, as illustrated by the attacks against Swedish women who are identified as feminists, for instance in solidarity with refugees (Sveland 2013).

Two modes: exclusionary and exploitative racism

In this last section of the article, we build on the discussion of neo-Marxism, CRT and black feminism in delineating the Swedish *racial regime* through the concepts of exclusionary and exploitative racism.

It is quite easy to find quotes from extreme-right parties demonstrating aspects of exclusionary racism and from right-wing parties demonstrating both exclusionary and exploitative modes, especially the latter (Mulinari & Neergaard 2014; 2015). However, to emphasise the systemic aspect of racism argued above, we provide an example of quotes from high-end social democratic representatives.

> We need a growing service sector. Not least, I'm thinking of those who come here as refugees and who can make bread, sew, care for children and clean. They should be able to find an outlet for their skills and in addition get paid for it (Jens Orback, authors' translation).[6]

The preceding interview quote is by a newly appointed Social Democratic minister of gender equality and integration. It was an argument in a debate between on the one side the minister, representing the Social Democratic Government and on the other the right-wing parties and the employers' associations on how to stimulate a low-wage sector, with the Social Democrats arguing against tax subsidies. However, there was a general agreement concerning the skills and the normal position of refugees in the labour market – in low-paid service work. We consider this a mainstream, even a systemic example of what we call exploitative racism, operating by producing a usable (exploitable) racialised labour force through discursive and institutional practices. Exploitative is often directly or indirectly racism framed in the historical tradition of colonialism and slave-trade that creates classification systems through which specific bodies are coded with specific characteristics. In addition, exploitative racism is linked to those with the power *to exploit*, and thus, to the 'elite' political parties formulating policies that make workers vulnerable to exploitation, on one side, and employers using the precarious labour market positions of workers, on the other side. Exploitative racism operates through the process of racialisation that legitimises the capitalist production of profit. Exploitative racism may be perceived as a practice ideologically framed in the win-win-win policies of managed migration (Fekete 2001; Lentin & Titley 2011) that regulate access to citizenship. It is basically shaped by the idea of gaining access to cheap labour through processes of racialisation and curtailed citizenship rights that affect both skilled and less skilled labour. The preceding excerpt is from an interview with the Social Democratic Party secretary, defending the dramatic change in the Swedish refugee policy:

> This is a government that is willing to actually ensure that Sweden survives, where we develop the Swedish model, where we are open to the outside world, where people can seek asylum in Sweden or in other EU countries, but where we also protect and develop the Swedish welfare into the future (Interview with Carin Jämtin on 5 March 2016).

While part of the quote emphasises openness and the right to seek asylum, the first and the last parts argue that the survival of Sweden and Swedish welfare is threatened by refugees. In today's Sweden, this is the dominant politics by the Social Democratic and Green Party government, by three right-wing opposition parties demanding more restrictions, and in an even more radical version, by the Sweden Democrats. Within the parliament, it is only contested by the neo-Liberal Centre Party to some extent and more fully by the Left Party (Mulinari & Neergaard 2017; Ålund et al. 2017).

We regard it as an example of what we call exclusionary racism, emphasising the threat of the 'other'. Using racialising stereotypes

in constructing the 'other' as a threat to normative order and to social cohesion, the rhetoric of cultural collisions is employed and connected to policies of stopping immigration (and repatriation) (Fekete 2009). Exclusionary racism is linked to a period of social transformation, but it is not reducible to an economic crisis. In its extreme form, exclusionary racism may take the form of annihilation; however, the dominant form focuses on separation and exclusion, as in the culturally racist form of the Sweden Democrats (Mulinari & Neergaard 2012; 2017). Here, it is ideologically framed by ethnopluralism based on 'ethnic autonomy', practices of separation, stemming immigration and expulsion strategies.

In Sweden, exclusionary racism often takes its point of departure in a classification system based on the category of race and emphasises the threat of the 'other' gender culture (the criminalisation of migrants as dangerous and violent men), as well as locates patriarchy in the others' cultures. In contrast, exploitative racism has a completely different intersection of gender and racism; the focus is on the construction of (cheap) labour through racialisation. While racialisation is used with respect to both men and women, it is also gendered in the construction of exploitable labour, as the quote from Orback above demonstrated (see also Larsson 2015). In the Swedish context, the discursive strategy has mainly been used to construct migrant women as comprising a cheap labour force, both in care work in the private sector and in the expansion of the sex industry.

While exploitative racism has been the hegemonic form of gendered racism, intersecting with neoliberal capitalist exploitation (Anderson 2000; Lutz 2011), we have recently observed how it has increasingly been challenged, while partially merging with exclusionary racism. Neoconservative policies, the threat of demographic reproduction and the migrant woman as incompatible with Swedish culture, have increasingly come to compete with the exploitative and useful woman as the 'other' (Mulinari & Neergaard 2016; 2017).

Exploitative and exclusionary racism should be viewed as two different organisational modes that coexist in different constellations and hierarchies forging a specific race regime. While it would be too simplistic to identify a definitive link between class position and forms of racism, we would contend that the champions of exploitative racism are generally in a more privileged class position, whereas the advocates of exclusionary racism often belong to a more subordinated or peripheral class position. However, and this is important, the mediation of these positions through political discourses or in concrete policies needs political alliances that transcend dualistic class divisions.

While exploitative racism – as in the labour migration legislation – has dominated Sweden's racial regime for some time, we have recently witnessed increasing policies of exclusionary racism in the rapid and dramatic restructuring of Swedish refugee policies and the increasing policing of the racialised others (Mulinari & Neergaard 2016; Neergaard 2017).

In situating the state as central in our understanding of racial regimes and racist states (Mulinari & Neergaard 2017), we perceive our concepts of exclusionary and exploitative racism as two modalities in state practices, although embedded in the broader social fabric as well. In this sense, exclusionary racism focuses on internal (through segregating practices) and especially external border management (who are let in). In contrast, exploitative racism involves those practices that facilitate the subordination of racialised groups; thus, it devalues them, fostering exploitable relations. While colonialism and imperialism may be considered global practices of

exploitative racism, we have focused more on how these practices produce cheaper labour, as in the case of labour migration and refugee migration legislation, as well as through the internal workings of welfare and labour market legislation (Neergaard 2017).

Conclusions

We would like to suggest that the traditions presented in the article have an epistemological frame within critical theory, particularly the identification of the tensions between doing science and the field of the political, and between the production of knowledge and the creation of alternative societal visions and practices. We also suggest that it is their shared commitment to the forms of knowledge production embedded in notions of social justice that opens the possibility of bridging, and up to a certain point, assembling these traditions.

One of our central arguments is that the analytical concepts of racialisation and exclusionary and exploitative racism within an overarching frame of the racial regime are further strengthened in a critical dialogue with Black feminists' concept of intersectionality. It allows for more nuanced and historically contextual interpretations of racism that intersects with class and gender oppression. We also argue that an understanding of racialisation (and de-racialisation) processes as dynamic and fluid, changing across space and over time is vital to be able to capture the creation and changes of boundaries among different groups and categories.

We understand racial regime as the interplay between social structures and everyday life, through which the meanings of race and racial categories are created, negotiated and challenged. Within this tradition, we recognise the Swedish racial regime as continuously bridging exploitative and exclusionary racism by systematically providing classification systems based on the categories of race, which are highly diversified (time, space, assumed religious background, skin colour and phenotypical characteristics) and transformed through political struggles, among other factors.

We have argued for the strength of a 'racial regime' approach, since it provides a point of departure that captures racialisation and the content of identities within racial categories as unstable and politically contested; thus, it is a theory of human agency. It also combines discursive elements with structural institutional ones in the understanding of the conflicts and struggles about the meaning of race; thus, it is a theory of social transformation. We invite scholars to combine a racial regime perspective with an intersectional approach as a way of taking racism seriously, without a priori deciding on the salience of intersecting relations of oppression. While we lack the space to pursue the theorising of antiracist struggles, we do think that our perspective allows capturing not only oppression in various forms, but also the possibilities of resistance.

In conclusion, as invoked by the use of intersectionality, we would like to witness further research that departs from the understanding that racial regimes, as capitalism and patriarchy, are both systemic and reproduced through the lived experience of race. This will contribute to scholarships of hope, because it is only when racial regimes are acknowledged and forms of liberal European universalism that deny difference and inequalities are challenged that it becomes possible to develop scholarship that take as a fundamental point of departure the need to abolish the existent racial regime.

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Notes

1. Even earlier, one of the first racial categorisations of humans was developed by the Swedish biologist Carl von Linnaeus in 1735 (Schough 2008).

2. Vi arbetar för demokrati och alla människors lika värde. Med lärdomar från Förintelse. http://www.levandehistoria.se/ (accessed Feb. 6, 2017)
3. 'Utredningen om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering', see SOU 2005: 41 - 2; SOU 2005: 41 - 1; SOU 2005: 69; SOU 2005: 112; SOU 2006: 21; SOU 2006: 30; SOU 2006: 37; SOU 2006: 40; SOU 2006: 52; SOU 2006: 53; SOU 2006: 59; SOU 2006: 60; SOU 2006: 73; SOU 2006: 78; SOU 2006: 79. Available from: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/Dokument-Lagar/Utredningar/?sort=rel&sortorder=desc&a=s&avd=dokument&facets=2&sok=%22Utredningen+om+makt,+integration+och+strukturell+diskriminering%22&tempbet=&motkat=&rm=&parti=&doktyp=sou,ds,dir,komm,rir,rfr,urf&subtyp=&datum=&from=&tom=&debattdagfrom=&debattdagtom=&org=&nr=&bet=&talare=
4. See, among others, the debates in Swedish media. Available from: http://story.aftonbladet.se/politisktkorrekt and http://www.dn.se/kultur-noje/kulturdebatt/judith-kiros-identitetspolitik-och-vanster-politik-ar-inga-motpoler/ [Last accessed 12.11.2016].
5. Building on Fanon's use in writing, "For not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man […] his inferiority comes into being through the other" (1967: 110).
6. Mats Carlbom, »Ministerdebutant i blåsväder. 'Bildade kvinnor har vantolkat mig om kvinnovåldet', säger Jens Orback», DN 041023

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Migration and Discrimination

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IMISCOE Short Reader

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Foreword

This book reflects a growing concern in European migration studies. For decades, migration scholars have studied immigrants' access to key social domains, such as education and the labor market, as part of a broader process of integration, often implicitly assuming that later generations will overcome the barriers opposing their immigrant parents or grandparents. Today, there is ample evidence that both immigrants and their descendants – many of whom constitute what we in this book refer to as ethno-racial minority groups – face discrimination when trying to access goods or services in Europe. Efforts to measure and understand the prevalence of discrimination, as well as concerns over the consequences of such experiences, have resulted in the fast-growing field of discrimination studies.

We have been part of this development by our own research on ethnic and racial discrimination, but also by establishing a research cluster devoted to discrimination studies within the IMISCOE network. Formally established at the 2015 IMISCOE conference in Geneva, the research cluster *Discrimination in Cross-National Perspective* aimed to put this issue front-stage, emphasizing the role of discrimination in migrants' and their descendants' integration processes and in the transformation of European countries as multicultural societies. By organizing panel sessions on discrimination in the subsequent IMISCOE annual conferences, we have brought together scholars from across Europe and North America to engage in critical debates about methods, theories, results, and interpretations.

The current book is an extension of this endeavor. The book provides a state-of-the-art overview of the research on discrimination, with a particular focus on discrimination against immigrants and their descendants. Structured as a short reader available to undergraduate and graduate students, scholars, policy makers, and the general public, it covers the ways in which discrimination is defined and conceptualized, how it may be measured and theorized, and how it may be combatted by law and policy. The book also presents recent empirical results from studies on discrimination across Europe and North America to exemplify how research in this field is conducted.

This book distinguishes itself from other handbooks in several respects. It is short and concise. It focuses mostly on the labor market because of major advances

in recent empirical studies in this domain, but empirical examples are also drawn from studies of discrimination in housing, health, access to social services, and more generally on the subjective experiences of being a member of discriminated groups. The reader is further rooted in an interdisciplinary approach, reflecting that discrimination is studied across the social sciences. Finally, the book has a broad European scope, mirroring the expanding research on and growing awareness of discrimination on this side of the Atlantic and reflecting the overall mission of the IMISCOE network.

We wish to thank the IMISCOE editorial committee for the invitation to write a short reader on migration and discrimination as part of the network's new short book series, and especially the head of the committee, Anna Triandafyllidou, for her inspiring encouragement. We also wish to thank our respective research institutions – the Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies at the University of Neuchâtel, Institute for Social Research in Oslo and INED in Paris – for allowing us to find time to work on this book and for funding travel to Oslo and Paris for joint discussions and stimulating writing sessions.

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May 2020

Contents

Chapter 1
Introduction: The Case for Discrimination Research

European societies are more ethnically diverse than ever. The increasing migration-related diversity has fostered dramatic changes since the 1950s, among them the rise of striking ethno-racial inequalities in employment, housing, health, and a range of other social domains. The sources of these enduring inequalities have been a subject of controversy for decades. To some scholars, ethno-racial gaps in such outcomes are seen as transitional bumps in the road toward integration, while others view structural racism, ethnic hostility, and subtle forms of outgroup-bias as fundamental causes of persistent ethno-racial inequalities. These ethno-racial disadvantages *can* be understood as evidence of widespread discrimination; however, scholarly debates reflect striking differences in the conceptualization and measurement of discrimination in the social sciences.

What discrimination is, as well as how and why it operates, are differently understood and studied by the various scholarships and scientific fields. A large body of research has been undertaken over the previous three decades, using a variety of methods – qualitative, quantitative, and experimental. These research efforts have improved our knowledge of the dynamics of discrimination in Europe and beyond. It is the ambition of this book to summarize how we frame, study, theorize, and aim at combatting ethno-racial discrimination in Europe.

1.1 Post-War Immigration and the Ethno-racial Diversity Turn

Even though ethnic and racial diversity has existed to some extent in Europe (through the slave trade, transnational merchants, and colonial troops), the scope of migration-related diversity reached an unprecedented level in the period following World War II. This period coincides with broader processes of decolonization and the beginning of mass migration from non-European countries, be it from former

colonies to the former metropoles (from the Caribbean or India and Pakistan to the UK; South-East Asia, North Africa or Sub-Saharan Africa to France) or in the context of labor migration without prior colonial ties (from Turkey to Germany or the Netherlands; Morocco to Belgium or the Netherlands, etc.).

The ethnic and racial diversity in large demographic figures began in the 1960s (Van Mol and de Valk 2016). At this time, most labor migrants were coming from other European countries, but figures of non-European migration were beginning to rise: in 1975, 8% of the population in France and the UK had a migration background, half of which originated from a non-European country. By contrast, in 2014, 9.2% of the population of the EU28 had a migration background from outside of Europe (either foreign born or native-born from foreign-born parent(s)), and this share reached almost 16% in Sweden; 14% in the Netherlands, France, and the UK; and between 10 and 13% in Germany, Belgium, and Austria. The intensification of migration, especially from Asia and Africa, has heightened the visibility of ethno-racial diversity in large European metropolises. Almost 50% of inhabitants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam have a "nonwestern *allochthon*" background (2014), 40% of Londoners are black or ethnic minorities (2011), while 30% of Berliners (2013) and 43% of Parisians (metropolitan area; 2009) have a migration background. The major facts of this demographic evolution are not only that diversity has reached a point of "super-diversity" (see Vertovec 2007; Crul 2016) in size and origins, but also that descendants of immigrants (i.e., the second generation) today make up a significant demographic group in most European countries, with the exception of Southern Europe where immigration first boomed in the 2000s.

The coming of age of the second generation has challenged the capacity of different models of integration to fulfill promises of equality, while the socio-cultural cohesion of European societies is changing and has to be revised to include ethnic and racial diversity. Native-born descendants of immigrants are socialized in the country of their parents' migration and, in most European countries, share the full citizenship of the country where they live and, consequently, the rights attached to it. However, an increasing number of studies show that even the second generation faces disadvantages in education, employment, and housing that cannot be explained by their lack of skills or social capital (Heath and Cheung 2007). The transmission of penalties from one generation to the other – and in some cases an even higher level of penalty for the second generation than for the first – cannot be explained solely by the deficiencies in human, social, and cultural capital, as could have been the case for low-skilled labor migrants arriving in the 1960s and 1970s. Indeed, the persistence of ethno-racial disadvantages among citizens who do not differ from others except for their ethnic background, their skin color, or their religious beliefs is a testament to the fact that equality for all is an ambition not yet achieved.

Citizenship status may represent a basis for differential treatment. Undoubtedly, citizenship status is generally considered a legitimate basis for differential treatment, which is therefore not acknowledged as discrimination. Indeed, in many European countries, the divide between nationals and European Union (EU) citizens lost its bearing with the extension of social rights to EU citizens (Koopmans et al. 2012). Yet, in other countries, and for non-EU citizens, foreign citizenship

status creates barriers to access to social subsidies, health care, specific professions, and pensions or exposure to differential treatment in criminal justice. In most countries, voting rights are conditional to citizenship, and the movement to expand the polity to non-citizens is uneven, at least for elections of representatives at the national parliaments. Notably, in countries with restrictive access to naturalization, citizenship status may provide an effective basis for unequal treatment (Hainmueller and Hangartner 2013). The issue of discrimination among nationals, therefore, should not overshadow the enduring citizenship-based inequalities.

The gap between ethnic diversity among the population and scarcity of the representation of this diversity in the economic, political, and cultural elites demonstrate that there are obstacles to minorities entering these positions. This picture varies across countries and social domains. The UK, Belgium, or the Netherlands display a higher proportion of elected politicians with a migration background than France or Germany (Alba and Foner 2015). Some would argue that it is only a matter of time before newcomers will take their rank in the queue and access the close ring of power in one or two generations. Others conclude that there is a glass ceiling for ethno-racial minorities, which will prove as efficient as that for women to prevent them from making their way to the top. The exception that proves the rule can be found in sports, where athletes with minority backgrounds are often well represented in high-level competitions. The question is how to narrow the gap in other domains of social life, and what this gap tells us about the structures of inequalities in European societies.

1.2 Talking About Discrimination in Europe

Discrimination is as old as human society. However, the use of the concept in academic research and policy debates in Europe is fairly recent. In the case of differential treatment of ethnic and racial minorities, the concept was typically related to blatant forms of racism and antisemitism, while the more subtle forms of stigmatization, subordination, and exclusion for a long time did not receive much attention as forms of "everyday racism" (Essed 1991). The turn from explicit racism to more subtle forms of selection and preference based on ethnicity and race paved the way to current research on discrimination. In European societies, where formal equality is a fundamental principle protected by law, discrimination is rarely observed directly. Contrary to overt racism, which is explicit and easily identified, discrimination is typically a hidden part of decisions, selection processes, and choices that are not explicitly based on ethnic or racial characteristics, even though they produce unfair biases. Discrimination does not have to be intentional and it is often not even a conscious part of human action and interaction. While it is clear that discrimination exists, this form of differential treatment is hard to make visible. The major task of research in the field is thus to provide evidence of the processes and magnitude of discrimination. Beyond the variety of approaches in the different disciplines, however, discrimination researchers tend to agree on the starting point: stereotypes

and prejudices are nurturing negative perceptions, more or less explicit, of individuals or groups through processes of ethnicization or racialization, which in turn create biases in decision-making processes and serve as barriers to opportunities for these individuals or groups.

Although the concepts of inequality, discrimination, and racism are sometimes used interchangeably, the concept of discrimination entails specificities in terms of social processes, power relations, and legal frameworks that have opened new perspectives to understand ethnic and racial inequalities. The genealogy of the concept and its diffusion in scientific publications still has to be studied thoroughly, and we searched in major journals to identify broad historical sequences across national contexts. Until the 1980s, the use of the concept of discrimination was not widespread in the media, public opinion, science, or policies. In scientific publications, the dissemination of the concept was already well advanced in the US at the beginning of the twentieth century in the aftermath of the abolition of slavery to describe interracial relations. In Europe, there is a sharp distinction between the UK and continental Europe in this regard. The development of studies referring explicitly to discrimination in the UK has a clear link to the post-colonial migration after World War II and the foundation of ethnic and racial studies in the 1960s. However, the references to discrimination remained quite limited in the scientific literature until the 1990s – even in specialized journals such as *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *New Community* and its follower *Journal for Ethnic and Migration Studies*, and more recently *Ethnicities* – when the number of articles containing the term discrimination in their title or keywords increased significantly. In French-speaking journals, references to discrimination were restricted to a small number of feminist journals in the 1970s and became popular in the 1990s and 2000s in mainstream social science journals. The same held true in Germany, with a slight delay in the middle of the 2000s. Since the 2000s, the scientific publications on discrimination have reached new peaks in most European countries.

The year 2000 stands as a turning point in the development of research and public interest in discrimination in continental Europe. This date coincides with the legal recognition of discrimination by the parliament of the EU through a directive "implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin," more commonly called the "Race Equality Directive." This directive put ethnic and racial discrimination on the political agenda of EU countries. This political decision contributed to changing the legal framework of EU countries, which incorporated non-discrimination as a major reference and transposed most of the terms of the Race Equality Directive into their national legislation. The implementation of the directive was also a milestone in the advent of the awareness of discrimination in Europe. In order to think in terms of discrimination, there should be a principle of equal treatment applied to everyone, regardless of their ethnicity or race. This principle of equal treatment is not new, but it has remained quite formal for a long time. The Race Equality Directive represented a turning point toward a more effective and proactive approach to achieve equality and accrued sensitivity to counter discrimination wherever it takes place.

   The first step to mobilize against discrimination is to launch awareness-raising campaigns to create a new consciousness of the existence of ethno-racial disadvantages. The denial of discrimination is indeed a paradoxical consequence of the extension of formal equality in post-war democratic regimes. Since racism is morally condemned and legally prohibited, it is expected that discrimination should not occur and, thus, that racism is incidental. Incidentally, an opinion survey conducted in 2000 for the European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (which was replaced in 2003 by the Fundamental Rights Agency [FRA]), showed that only 31% of respondents in the EU15 at the time agreed that discrimination should be outlawed. However, the second Eurobarometer explicitly dedicated to studying discrimination in 2007 found that ethnic discrimination was perceived as the most widespread (very or fairly) type of discrimination by 64% of EU citizens (European Commission 2007). Almost 10 years later, in 2015, the answers were similar for ethnic discrimination but had increased for all other grounds except gender. Yet, there are large discrepancies between countries, with the Netherlands, Sweden, and France showing the highest levels of consciousness of ethnic discrimination (84%, 84%, and 82%, respectively), whereas awareness is much lower in Poland (31%) and Latvia (32%). In Western Europe, Germany (60%) and Austria (58%) stand out with relatively lower marks (European Commission 2015).

   These Eurobarometer surveys provide useful information about the knowledge of discrimination and the attitudes of Europeans toward policies against it. However, they focus on the representation of different types of discrimination rather than the personal experience of minority members. To gather statistics on the experience of discrimination is difficult for two reasons: (1) minorities are poorly represented in surveys with relatively small samples in the general population and (2) questions about experiences of discrimination are rarely asked in non-specific surveys. Thanks to the growing interest in discrimination, more surveys are providing direct and indirect variables that are useful in studying the personal experiences of ethno-racial disadvantage.

   The European Social Survey, for example, has introduced a question on perceived group discrimination (which is not exactly a personal self-reported experience of discrimination, see Chap. 4). In 2007 and 2015, the FRA conducted a specialized survey on discrimination in the 28 EU countries, the Minorities and Discrimination (EU-MIDIS) survey, to fill the gap in the knowledge of the experience of discrimination of ethnic and racial minorities. The information collected is wide ranging; however, only two minority groups were surveyed in each EU country, and the survey is not representative of the population.

   Of course, European-wide surveys are not the main statistical sources on discrimination. Administrative statistics, censuses, and social surveys at the national and local levels in numerous countries bring new knowledge of discrimination, either with direct measures when this is the main topic of data collection or more indirectly when they provide information on gaps in employment or education faced by disadvantaged groups. The key point is to be able to identify the relevant population category in relation to discrimination, as we know that ethno-racial groups do not experience discrimination to the same extent. Analyses of immigrants or the

second generation as a whole might miss the significant differences between – broadly speaking – European and non-European origins. Or, to put it in a different way, between white and non-white or "visible" minorities. Countries where groups with a European background make up most of the migration-related diversity typically show low levels of discrimination, while countries with high proportions of groups with non-European backgrounds, especially Africans (North and Sub-Saharan), Caribbean people, and South Asians, record dramatic levels of discrimination.

1.3   Who Is Discriminated Against? The Problem with Statistics on Ethnicity and Race

Collecting data on discrimination raises the problem of the identification of minority groups. Migration-related diversity has been designed from the beginning of mass migration based on place of birth of the individuals (foreign born) or their citizenship (foreigners). In countries where citizenship acquisition is limited, citizenship or nationality draws the boundary between "us" and "the others" over generations. This is not the case in countries with more open citizenship regimes where native-born children of immigrants acquire by law the nationality of their country of residence and thus cannot be identified by these variables. If most European countries collect data on foreigners and immigrants, a limited number identify the second generation (i.e., the children of immigrants born in the country of immigration). The question is whether the categories of immigrants and the second generation really reflect the population groups exposed to ethno-racial discrimination. As the grounds of discrimination make clear, nationality or country of birth is not the only characteristic generating biases and disadvantages: ethnicity, race, or color are directly involved. However, if it seems straightforward to define country of birth and citizenship, collecting data on ethnicity, race, or color is complex and, in Europe, highly sensitive.

Indeed, the controversial point is defining population groups by using the same characteristics by which they are discriminated against. This raises ethical, political, legal, and methodological issues. Ethical because the choice to re-use the very categories that convey stereotypes and prejudices at the heart of discrimination entails significant consequences. Political because European countries have adopted a color-blind strategy since 1945, meaning that their political philosophies consider that racial terminologies are producing racism by themselves and should be strictly avoided (depending on the countries, ethnicities receive the same blame). Legal because most European countries interpret the provisions of the European directive on data protection and their transposition in national laws as a legal prohibition. Methodological because there is no standardized format to collect personal information on ethnicity or race and there are several methodological pitfalls commented in the scientific literature. Data on ethnicity per se are collected in censuses to describe national minorities in Eastern Europe, the UK, and Ireland, which are the

only Western European countries to produce statistics by ethno-racial categories (Simon 2012). The information is collected by self-identification either with an open question about one's ethnicity or by ticking a box (or several in the case of multiple choices) in a list of categories. None of these questions explicitly mention race: for example, the categories in the UK census refer to "White," "black British," or "Asian British" among other items, but the question itself is called the "ethnic group question."

In the rest of Europe, place of birth and nationality of the parents would be used as proxies for ethnicity in a limited number of countries: Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Belgium to name a few. Data on second generations can be found in France, Germany, and Switzerland among others in specialized surveys with limitations in size and scope. Moreover, the succession of generations since the arrival of the first migrants will fade groups into invisibility by the third generation. This process is already well advanced in the oldest immigration countries, such as France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Asking questions about the grandparents and the previous generations is not an option since it would require hard decisions to classify those with mixed ancestry (how many ancestors are needed to belong to one category?), not to mention the problems in memory to retrieve all valuable information about the grandparents. This is one of the reasons why traditional immigration countries (USA, Canada, Australia) collect data on ethnicity through self-identification questions.

The discrepancies between official categories and those exposed to discrimination have fostered debates between state members and International Human Rights Organizations – such as the UN Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) at the Council of Europe, and the EU FRA – which claim that more data are needed on racism and discrimination categorized by ethnicity. The same applies to academia and antiracist NGOs where debates host advocates and opponents to "ethnic statistics." There is no easy solution, but the accuracy of data for the measurement of discrimination is a strategic issue for both research and policies.

1.4   Discrimination and Integration: Commonalities and Contradictions

How does research on discrimination relate to the broader field of research on immigrant assimilation or integration? On one hand, assimilation/integration and discrimination are closely related both in theory and in empirical studies. Discrimination hinders full participation in society, and the persistence of ethnic penalties across generations contradicts long-term assimilation prospects. On the other hand, both assimilation and integration theory tend to assume that the role of discrimination in shaping access to opportunities will decrease over time. Assimilation is often defined as "the decline of ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social

difference" (Alba and Nee 2003, 11), a definition that bears an expectation that migrants and their descendants will over time cease to be viewed as different from the "mainstream population," reach parity in socioeconomic outcomes, and gradually become "one of us." In the canonical definition, integration departs from assimilation by considering incorporation as a two-way process. Migrants and ethnic minorities are expected to become full members of a society by adopting core values, norms, and basic cultural codes (e.g., language) from mainstream society, while mainstream society is transformed in return by the participation of migrants and ethnic minorities (Alba et al. 2012). The main idea is that convergence rather than differentiation should occur to reach social cohesion, and mastering the cultural codes of mainstream society will alleviate the barriers to resource access, such as education, employment, housing, and rights.

Of course, studies of assimilation and integration do not necessarily ignore that migrants and ethnic minorities face penalties in the course of the process of acculturation and incorporation into mainstream society. In the landmark book, *Assimilation in American Life*, Milton Gordon clearly spelled out that the elimination of prejudice and discrimination is a key parameter for assimilation to occur; or to use his own terms, that "attitude receptional" and "behavioral receptional" dimensions of assimilation are crucial to complete the process (Gordon 1964, 81). Yet, ethnic penalties are believed to be mainly determined by human capital and class differences and therefore progressively offset as education level rises, elevating the newcomers to conditions of the natives and reducing the social distance between groups. Stressing the importance of generational progress, assimilation theory thus tends to consider discrimination as merely a short-run phenomenon.

The main blind spots in assimilation and integration theories revolve around two issues: the specific inequalities related to the ethnicization or racialization of non-white minorities and the balance between the responsibilities of the structures of mainstream society and the agencies of migrants and ethnic minorities in the process of incorporation. Along these two dimensions, discrimination research offers a different perspective than what is regularly employed in studies of assimilation and integration.

Discrimination research tends to identify the unfavorable and unfair treatment of individuals or groups based on categorical characteristics and often shows these unfair treatments lie in the activation of stereotypes and prejudices by gatekeepers and the lack of neutrality in processes of selection. In this perspective, what has to be transformed and adapted to change the situation are the structures – the institutions, procedures, bureaucratic routines, etc. – of mainstream society, opening it up to ethnic and racial diversity to enable migrants and ethnic minorities to participate on equal footing with other individuals, independent of their identities. By contrast, in studies of assimilation and integration, explanations of disadvantages are often linked to the lack of human capital and social networks among migrants and ethnic minorities, suggesting that they have to transform themselves to be able to take full part in society. To simplify matters, studies of assimilation and integration often explain persistent disadvantages by pointing to characteristics of migrants and

ethnic minorities, while discrimination research explains disadvantages by characteristics of the social and political system.

Both assimilation and integration theories have gradually opened up for including processes of ethnicization and racialization and the consequences of such processes on assimilation prospects. Most prominently, segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Portes and Zhou 1993) shifts the focus away from migrants' adaptation efforts and to the forms of interaction between minority groups – and prominently the second and later generations – and the receiving society. In this variant of assimilation theory, societies are viewed as structurally stratified by class, gender, and race, which powerfully influence the resources and opportunities available to immigrants and their descendants and contribute to shaping alternative paths of incorporation. According to segmented assimilation theory, children of immigrants may end up "ascending into the ranks of a prosperous middle class or join in large numbers the ranks of a racialized, permanently impoverished population at the bottom of society" (Portes et al. 2005, 1004), the latter outcome echoing worries over persistent ethnic and racial disadvantage. Another possible outcome is upward bicultural mobility (selective acculturation) of the children of poorly educated parents, protected by strong community ties.

The major question arising from these related fields of research – the literature on assimilation and integration, on the one hand, and the literature on discrimination, on the other – is whether the gradual diversification of Europe will result in "mainstream expansion," in which migrants and their descendants over time will ascend the ladders into the middle and upper classes of the societies they live in, or whether we are witnessing the formation of a permanent underclass along ethnic and racial lines. This book will not provide the ultimate answer to this question. However, by introducing the main concepts, theories, and methods in the field of discrimination, as well as pointing out key research findings, policies that are enacted to combat discrimination, and avenues for future research, we hope to provide the reader with an overview of the field.

1.5   The Content of the Book

The literature on discrimination is flourishing, and it involves a wide range of concepts, theories, methods, and findings. Chapter 2 provides the key concepts in the field. The chapter distinguishes between direct and indirect discrimination as legal and sociological concepts, between systemic and institutional discrimination, and between discrimination as intentional actions, subtle biases, and what might be referred to as the cumulative effects of past discrimination on the present. Chapter 3 reviews the main theoretical explanations of discrimination from a cross-disciplinary perspective. Mirroring the historical development of the field, it presents and discusses theories seeking the cause of prejudice and discrimination at the individual, organizational, and structural levels.

Of course, our knowledge of discrimination depends on the methods of measurement, since the phenomenon is mainly visible through its quantification. Hence, Chapter 4 offers an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of available methods of measurement, including statistical analysis of administrative data, surveys among potential victims and perpetrators, qualitative in-depth studies, legal cases, and experimental approaches to the study of discrimination (including survey experiments, lab experiments, and field experiments).

Importantly, discrimination does not occur similarly in all domains of social life, and it takes different forms according to the domain in question (e.g., the labor market, education, housing, health services, and public services). Chapter 5 taps into the large body of empirical work that can be grouped under the heading "discrimination research" in order to provide some key findings, while simultaneously highlighting a distinction between systems of differentiation and systems of equality.

What happens when discrimination occurs? Chapter 6 addresses the consequences of unfair treatment for targeted individuals and groups, as well as their reaction to it. These individual and collective responses to discrimination are seconded by policies designed to tackle discrimination. However, antidiscrimination policies vary greatly across countries, and Chapter 7 provides an overview of the different types of policies against discrimination in Europe and beyond, both public policies and schemes implemented by organizations. The chapter also reflects on some of the key political and societal debates about the implementation and the future of these policies. Chapter 8 concludes on the future of discrimination research in Europe, stressing the main challenges ahead for a burgeoning scientific field.

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Chapter 2
Concepts of Discrimination

The principle of equality constitutes the core of contemporary societies. Equality in dignity and rights provides the foundation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from 1948, and the right to equal treatment is the basis of the antidiscrimination acts that started spreading from the US and the UK in the mid-1960s onwards. Indeed, equality and discrimination are inherently connected: As legal scholar Sandra Fredman has pointed out (2011, 4), "classical and medieval societies were not founded on a principle of equality," and in these societies, there was no expectation of equal opportunities. Of course, this was, in practice, not the case in the early phases of modern societies either. For centuries, many groups – women, slaves, and racial and religious minorities – were excluded from the liberal rights that white men enjoyed. However, when the principle of equality was expanded to all groups and coupled with the prohibition of slavery and unequal treatment, women and various minority groups were formally granted the full scope of rights – including the right to not experience discrimination. Today, as legal scholar Tarunabh Khaitan (2015, 3–4) has suggested, "a system of law regulating discrimination has become key to how states define themselves." Of course, granting members of society formal equality of opportunity does not in itself eliminate inequalities, which have many roots. However, within the framework of formal equality, what role discrimination plays in shaping inequality becomes a major question.

Despite the fact that equality of opportunity is a core feature of contemporary societies, the concept of discrimination remains multifaceted. In the most straightforward definition, discrimination is the unequal treatment of similar individuals placed in the same situation but who differ by one or several characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, gender, (dis)ability, sexual orientation, or other categorical statuses. Discrimination may result from an explicit reservation or exclusion based on some of these characteristics or be the outcome of seemingly neutral rules or procedures that disproportionally disadvantage certain individuals or groups compared to others. These disadvantages might spur from organizational or societal cultures that favor some groups over others due to historical legacies, laws, or public policies. In earlier phases of many modern societies, discrimination was grounded in

institutionalized ethnic and/or racial segregation, which prevented minority groups from applying for certain jobs or residing in specific areas (Anderson 2010). Such legally discriminatory systems were abolished mainly in the 1960s and 1970s. Yet, more subtle forms of exclusion in the educational system, labor market, criminal justice system, and public spaces remain the reality for many racialized groups today (Pager and Shepherd 2008; Reskin 2012).

These different forms of discrimination share two common features. First, discrimination is a matter of comparison: For discrimination to take place, the discriminated individual or group must be treated unfavorably compared to some other individual or group. Second, the basis for the unequal treatment is ascribed membership in a certain category that cannot be readily chosen or changed (whether the ascription reflects the actual identity if the individual is not important). Race, color, ethnic origin, and national descent constitute the grounds of what we here define as ethnic and racial discrimination. These categories are part of broader systems of status inequality, which help constitute the uneven distribution of wealth, power, and resources in society (Ridgeway 2014). As discrimination often occurs in processes of allocation of goods and positions – such as housing or employment – discrimination is fundamentally a matter of access to opportunities, power, and resources.

This chapter gives an overview of some of the key concepts in the field. It starts by distinguishing between direct and indirect discrimination in legal definitions. Next, we define the interrelated concepts of multiple discrimination and intersectionality, which increasingly are used in both legal studies and the social sciences, before giving an account of the interrelated concepts of organizational, institutional, and systemic discrimination. The chapter ends by reflecting on the complex relationship between discrimination and the endurance of categorical inequalities in societies where all members formally enjoy the principle of equality.

2.1   Direct and Indirect Discrimination

Direct discrimination is equivalent to the straightforward definition of discrimination. Ethnic or racial discrimination, according to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination from 1965 (The CERD convention), takes place when individuals or groups are treated unequally because of their race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin. However, "equal treatment may well lead to unequal results," as Fredman (2011, 177) points out. Indirect discrimination, therefore, refers to situations where seemingly neutral rules, provisions of procedures in practice produce disproportionate disadvantages for one category of individuals or groups compared to others. These two basic concepts – direct and indirect discrimination – constitute the main definitions in antidiscrimination laws in the EU, and they are equivalent to the concepts of disparate treatment and disparate impact discrimination, which are more frequently used terms in the US (Khaitan 2015).

   Two important directives at the EU level protect individuals against direct and indirect discrimination: The Race Equality Directive and The Employment Equality Framework Directive (see also Chaps. 1 and 6). The predominant conception of antidiscrimination, which serves as the basis of both the two EU directives, defines as discrimination both actions, procedures, and provisions that have the purpose of unequal treatment and those that have differential treatment as an effect. This is important because it distinguishes discrimination from related concepts, such as prejudice, stereotypes, and unconscious forms of bias. To be sure, and as we will return to in the next chapter, discrimination can be caused by prejudice, stereotypes, or implicit bias. However, discrimination is not an ideology, belief, sentiment, or bias. It is a form of behavior, procedure, or policy that directly or indirectly disadvantages members of certain categories compared to others, simply because they happen to be members of that category (Fiske 1998). Consequently, defining an action as discriminatory does not require any underlying intention or motivation (Khaitan 2015). The concept of indirect discrimination makes this point particularly clear: By acknowledging that disadvantages may be produced or reinforced even by neutral rules and procedures, attention is drawn to the fact that unjustified categorical inequalities might occur independently of the intentions of individuals.

2.2   Multiple Discrimination and Intersectionality

In antidiscrimination law, as well as in theoretical and empirical discrimination research, concepts often refer to a specific ground of discrimination, such as "ethnic and racial discrimination," "gender discrimination," or "age discrimination." In recent years, however, increasing attention has been directed to the fact that discrimination may be based on multiple grounds. Black women, for example, may experience discrimination on the basis of both their racial appearance and gender. Similarly, gay Muslim men may experience discrimination based on their sexual orientation and religious background. Often, it might be hard to disentangle the various components of the differential treatment from each other. Such combinations of dimensions of difference are referred to as multiple discrimination or intersectionality (Khaitan 2015, 137). Importantly, dimensions of categorical differences – such as gender, ethnicity, race, religion, disability, sexuality, and age – can work together in ways that reinforce, multiply, or neutralize each other, depending on the context.
   According to sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (2015, 2), the term intersectionality "references the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities, but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities." Originating from critical race theory, which criticized traditional feminism and the women's struggle for being concerned with the lives of white women and the civil rights movement for being predominantly represented by and concerned with the situation of African American men (cf., Crenshaw 1989), the term intersectionality

has spread globally. Today, intersectionality may refer to a field of study, an analytical strategy that provides new perspectives on social phenomena, and as critical practices that inform social movements (Collins 2015). The concept has also had an important impact on antidiscrimination law in the sense that in the 2000s, in many countries, various grounds of discrimination have been gathered in comprehensive laws, replacing previous laws, which targeted singular grounds (Krizsan et al. 2012). In law, however, the term used is often multiple discrimination rather than intersectionality, yet some legal scholars also refer to intersectional discrimination (e.g., Fredman 2011, 140).

> The term intersectionality was originally coined by the American lawyer, civil rights advocate and philosopher Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw in the article "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex. A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics", published in *University of Chicago Legal Forum* in 1989. In this article, Crenshaw articulates the ideas of Black feminism as a critique of both the (male-dominated) civil rights movement and the (white female-dominated) women's movement. According to Crenshaw, both of these movements tended to marginalize black women, who experienced the multiple burdens of both racial and gender subordination. Crenshaw's ideas has influenced the development of antidiscrimination policy and laws in the US and the EU, it has inspired antiracist and feminist social movements across the globe, and it has been an important benchmark for the further theorizing of intersectionality in the humanities and the social sciences, not least in the important work of scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins and Leslie McCall.

2.3 Organizational, Institutional, and Systemic Discrimination

These key concepts of discrimination – direct, indirect, and multiple – are often used somewhat differently by legal scholars and social scientists, partly because they use the concepts for different purposes. The former needs precise and exhaustive definitions to be able to clarify whether single cases are discriminatory or not. The latter are more interested in broader patterns of group disadvantage and the role discrimination plays in creating such disadvantages. Social scientists are typically also more interested in subtle forms of exclusion that occurs in everyday interaction, as well as in the historical accumulation of group disadvantage. For these reasons, social science literature often entails broader conceptualizations of discrimination than are typically found in legal textbooks.

Since Gordon Allport published his seminal book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), social psychologists have argued that the formation of "in-group loyalty" often leads to "out-group rejection" and ultimately to discrimination. As will be

detailed in Chap. 3, this basic insight is often applied to the workplace context, in which processes of exclusion may occur as members of privileged groups favor co-members of the same group, while "out-groups" systematically receive fewer opportunities in terms of training and development, promotions, and work assignments. Such in-group favoritism, in which people give advantages to individuals similar to themselves, is often referred to as homosocial reproduction (Kanter 1977; see also Chap. 3).

Organizational cultures may also shape patterns of interaction that over time exclude non-dominant groups. For example, in an extensive study of employment and housing discrimination suit files in the state of Ohio, Vincent Roscigno and colleagues (Roscigno 2007, 10) argue that discrimination involves much more than direct exclusion, "it also entails differential treatment once employed or once housed, where the outcome is status hierarchy maintenance." Focusing on "in-group favoritism" and not simply instances of differential treatment at the point of initial hiring implies that the structures of advantage within organizations also must be taken into account when considering the dynamics of contemporary discrimination.

Compared to direct differential treatment at the individual level, these forms of "systemic" discrimination are harder to prohibit by legislation, which normally protects individuals from differential treatment by providing the right to complain to a legal body when discrimination is perceived to have occurred. Due to the limits of prohibitions, these complaint-based models of antidiscrimination legislation have been supplemented by proactive obligations to promote equality in many European countries, as well as in North America. We will return to this development in Chap. 7. For now, it suffices to say that the introduction of proactive means implies, as the legal scholar Ronald Craig (Craig 2007, 175) has put it, a shift in focus "from the compensation of individuals for unlawful discrimination to the transformation of organizational policy, practice, and culture at the workplace."

Because proactive measures are intended to change organizational culture and not simply the behavior of single, discriminatory individuals, they are also more controversial. As pointed out in a classic text by sociologist Robert Merton (1971), social problems that are direct products of deviant behavior are easy to fight because they stand in conflict with the existing organization of society. Social problems that are by-products of social organization, by contrast, tend to remain latent due to the "normative force of the actual" (Merton 1971, 816). Reducing systemic discrimination requires a critical evaluation of organizational and administrative structures and implies that the problem might be the everyday policies of the organization itself. This represents a major challenge for antidiscrimination legislation because it presupposes a shift – psychologically and politically – which acknowledges that discrimination may be deeply entrenched in everyday practices and existing organizational cultures. Clearly, it requires a strong will to change such cultural practices to control biases in, for example, processes of selection, allocation of goods, and delivery of public services.

Importantly, these forms of organizational or systemic discrimination are not exclusive to the labor market but may apply to all kinds of institutional

settings – schools, public apparatuses, housing, and criminal justice systems – as well as to the society at large. Thus, concepts such as "institutional discrimination" and "structural discrimination" are frequently used to capture the same types of phenomena. These terms are often used somewhat loosely in the literature and there are few guidelines in making clear distinctions between the concepts. A useful way of pinpointing the key content of these concepts, however, is to say that they "refer to the range of policies and practices that contribute to the systematic disadvantage of members of certain groups" (Pager and Shepherd 2008, 197; see also Chap. 3).

Particularly in the context of American race relations, structural, systemic, or institutional discrimination are often used interchangeably with the concept of institutional racism. Ward and Rivera (2014) define institutional racism as "a self-perpetuating and opaque process where, either intentionally or unintentionally, barriers and procedures which disadvantage ethnic minority groups are supported and maintained." Indeed, members of minority groups may be disadvantaged not only because of differential treatment at the individual level, but because they are part of broader societal structures that over time has come to privilege some groups over others. Present-day disadvantages that are products of discrimination in the past – for example, when children of disadvantaged parents face constrained opportunities due to historical discrimination and segregation but without necessarily being the subject of direct discrimination themselves – is often referred to as cumulative discrimination (Blank et al. 2004) or *über* discrimination (Reskin 2012) in the literature. The idea behind these concepts is to point out the potential feedback effects by which patterns of disadvantage are transferred across time, domains, and generations.

2.4 Discrimination and Inequality

The notions of cumulative disadvantage and *über* discrimination highlight the difficult relationship between racial and ethnic inequalities in society, on the one hand, and racial and ethnic discrimination, on the other. From a systems perspective, many racial and ethnic disparities in residential patterns, education, work, and health reflect deep-seated disadvantages that are due to different forms of discrimination, past and present (Anderson 2010; Pager and Shepherd 2008). In the realm of law, affirmative action has in some places been installed as a legal measure to compensate for such historical (and sometimes continuous) forms of structural discrimination, for example in the US (slavery and Jim Crow segregation), India (the caste system), and in South Africa (Apartheid) (Khaitan 2015; see also Chap. 7). In the social sciences, however, scholars are mostly concerned with distinguishing non-discriminatory factors that contribute to racial and ethnic disparities (e.g., group differences in human capital and access to social networks) from discrimination in access to opportunities. These scholarly efforts, which are obviously important in disentangling discrimination from legitimate bases of differentiation in access to resources, are nonetheless focusing exclusively on the individual level and may thus

contribute to conceal more complex processes of discrimination that shape broader patterns of inequality.

However, it is not evident whether and how the effects of discrimination may cumulate over time, not least because traditional research designs measuring discrimination at one point in time and in single domains are not able to grasp the ways in which race and ethnicity may affect access to opportunity even in the absence of differential treatment (Reskin 2012). Furthermore, countries differ enormously in their historical legacies when it comes to experiences of slavery and colonialism, which arguably offer the strongest cases of historical discrimination. The US does in some respects constitute an "outlier" in discrimination research due to its history of slavery and, later on, the Jim Crow system of racial segregation and discrimination. Yet many European countries' pasts as colonial powers may clearly also affect current discourses and ethnic relations, as discussed in Chap. 1. How national histories affect the actual level of present discrimination have only recently been addressed by empirical research (Quillian et al. 2019). Suffice to say, this topic warrants more research: Whether and how racial and ethnic inequalities are reproduced across generations, and what role discrimination plays in this process, constitute a major concern in Europe today.

2.5   Conclusion

In the most straightforward sense, discrimination is defined as the unequal treatment of otherwise similar individuals due to their ascribed membership in a disadvantaged category or group. Partly as a response to a marked decrease in the most blatant forms of racism and discrimination, explicitly excluding minorities from access to housing and jobs, much attention today – in both research and law – focuses on the more subtle, indirect and covert forms of discrimination, and the extent to which discrimination contributes to prevailing racial and ethnic inequalities in societies at large. This is of crucial importance as discrimination continues to shape the access to power and resources for members of disadvantaged groups, as well as their everyday experiences and identity constructions. However, the change in focus also opens up a conceptual landscape that is more complex, more difficult to legislate and harder to enforce in practice. On top of this complexity comes the difficulties in identifying discrimination when it occurs, measuring its prevalence, and assessing its remedies and consequences. The next chapters delve into these important issues.

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Chapter 3
Theories of Discrimination

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This chapter reviews the main theories developed to explain discrimination. Mirroring the historical development of the field, while reflecting a theoretically systematic approach (Pager and Shepherd 2008; Reskin 2003), the chapter adopts an approach by analytical scales to present and discuss theories of discrimination. The first section presents theories seeking the cause of prejudice and discrimination at the individual level, the second section focuses on organizational mechanisms and the third on structural determinants.

3.1 Individual-Level Theories

Defined as a behavior or a decision based on ascriptive characteristics such as race or ethnic background, discrimination differs from stereotypes and prejudices, which are mental representations summarizing the evaluation of groups. Stereotypes represent the *cognitive* component of such mental representations or attitudes, while prejudices describe the *affective* component at the roots of a biased behavior disadvantaging individuals based on their group membership or minority position. In the words of Gordon Allport, a stereotype is "an antipathy based on faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (1954, 9). Yet, attitudes are at the core of individual-level explanations of *why* discrimination occurs. As such, they are prominently discussed in this first section.

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3.1.1 Individual Psychological Conflicts

Early theories located the motives for discrimination in the character and personality of individuals (Fiske 1998). In this perspective, internal motivations of actors are seen as rooted in individual psychological conflicts and in intrapsychic factors, such as negative attitudes against minority groups. Adorno's theory of the authoritarian personality (Adorno et al. 1950) is iconic for highlighting intrapsychic factors as causes of blatant discrimination. Echoing Freud's psychoanalysis, this theory argues that individuals inclined to conservatism, nationalism, and fascism tend to develop a rigid personality, think in rigid categories, express conventional beliefs, and often identify with and submit themselves to authority figures. According to Adorno, individuals with authoritarian personalities develop aversion toward differences to their own values and norms and thus express an overt negative attitude toward minority groups.

Though very prominent in the 1950s, the authoritarian personality theory, in its original form, is today considered outdated, notably because it fails to account for observed changes in prejudice and discrimination over time. However, in the field of political psychology, there has recently been a renewed interest in this theory (Funke et al. 2016). The association between authoritarianism and prejudice indeed seems to be driven by collective rather than an individual threat (Pettigrew 2016).

In the 1960s, conceptualization of prejudice gradually changed. While it used to be understood as a psychopathological expression among traditionally minded, conservative, and educationally disadvantaged individuals, it increasingly came to be seen as rooted in socio-psychological processes of social cognition, group dynamics and socialization among ordinary people (Dovidio et al. 2010; Dovidio 2001). With the rise of the civil rights movement and the ensuing promotion of non-discrimination (Civil Rights Act of 1964 in the US and the Race Relation Act of 1965 in the UK), overt expressions of prejudice declined (Schuman et al. 1997). However, it was supplanted by subtle forms of discrimination, consistently observed in North America and in a number of Western European countries (Pettigrew and Meertens 1995). Such subtle discrimination is characterized by ambivalence: majority group members may publicly profess equality while still holding negative attitudes toward minority members in the private sphere, and biases against out-groups might even be implicit or unconscious. They express themselves in non-verbal behavior, less friendly attitudes in interaction with minority groups and aversion toward them (Dovidio et al. 2002).

A range of theories, mainly deriving from the US context, emphasized this transition from overt to more covert or subtle forms of discrimination, such as symbolic racism (Sears and Henry 2003) and modern racism (McConahay 1986). Both of these theories take as their point of departure the conflicting and often ambivalent attitudes of majority group members: humanitarian sympathy for underprivileged persons often goes hand in hand with the blaming of the victims for failing to comply with individualistic values. In this perspective, minority members are resented as they are deemed to ostensibly disregard traditional conservative values (e.g., a

Protestant work ethic) and to make unjustified and excessive claims. Conservatism manifests itself with support for the existing power relations in society and with opposition to policy measures in favor of minority groups.

Aversive racism theory (Gaertner and Dovidio 1986) also deals with subtle, ambivalent attitudes, but focuses on the ambiguities among liberal-minded majority members. While professing equality, those majority individuals still hold conflicting, non-conscious negative feelings about minorities; the resulting discomfort, anxiety, and fears lead to an aversion of contact. Consistent with their non-racist self-image, liberal-minded majority individuals refrain from acting in overtly discriminatory ways; yet, coherent with their unconscious negative attitudes resulting from socialization, they are likely to avoid situations where they come into contact with members of minority groups and tend to refrain from supporting equalizing policies.

Contemporary, subtle forms of discrimination rest on the dissociation between inclusive egalitarian attitudes and unconscious pervasive bias, between controlled responses and automatic responses that can be attributed to immediate associations with an evaluative content. Implicit biases may operate unconsciously to influence behavior. This dissociation model stimulated important methodological developments (Greenwald et al. 1998), suggesting that self-report methods are appropriate for the measure of explicit attitudes but unsuitable for implicit attitudes. Indeed, this research has demonstrated that self-reports and implicit measures of stereotyping and prejudice are largely uncorrelated (Dovidio et al. 2015, 5).

The subtle character of contemporary bias and the impact of implicit attitudes are further at the roots of theories of "color-blind racism" (Bonilla-Silva 2003). To address the effects of implicit bias, well-meaning majority people may emphasize common group identity in a color-blind approach to diversity: they treat individuals as equally as possible, without considering their race, culture, or ethnicity, in order to foster positive intergroup relations. However, common group identity is related to color-blind assimilation ideologies, so that the minority group is expected to conform to dominant norms and values. Color-blind policies tend to preserve white privilege and to maintain minority disadvantages. Stressing color-blindness proves to be a strategical tool: it reinforces hierarchical relations between groups, benefiting high-status majority group members. The other downside of this frame is that it limits awareness of social inequalities, thus it might hamper effective action to address those issues through social change.

3.1.2 Individual-Level Factors in the Labor Market: The Rationale of Gatekeepers

Much research on discrimination aims at understanding the role of differential treatment in the marketplace, such as labor markets, housing markets or the consumer markets (see Chap. 5). While psychologists have approached such market

discrimination with the study of stereotypes and attitudes, economists have developed specific theoretical frames to account for discrimination, distinguishing between taste-based and statistical discrimination. In his seminal book, *The Economics of Discrimination* (1957), Becker, for example, discusses the economic effects of racial discrimination in the US labor market. In this book, Becker defines overt racism as individuals' aversion for interracial contact and qualifies it as a "taste" for discrimination. According to Becker, racial discrimination is the result of employers' willingness to pay for not being associated with African Americans – either by rejecting the most productive candidates or by offering a reduced income. In this theoretical model, discrimination is explained with reference to direct racial animus among employers because the behavior lacks "objectivity." Rational behavior is deemed to be based on considerations about productivity alone, and discrimination is thus a result of employers acting based on subjective preferences. As such, an underlying assumption in Becker's theory is that discriminatory employers over time will be crowded out of the labor market because their behavior lowers productivity.

In contrast to the assumption that discrimination and productivity are mutually exclusive, economic models of statistical discrimination, originating from the work of Phelps (1972) and Arrow (1973), rest on the idea that discrimination is a way of managing the imperfect information that characterizes hiring decisions and wage setting in the labor market. According to Phelps, "the employer who seeks to maximize expected profit will discriminate against blacks or women if he believes them to be less qualified, reliable, long-term, etc. on the average than whites and men, respectively, and if the cost of information about the individual applicants is excessive" (Phelps 1972, 659). In the absence of full information, race, ethnicity, and sex will be used as proxies for productivity. According to this theory, risk-aversive employers will hire the candidate who is ascribed membership to the group that has the highest average productivity – presumably whites and men.

The main difference between taste-based and statistical discrimination is the notion of rationality (Midtbøen 2014). Excluding the most productive job applicant on the grounds of race or sex is economically inefficient, while hiring decisions based on estimates of group productivity are assumed to be rational (although still discriminatory) responses to the uncertainty and lack of full information characterizing hiring decisions in the labor market. The employer may reject a suitable candidate because of statistical discrimination, but this cost is traded off against the cost of (trying) to find out the real productivity of all candidates. Both uncertainty and lack of information are inevitable parts of recruitment processes, and a characteristic of organizational behavior as such (Stinchcombe 1990). Nevertheless, an unclear aspect of statistical discrimination models is the question of accuracy in employers' beliefs about average group productivity, which relies heavily on stereotypes. Both Phelps (1972) and Arrow (1973) are somewhat vague on this point, indicating – perhaps – that their models allow for employers' beliefs about blacks and women to be inaccurate depictions of reality and still be "rational" in some sense. Statistical discrimination might thus involve some sort of racist beliefs, even though employers

do not consider that they mobilize stereotypes against ethno-racial minorities or women.

To clarify this point, other economists define statistical discrimination as a situation where employers act on the basis of "true stereotypes" (Schwab 1986, 228), arguing strongly that average differences in productivity between whites and blacks, or between men and women, actually exist on average and that this difference is the basis of discrimination (Aigner and Cain 1977). Moreover, an entire branch of the economics literature is concerned with so-called employer learning (e.g., Altonji and Pierret 2001; Farber and Gibbons 1996). These scholars acknowledge that statistical discrimination may be based on outdated beliefs about group productivity, but argue that employers who have positive experiences with stigmatized minority groups will update over time their beliefs to be in accordance with empirical realities (Farmer and Terrell 1996). By effect of a similar learning process, economists would assume that in the long-term employers would better master how to identify the productive candidates, thus reducing statistical discrimination (Midtbøen 2014).

Many sociologists have criticized economic models of statistical discrimination, questioning the idea of accuracy in beliefs about group productivity (e.g., Bielby and Baron 1986; Tomaskovic-Devey and Skaggs 1999), along with the assumption that employers update their views of racial minorities when new and positive information is provided (Pager and Karafin 2009). The idea that employers are guided by "true stereotypes" stands, for example, in striking contrast to the definition of prejudice as "an exaggerated belief associated with a category" (Allport 1954, 191; Fiske 1998). Indeed, important qualitative work both in the US context (e.g., Kirschenman and Neckerman 1991; Moss and Tilly 2001; Shih 2002; Waldinger and Lichter 2003) and in Europe (Friberg 2012; Midtbøen 2014) demonstrates that employers use race and ethnic background as proxies of productivity, but that their views of minority applicants often are based on crude stereotypes. In this regard, England (1992) has made a useful distinction between statistical discrimination, on the one hand, and "error discrimination," on the other, arguing that the latter refers to discriminatory practices guided by erroneous estimates of group averages, typically based on stereotypes about blacks or women. Importantly, however, the notion of error discrimination shares with statistical discrimination the view that employers do not necessarily have a general distaste against particular groups per se, but rather act in a discriminatory way "in an effort to hire a more productive workforce" (England 1992, 60).

3.1.3   Intergroup Relations

While discrimination is often theorized as part of decision-making processes at the individual level, collective phenomena such as stereotypes and prejudices, and their diffusion or change, are also part of the dynamics between individuals and groups. In everyday life, actors inevitably classify people into social categories where new information is assigned to existing categories. This categorization process is useful

and even necessary to orient oneself in an environment rich in stimuli, information, and events. However, information confirming one's own conviction tends to be stored, while those contradicting convictions tend to be disregarded, as it disrupts routine and means additional cognitive effort (Nickerson 1998). Categorization assigns individuals to social groups; it often entails the division of social space in an "in-group," which includes the actor of categorization, as opposed to an "out-group." Categorization relies on stereotyping, an inevitable by-product of normal cognitive processes. Stereotypes are "pictures in our heads," according to the famous definitions by Lippmann (1922).

Through categorization, interpersonal behavior becomes intergroup behavior. An individual's self-image results from both personal identity (i.e., what distinguishes one individual from all others) and social identity, the part of the self-concept derived from the consciousness of belonging to one or more groups. According to social identity theory, individuals look for a positive social identity (Tajfel and Turner 1979). As social identity is influenced by group membership, people tend to judge positively the group they belong to and compare it advantageously in relation to out-groups. The preference for the in-group improves the individual's social identity; the identification with the in-group leads to favor it over out-groups, which is often called "in-group favoritism." A group can maintain its higher status by giving privileged treatment to in-group members and reducing access to resources to out-groups. Experimental evidence shows that the simple fact of categorization may arouse intergroup tension between two groups of people randomly assigned to each group who share a common task (Tajfel et al. 1971).

While intergroup contact can lead to stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination of the out-group, contact theory argues that it may also lead to decreasing prejudice and conflict between majority and minority group members. According to Allport (1954, 281), "[prejudice] may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom, or local atmosphere), and provided it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups). Against Allport's assumption that ethnic antagonism is primarily "a product of fears of the imagination," other authors identify the source of intergroup attitudes and conflict in functional relations between groups and their competition for scarce resources (Katz 1991). When the interests of the groups are interdependent, the group members are supportive and cooperative with each other; when the interests of one's own group and the other groups are in conflict, competition arises. Negative attitudes toward out-groups originate from a feeling of threat (LeVine and Campbell 1972; Esses et al. 2005). Indeed, threat theory is a staple in research on attitudes to immigrants and their descendants.

Realistic conflict theory states that the higher the competition over limited resources, the higher the prejudice and the hostility between groups (Sherif 1966). Integrated threat theory extends the threat derived from the competition on tangible resources like safety, health, economy, and well-being, to the threat perceived on symbolic interests of the in-group, its beliefs, attitudes, and morals, thus echoing

social identity theory (Stephan and Renfro 2002). Such threats may target the person or the whole group. A threat is a subjective perception: it does not need to be real. Such perception may, therefore, be constructed by media and public discourse (Brug et al. 2015). The attention to non-economic threats, such as identities, values, and beliefs, has enhanced the threat theory. According to this strand of the literature, the labor market considerations play a less significant role in shaping attitudes toward immigration when values and beliefs are accounted for (Hainmueller and Hopkins 2014).

How attitudes and behavior are linked is a much debated and controversial question. The assumption of a mechanical relationship, supposing that human action is the direct product of conscious mental states, is surely too simple and misleading. In a classical experiment, LaPiere (1934) documented that the articulation of racist attitudes does not need to convert in discriminatory treatment. The weak correspondence between explicit attitudes and behavior is confirmed in numerous studies (e.g., Pager and Quillian 2005; Blommaert et al. 2012). In contrast to the study of LaPiere, however, the disconnection goes more often in the direction of an apparent lack of prejudice and de facto discriminatory decisions. The affective dimension of prejudice (emotional prejudice) is found to be a better predictor of discriminatory behavior than cognitive dimensions (Talaska et al. 2008). The predictive validity of implicit associations as well as their link to discrimination outcomes are also a matter of controversy (Rooth 2010; Oswald et al. 2013; Dovidio et al. 2015; Carlsson and Agerström 2016; Bertrand and Duflo 2016).

> In the seminal article "Attitudes vs. Actions", sociologist Richard LaPiere showed that there is "no necessary correlation between speech and action" (1934, 231). The study took the form of an experiment where LaPiere traveled with a Chinese couple through the US in the 1930s, at a time of widespread bigot attitudes against "Orientals." Only in one out of 251 instances did hotel managers refuse the couple accommodation. To provide a comparison between this (at the time) accommodating behavior and reported attitudes, LaPiere questioned 6 months later the same managers whether they would be willing to accommodate distinguished Chinese guests. Their response was overwhelmingly negative; only in one case, the answer was positive.

Brought together, individual theories seek an explanation for the phenomena of discrimination in the personal, internal motivations of perpetrators or in the processes assumed to be similar across countries and therefore universally valid (Guimond et al. 2014). Yet, as we saw, the association of motives and behavior is not straightforward. Underlining the difficulties of measuring motivations, Reskin (2003) recommends shifting the emphasis from individual beliefs and attitudes to the in-depth analysis of social mechanisms; that is, processes that mediate the link between internal states and discriminatory behavior. Many of such social mechanisms are found at the organizational level.

3.2   Organizational-Level Theories

Interpersonal and intergroup encounters always take place in socially structured contexts, making necessary an enlargement of scope to the meso-level of the organizational environment. Organizations – linking the micro and the macro social level – are key structural contexts shaping inequality (Baron and Bielby 1980). Mediating the impact of the individual-level mechanism of discrimination such as cognitive bias and stereotypes of the actors, organizational arrangements govern the extent to which ascriptive characteristics become relevant in determining social outcomes via the distribution of opportunities and rewards. An example in the labor market illustrates this mediating function. Organizational rules influence the degree to which recruiters are informed of ascriptive characteristics, which in turn influence selection-behavior. Facing incomplete information about candidates, recruiters interpret "signals," notably of ascriptive nature, as decision-making tools. Blinding information is, therefore, a tool to curb the impact of unwanted bias. Studying recruitment of musicians in US orchestras, Goldin and Rouse (2000) demonstrated that the adoption of new organizational rules, here "blind auditions," explained 30–50% of the increase of women among new hires. Organizational practices are shaped by societal mechanisms; as such, they might be seen as "the immediate causes of variation in ascriptive inequality" (Reskin 2003, 12).

Tilly (1998) emphasizes the importance of organizational dynamics in creating and maintaining group boundaries. Moreover, he develops an organizational account of "categorical inequalities" (i.e., inequalities across groups of people on the basis of rigid social categories such as gender, race, and immigrant status). According to Tilly, inequalities are not caused by attitudes and beliefs but by the organizational structures and the matching of the exterior (i.e., social) categorical distinctions, to interior organizational distinctions, such as jobs. Interior job distinctions are socially more powerful and generate larger inequalities when they overlap with exterior and culturally legitimate social categories. Distinctions between categories (e.g., men and women, white and black, citizens and non-citizens) are used to both distribute and legitimate inequality. Two complementary mechanisms are primarily responsible for inequalities across social categories: Exploitation, which amounts to unequal distribution of rewards proportionate to value produced, and opportunity hoarding, which amounts to excluding others from access to resources (e.g., jobs). The durability of inequalities depends on their organizational anchoring.

3.2.1   Organizational Procedures: Formalization

Studying the organizational determinants of recruitment has a long history in sociological research. In his famous theory of the modern bureaucracy, Weber (1946), for example, argues that formalized procedures constrain managerial discretion. Merton (1957), too, emphasizes how formal procedures in bureaucracies ensure control

over effective decision-making. In the essay "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," he notes that "specific procedural devices foster objectivity and restrain the 'quick passage of impulse into action'" (Merton 1957, 195).

Organizational and psychosocial theories indicate that the formalization of recruitment and promotion through bureaucratic practices is most likely to counter bias and discretionary decisions in access to employment, as they mediate the impact of individual-level mechanisms (Reskin 2000). Bielby makes this argument most clearly. He argues that "the impact of gender and racial stereotyping on judgments about individuals can be minimized when judgments are based on timely and relevant information; when decision makers evaluate that information consistently with respect to clearly articulated criteria; and when a mechanism exists for holding decision makers accountable for the process they have used and criteria they have applied in making their judgments" (Bielby 2000, 124). Following structural theorists of inequality, mainstream policy recommendations promote formalization of procedures as the proper organizational remedy to harness biased behavior.

However, analyses of observational data measuring the impact of bureaucratic approaches casts doubts on their overall efficacy, suggesting that some approaches being more effective than others (Sturm 2006; Kalev et al. 2006). Controlling managers' discretion and bias proves counterproductive as it may stir resistance and may have adverse effects. In their studies aimed at assessing the effectiveness of antidiscrimination organizational policies, Dobbin and Kalev (2013) and Dobbin et al. (2015) identify the creation of formal organizational responsibility in charge of developing equal opportunity programs ensuring internal compliance to the regulatory frame as crucial tools to enhance the diversity of the workforce. Transparency of the allocation process and open accountability for the decisions proved also effective in increasing diversity.

3.2.2   Organizational Mechanisms: Networks as Opportunity Hoarding

Because of their mediating role, organizational structures may attenuate categorical distinctions – as with formalized procedures – or indeed accentuate them. This is the case when employees' referrals are used largely in the recruitment process. While cost-effective and promising a better fit of newcomers in the workforce, this practice of activating internal networks, however, might prove to be a mechanism for ensuring in-group preference and promoting "homosocial reproduction" (Kanter 1977), whereby the dominant group favors and gives advantages to individuals carrying their ascriptive characteristics, in terms of ethnic background, racial appearance, and sex.

Resorting to networks to fill a position amounts to monopolization of resources by the established group to the detriment of "outsider" groups. Such referral practices result in the exclusion of categorically distinct others from jobs: as a

mechanism of "opportunity hoarding" (Tilly 1998), it powerfully contributes to the reproduction of existing inequalities. Boulton (2015) provides an empirical example of this mechanism with his qualitative analysis of three large advertising agencies and their practices in the allocation of highly sought-after internships, which constitute a crucial point of entry into the labor market. Under the cover of color-blind meritocracy, influent players place friends and relatives, thus ensuring the material advantage of the established racial group.

As aptly noticed (Voss 2010), this mechanism is close to Weber's idea of social closure. Networks are effective ways in not only gaining access to employment (as well as housing or services), but also in securing further education, informal mentoring, and other tools leading to career advancement. Although apparently neutral, activation of networks results in powerful instruments of cumulative (dis-)advantage.

3.2.3   Organizational Environment: The Regulatory Framework

Organizational practices are shaped by societal mechanisms. The mediating function of organizations derives also from the fact that they represent the implementing level of general policy orientations. Describing the history of corporate policies and tools in the US, Dobbin and Kalev (2013) illustrate how the macro regulatory frame was responsible for the implementation of antidiscrimination policies at the corporate level and influenced the way those policies evolved over time. In the UK, the institution of the Commission for Racial Equality in 1976, on the basis of the Race Relation Act, has progressively made the regulatory framework for businesses and public services more precise and stringent. In the EU, the 2000 Directive "implementing the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin" (2000/43/CE) and the one "establishing a general framework for equal treatment in employment and occupation" (2000/78/CE) have similarly shaped the regulatory frame inspiring national legislation influencing organizational setups (see Chap. 7).

While the analysis of the regulatory frame has stimulated a vast literature, the impact of its enforcement is less developed. A crucial issue in this respect is how extensively and effectively the regulatory frame succeeds in preventing discrimination. Assuming that employers discriminate, consciously or unconsciously, as long as this is de facto possible, Petersen and Saporta (2004) shift their analysis to the conditions under which discriminatory practices in hiring, salary, promotion, or departures are more expected to occur. Analyzing the whole career development of employees in a large US service organization, they find that the hiring process appears as presenting the widest "opportunity structure for discrimination." It is the most exposed to risks of discrimination because this is where the chance of employers being "caught in the act" is most limited (see also Bendick Jr. and Nunes 2012, 242–243).

While Petersen and Saporta analyze the room left uncovered by the regulatory frame, Hirsch (2009) focuses on the mechanisms ensuring efficacy to such a frame. Studying the direct impact and indirect pressure of legal and judicial enforcement of antidiscrimination legislation in the US, she shows that the case-by-case regulatory approach is not directly effective on the sanctioned discriminatory companies. Yet, sanctions exert an indirect pressure by creating a normative environment promoting gender and racial equality: "the driving force of the law is not sanctions but the legal environment they create" (Hirsch 2009, 245). However, gender desegregation has proven more sensitive to this normative pressure than race desegregation, as enforcement efforts in the latter respect lack sustained political support in comparison with those for sex desegregation (Hirsch 2009, 268). In the EU, the implementation of the directives at the corporate level is quite limited. With these insights in mind, it is not surprising that in their meta-analysis Zschirnt and Ruedin (2016) reported no difference in levels of hiring discrimination before and after the introduction of the EU directives.

Becoming aware of the mediating role of organizations has a bearing on the research agenda on discrimination: insights from social psychological research on prejudice and stereotypes are thus coupled with sociological research on the dynamics of organizations and institutions, providing analyses in which the organizational contexts of discrimination are moved to the forefront of this field of research. Yet, in turn, organizations are situated in larger social, economic, political, and legal environments exerting a powerful influence on the organizational settings.

3.3   Structural-Level Theories

Structural discrimination shifts the attention precisely toward such broader societal structures. The contextual dimension neglected in early theories (Fiske 1998) provides tools to understand variations in discrimination across time and space and the way it is produced and reproduced by institutions. Compared to individual and organizational theories, a structural discrimination approach expands the analysis of discrimination usually confined to one domain and a point in time in the two significant directions of time and scope (Pager and Shepherd 2008). Time, by emphasizing the production and reproduction of inequality into enduring self-perpetuating phenomenon through racial bias. Scope, by transcending unequal treatment in a specific domain, and paying attention to the interrelations among various domains affecting the entire society.

3.3.1   Present as Sediment of the Past

The advantages of one individual or group over another accumulates over time, reinforcing disparities so that the inequality of this advantage grows over time. Merton (1968) speaks in this regard of the "Matthew effect," referring to the

"parable of the talents" in the Book of Matthew. Cumulative advantage presents an affinity to theories of social stratification and reproduction linking social class origin to allocation mechanisms and social outcomes, reproducing the society class structure (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990). The cumulative advantage is the unequal growth rate in an outcome for individuals holding different statuses and growing inequality over time in a status group.

The cumulative disadvantage is the reverse side of the cumulative advantage (DiPrete and Eirich 2006). In its most frequent sense in sociology, the process of cumulative disadvantage is understood as the combination of direct and indirect effects of group membership on outcomes (negative for minority groups in relation to the majority) at different stages in the life course (Blank 2005). Cumulative disadvantage focuses on differential outcomes over time within a particular context, emphasizing dynamic processes that reinforce disparate outcomes. Blau and Duncan (1967) developed this concept in their classical study of *The American Occupational Structure*, yet it may easily be applied to similar cumulative disparities among ethnic groups.

When the timespan considered exceeds the lifespan to encompass generational succession, the attention shifts to history. Historical practices and policies of intentional discrimination project their gloomy shade into the present time through the mechanism of cumulative disparities. Therefore, historical experiences of exclusion may actualize disadvantage over time. This sort of structural discrimination is known as "past-in-present discrimination" (Williams 2000). Affirmative action policies were designed to counter the phenomenon's inertia of this disadvantage (Wrench 2007).

In the US, the history of slavery and institutionalized racial segregation affects structures of disadvantage particularly concerning the African American population (Massey and Denton 1993; Pager and Shepherd 2008; Alexander and Rucker Jr. 2010). In many European countries, such as Britain, France, and the Netherlands, large migration inflows in the post-war era came from former colonies echoing the longstanding history of imperialism and colonialism (Castles et al. 2014).

Europe's colonial past also has a bearing on contemporary patterns of racism: histories of exploitation directly affect ethnic relations through representations, ideologies, and practices that convey negative perceptions of minorities as inferiors and deny them full membership in the majority community (Bancel et al. 2010; Gilroy 1987, 2005; Oostindie 2008; Back and Solomos 2000; Thomas 2013; Amiraux and Simon 2006). Racism and anti-immigrant sentiment in Europe are also related to the economic and social consequences of the economic crisis in the 1970s and, later, to the focus on security and global terrorism following September 11, 2001. The combination of large-scale migration and a revival of nationalism and its symbols have created a situation that systematically works in disfavor of migrants in general, and of the Muslim population in Western countries, in particular (Castles et al. 2014).

3.3.2   Cumulative Interrelated Processes

Analyses of discrimination at the societal level expand further in a second direction by enlarging the scope of the analysis to cumulative processes. If cumulative disadvantage focuses on differential outcomes over time within a particular context, Blank goes beyond the dynamic progression with her concept of cumulative discrimination, defined as "discriminatory effects over time and across domains" (Blank 2005, 2; Blank et al. 2004).

Discrimination may indeed cumulate across processes within a domain of social life, such as the labor market: discrimination in hiring or work assignments, for instance, may affect promotion prospects and wage growth. Moreover, discrimination in one social domain may have spillover effects from one domain another. Consider as an example, the following sequence of effects: Discrimination in housing shapes residential patterns (Massey and Denton 1993). Such patterns, in turn, affect the concentration of minority students in schools, in traditional catchment area systems, where students are assigned to a public school depending on the geographical area in which they are domiciled. The combined impact of the socioeconomic and the ethnic composition of the school have an effect on student performance (Karsten 2010) and, in turn, unemployment risks (Heath and Cheung 2007; Heath et al. 2008). Furthermore, residential patterns have an impact of occupation: unemployment rates are higher when job opportunities are located far away from the neighborhoods where people live (spatial mismatch; Duguet et al. 2009; Kain 1968). Blank et al. (2004) thus enlarge the scope of the analysis to encompass the interrelations among different domains, stressing the systematic aspect of the cumulative process. However, acknowledging the difficulty of the task, scholars regret that research in this direction is rare.

Blank et al. (2004) theorize cumulative discrimination as disadvantages across time and domains combined with causal analysis. Reskin (2012) similarly embeds it in a "system perspective" with her notion of "*über* discrimination" (see Chap. 2). According to Reskin, sociologists have been too concerned with patterns of discrimination in particular social areas, preventing high-quality analyses from addressing the "reciprocal causality of disparities across spheres" (Reskin 2012, 18). The lack of a systems perspective on racial inequality in mainstream quantitative research renders invisible the potential feedback effects by which patterns of disadvantage are transferred across time and domains, and, as a result, prevents policy interventions from advancing racial justice. Reskin thus calls for increased attention to the relations among subsystems, of the feedback effects reinforcing disparities across subsystems, sustained by beliefs and values influencing the distribution of resources.

3.3.3   Institutional Discrimination as a Result of State Policies and Practices

If cumulative processes in time and scope build the core of structural discrimination, Pager and Shepherd (2008) subsume under this label also a somewhat different conceptualization, often labeled "institutional discrimination." They define it as

"the range of policies and practices that contribute to the systematic disadvantage of members of certain groups" (Pager and Shepherd 2008, 197), be they carried out by state or non-state institutions toward racialized or ethnicized groups.

Embedded in the radical black tradition that can be traced back to W. E. B. Du Bois, the theory of institutional racism was originally formulated by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967). In their analysis of the disadvantage of blacks in the US, they show no interest in intentions and interpersonal situations but focus on the effects of socially established power relations. Carmichael and Hamilton claim that racist practices are at the heart of ordinary practices; racism, therefore, finds its place in its daily banality, without the need for justification. In this perspective, racism is inherent in the very functioning of society, embedded in routine mechanisms ensuring the domination of certain groups. Because of its routinization, there is no need for any scientific theory or justification. Institutional racism is "less overt, far more subtle, and less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the acts. However, it is no less destructive of human life. It originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society and thus receive less public condemnation" (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, 20). In this perspective, racism is part of the very functioning of society, ensuring through routine mechanisms the domination of already privileged groups.

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the concept of "systemic racism" is very close to institutional racism. It refers "to the foundational, large-scale and inescapable hierarchical system of US racial oppression devised and maintained by whites and directed at people of color" (Feagin and Elias 2013, 936). Systemic racism is a "material, social, and ideological reality that is well embedded in major US institutions" (Feagin 2006, 2). However, grounded in the race-critical literature, it adds to it the notion of the white frame, "a socially constructed, meta-structure shaping and pervading not only the 'state' but also the 'economy' and 'civil society'" (Feagin and Elias 2013, 937) permeating all aspects of US society. The white frame concept confers materiality and visibility to the actual majority, white promoters of systemic racism, otherwise hidden behind abstract references to "society." Systemic racism here differs from the organizational systemic discrimination discussed at the organizational level, as it emphasizes societal-power unbalances and the role of perpetrators and perpetuators of racist practices as causes of inequalities.

This contextual, institutionally embedded dimension of discrimination has found high resonance in various European countries, with an increasing focus on discrimination in systems of equality (see Chap. 5). The concept of "institutionalized racism" made its way to the UK as applied to colonial immigration. It is prominently featured in the Macpherson Report of 1999, resulting from the judicial enquiry in the murder of a young black person in an unprovoked, racist attack and in the failure of the police investigations into this murder. The report presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for the Home Department heavily criticizes those investigations as "marred by a combination of professional incompetence, institutional racism and a failure of leadership by senior officers" (Home Office 1999, para 6.34). The authors outline this concept as follows: "The collective failure of an organization to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their

color, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, and behavior which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (Home Office 1999, para 6.34).

In Germany, the concept is adopted under the label of institutional discrimination (Gomolla 2017) to designate the production of inequalities by institutions intended to provide services equal services to all individuals (see Chap. 5). Gomolla and Radkte (2000) theorize institutional discrimination in their analyzing of school failure of children of immigrants. The core of the matter lies not in prejudice or the intention to discriminate of the parties involved, but in the durable and systematic nature of relative disadvantages produced by the school structure and functioning. Analyzing statistically measurable effects of the unequal distribution of educational success by ethnic differences, Gomolla and Radkte (2009) shift the attention away from the individual and the interactional levels toward the legal and political framework conditions, the organizational and financial aspects, the structures, programs, norms, rules, and routines as well as collective knowledge repertoires supporting decision-making. They focus on institutions in the Durkheimian sense, as a system of social relations with certain stability over time, with collective ways of acting and thinking and with their own existence outside individuals. From the perspective of institutional discrimination, critical questioning of existing institutions works as a programmatic tool and lays the foundations for the search for reforms and affirmative action policies aiming at justice and equity (Gomolla 2017).

As for France, "the existence of systemic racism within certain institutions (particularly the police, schools, social housing, and public health services) produces widespread discriminations and contributes to segregation" (Amiraux and Simon 2006, 206). Yet the development of the genuine sociology of ethnic minorities has been hindered by the French, republican integration model. This is both a political fact and a largely dominant "a-racial" (Amiraux and Simon 2006, 204) analytical referent, based on the principle of in-differentiation and assimilation. The heated debate about the use of ethnic and racial categories in statistics is symptomatic in this respect (Simon 2015).

Remarkably, scientific attention and political sensitivity to ascriptive inequality of immigrant-origin groups in Europe grow parallel to their long-term settlement in European immigration societies, revealed by the emergence of migrant offspring as a social reality and political actor. Yet in today's immigration countries, group hierarchies are institutionally anchored in state policies and practices. Regulation of immigration increasingly diversifies status tracks, thus producing a "legal stratification of immigration status." "Immigration and citizenship laws continue to create hierarchies among migrants that mirror the intersection of non-meritocratic attributes of social group membership such as gender, race/ethnicity nationality, religion and class" (Ellermann and Goenaga 2019, 2).

In the highly stratified political and economic international system of nation-states, the automatic acquisition of citizenship by birth determines critically unequal access to resources for individuals. In a provocative book, *The Birthright Lottery*, Shachar (2009) develops the analogy between birthright citizenship in rich societies

and the inheritance of property, which opens access to rights and secures privileges. By virtue of this comparison, birthright citizenship amounts to an ascriptive attribute in the face of global inequalities. As such, it contributes to the production and reproduction of inequality into a self-perpetuating phenomenon nurturing processes of cumulative advantage. Making this point, Shachar shows us yet another example of structural discrimination.

3.4 Conclusion

This overview of main theories in the field shows the complexity of discrimination phenomena, reflecting such pervasive domination relationships that they materialize at every level of analysis of social behavior – individual, organizational, and structural. In spite of these different levels of analysis, the various theories of discrimination reviewed share a common feature, namely the fact that discrimination maintains privileges of certain ascribed groups over others. As such, discrimination helps to reproduce existing power relations among groups and consequently perpetuates ethnic and racial hierarchies. Perpetrators – consciously or not – make use of their power to engage in discrimination to uphold their privileges at the detriment of individuals and groups in a less favorable position in the social hierarchy.

For a long time in Europe, the dominant frame to understand social and economic inequality was social stratification without references to ethno-racial diversity. This interpretative frame was applied also to labor immigration after World War II. Yet the changing features of immigration (settlement of early migrant populations, development of migrant and refugee flows at a larger global scale, descendants of immigrants coming of age) combined with deep socioeconomic transformations of receiving societies have gradually uncovered how social hierarchies are intertwined with and overlap with ethnic and racial hierarchies. Indeed, Fassin and Fassin's (2006), *From the social question to the racial question?*, is the evocative title of a stimulating essay pointing in this direction.

The multi-layered theoretical approaches show the importance of the macrosocial dimension. The European context is diverse by the number of countries yet similar to its normative frame lends itself for comparative studies aiming at highlighting the relevance of the structural and institutional dimensions shaping forms and scope of ascriptive inequality.

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Chapter 4
Methods of Measurement

Documenting the extent to which discrimination exists, why it occurs, and how it effects individual life chances is a crucial but difficult task. It is crucial because the magnitude of discrimination, at least to a certain extent, defines its salience as a political issue. It is difficult because no method of measurement is without flaws. Indeed, decades of research in sociology, economics, and social psychology have dealt with questions of discrimination, using a wide range of methodological approaches, and providing strong evidence that discrimination occurs. However, no single method is able to grasp the full picture. Different methods provide insights into different aspects of the discrimination complex, suggesting that they are complementary approaches rather than competing.

This chapter reviews the strengths and weaknesses of the most commonly used methods of measurement in the field of discrimination research. Taking as its point of departure how we can assess the extent to which discrimination occurs, the chapter reviews quantitative and qualitative analyses of experiences, attitudes, legal complaints, and residual gaps, as well as different forms of experimental designs. A key point in the chapter is to show that although all of these methods shed light on discrimination, they are useful for answering somewhat different questions. Consequently, careful consideration of the range of methods available is necessary for matching one's research question with the appropriate research design.

4.1 Experiences of Discrimination

The perhaps most intuitive approach to studying discrimination is to ask members of underprivileged groups whether they have experienced differential treatment based on their personal characteristics, which in the context of this book means their ethnic, racial, or religious background. Such studies are conducted in many national contexts, typically by including questions about discrimination in survey questionnaires, such as in the French Trajectories and Origins survey (Beauchemin et al.

2018) or the Norwegian Living conditions among immigrants' survey (Statistics Norway 2017). Questions about experiences of discrimination are also included in several comparative surveys, at the EU level most notably in the European Union Minorities and Discrimination Surveys (EU-MIDIS), conducted in 2008 and 2016. Additionally, discrimination is covered in the European Social Survey (ESS), but in the ESS, respondents are asked whether they believe that they belong to a group that is discriminated against in the country of residence, rather than if they have experienced discrimination themselves. Of course, asking respondents about individual experiences or their experience of being a member of a discriminated group do not measure the same phenomenon. For example, it is possible to consider oneself a member of a discriminated minority group, such as Muslims in Europe, while never having had any personal experiences of differential treatment. Indeed, there is a tendency in the literature that the levels of perceived group discrimination are higher than the level of personal experiences (e.g., Skrobanek 2009).

Several Eurobarometer surveys also include questions about discrimination. Here, respondents are asked whether they think that discrimination against specific groups are widespread in their own country, whether they have personal experiences of discrimination, and whether they have witnessed discrimination as a third party. Since these questions clearly measure different aspects of discrimination, it should come as no surprise that the results vary strongly depending on the question posed. For example, the Eurobarometer report *Discrimination in the EU in 2015* (European Commission 2015) shows that while, at the aggregate level, 64% of the respondents believe that discrimination against ethnic minorities is widespread in their own country, only 3% of the respondents had personally experienced discrimination. Among the ethnic minorities in the sample, however, 30% had personal experiences of discrimination.

Besides large-scale surveys, experiences of discrimination may also be studied by conducting ethnographic work or in-depth interviews among potential target groups. The advantage of such qualitative approaches, compared to surveys, is that the researcher gets the opportunity to dig more deeply into the forms, locations, and consequences of discrimination. Many qualitative studies show that discrimination can take quite subtle forms, which may be difficult to capture by standardized survey questionnaires. Additionally, qualitative research can provide important glimpses into how experiences of discrimination shape future action, for example by investigating what strategies individuals develop to avoid discrimination (e.g., Kang et al. 2016; Lamont et al. 2016; see also Chap. 6). Though qualitative studies cannot produce results that are generalizable to a broader population, they are invaluable in providing the researcher with rich data that increases our understanding of the discrimination complex.

The great advantage of studying experiences of discrimination is that such data documents important aspects of the living conditions of individuals and groups in society. Large-scale surveys can shed light on the prevalence of experiences of discrimination and whether such experiences vary by conditions such as place of residence, level of education, and type of work. Survey data also allows for comparing variations of discrimination between different minority groups and how

discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, race, or religion intersects with discrimination based on gender, age, health status, or sexual orientations – what we referred to as intersectional discrimination in Chap. 2. When using longitudinal survey designs, it is also possible to investigate the long-term effects of discrimination on, for example, the level of well-being, mental health, feelings of belonging to majority society, job search strategies, as well as key integration outcomes such as employment and income. Qualitative studies, on the other hand, can provide a deeper understanding of the forms of discrimination involved, what reactions such experiences create, and what kind of strategies individuals develop to avoid future discrimination.

Yet, a major problem of experience-based studies, especially concerning surveys, is the inavailability of high-quality data. Potential target groups are often small and typically underrepresented in population-wide surveys, leading to biased measures of discrimination. Even with high-quality data, however, there remain uncertainties concerning the measure of discrimination provided. Whether individuals perceive an action or situation as discriminatory is largely subjective. Moreover, perceptions may depend on individuals' consciousness of their exposure to unfair treatment. Individuals might interpret the same situation differently, according to their expectations, their sensitivity and frames of reference, and of course their previous experiences. Furthermore, in selection processes such as job recruitment, the decision-making is not observed directly by the applicant, making it hard to detect whether a rejection is due to discrimination or based on legitimate criteria. Hence, studies of experiences of discrimination can result in both over- and under-estimation of the actual extent of discrimination.

4.2   Attitudinal Studies

Another important line of discrimination research deals with the opposite source of the phenomenon, by considering attitudes toward immigrants and ethnic minorities. Questions about the views of minority groups, perceptions of how the integration or diversity policies work and whether all groups should be offered equal opportunities in society, are part of many population-wide surveys. Such surveys provide useful insights into general attitudes in society, how attitudes differ from country to country, and – through repeated measurement – whether attitudinal changes occur over time.

Studies of attitudes toward immigration are regularly conducted at both the national level and the EU level. One out of many examples is a report based on rounds 1 and 7 of the ESS (Heath and Richards 2016), which compares attitudes among representative samples of the populations in 21 European countries. The report finds that attitudes toward immigration have gradually become more positive over time. Yet there are large differences between countries; the Scandinavian populations display the most positive attitudes while inhabitants in the Czech Republic and Hungary are the most negative. The report also shows a clear hierarchy of minority groups: Jewish people are more welcome than Muslims, who again are

more welcome than Roma. Furthermore, highly educated migrants are preferred to low-educated migrants, and low-educated migrants from European countries are preferred to those from outside Europe. Although such numbers do not shed direct light on discrimination patterns, both cross-country differences and the existence of group hierarchies provide useful insights into prevailing sentiments that may shape access to opportunities for minority groups. A recent Swedish study of housing discrimination (Carlsson and Eriksson 2017), for example, shows that landlords are more likely to discriminate in regions where people are more negative toward ethnic minorities, suggesting that reported attitudes expressed in surveys indeed might be a useful predictor of instances of ethnic discrimination.

Of course, it is also possible to measure discrimination more directly, for instance in employment, by conducting surveys or in-depth interviews with employers and asking concrete questions about their hiring practices. A range of studies conducted in both the US and Europe show that employers can be surprisingly outspoken when it comes both to their perceptions about minority groups and in accounting for their considerations in recruitment processes. In a seminal study among Los Angeles employers' attitudes toward African American and Latino low-educated workers, for example, Johanna Shih (2002) found that a central concern of employers is control at the workplace. The employers in Shih's study consequently sought workers whom they perceived as manageable and pliable. As perceptions of this kind are not only based on individual merit or employers' assessments of single applicants, but also vary along categorical lines such as race and gender, studies such as this show how stereotypes at the group level might affect the employment prospects of minority workers.

To be sure, a range of similar studies has been conducted in the European context, not least in the field of low-skilled employment and studies of immigrant niches in the lower tiers of European labor markets. Employers in such labor markets tend to have limited information about individual applicants and therefore often use categorical characteristics such as gender, age, ethnicity, nationality, immigration status or race as a proxy for skills (Friberg and Midtbøen 2018; Moss and Tilly 2001). Importantly, though these processes might be especially salient in low-wage labor markets, they are not limited to them, and stereotypical assessments of specific immigrant groups might affect both the employment prospects of other groups as well as of later generations. Indeed, as Midtbøen (2014) found in a qualitative study among Norwegian employers, stereotypes associated with immigrants seem to be inferred from ethnically distinct names, and negative experiences are regularly generalized between ethnic groups and across generations. The implications of such dynamics for children of immigrants are potentially severe: Instead of experiencing equal access to the labor market, they encounter attitudes and stereotypes attached to their parents' generation, making their domestic educational qualifications and linguistic fluency "invisible" in the eyes of employers.

Clearly, studies that directly examine gatekeepers' attitudes are a valuable source of knowledge about discriminatory practices. However, it is not easy to establish a clear relationship between attitudes and actions. As mentioned in Chap. 3, LaPiere (1934) found, in a classic experiment, that hotel receptionists in the US in practice

were more indifferent to racial minorities than they said they would be when prompted with direct questions. However, recent studies have shown that the opposite might be equally true. In a seminal study, Pager and Quillian (2005) explored the relationship between American employers' actions and attitudes by matching data from an experimental audit study with a telephone survey among the same employers. The authors found that although the employers in the survey claimed that they would not discriminate against African American job applicants, the experiment showed large racial disparities in chances of landing a job. This suggests that interviews among potential perpetrators of discrimination leaves open the question of the reliability of the accounts gathered by the researcher.

Furthermore, important discussions in the current field of discrimination research, as discussed in Chap. 3, is whether discrimination occurs deliberately or unconsciously and whether discriminatory practices can be mediated by rules and procedures at the organizational level, such as standardized applications and transparent decision-making processes. Although one can capture a bit of the conscious motivations behind gatekeepers' actions through surveys and in-depth interviews, such accounts are not necessarily reliable indicators of the actual level of discrimination.

4.3   Studies of Legal Complaints

A different source of knowledge about discrimination is formal complaints put forward to courts or public bodies such as the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in the US, the Employment Tribunal in Britain, or the Antidiscrimination Tribunal in Norway. In many countries, official records documenting claims of discrimination and the legal treatment of the complaints are accessible to researchers through an application. These records provide an interesting glimpse into the types of discrimination that are claimed, how the volume and content of claims change over time, and how antidiscrimination policies are enforced in specific contexts.

Studies of legal claims are most frequently conducted in the US context, and this body of work clearly demonstrates that such claims represent an interesting entry to studies of discrimination. For example, in the book *The Face of Discrimination: How Race and Gender Impact Work and Home Lives* (2007), Vincent J. Roscigno uses narrative data from employment and housing claims submitted to the Ohio Civil Rights Commission. Roscigno finds that the highest number of claims come from the low-wage service sector and that firing discrimination is the most important claim in the private sector, whereas, in the public sector, discrimination in hiring, promotion, and firing are evenly distributed. Looking specifically into race and gender differences, Roscigno also shows that while white women are more likely to report discrimination due to pregnancy, black women tend to report more frequently instances of racial discrimination than discrimination related to their experiences as women. Altogether, the book builds on more than 14,000 verified discrimination

cases as well as qualitative analyses of about 850 of the same cases, including in-depth studies of how employers and plaintiffs narrate their positions in cases with disputed outcomes.

As this book demonstrates, legal cases may provide insight into both the concrete management of the discrimination legislation and the different parties'reasoning. Legal cases typically also offer detailed descriptions of a range of different situations, and they include the legal assessment made in each case. When a large amount of cases is available, it is also possible to look in depth into the intersections of race, class, and family statuses, as well as comparing similarities and differences between the public and the private sector.

Despite their merits, studies of legal complaints have some major drawbacks. Most importantly, few incidents of discrimination actually end up in the legal system. This is especially the case in national settings with an underdeveloped (or even non-existent) public grievance system. Furthermore, putting forward a legal claim requires time and resources, and that victims of discrimination believe that they would find reparation with legal action. Discrimination cases frequently fail to be successful in the legal system, because firm evidence is hard to provide. In this context of uncertainty, victims might not see the benefits of putting a claim in justice. Finally, discriminatory actions and decisions are often hidden from the ones affected by it, suggesting that most discriminatory acts go under the legal radar. Consequently, though studies of this kind represent an important source of knowledge about the nature of discrimination, legal reports are less useful as indicators of the overall extent of discrimination occurring in a specific national context.

4.4   Studies of Residual Gaps

As discrimination is part of, but not the sole driver of, creating and maintaining ethnic inequalities, a key question in much social science research is the actual role that discrimination plays in shaping access to opportunities. How much, say, of the unemployment rates that exist between the native and the foreign-born population in a country can be explained by human capital factors such as differences in the level of education and language proficiency, and how much is due to discrimination in hiring processes?

To answer such questions, discrimination is often measured indirectly as the unequal access to positions or resources – such as jobs, wages, housing, selective education tracks – by statistical analyses of large data sets. In these types of studies, the focus is not on the experiences that individuals or groups have with discrimination or on the attitudes of the dominant group. Rather, the researcher takes as the point of departure the mean distribution of groups on a specific dependent variable, such as wages, unemployment, or occupational attainment, and then controls for relevant, non-discriminatory factors that could explain the observed group differences, such as school performance, level of education, and work experience. The residual gap remaining between groups in a given outcome is usually referred to as

"ethnic penalties"; that is, the disadvantages facing ethnic minorities compared to majority peers after controlling for (most) productivity-relevant factors.

A vast body of work builds on this "residual method." One influential example is *Unequal Chances: Ethnic Minorities in Western Labour Markets* (2007), a comparative volume edited by Anthony Heath and Sin-Yi Cheung. This book compares patterns of unemployment and occupational attainment for a range of different ethnic groups of both the first and second generation in altogether 13 countries, including Austria, Britain, Canada, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden, and the US. The book demonstrates that in all countries examined, non-European minority groups face ethnic penalties in accessing the labor market and that these disadvantages are transferred across generations despite the educational progress achieved by children of immigrants. Further, the book shows that there is a considerable cross-national variation in the magnitude and scope of ethnic penalties. In some contexts, such as in Britain and Sweden, disadvantages appear to be reserved to the labor market entrance, while in others, such as in Germany and Austria, ethnic penalties are also present later in the employment relationship, suggesting a pattern of cumulative disadvantage in labor market trajectories in some context but not in others.

Statistical analyses of group differentials, such as in *Unequal Chances*, are of utmost importance in providing large-scale pictures of ethnic inequalities, as well as in differentiating between relevant factors explaining gaps in a given outcome. However, it is important to have in mind that ethnic penalties are not equivalent to ethnic discrimination. Indeed, because the role of discrimination in studies using the residual method is not examined directly, but rather is left as part of the unexplained residual, there is always uncertainty regarding the existence of unobserved factors that might explain the remaining difference between the groups, such as ethnic differentials in access to relevant social networks. Some studies attempt to isolate the effect of social networks and thus come closer to a "clean" measure of discrimination, but the direct role of discrimination in explaining ethnic differentials in labor market outcomes remains nevertheless unresolved in studies of this type.

4.5   Experimental Studies

The limitations of traditional methods in assessing the direct role of discrimination in access to opportunities in employment and housing have paved the way for the increasing use of experimental approaches. Indeed, the strength of experimental approaches to studies of discrimination is the ability to isolate causal effects; that is, the direct effect of a racial appearance or a minority-ethnic sounding name on, for example, the chances of landing a job. In a randomized, controlled experiment, subjects are randomly assigned to clearly defined "treatment" and "control" conditions in order to control for every other factor potentially influencing the outcome of interest. As such, experimental studies, when conducted carefully, are able to examine the role of discrimination directly.

Experimental approaches to discrimination come in different forms. One much-debated method is the so-called "Implicit Association test" (IAT), in which participants in quick succession are presented pictures of different categories of people (women and men, elderly and young, white and black) and asked to connect these pictures to positively and negatively charged properties (see Chap. 3). The idea is to investigate whether individuals more quickly associate stereotypical (often negative) characteristics to traditional "out-groups" than to "in-groups" (e.g., Greenwald et al. 1998).

Another approach is survey experiments or so-called vignettes. A typical example is studies where respondents are asked to assess whether they would hire a particular person or what they would offer to the person in pay. In such studies, the formal qualifications of the fictitious person in question are held constant, but respondents are randomly given persons with different names or different racial appearance, to measure the effect of that isolated variable on the respondents' decision (e.g., Pedulla 2014). Another version of this method is to include an experimental element as part of ordinary survey questionnaires, for example, to investigate whether respondents vary in tolerance when confronted with different groups. Toril Aalberg et al. (2012), for example, conducted a survey experiment to examine whether the willingness to admit individuals as legal immigrants depends on their attributes. Using an experimental design in the Norwegian context, specific attributes of immigrants were manipulated, making them appear more or less likely to make an economic contribution and more or less likely to assimilate into Norwegian culture. The authors found that the decision to admit individuals were influenced by the immigrant's economic background, in which Norwegians were especially supportive of highly skilled immigrants, but also that immigrants with an Afrocentric appearance were more likely to be rejected by men, but accepted by women.

The most direct measure of discrimination, however, is provided by field experiments. Field experiments of discrimination can be divided into two main categories or techniques: Audit studies and correspondence test studies. In audit studies, pairs of individuals who differ in racial markers but are carefully matched in relevant productivity characteristics and trained to act similarly, apply for real-world jobs or housing vacancies by showing up in person (e.g., Pager 2003). In correspondence test studies, matched pairs of résumés and cover letters differing in the names of the applicants (signaling different race or ethnicity) are sent in response to job openings or to housing offers (e.g., Bertrand and Mullainathan 2004). In both types of studies, the effect of race or ethnicity on opportunities is directly measured. Because all factors other than race or ethnicity are isolated and the résumés are randomly assigned to the test persons, well-conducted field experiments provide convincing estimates of the incidence of discrimination in specific markets.

More than 100 field experiments of ethnic and racial discrimination in employment have been conducted all over the world, but predominantly in North America and Western Europe. Results have varied across countries, but not one single study has concluded that discrimination is *not* a relevant factor in shaping access to employment for a variety of racial and ethnic minority groups. In several countries, minority applicants have to apply to twice as many applications to get job interview

offers compared to equally qualified majority peers. However, there is an interesting variation across national contexts (e.g. Di Stasio et al. 2019). A recent meta-analysis of field experiments by Eva Zschirnt and Didier Ruedin (2016), for example, shows that discrimination levels are lower in German-speaking countries than in other countries, probably reflecting the high amount of information required to apply for jobs in these contexts. Another meta-analysis, conducted by Lincoln Quillian et al. (2019), compares the countries where most field experiments have been conducted, demonstrating that the level of racial discrimination in the US is significantly lower than the discrimination against ethnic minorities in France.

Recently, the meta-analysis technique has also been used to investigate trends in discrimination over time in single countries. In the US, where most field experiments have been conducted, Quillian et al. (2017) find that there has been no change in the level of discrimination against African Americans over the past 25 years, suggesting a distressing persistence of discrimination patters. The same pattern is documented in Britain, where a recent meta-analysis of all field experiments conducted between 1967 and 2017 found no reduction in the level of discrimination against black Caribbean and Asian minorities over a fifty-year time span (Heath and Di Stasio 2019).

Importantly, these overall negative effects of racial and ethnic minority background on employment opportunities conceal important variations in the results of single field experiments and countries. One such dimension is whether different minority groups constitute an "ethnic hierarchy" in which some groups (e.g., white immigrant-origin groups) are systematically preferred over "visible" or racialized minorities of non-European origin. Many studies do indeed point to the existence of such hierarchies and, in those cases, applicants with backgrounds from North Africa and the Middle East tend to be most severely disadvantaged. In a few other studies, by contrast, no ethnic hierarchy is identified (e.g., McGinnity and Lunn 2011). Still, when taking all studies together, the level of discrimination against white immigrants and their descendants are significantly lower than the discrimination against racially visible minority groups (Quillian et al. 2019).

The obvious advantage of experimental approaches over non-experimental studies is the researcher's extensive control over the variables in play. By isolating an "ethnic variable," as in field experiments, or manipulating the link between names and specific characteristics, as in survey experiments, it is possible to draw causal inferences about the effect of ethnic background on, say, wage setting or callbacks for a job interview. The disadvantage of laboratory and survey experiments is external validity: Because the research is conducted in artificial settings, it is difficult to assess whether the results obtained may be generalized to the real world. Field experiments, by contrast, allow researchers to retain the ability to draw causal inferences while staging the research in real-world settings like hiring processes ensures that conclusions are relevant to actual social contexts. Nevertheless, even field

experiments face limitations. Although these studies have convincingly documented the fact that discrimination occurs, this research tradition has been less productive in explaining the *processes* by which race and ethnicity become factors of importance in employers' decision-making (Pager et al. 2009; Midtbøen 2015). This means that a field experiment can demonstrate the causal effect of a foreign name on employment prospects, but unless it is complemented with other methods it cannot shed much light on the mechanisms leading to discriminatory practices.

4.6   Conclusion

This chapter has briefly reviewed the most commonly used methods and approaches in research on discrimination. The key take-away message is that the suitability of methods depend on the question posed: A focus on people's experiences highlights central aspects of everyday life, studies of potential discriminators can provide insights into the way individuals in power positions make their decisions, and studies of residual gaps are of indisputable importance in providing large-scale pictures of ethnic inequalities in key outcomes such as unemployment, occupational attainment, education, housing, or health. To assess the direct role of discrimination in shaping groups' access to opportunities in the labor or housing market, however, field experiments are considered the "gold standard." As each approach to the study of discrimination nevertheless suffers from certain limitations, the more widespread use of research designs that combine different methods in single studies would be much welcome.

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Chapter 5
Discrimination Across Social Domains

Discrimination can take place in all spaces and places where people interact. However, a careful look into the large body of empirical work that can be grouped under the heading "discrimination research" suggests that the concepts, theories, and methods employed vary significantly across studies. This variation is not simply a matter of the individual researchers' likes and dislikes regarding concepts, theories, or methods. Both the forms of discrimination and how it can be measured vary across social domains, depending on whether the domain in question is based primarily on what we here coin "systems of differentiation" or "systems of equality". Social domains that involve some kind of market transaction – such as employment or housing – are heavily dominated by processes of selection and differentiation. By contrast, social domains such as schools, health systems or public services should, in essence, provide all individuals with equal assistance. The different logics inherent in systems of differentiation and systems of equality have implications for the forms of discrimination located and the conclusions reached in studies.

This chapter builds on the distinction between systems of differentiation and systems of equality, reviewing a selection of studies of discrimination in various social domains. It does not aim at providing an exhaustive review of existing research, but to group studies according to the type of social domain in which discrimination occurs. This way of categorizing research demonstrates that there is an interesting interplay between social domains and their respective rationale (differentiation/equality), the types of methods employed and the forms of discrimination detected. The chapter concludes by a critical reflection on the ability of social science research to capture forms of discrimination that are less easy to spot.

5.1   Systems of Differentiation vs. Systems of Equality

Most market transactions involve some kind of differential treatment. When applying for a job or trying to rent an apartment, individuals normally compete with others in a more or less open market. To get access to the goods in question they need to appear qualified and attractive to employers or landlords – who can choose from a pool of candidates based on a set of formal and informal criteria. Sometimes, these criteria are quite formal and explicit – such as in many advertisements for vacant jobs – while in other cases, the criteria are informal and implicit, such as in the private housing market. Although both employers and property owners in most countries are bound by law not to discriminate against individuals based on characteristics such as race or ethnicity, market transactions of this kind nonetheless include selection, and thus an element of differential treatment, since not all applicants can rent a home or be offered a job. One or a few will always be granted access to particular goods at the expense of others who want the same. Whether or not this unavoidable differentiation is discriminatory depends on whether the choice of candidate is based on legitimate or illegitimate criteria; that is, whether the decision is based on formal qualifications or, say, influenced by the racial appearance or ethnic background of the candidates.

The element of differential treatment that is inherent in most market transactions does not exist in a similar manner in all social domains. The school system, for example, shall provide an education of good quality to all regardless of ethnic background or other characteristics. Likewise, public bodies such as health services or welfare offices shall offer equal services to increasingly diverse populations. Of course, direct discrimination may occur in these social domains as well. For example, teachers may favor students who share their ethnic background or religious beliefs and let this in-group favoritism come to the disadvantage of students of other ethnicities or religions. Similarly, welfare workers or public advisors might provide members of minority groups with less information about their rights to social benefits, for instance, because of a more or less conscious perception that certain groups are "less deserving" of public goods than others are. Yet the modus operandi in systems of equality is not selection. Individuals or groups do not compete over access to scarce goods similar to labor or housing markets. In fact, in systems of equality, market transactions (at least ideally) do not play a role at all. The absence of differential treatment as a key form of human action in systems of equality might suggest that direct discrimination is less prevalent. At a minimum, discrimination in such systems is less clear-cut than in systems of differentiation, and it is far more difficult to detect because the interaction takes place in spaces where researchers' direct access to relevant processes of the interaction is limited.

This somewhat schematic distinction between systems of differentiation and systems of equality is useful when assessing the methods and theories used and the forms of discrimination most frequently reported in different strands of research. However, what goes missing in the distinction is social domains characterized by law enforcement, such as the police, customs, and the judiciary system – what could

perhaps be coined "systems of control". These are all social domains that rest on principles of equality for the law, yet extant research suggests that differentiation based on ethnic and racial appearance – what is often called "racial" or "ethnic profiling" – indeed takes place, for example in identity checks (e.g., FRA 2010; Jobard et al. 2012). In the remainder of this chapter, however, we will stick to the simple distinction between systems of differentiation and systems of equality, as the main intent is to show how the logic or functions of these two systems shape our knowledge about the prevalence and forms of discrimination.

> The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) defines 'discriminatory ethnic profiling' as 'the practice of basing law enforcement decisions solely or mainly on an individual's race, ethnicity or religion' (FRA 2010, 6). According to Robert Staples (2011), in the US context, the phenomenon in which racialized minorities are exposed to racial profiling dates back to the age of slavery and the awareness and critique of such practices have been present for decades. In Europe, the awareness of ethnic profiling is more recent, and often connected to policing and especially to counter-terrorism enforcement in the aftermath of 9/11, 2001, and later terror attacks in cities such as Madrid (2004), London (2005, 2017), and Paris (2015, 2016). Empirical studies have substantiated the biases in policing and sanctioning against ethno-racial minorities, such as in France, where an experimental survey in two main transportation hubs in Paris found that blacks were between 3.3 and 11.5 times more likely than whites to be stopped, and Arabs between 1.8 and 14.8 more times (Goris et al. 2009). This study shows that young men with a minority background who wear "urban style" cloths are targeted at particularly high rates.

5.2   Discrimination Research in Systems of Differentiation

In domains where gatekeepers regulate the access to certain goods based on competition between individuals– such as jobs in labor markets and rental contracts in housing markets – discrimination can be directly assessed by experimental approaches, and particularly by field experiments. The virtue of field experiments was explained in Chap. 4: By manipulating information about fictitious applicants' race or ethnicity, while holding all other information constant, such studies allow the researcher to measure the direct effect of the chosen characteristic on the relative chance of being invited to a job interview, getting an offer of renting an apartment or getting a mortgage loan offer, compared to equally qualified native-majority applicants. Indeed, field experiments have proven very efficient in documenting the prevalence of discrimination in various social domains, yet almost exclusively in social domains characterized by systems of differentiation, such as labor, housing,

and product markets, where the researcher can intervene in naturally occurring selection processes.

In a field experiment of housing discrimination in Italy, for example, Baldini and Federici (2011) investigated whether individuals of different gender and ethnic backgrounds are discriminated against when trying to access the rental market. The authors created twelve fictitious individuals – four with Italian-sounding names, four with Arab/Muslim names and four with East European-sounding names – and sent emails from these individuals to vacant rental apartments in altogether 41 Italian cities. In total, more than 3600 emails were sent in response to vacant apartments. The results show that, on average, Italian-named individuals received a positive reply from landlords in 62% of the cases, while the Arab- and Eastern European-named individuals received positive responses in 44% and 50% of the cases, respectively. These differences are all statistically significant. The results further show that discrimination is higher against male foreign names, in particular for the Arab-named group. Further, discrimination against foreign names appears to be higher in Northern Italy than in other parts of the country, again particularly against Arab males (for reviews of all field experiments of housing discrimination, see Auspurg et al. 2019; Riach and Rich 2002; Rich 2014).

Similar findings are recorded in field experiments in the labor market, where the researcher typically creates fictitious job applicants with ethnically distinguishable names. Bursell (2014), for example, sent more than 3600 job applications to vacant labor market positions in Sweden. The fictitious male and female job applicants had Swedish, Arabic, and North African names, but had identical qualifications. Bursell found that the foreign-named applicants had significantly lower chances of receiving callbacks for job interviews: The overall relative callback rate was 1.8, meaning that while the Swedish-named applicants had to apply for ten jobs before being contacted by an employer, the foreign-named applicants had to apply eighteen times to receive a callback. The study shows no differences in callback between Arabic-names and North African-named applicants, but for both minority groups, male applicants received far fewer callbacks than female applicants (for reviews of field experiments of employment discrimination, see Riach and Rich 2002; Rich 2014; Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016; Quillian et al. 2019).

While the vast majority of field experiments are conducted in the labor and housing markets, researchers have also used this method to study discrimination in other market places, such as in sales (Rich, 2014). A recent example is Bourabain and Verhaeghe's (2019) study of discrimination against women and ethnic minority customers while shopping in clothing stores in Belgium. The authors conducted an in-person audit in more than 300 shops in which men and women with Belgian and Maghrebi descent asked salesclerks for help. The study shows that customers of Maghrebi descent received unfavorable treatment in comparison to their Belgian peers when asking for help, while also experiencing fewer greetings and more surveillance by salesclerks. Further, the study demonstrates that men are significantly more greeted and approached than women within both the Maghrebi and Belgian groups and that the intensity and form of discrimination tend to be subtler and lower in high-end than in low-end stores. This example shows that researchers are able to

detect subtle forms of discrimination even in market transactions not characterized by selection. However, the fact that even sales interactions play out in more or less open market arenas makes even this social domain available for researchers' experimental intervention.

All of these experimental studies have in common that they are conducted by researchers' intervention in market interactions that were naturally taking place. Indeed, the open nature of market interactions is a precondition for such studies to be executed, since it allows the researcher to assess discrimination directly without running much risk of being "caught in the act" of deception (cf., Yinger 1986). Especially when investigating discrimination in labor and housing markets by using field experiments, researchers intervene in processes that are bound to be selective. This enables "clean" estimates of discrimination against specific target groups, everything else being equal.

Although field experiments have proved important in demonstrating the prevalence of discrimination in the access to employment, housing, and product markets, research in this tradition has however seldom engaged in the broader literature on ethnic and racial discrimination, including theories aiming to explain the formation, persistence, and reproduction of inequality. Indeed, field experiment research has usually dealt with only the first set of individual-level explanations presented in Chap. 3, typically revolving around the traditional distinction between taste-based and statistical discrimination, though at times also discussing the relevance of stereotypes, organizational cultures, and sociological notions of group positioning. One explanation of why structural-level theories are regularly absent in field experiment research might be that it is hard to assess how and when structures of inequality translate into actual selection decisions. Another explanation is simply that field experiments focus on the very first stage of a market interaction – the submission of a job or housing application – and not on later forms for interaction, such as day-to-day relationships between colleagues and managers at the workplace. Indeed, the very existence of selection processes in social domains where candidates compete in an open market allows the researcher to focus mainly on the extent to which discrimination occurs, rather than on why and how racial appearance or ethnic background come to matter in these very same processes.

5.3 Discrimination Research in Systems of Equality

Research on discrimination in social domains characterized by systems of equality, such as schools, health care, and public services, stands in contrast to the above-mentioned studies. Most importantly, research on discrimination in such domains are almost exclusively based on indirect measures, either by assessing ethnic inequalities at the aggregate level by the use of the residual method, or by studying more subtle acts of discrimination by the use of qualitative approaches, such as in-depth interviews and participatory observation. In both cases, the measure of discrimination is less clear-cut than the differential treatment of otherwise similar

individuals found in experimental studies. However, the in-depth study of discrimination, which is especially found in qualitative approaches, has other important merits, such as the ability to analyze the findings in light of theoretical frameworks based on broader structures of inequality. Both in terms of methods and theories and the forms of discrimination detected, studies of discrimination in systems of equality consequently differ from studies of discrimination in systems of differentiation.

A typical example of this research tradition is Çelik's (2015) study among male second-generation Turkish students in Germany. The students were participating in a vocational preparation program offered by the public labor office, and Çelik bases his study on a combination of semi-structured in-depth interviews and 6 months of participatory observation of everyday life in school. Although the interviewed individuals vary greatly in their general perceptions and opinions, they all had a strong sense of being part of a group that is systematically discriminated against, and they all had personal experiences of discrimination. The students shared a feeling that both teachers and school advisors treated them differently than majority German students and other minority students attending the same program, and that this differential treatment was due to stereotypes about young Muslim men of Turkish descent in Germany. According to Çelik, these experiences led the students to develop a reactive ethnic identity, constituted by a positive collective identity among themselves and an oppositional identity vis-à-vis majority society.

Another example is Farris and Jong's (2014) large-scale study of second-generation young women of North African and South Asian descent in Denmark, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK. The study aims at disentangling the various transitions from education to work and builds on both secondary analysis of national and regional statistics and on in-depth interviews with second-generation women, ethnic community representatives, non-governmental organization (NGO) representatives, teachers, and vocational/career advisors. Employing an intersectional framework of analysis, Farris and Jong show that although there seems to be a female advantage in the educational system, career advice offices and ethnic social networks tend to channel second-generation girls toward those jobs that are "reserved" for immigrant women, such as cleaning services and care work. The authors thus argue that research on discrimination needs to acknowledge the "discontinuity" of axes of inequality, suggesting that categorical membership such as gender, race, and class come to play differently in different contexts, institutional settings, and time periods.

A final example is Hedlund and Moe's (2010) study of how indigenous people are met in the health care services in Norway. Building on in-depth interviews with Sámi women and men as well as with health and welfare professionals in rural areas where the Sámi represent a considerable minority, Hedlund and Moe demonstrate how the lack of cultural sensitivity and cultural competence among majority professionals in practice may lead to indirect discrimination of Sámi patients and clients. The Sámi in Norway, who for a long period of time were forced to assimilate into Norwegian society, maintain a strong historical memory and ties to the indigenous community. The authors argue that because these ties and memories are typically awoken in interactions with social health and welfare professionals who originates

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from the majority culture, the health and welfare services need to develop a cultural sensitivity to be able to provide for accommodated services and assistance for indigenous people. Interestingly, this study points to the distinction between direct and indirect discrimination, discussed in Chap. 2: In public services, treating different people as if they are similar may in practice be discriminatory. In the case of Norway, knowledge about the century-long history of structural domination of the Sámi minority is a precondition for providing adequate service and help to a population that lacks trust in the state apparatus.

These different studies show how individuals of various minority origins may experience subtle acts of discrimination in social domains characterized by systems of equality, such as schools and welfare services. The studies also demonstrate how minority individuals often interpret their experiences in light of broader structures of categorical inequality, such as being ascribed membership in Muslim or indigenous groups in Europe. Importantly, these subtle forms of discrimination detected by qualitative researchers are not readily accessible by other methods. Of course, differences in access to education or health services are detectable by statistical data, and studies using the residual method often provide strong indicators that differential treatment in systems of equality do occur (e.g., Babyar 2018; Heath and Brinbaum 2014). Qualitative studies of people's experiences, however, are necessary to explore the role discrimination plays out in micro-level processes in schools, health care, and public services. Moreover, experimental data is generally lacking in these domains, mainly because it is difficult to conduct field experiments of discrimination where intervention in a selection process is not an option. The result is that research on discrimination that occurs as part of everyday interaction in schools or in encounters between minority individuals and workers within the health and social services differs quite fundamentally from research on discrimination in social domains characterized by systems of differentiation, methodologically, theoretically, and conceptually.

5.4 Implications

Research on discrimination in systems of differentiation tends to focus empirically on the extent to which discrimination occurs in selection processes, and theoretically on whether discrimination is caused by individuals' racial animus or statistical uncertainty. Research in the system of equality, on the other hand, tends to focus on more subtle processes of stigmatization and exclusion, and it more often engages with structural-level theories of inequality. Although there exist many exceptions to this rule, in general, these two strands of research can be clearly distinguished in terms of both empirical focus and the theoretical perspectives employed. The questions are: Why is this the case – and does it matter?

The main explanation of why experimental approaches dominate research in systems of differentiation while seldom are used in systems of equality is that the modus operandi differs between domains. In domains characterized by systems of

differentiation, selection processes regulate the access to goods and resources, and ultimately to power. In domains characterized by systems of equality, access to goods shall be provided to everyone who has a legitimate need for equal services. This basic distinction helps explaining why two distinct strands of discrimination research have developed, and why the dividing line between the strands not only goes between researchers' preferred choice of methods but also between the social domains in question.

Importantly, the distinction between the two different system logics has consequences for the conclusions reached by research. In systems of equality, the absence of differentiating processes in which a pool of individuals compete for scarce goods means that researchers often cannot assess the direct role of discrimination by using field experiments. As field experiments are considered the gold standard in discrimination research, this implies that research cannot provide "clear and convincing evidence" (cf., Fix and Struyk 1993) of discrimination in systems of equality. By implication, conclusions drawn by research in systems of equality are deemed "uncertain" because – as shown in Chap. 4 – other methods suffer from limitations when the task is to investigate the prevalence of discrimination.

The reverse problem exists in systems of differentiation. Because researchers do have access to selection processes it is a relatively easy task to detect discrimination by conducting field experiments, thereby assessing the extent to which discrimination takes place. However, although selection regulates access to social domains such as the labor market and the housing market, these social domains – and especially the labor market – also consist of a range of everyday encounters, for example between colleagues at the workplace. Of course, discrimination may take place in these encounters too and there exists a large literature on workplace bias (e.g., Bielby 2008; Brief 2008; Wrench 2007). Yet because these interactions are not readily available for experimental intervention, research on subtle acts of discrimination in the workplace is far less prevalent than research on discrimination in the access to the labor market.

Because different methods provide different information about the type of discrimination that occurs, it is difficult to compare the extent of discrimination across social domains. This point brings us back to Reskin's (2012) observation, namely that there is a lack of studies which investigate patterns of disadvantage across different areas of social life and how disadvantage may cumulate over time and space (see also Blank et al. 2004; and this book's Chaps. 2 and 3). One reason why such studies are so rare is the fact that while discrimination is easily detected in social domains characterized by systems of differentiation, it is harder to uncover the discrimination that de facto occurs in social domains characterized by systems of equality.

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Chapter 6
Consequences of and Responses to Discrimination

After having discussed the main conceptual and methodological tools for analysis and described the forms and extent of discrimination, this chapter turns to the impact of discrimination – for economy and society, but mainly focusing on the consequences of discrimination for the targeted individuals and groups. The chapter also addresses responses to experiences of exclusion and disadvantage by reviewing recent research of how awareness of the repercussions of unfair treatment lead both individuals and groups to protect themselves and seek strategies for overcoming future barriers.

6.1   Costs of Discrimination

What is the economic costs of discrimination in the labor market? Taste-based discrimination – employers' willingness to hire a less productive employee because of ethnic or racial bias – provokes a suboptimal allocation of resources and leaves unexploited potentially valuable human resources. Theoretically, in competitive markets, such inefficient practices are likely to lower productivity and increase the risk of economic failure (Becker 1957). Because discrimination is difficult to measure directly (see Chap. 4) few empirical studies have tested this important assumption, however. A notable exception is a recent study by Pager (2016), which takes as its starting point a field experiment of discrimination in New York City, conducted in 2004. The field experiment recorded discriminatory recruitment in 24% of the tested enterprises. By matching the tested enterprises with business register data in 2010, Pager examined whether business survival during the troubled economic crisis of 2008 differed according to recruitment practices. The study shows that business failure concerned 17% of non-discriminatory firms and 36% of discriminatory companies. The findings clearly support the theoretical assumption of an association between discrimination and firm survival, as the "likelihood of going out of

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business for an employer who discriminated appears more than twice that of its non-discriminating counterpart" (Pager 2016: 852).

Some efforts have also been made to assess what society would gain from a reduction in discrimination. A recent French study (Bon-Maury et al. 2016), for example, aims at assessing the economic gains of eliminating discrimination in employment. The study first demonstrates considerable residual gaps in employment between men and women and French-born individuals with and without a migration background, after controlling for all available productivity-relevant factors. By simulating the effects of bringing the employment situation of discriminated persons in line with the average situation observed in the rest of the population of the same age group, the authors are able to estimate the economic gains expected from a reduction in discrimination. The study shows that a convergence in employment rates would increase the employed working population by 3% and the GDP by 3.6%.

Discriminatory practices and decisions have not only negative implications for businesses or the economy. Discrimination impacts the whole society as it may foster social exclusion by restricting full participation in the educational, economic, political, and social institutions of society. It may undermine confidence in the meritocratic system of distribution of rewards for school and professional achievement. It may jeopardize the job search process and may provoke withdrawal from the labor market which results in poverty and causes social costs due to payment of benefits. The gap between the lived reality and the expectations of equal participation may nourish frustrations and erode identification with the country and its social system. Urban residential segregation due to ethnic discrimination may further undercut minority integration. Consequently, discrimination may reinforce social inequalities in society and sharpen group cleavages and intergroup conflict, thus threatening social cohesion.

6.2 Minorities' Life Chances Reduced

Considering targeted individuals and groups, the literature on the consequences of discrimination builds on studies of experiences (see Chap. 4), which necessarily comprise different forms of unfair treatment, notably discrimination and stigmatization. Lamont et al. (2016) differentiate *discrimination* (i.e., being deprived of resources) from *stigmatization*, which refers to the experience of being disrespected, ignored, assigned a low status, or racialized. While discrimination is closely associated with stigmatization, the latter is often experienced without discrimination: incidents of stigmatization are more frequent than incidents of discrimination.

Discrimination effectively reduces a person's life chances across many domains, as aptly pointed out by Goffman (1963). It generally translates into lower attainment and unfavorable positioning for minority group members compared to the majority group. A few examples will suffice here to illustrate this point by giving a sense of

the affected outcomes in education, employment, housing, life satisfaction, and health.

Discrimination in the educational field can be analyzed as the practice of individual actors. Examining the impact of teachers' expectations, Sprietsma (2013) asked primary school teachers to grade essays that had been randomly assigned to Turkish and German named pupils. The experiment reveals an ethnic bias in evaluation: the quality of the essays assigned to a Turkish name received a small yet significant 12 lower grade. The assessment of the perceived lower quality of the texts is also reflected in the teacher's secondary school recommendation for the pupil. The study thus uncovers the mechanism of the self-fulfilling prophecy, well-known as the Pygmalion effect (Rosenthal and Jacobson 1968) or its opposite, the Golem effect, which is more pertinent for the case in point.

In this social domain emblematic for "systems of equality" (see Chap. 5), alternative approaches stress the role of institutional structures and practices in generating and reproducing ethnic inequality. Gomolla and Radkte (2009) empirically backed their argument for institutional discrimination (see Chap. 3) on their study of delayed school entry for children of immigrants in comparison to children of native-born parents. Tuppat and Becker (2014) revisit these early educational disadvantages for children of immigrants, diagnosed as not ready for school. The authors compare the impact of conventional and reformed school entry procedures on delayed school entry for all children and for Turkish-origin children in a German region. The reformed method lowers the overall proportion of delayed school entry recommendation; the percentage for Turkish-origin children, although still significantly differing from majority children, reduces from 10.2 to 5.8. The authors thus demonstrate how institutional contexts shape ethnic educational inequalities already at school start.

In a somewhat similar vein, Borgna and Contini (2014) provide the most encompassing assessment of the importance of general institutional arrangements in producing social and ethnic inequalities in education. Based on the 2006–2009 waves of the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) survey, they estimate migrant-specific penalties in educational achievement across Western European countries: "In ten countries, the average second-generation migrant child lies below the 35th percentile of the distribution of natives with the same socioeconomic resources" (Borgna and Contini 2014, 677). Cross-country migrant-specific educational achievement penalties are not explained by compositional characteristics. Late school entry and high marginalization in low-quality sectors of secondary school systems are singled out as the institutional features determining migrant-specific inequalities, distinct from those affecting class-driven educational disadvantage.

As for unemployment, the French Trajectories and Origins study shows that being a descendant of Maghrebi parents increases by six points the probability of being unemployed and decreases by five points the probability of being in full-time employment in comparison to the majority population, all other things (educational level, age, and health) being equal (Meurs 2018). To investigate the relation between perceived and actual discrimination, the author first calculates an individual

indicator measuring the difference between each respondent' expected position given his personal characteristics and his actual position, providing an objective measure of the gap. By relating this indicator to perceived discrimination, she shows that what people say about their experiences of discrimination in access to employment corresponds to the "objective" measure of the injustice of their current situation.

An investigation of the rental housing market in the Flemish region reports that in almost 20% of the cases, ethnic minority members were discriminated against by not being invited to visit the property. Moreover, access to cheaper properties appear more affected by discrimination, a fact that increases housing costs for ethnic minorities at the bottom of the rental housing market (Van der Bracht et al. 2015, 172). Similarly, a Swiss study finds evidence of ethnic discrimination concerning people with Kosovar or Turkish names applying for viewing a housing accommodation: they have 3 and 5% lower response rates, respectively, than majority applicants. Whether those interested with foreign-sounding names were foreign permanent residents or Swiss citizens made hardly a difference (Auer et al. 2019).

Research has also enlarged its focus on other spheres impacted by discrimination and stigmatization. Safi's study of an encompassing dimension like life satisfaction among immigrant-origin populations in Europe starts by observing their significantly lower life satisfaction in comparison to natives (Safi 2010). Moreover, relative dissatisfaction does not diminish across time and generations; despite an average higher level of educational attainment of the younger group, the latter are more likely than their parents to consider their situation as unfair.

A vast literature analyses the relationship between discrimination and health outcomes. Discrimination is a chronic and multidimensional stressor producing harmful effects on various aspects of health: psychological and physical, as well as on health-related behavior among minority groups. Numerous studies document the adverse impact of discrimination, both in its everyday or in its acute forms, on health. Perceived discrimination is a risk factor (e.g., for cardiovascular disease) among African American men as well as for breast cancer young black women in the US (DeLilly and Flaskerud 2012). Risk factors linked to perceived racial discrimination affect health even after controlling for socioeconomic status (Williams and Mohammed 2009). Recent meta-analyses (Carter et al. 2017; Paradies et al. 2015; Pascoe and Smart Richman 2009) indicate that exposure to discrimination seems to have a stronger effect for mental health compared with physical health: it generates depression and anxiety as responses to severe stress among stigmatized, racial, and immigrant groups. Greater racial discrimination is associated with greater psychological distress. Racial discrimination has also a negative impact on cultural variables such as collective self-esteem and identity, compromising individuals' sense of self and group-based identity. Men are more affected by racial discrimination than women are (Carter et al. 2017).

In Europe, this new strand of research investigating the impact of discrimination on health is best established in the UK. To determine the causal link between the two variables, Johnston and Lordan's (2012), for example, study the health records of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis before and after the September 11th, 2001 attacks,

which caused a sharp increase of anti-Muslim discrimination in the UK. The health indicators of these groups are compared to the ones of the control group, non-Muslim Indians. Analyzing changes in health indicators between 1999 and 2004, the authors evaluate the worsening of the general health of Muslim Pakistanis and Bangladeshis relative to the general health of the control group, concluding that "he probability of bad or very bad health increased by 3.0 percentage points, and the probability of poor health limiting normal activities increased by 5.2 percentage points." (2012, 15). Johnston and Lordan further assess that discrimination exerts an indirect detrimental impact on health, by negatively affecting notably employment and perceived social support and by reducing health-related behaviors.

Moreover, perceived discrimination is negatively associated with health care service utilization, concludes another meta-analysis (Ben et al. 2017). Those who experienced discrimination have 2 or 3 times higher probability of reporting lower trust in healthcare systems, lower level of satisfaction with health services and lower quality of communication with healthcare professionals. Experiences of discrimination also increase the risks of delayed care and of non-compliance with the recommended treatment.

Most studies analyze the relation between perceived interpersonal discrimination and health while there is a lack of studies exploring the link between structural discrimination and health inequalities (Krieger 2014). Yet recent research (Paradies et al. 2015) investigates the impact of cumulative discrimination and institutional racism (see Chap. 3) on health outcomes by taking into consideration the larger environment in the belief that health equity is influenced by the place where people live and work. Sociological research emphasizes residential segregation as the key institutional mechanism and fundamental cause of health disparities (Massey 2004). The neighborhood is a critical factor mediating access to social, economic, and human capital, reflected in the strong association between segregation and poverty (Wilson 1987). The theoretical explanation of the link between segregation and detrimental outcomes in educational achievement, employment, incarceration, and welfare dependency rests on social mechanisms like peer influences, cultural diffusion, role models, and access to networks. This literature thus echoes the environmental explanation of health disparities advanced at the end of the nineteenth century by W. E. B. Du Bois (1899).

6.3   Responses to Discrimination and Stigmatization

Discrimination and stigmatization affect the life chances of the targeted persons and groups and are a source of stress affecting their well-being. Yet individuals and groups that are victims of discrimination react by elaborating response strategies. The step from discriminatory experiences and response strategies is filtered by the way those experiences are lived and unraveled. Perception is driven by the actual existence of inequality: those who are disadvantaged are usually likely to feel discrimination. For instance, visible minorities who experience greater disadvantages

also perceive more discrimination than their majority counterparts do (Andriessen et al. 2014). Yet appraisal is a matter of interpretation attributing (e.g., a negative outcome in the labor market) to lack of personal skills or ascribing it to the targeted group's prejudice and unfair treatment. Individual differences impinge upon the perception of discrimination. Therefore, long-term immigrants in Canada are more likely to perceive discrimination than new immigrants (Banerjee 2008). Similarly, as children of immigrants have larger opportunities of establishing equal contact with majority members than first-generation immigrants, they may perceive less discrimination (André and Dronkers 2017). However, better-educated children of immigrants tend to have an enhanced awareness of discrimination in comparison to the previous migrant generation (Borrell et al. 2015), because of higher expectations for fair treatment. International evidence assesses "that more discrimination is found in the lower segments of the labor market" (Andriessen et al. 2012, 256; Carlsson 2010) so that higher educated minority members appear less exposed to discrimination than lower educated ones. Nevertheless, perceived discrimination seem to be higher among better-educated immigrant minority members (Diehl and Liebau 2017; De Vroome et al. 2014): this "paradox of integration" is partially explained by a heightened sense of relative deprivation; that is, the feeling of being illegitimately disadvantaged in comparison to majority members (Steinmann 2018). Moreover, ethnic identification is positively associated with perceived racial discrimination (Sellers and Shelton 2003; Verkuyten 2005).

Many studies assess that respondents perceive a higher level of discrimination directed at their in-group than at themselves as members of that group. This discrepancy may be due to the difficulty of detecting discrimination as the source of personal disadvantage in individual cases, in comparison to reliance on public measures of discrimination at the group level. On the other hand, exaggerating discrimination at the group level can be used as a claim argument for promoting the improvement of the minority group.

Furthermore, perception of discrimination is driven by targeted people's awareness of their rights and their sensitivity to unfair treatment, therefore it depends also on the prevailing social norms in a certain place and point in time. The establishment of equality norms increases the perception of discrimination: a treatment that used to be accepted as normal may be (re)qualified as unfair and become untenable. In a recent meta-analysis of US studies on the impact of workplace discrimination, Triana et al. (2015) find that the well-documented negative relation between perceived ethnic discrimination and job attitudes (e.g., withdrawals, efforts, etc.) was stronger after the adoption of the Civil Rights Act of 1991, reflecting a keen demand for fair treatment and implementing a stronger commitment to equality.

Perceiving discrimination, individuals and groups react to it in order to maintain self-esteem, a sense of control over the world around them and to seek ways out of the deadlock. They can act on the present, weigh up the alternatives in order to achieve the desired outcomes and project themselves into the future (Bandura 2001, 2006). The range of reactions and responses may differ in many regards, according to the actor's level, to the perception of the stressing factor, to the types of action

and/or reflection, to the aim pursued by the response, as well as to the socio-historical and cultural context.

6.3.1   Coping and Identity Strategies

Individual-level responses to interpersonal forms of discrimination and stigmatization may be subsumed under the general concept of coping. Coping is stress-buffering answers aiming at reducing the effects of discrimination and stigmatization (Brondolo et al. 2009), notably on mental and physical health. Murray and Ali (2017) provide examples of such responses in a qualitative study on how senior professional Muslim women in the UK and Australia live, adapt, and react to discrimination in the workplace. They find two kinds of responses: the first type aims at modifying the source of stress and seeking social support (problem-focused coping) while the second one aims at reducing the distress associated with stigmatization (emotion-focused coping; see also Folkman and Lazarus 1984). Responses tend to vary according to the way the stress is perceived: when individuals see the situation as a challenge, they tend to resort to active problem-solving responses, like discussing concerns openly or referring to a supervisor. When they perceive the stress as a threat, they seek protection in emotion-focused responses, like learning to accommodate the values of their host society or looking for comfort in religion by seeking God's help. Actions take place largely on an individual level, while support from groups is sought in situations deemed threatening. Testing the buffering effects of coping responses among black women, Krieger (1990) finds that those who take a problem-solving approach are less likely to have a hypertension diagnosis than those who take an emotion-focused coping response.

A large body of literature focuses on the impact of discrimination and stigmatization on social identity. Since people have the general desire to establish a positive social identity, a disadvantaged in-group targeted by discrimination results in a negative social identity (Tajfel and Turner 1979). To pursue status improvement despite this unsatisfactory situation, minority members anticipating discrimination may respond individually or as a group. The choice among strategies rests on an evaluation of their feasibility. If group boundaries are deemed permeable, then members of minority groups will attempt to enhance their identity by "walking out" of their in-group and by identifying with and joining the majority group. Indeed, Hirschman (1970) names this strategy "exit," when applying it at a macro systemic level of analysis. Moreover, assimilation can be considered as a strategy to enhance individual position (Berry 1984).

Studies on labor market discrimination pinpoint minority job seekers' strategies to enhance individual chances to gain access to the workplace. In Sweden, taking advantage of institutionally provided support facilitating such response, minority job seekers adopt a Swedish-sounding name in public, while retaining their ethnic name and identity in the private sphere (Bursell 2012). Similarly, according to Kang et al. (2016), African and Asian-American students often "whitewash" their

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résumés by concealing their origin when applying for work. In order to be seen as a member of the dominant group, they present themselves omitting their minority-sounding first name or using an additional majority-sounding name or spending their middle name. Another way of whitening job applications is limiting information on aspects of one's curriculum that might be the basis for stigmatization. Applicants will then omit some engagements or modify the account of their involvement in ethnic experiences or mention "white" activities to show an assimilated profile. Concealing and downplaying their stigmatized identity strongly remind of Goffman's strategies of "passing" and "covering" for the management of stigmatized identities (Goffman 1963). Whitening a résumé proves an effective strategy: it generally enhances callbacks in comparison to unwhitened applications and nearly doubles the callback rate for Asian applicants in Kang et al.'s (2016) correspondence test. Such individual mobility strategy allows successful members of a minority group who pursue their career while the status relations between majority and minority remain unchanged.

Sonia Kang et al.'s study "Whitened Résumés: Race and Self-Presentation in the Labor Market", published in *Administrative Science Quarterly* in 2016, is a prime example of how racialized minorities may act when anticipating discrimination. It is also an innovative study, methodologically speaking: Combining qualitative interviews, a laboratory experiment and a field experiment, the authors examine racial minorities' attempts to avoid discrimination in labor markets by concealing or downplaying racial cues in job applications, a practice they refer to as "résumé whitening." Besides documenting that résumé whitening is a widespread practice which increases the possibilities of receiving call-backs for job interviews, the study shows that minorities are less inclined to "whitewash" their CVs when confronted with employers that present themselves as pro-diversity. However, the field experiment suggests that organizational diversity statements are not associated with reduced discrimination against unwhitened, leading to the paradoxical conclusion that minorities may be particularly likely to experience disadvantage when they apply to allegedly pro-diversity employers.

In contrast, if barriers between groups are perceived as insurmountable, individual strategies prove impracticable. Persons targeted by stigmatization and discrimination may, therefore, resort to collective responses: in an attempt to improve their position, they might seek to modify the relations between majority and minority. Collective responses build on the recognition of one's membership in the group and on a compelling identification to the in-group. Increased identification with the in-group aims at protecting psychological well-being (Branscombe et al. 1999). Having a strong relation to one's ethnic group identity may moderate the stress of discrimination by preventing negative stereotypes from affecting the self-concept. This rejection-identification model is corroborated by numerous empirical studies

(Schmitt et al. 2014). In research among young Turkish-Dutch and Dutch persons of similar educational backgrounds in the Netherlands, Verkuyten (2008), for example, observes that the higher the perceived discrimination among Turkish-Dutch, the stronger their Turkish group identification. In turn, this enhances their psychological well-being, partly restoring the damage inflicted by the discrimination.

Moreover, when the disadvantaged position is deemed illegitimate, it may give rise to a feeling of injustice and dissatisfaction. Collective mobilization is mostly based on relative deprivation, that is, the subjective perception of disadvantage and its illegitimate character rather than on the objective circumstances (Walker and Smith 2002). Collective mobilization is more likely to occur when a window of opportunity arises. The 1983 French March for Equality and Against Racism is an example in this regard. The March from Marseille to Paris, often known as "Marche des Beurs," was a reaction against stigmatization and racial inequalities faced by children of Maghrebi immigrants, after the 1981 election of the first socialist president, François Mitterrand, which had stirred high expectations. French second-generation individuals mobilized as an actor in a social movement calling for equal rights based on the recognition of their French citizenship. This movement's attempt to modify their unsatisfactory situation illustrates the "voice" option, among the famous triad of strategies outlined by Hirschman (1970).

6.3.2   Reactive Ethnicity

In the sociology of integration literature, the link between disadvantaged positions and ethnic group identification is often understood as an expression of the immigrant population's alleged limited willingness to integrate (Heath 2014), raising anxiety among majority group members. This common assumption in public debates disregards the well-established relation between perceived discrimination and a response strategy of stigmatized groups to protect their well-being, known in the literature on second-generation incorporation as "reactive ethnicity." When confronted with a hostile reception environment, children of immigrants develop a defensive identity reactivating their origin, in order to reinforce the collective worth of their in-group (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Qualitative studies deliver penetrating insights into the logics of such identification reactions. Mey and Rorato (2010), for example, interviewed children of immigrants in Switzerland before and after their transition from compulsory school to vocational training. They document how those youngsters who repeatedly fail in their efforts to find an apprenticeship increasingly develop a strong identification with their origin group. Çelik's (2015) previously cited study among Turkish school dropouts in their vocational preparation program in Germany points in a similar direction. Observing their teachers' differential treatment of pupils, Çelik shows that the students in his study develop a deep sense of discrimination targeting especially groups singularized along ethnic and religious boundaries, like Turks, Kurds,

and Arabs in contrast with other immigrants of Christian background (see Chap. 5). Far from displaying a hyphenated identity, the informants exhibit a strong commitment to their Turkish identity as a response to their experience of discrimination and their perception of blocked social mobility. Çelik argues that when perceived discrimination is linked to stigmatization (i.e., rejection of the minority culture by the majority group), reactive ethnicity turns into the adoption of an oppositional identity (see also Ogbu 1991). Minorities refuse symbols and behaviors of the majority, discredited as a form of "acting white" and develop an "alternative cultural frame of reference" (i.e., different antithetical values to the dominant culture).

6.3.3   Socio-Cultural Embedding of Minority Responses

While in most studies, analyses are confined to one single national context, the comparative and multilevel research by Lamont and her colleagues (2016) allows for an exploration of the variability of subjective interpretations and the responses to perceived stigmatization in relation to the historical and social context. The authors analyze how middle- and working-class African Americans in the US, black Brazilians in Brazil, and Arab Palestinians in Israel interpret the discrimination and stigmatization they experience. They develop a five-category classification of narratives of incidents as well as of actual and normative responses. The most frequent responses are confronting the stigmatizer (i.e., challenging the perpetrator); managing the self (i.e., weighing the personal costs of responding) and not responding (i.e., regularly avoiding responding). Less common responses are focusing on hard work and competency (i.e. acquiring credentials and credit) and engaging in the group's isolation.

Lamont et al.'s (2016) comparative analysis reveals interesting cross-country differences. While African Americans predominantly react on discrimination by confrontation, black Brazilians hesitate between confronting, managing the self, and non-responding. Arab Palestinians, by contrast, opt most often for ignoring their experiences and retreating in isolation. The authors explain those cross-country variations by referring to the cultural repertoires available in each specific national context. Such repertoires are "cultural frames they [minorities] mobilize to make sense of their experience and to determine how to respond" (Lamont and Mizrachi 2012, 365). The ways minorities live and interpret their situations in each country are shaped by the historical place of the group in the country (past slavery and today's racism in American society, the myth of racial democracy in Brazil, and the Zionist national ideology in Israel), by institutional dimensions (e.g., the legal culture built on the Civil Rights Acts in the US and the legal and spatial segregation in Israel) and finally by the strength of a perceived minority group identity. Those features represent enabling and constraining forces that shape the actions of individuals and groups when addressing stigmatization.

6.4 Conclusion

Discrimination and stigmatization are costly for the society by lowering economic growth, by reinforcing ethnic inequalities, by fueling political conflicts and by jeopardizing social cohesion. Moreover, victims of unfair treatment pay a high price as discrimination and stigmatization reproduce the privilege of the majority, perpetuate their own disadvantaged status by eroding their life's chances in many social domains. Far from being passive victims, however, many members of minority groups develop and deploy individual and collective strategies to meet such challenges. Responses vary according to their perception of the discrimination, the resources they can activate in their struggle, their evaluation of the chance to change their inequitable condition, and the rhetorical and strategic tools they can mobilize.

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Chapter 7
Combatting Discrimination

There is a large variety of policies and actions contributing to tackling discrimination against immigrants and ethno-racial minorities. These policies can be distributed along a gradient from formal equality to proactive policies that could include preferential treatment for disadvantaged groups. Antidiscrimination laws and policies aim to prevent negative and unjustified distinction, exclusion, restriction, or preference based on grounds such as nationality, race, color, sex, language, religion, political opinion, etc. The list of grounds varies across countries: the French law, for example, identify no less than 25 criteria of discrimination, the law in countries such as Denmark or the UK operates with eight criteria, while the German General Equal Treatment Act (2006, amended 2013) mentions only six grounds. A large number of countries have chosen an open-ended list to avoid restricting the scope of discrimination.

Antidiscrimination laws and policies aim to ensure equal rights for the protected groups (e.g., women, people with disabilities, or ethnic and racial minorities). The main goal of these legal provisions, policies, and actions is to achieve equality for all in concrete terms and not only in principle. According to De Witte (2010), the common principle of equality is "broad and empty" and should be specified to become substantive. Fredman assigns four objectives to such substantive equality policies: "to redress disadvantage; to address stigma, stereotyping, prejudice and violence; to enhance voice and participation; and to accommodate difference and achieve structural change" (Fredman 2016, 713). However, while the principles and objectives of equal rights, equal treatment, and equal access to resources, goods, and services receive generally large support among policy makers and public opinion, concrete positive actions tend to be more divisive. This is especially the case of positive discrimination, which provides preferential treatment – an advantage – to members of protected groups to redress the penalties they historically have faced (and often still face), in access to higher education, political mandate, public jobs, or social housing.

Importantly, countries vary greatly in their strategies to tackle ethnic and racial discrimination. First, they can be divided into two groups: those who have adopted

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ethnic and race-based policies, or ethnic and/or racial conscious policies, and those who favor color-blind policies, meaning that they address ethno-racial discrimination without identifying explicitly categories of victims based on ethnicity and race (see Chap. 1). Second, they diverge in the kind of measures they implement in the name of antidiscrimination policies. There are three main groups of measures – antidiscrimination legislation, affirmative action and other equal opportunity policies, and tools for promoting diversity. The chapter discusses these different measures in turn, before turning to studies that have aimed at assessing the effectiveness of measures to combat discrimination.

7.1   Antidiscrimination Legislation

Following the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a series of international treaties and conventions promoted by the United Nations have set international norms for equality: The International Human Rights Charter, the International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Principles of equality have further been detailed in thematic conventions, some of which specifically focus on racial discrimination. The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination adopted in 1965 and the Convention 111 of the International Labour Organization on discrimination (employment and occupation) adopted in 1958 are the main references in this area.

In Europe, the Racial Equality Directive (RED) enacted in 2000 constitutes the main legal framework on ethnic and racial discrimination. It implements the principle of equal treatment between persons irrespective of racial or ethnic origin and complements the European directives on discrimination in employment (which covers several grounds) and other directives dealing specifically with gender, age, disability, religion, or sexual orientation. The RED came relatively late after the pioneering antidiscrimination law implemented by the UK in 1976, which served as a reference for the European Commission. Similar legislation can be found in immigration countries at much earlier dates – such as Australia's Racial Discrimination Act of 1975, the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1977, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in the US enacted in 1964 (Simon 2005).

Each antidiscrimination law provides for the creation of agencies responsible for monitoring its application and for implementing its programs. At the inception of the process, agencies tend to be specialized on a specific ground (gender, race and ethnicity, disability), but the recent trend is to merge these together into a single body. For example, the British Commission for Racial Equality, the Equal Opportunity Commission, and the Disability Rights Commission were grouped together in the Equality and Human Rights Commission, established by the Equality Act of 2006. The creation of an independent equality body is a requirement spelled out in the RED, and all EU member countries have more or less complied with this. In addition to the national equality bodies, the European Commission established

the EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) in 2007, as well as a network of equality bodies, called EQUINET, created in 2002–2004. However, even in the common framework provided by the EU directives, antidiscrimination actions vary greatly among EU countries. The prerogatives of these agencies in combatting discrimination can be far-reaching, ranging from the awareness raising of public authorities and civil society to the coordination of equality policies. They are responsible for all complaint-handling activities and may conduct legal actions and investigations.

Antidiscrimination laws can be enforced in civil, administrative, or criminal courts. There are important differences in these legal tracks in terms of plaintiffs, procedures, and sanctions or sentencing. However, enforcement of the law can take non-judicial procedures aside from these judicial proceedings: negotiation or mediation can be actively promoted by equality bodies that are not judicial entities. In addition, labor inspectorates are often charged to enforce the employment law and its provision on discrimination.

The legal context itself produces large disparities in the outcome of the legal actions, and differences in organizational structures have an impact on the efficiency of the legal antidiscrimination framework. Comparative studies on the implementation of antidiscrimination laws have shown significant variations across European countries when it comes to access to rights and the efficiency of legal action. For example, shifting the burden of proof – meaning that the defendant (e.g., the employer) has to prove that the treatment was not discriminatory – is not available in all EU countries, and in those where the provision exists, not in all judicial procedures. Protections against victimization of plaintiffs in retaliation of their claim are inconsistent in some countries, and lack credibility in others. Sanctions and remedies differ greatly in their capacity to punish and prevent discrimination acts, reflecting the different concepts of equality and the legal order governing each national context. Even under the EU antidiscrimination law, no comprehensive system has been adopted so far.

Equality bodies are generally entitled to receive complaints, to assist victims in litigations and sometimes have the legal power to take sanctions and make legal decisions. Negotiation, mediation, or conciliation are often preferred to litigation since discrimination cases often proved to be difficult to prosecute in the courts. Equality bodies have frequently prioritized strategic litigation whereas a limited number of cases are selected to set changes in court practices. Filing a complaint in court might be complicated in some countries, and the outcome of these complaints are rarely successful (FRA 2012). A gap between complaints and lawsuits can be observed in France where the former equality body (HALDE) treated 5658 files of complaints in 2010, of which 127 legal cases were completed (in various categories). In less than a handful of cases, condemnations actually took place, although a large number of files had been treated through mediation. In general, legal action against ethnic and racial discrimination is less developed than against sex or disability discrimination. For example, in England and Wales in 2019, the Employment Tribunal has treated 9427 complaints of sex discrimination, 6919 for disability, 3589 for race, and 753 for religion. In addition, 27,730 cases came under the equal

pay law, which is a sub-type of sex discrimination. Although legal prosecution is an important part of antidiscrimination action, the legal framework has to be complemented by policies and more proactive strategies to control practices and processes without waiting for a complaint to be filed in.

7.2   Antidiscrimination Policies: Positive Action

Despite the difference in wording, affirmative action and positive action are essentially the same kinds of policies. The former concept originated in the US, while the latter, inspired by the UK, was adopted by the European action plan against discrimination (McCrudden 1986). As Daniel Sabbagh summarizes it, the goal of such positive action "is to counter deeply entrenched social practices that reproduce group-structured inequality (even in the absence of intentional discrimination) by creating positive externalities beyond individual recipients" (Sabbagh 2011, 109). Still, there exists a variety of measures in positive action policies that differentiate them along a continuum of the transformative powers of the actions.

7.2.1   Awareness Raising

All antidiscrimination policies begin with awareness raising through communication campaigns. The objective is to disseminate the framing in terms of discrimination to create consciousness among victims and potential authors. Indeed, the capacity to tackle discrimination depends on the conceptualization of the phenomenon, as well as the underlying understanding of how it operates and what consequences it causes for disadvantaged groups. There are different ways to address biases and inequalities generated by discrimination, beginning with programs to empower underrepresented minorities, actions to pursue a higher level of impartiality in decision-making by acting directly on processes and developing training and eventually schemes to impose preferential treatment for certain categories of disadvantaged groups, including quota systems. In the following, we detail some of these actions with examples from practices in different countries. Although there are trends of cross-national harmonization of legal frameworks, antidiscrimination policies tend to remain country-specific. What applies to one country might not be available in another one, even in Europe where the European Commission has stimulated the adoption of common legal and practical tools.

7.2.2 Outreach Programs

One way to increase participation in the education or labor markets is to develop information about opportunities to underrepresented ethnic and racial minorities. These programs are called "outreach" because they target specific population groups or places that are usually not reached by information about the existence of opportunities. The rationale behind these programs is that minorities do not consider applying to selective tracks in education or advantageous job positions because they do not feel entitled to it or do not have access to the relevant information. Outreach programs are frequent in education to attract minority students in selective programs where they tend to be highly underrepresented. In France, for example, dedicated preparatory programs were developed in the 2000s to ease the access to elite schools (*grandes écoles*) for students from high schools located in disadvantaged neighborhoods (Allouch and Buisson-Fenet 2009). In employment, these schemes build on the so-called spatial mismatch theory (see Chap. 3), which suggests that minority members experience greater distance from job markets both spatially and culturally, thus attempting to compensate for this structural disadvantage by disseminating the information about job opportunities in specific locations or toward minority groups. Outreach programs aim at increasing the critical mass of minority applicants but do not address potential discrimination in selection processes.

7.2.3 Proactive Policies

One of the main goals of positive actions is to address non-intentional, systemic, and indirect discrimination by identifying biases in apparently neutral procedures. These biases are harder to identify than unfair treatment justified by the expression of prejudices. Subtle discrimination is mainly detected as their disproportionate negative consequences on protected groups. The EEOC in the US defines an adverse impact in employment as "a substantially different rate of selection in hiring, promotion, or other employment decision which works to the disadvantage of members of a race, sex, or ethnic group." The EU law develops a similar approach in its definition of indirect discrimination (see Chap. 2), as the European Convention on Human Rights which retains that "a difference in treatment may take the form of disproportionately prejudicial effects of a general policy or measure which, though couched in neutral terms, discriminates against a group."

Thus, decisions, procedures, and selection schemes (in employment, housing, education, but also in the allocation of goods and services) have to be monitored to check the impartiality or neutrality of the process. Monitoring systems are frequently, but not exclusively, using statistics to detect under-representation of protected groups and biases in processes of selection or allocation of goods and services. It should be clear that the notion of fair representation is attached to those of statistical under-representation, which gives a paramount role of statistics in the

identification of discrimination, the design of policies, their implementation, and their evaluation.

> In order to be effective, equality programs in employment must follow these steps as part of their implementation: First, the definition and identification of members of protected groups. This is necessary to collect data, and especially statistics, on their proportion in all aspects of the employment process, such as in the applicant pools. Second, to collect data on the distribution of protected groups in different occupations in the firm, according to the level of qualification of the employees, wages, terminations, access to on the job-training, etc. Third, to compare these data to a statistical benchmark computed at different geographical levels and inside the firm itself to identify the potential gaps, which should then be corrected. Based on these statistical assessments, action plans are designed to reduce or suppress biases at the different steps of the employment relationship (hiring process, wage setting, and career advancement). In essence, equality programs combine the goals of improving the representation of protected groups with meritocratic criteria, since qualifications and skills are still the determining factors in the protected groups' representation.

7.2.4   Quantitative Targets and Quotas

Redressing the under-representation of protected groups can be achieved through quantitative objectives. The idea is to measure the evolution of the participation of protected groups to the organizations until they reach a threshold that has been established beforehand. These quantitative objectives can be mandatory, and in this case, one can speak of quotas to achieve, or an invitation to reach a target without specific sanctions if the organization fails to meet its objectives. When a quota is imposed, the organization (university, employer, landlord, parliament) must select a number or proportion of applicants with a specific characteristic (e.g., gender, ethnicity or race, disability, religion) to be incorporated in the program. An example can be given in political representation with reserved seats for women in India or legislated gender quota among candidates to political mandate in six EU countries, in employment for people with disability or in education for ethno-racial minorities in the US in the first phase of affirmative action (until 1973 in employment and 1978 in education). If the quota is not achieved, sanctions (generally financial penalties) against employers or universities might be enforced.

   The legitimacy and efficiency of quotas have been extensively discussed in the US, especially during the 1980s with the disengagement from affirmative action by the administration under President Reagan. Although the available research suggests that quotas can be an effective tool, this instrument has often been poorly implemented and remained a contentious provision that is often criticized (Stryker

2001). As a policy tool, racial quotas have been discontinued in the US, but remain in some countries such as Brazil and Malaysia.

In opposition to quotas, most of the countries have adopted a more lenient approach by setting targets and goals that are still using quantitative tools but not in a mandatory way. For example, positive actions in the UK or equal employment opportunity policy in Canada are explicitly forbidding any quota. In these cases, the advantage given to members of protected groups does not appear as explicit as it is the case for preferential treatment.

One important condition for implementing these quantitative strategies is to be able to produce statistics broken down by ethnicity or race, or any kind of relevant category under protection. When it comes to ethnicity and race, the availability of such statistics is rather limited in most of the European countries, and thus limit the diffusion of these tools.

7.3   Promoting Diversity

Aside from public policies, there are initiatives undertaken directly by the business community. Although diversity management at its inception was a by-product of equal employment policies (Dobbin 2011), it has often been implemented by companies in countries where such policies have never been developed, especially in Europe (Wrench 2007). Indeed, the spread of diversity management seems to reflect the extension of multinational companies and the standardization of human resources processes. Diversity management tools include audits to identify biases in the organizational processes, mentoring programs, career guidance, diversity training, outreach activities toward underrepresented groups to diversify recruitment channels, etc.

The main idea behind these initiatives is that creating a diversity-friendly workplace by facilitating the recruitment, inclusion, promotion, and retention of "diverse employees" and managing properly this diverse workforce will help to increase productivity and give a market advantage to companies both in the domestic market – by reaching out to immigrants and their descendants as customers – and in markets abroad. Likewise, in the context of labor shortages, developing diversity management tools has become an important means for attracting and retaining staff. In addition, there may also be a value-added stemming from diversity itself because bringing together people with different backgrounds, experiences, and perspectives may increase the potential and the expertise of the working unit. Developing a diversity plan and targeting a fair representation of minority members in the workforce also have other benefits by helping to reduce the risks of litigations. The objective here is the reduction of the legal threat and the penalties resulting from legal cases. Further, employees may favor working environments that promote inclusion, respect, openness, collaboration, and equity. Finally, diversity management may involve benefits in terms of better publicity, and thus be used as a reputational tool by the firm. The European Commission has popularized the advantages of diversity in the economy under the heading of the business case for diversity (2005).

Diversity management has its roots in the US during the 1980s, during the peak of equal employment policies. A new class of "diversity managers" was created to implement actions against systemic discrimination rather than intentional discrimination. In 1980, diversity management was applied by less than 5% of a sample of 389 employers surveyed by Dobbin and Kelly, and almost 50% of them had implemented it by 1997 (Dobbin et al. 2007). In Europe, a survey conducted in 2005 found that 52% of companies did not develop any diversity initiatives, and only 21% had well-embedded policies and practices (European Commission 2005). The main motivations of these latter companies were (1) "commitment to equality and diversity as company values," (2) "access to new labor pools and high-quality employees," and (3) "economic effectiveness, competitiveness, and profitability. In contrast to the US, compliance with the law was not a major driver for these companies, which reflects that the antidiscrimination framework in Europe tends to be less pressuring. Interestingly, the survey showed also that only 31% of the companies implementing diversity initiatives were monitoring and reporting the results and impacts of their actions. In the remaining 69%, enhancing diversity was mainly an intention that could not be assessed.

Whereas equal employment policies comprise legally binding compliance to standards and codes of practices, fulfilling a diversity charter or acquiring a diversity label depends on voluntary initiatives from organizations. In contrast to the latter, however, these tools involve public or semi-public bodies that are at least proposing the tool and – in the case of labels – involve certifying participation and compliance.

A diversity charter is a document by which a company or a public institution commits itself to respect and promote diversity and equal opportunities at the workplace. More or less detailed provisions or targets can be stated in these charters. One of the first of its kind in Europe, the French diversity charter, was launched in October 2004 and has been signed by more than 3450 companies since then. This example has been replicated by almost all EU countries. The country-specific charters differ by their coverage and their scope, but the commitments are similar in their principles. Being voluntary, these charters do not entail specific monitoring to check if companies respect their commitments. As such, the charters testify that the companies show some concerns about promoting diversity, even if such a concern may not necessarily translate into concrete actions. Reviews of the actions implemented according to the charter are suggested, but in most cases, the audits focus on the design of the programs and not on their outcomes.

Diversity labels go one step further by delivering a certification based on an assessment of the measures taken and their implementation. An independent body is responsible for delivering the label, which is based on an audit of the companies. A diversity label was established in France in 2008 and is delivered by a commission made up of representatives of the national administration, the social partners, the National Organization of Human Resources Managers and experts. The label is delivered for 3 years; more than 260 companies have received it thus far. A similar diversity label is granted by the Brussels-Capital Region in Belgium. Some

countries, such as Belgium, have also established specific diversity awards, rewarding good practices in this domain by employers.

Among the elements that can produce discrimination, notably with respect to the crucial first stage of the recruitment process, the formatting and contents of the CV of job applicants have been a major concern among equal opportunity policy makers and diversity managers. The recruitment process involves some kind of discretion from recruiters, and the more the room for discretion, the more stereotypes and prejudice might be activated. A concrete strategy to reduce the level of discretion in hiring procedures is to standardized job application documents in a way that only useful information about the applicants should be delivered. Building on the findings of correspondence test studies that clearly show that names and other signals of minority background foster negative selection (see Chaps. 4 and 5), the idea to promote blind or anonymous CVs has gained traction in France, Germany, and the UK. The advantage of anonymous CVs is to reduce the information that conveys signals related to discrimination, such as age, gender and ethnicity/race or nationality. The expectation is that applicants who will not be screened out at the first stage of the process will be able to demonstrate their capacities at the later stage and will eventually access higher opportunities for recruitment. A body of studies has tried to measure the outcomes of this measure in Germany (Krause et al. 2012), the Netherlands (Blommaert et al. 2014), France (Behaghel et al. 2015) and in Sweden (Aslund and Skans 2012). All of these studies but one (in France) found that ethnic minorities benefit from anonymity, but still encounter a harder selection at the stage of the job interview. The French study concluded that while women did benefit from anonymity, this was not the case for applicants with a minority background. One explanation for this unexpected finding, shared by Krause et al. (2012) in Germany, is that employers who favor diversity might advantage applicants with a migration background.

7.4   Assessing Antidiscrimination Policies

The complex schemes of monitoring and reporting attached to antidiscrimination laws and policies clearly run the risk of only being an attractive but purposeless platform if the operators do not fully commit to the program. Supervising the achievement of programs is, therefore, an inseparable element contributing to their efficiency. In most cases, compliance with monitoring is not guaranteed by sanctions or penalties, and participation in reporting may be far from effective.

In the Netherlands, the assessment of monitoring provided for by the 1994 *Wet bevordering evenredige arbeidskansen voor allochtonen* (Act on the Promotion of Proportional Labor market Participation of Allochthones; Wet BEAA) demonstrates that only 14% of employers fulfill all of the legal provisions, including the submission of a report on the situation of minorities within the company (Guiraudon et al. 2005). Less than 60% of these had applied for the obligatory registration of the ethnic origin of employees. The *Act for Stimulation of Labour Market Participation*,

which replaced the Wet BEAA in 1998, clearly improved the level of participation, however: In 2001, 70% of employers prepared an annual report detailing the level of representation of ethnic minorities within their company and the measures taken to improve this over the following year. However, while the objectives set representation at 10%, the results reached their ceiling at 8.5%. Although employers with more than 35 people staff were legally obliged to register ethnicity and to submit reports every year, they could also refuse to comply without having to motivate their refusal. The decision to discontinue the SAMEN law in 2003 was partly justified by the lack of participation of employers in the scheme (Guiraudon et al. 2005).

In the UK, the assessment of equality policies is incorporated into the design of the equality programs themselves. Under the Race Relation Act of 2000 (amended), the duties are stricter for public authorities than for private employers. A 1998 survey on the working conditions within companies (Workplace Employee Relations Survey, WERS), which was analyzed in 2003, showed that equality programs are applied within two thirds of companies, 97% of public companies and 57% from the private sector. The programs are implemented more often in companies that have a higher representation of "minorities" (women, ethnic minorities, and disabled people). Among the various actions provided for by the equality programs, the monitoring of employees' ethnic and racial origin is only carried out by 30% of companies. This disappointing level of monitoring also applies to companies from the public sector, where only 48% of companies have implemented it.

A review by Dex and Purdam (2005) did not find significant improvements after the amendment of the Race Relation Act in UK in 2000: the Commission for Racial Equality found in 2003 that just over a third of organizations were responding to the duties, though most of the public organizations had produced a race equality scheme or policy. In the private sector, a 2003 survey with 500 UK directors identified similar gaps between policies aiming at promoting equal opportunities and the implementation of monitoring system: only 38% of organizations had collected information on the number of employees by ethnic group, and 22% got this information by job positions. In their review of the monitoring practices of ten employers in UK, Dex and Purdam (2005) revealed that although all the employers were collecting data for equal opportunities monitoring purposes, only a few were able to compile these data in tables with standardized categories matching the codes of practice of the Commission for Racial Equality, and hardly any of them were analyzing the data produced (Dex and Purdam 2005, 16–18).

Beyond the assessments of a system's performance, which is an important condition in assessing its results, a key question remains unanswered: Do the schemes succeed in reducing the consequences of discrimination, easing prejudice, and improving the position of the protected groups? Few programs provide appraisals linking the implementation of initiatives with the improvement of the situation of the protected groups. The Employment Equity Act Annual Reports in Canada, however, are notable exceptions as they provide this type of appraisal. A representation index by group is calculated for each company and business sector. Its variation provides an indication of the impact of the programs. In 2010, the representation of aboriginals, women, and visible minorities had improved, both quantitatively and

qualitatively. On the other hand, this remained poor for disabled people. The representation index (the rate of availability relating to the size of a group within the labor force) is established at 95.9 for women, 80.7 for natives and 77.5 for visible minorities but only 46.9 for disabled people.

In the US, a great deal of research has been conducted to assess the impact of affirmative action on employment and education for minorities and women. Holzer and Neumark (2000) demonstrate that the organizations that have adopted the affirmative action programs have seen a clear improvement in the representation of minorities and women in relation to those who did not. However, women, and especially white women, have benefited more from these policies than racial minorities. These findings have been renewed by the evaluation of the outcomes of diversity programs conducted by Dobbin and Kalev (2016). In an assessment of the employment practices and workforce reviews of more than 800 companies in the US from 1971 to 2002, they conclude that mandatory diversity training was producing poor return while programs strengthening managerial responsibility and accountability with respect to equality tended to be particularly effective.

7.5   Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed how policies can address discrimination, with the different frames and tools that have been adopted. The first stage of these policies is to raise awareness and disseminate concepts and definitions of discrimination in legal action. The second and more effective stage aims at monitoring decision-making processes and selection practices to promote equal treatment beyond formal principles. Proactive policies can be called positive action or affirmative action: in all cases, they rely on the existence of statistics broken down by ethnicity, race, or equivalent characteristics to uncover unfair treatment and disadvantage faced by minorities. The lack of such statistics in schools, workplaces, housing, or health systems makes it complicated, if not impossible, to implement most of the schemes of positive action policies. This explains why most European countries fail to develop effective policies against ethnic and racial discrimination, in stark contrast with gender equality programs.

Because antidiscrimination policies address structural inequalities rooted in historical systems of domination, it would be very optimistic to think that they could redress wrongs done by long established and renewed prejudices. For this reason, they have to be judged in the long run. Not only do they need time to effectively tackle discrimination, but their legitimacy is always fragile. If public opinion accepts the implementation of policies and actions targeting minorities when responsibilities of the state are obvious, such support declines dramatically when blatant racism and racial gaps tend to diminish. Opposition to race-based affirmative action or positive action has increased in countries that have pioneered such policies, such as the US. This reminds us that fighting discrimination is not a zero-sum game: when losers improve their position, former winners tend to regret their privileges.

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Chapter 8
Conclusion

This book has provided an overview of the current field of discrimination research, emphasizing how race, ethnicity and minority status shape current opportunities in Europe. It has outlined key concepts, theories, and methods; suggested how discrimination plays out differently in different social domains and how experiences of discrimination impact individuals and groups; and it has provided a brief synthesis of the policies developed to combatting discrimination.

Since its inception as a research field in the US in the 1950s, the study of discrimination has flourished over the last 20–30 years in Europe. This is no coincidence. European countries have, in this time period, gradually turned multicultural and multireligious, where a continuous inflow of immigrants from all over the world, alongside the coming of age of their descendants, has triggered an unprecedented level of migration-related diversity. Today, most European countries are characterized by high levels of ethno-racial inequality, where disparities between groups in education, work, housing, and health are striking. Decades of research have made evident that widespread discrimination plays a role in creating these inequalities, raising the question of whether the previously dominant conceptual frame of integration is insufficient or even inadequate to account for the socio-structural position of ethno-racial minorities over time.

8.1 Pervasive, Perpetuating, and Persistent

As shown by the last Eurobarometer survey on discrimination (European Commission 2019), the awareness of ethnic discrimination is present, as it is perceived as widespread by 59% of respondents in Europe. However, this awareness does not suggest that proactive antidiscrimination policies find large support, nor that prejudices against ethnic, racial, and religious minorities have diminished. Rather, the findings of the impressive breadth of research reveal a worrying picture of enduring discrimination in immigrant-receiving societies across space and time,

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suggesting the contour of troubling "three P's" in contemporary European societies: discrimination appears to be pervasive, perpetuating, and persistent.

8.1.1   Pervasive Presence

First of all, meta-analyses have documented that immigrant-origin groups face significant discrimination in access to employment in nine countries in Europe and North America (Quillian et al. 2019), a well as in the broader OECD area (Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016). Yet the level of discrimination seems to vary considerably across national contexts: In some countries, native-majority job applicants receive close to twice the callbacks of minority applicants, while in others, natives receive about 25% more (Quillian et al. 2019). This cross-national variation suggests that the institutional contexts surrounding discriminatory actions matter.

8.1.2   Perpetuating Configuration

In contrast to predictions in integration and assimilation theories, the level of discrimination facing immigrants and their descendants do not seem to differ substantially. This suggests that ethnicity, and presumably religion, are driving factors for discrimination (Heath and Cheung 2007; Carlsson 2010; Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016; Di Stasio et al. 2019). Moreover, abundant evidence from a range of different studies shows the existence of clear ethnic hierarchies, where European-origin groups experience significantly less discrimination than non-European origin groups. Such group differences in the level of discrimination are documented directly, by the use of field experiments, (Quillian et al. 2019), as well as indirectly, by the use of the residual method (e.g., Heath et al. 2008; Heath and Brinbaum 2014) and various studies of experiences of discrimination (e.g., Beauchemin et al. 2018; Beigang et al. 2017; Andriessen et al. 2014). In sum, these studies suggest that a growing process of racialization is currently taking place in Europe.

8.1.3   Persistent Pattern

A major concern arises from the fact that, in spite of the implementation of antidiscrimination measures, levels of hiring discrimination in the US and the UK remain largely unchanged over time (Quillian et al. 2017; Heath and Di Stasio 2019). It is not clear whether the same is true for other European countries, yet the adoption of antidiscrimination legislation in Europe in the 2000s does not appear to have had an impact on the extent of discrimination (Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016). In many countries, measures to address discrimination have been adopted. Systematic monitoring

of their implementation and of the effectiveness of single measures in various contexts could stimulate a collective learning process aimed at reaching beyond formal also effective equality.

8.2 Discrimination and Integration Revisited

The three P's raise fundamental questions about the long-term prospects of integration, as has been the dominant frame of analyses in the field of migration studies for decades. Of course, integration may occur despite persistent discrimination, as evident in the research on the so-called "integration paradox" (e.g., Schaeffer 2018; Steinmann 2018). Yet, we need to acknowledge that ethnic and racial discrimination is part of the current European reality, despite decades of legal efforts to eliminate the problem. How this affects the life chances and identity of Europe's ethno-racial minority groups, and whether it obscures the prospects of a long-term "mainstream expansion" (cf., Alba and Yrizar Barbosa 2016), are among the most pressing questions of today.

Although theories of integration and discrimination do not necessarily clash, significant contradictions arise when it comes to policies. Where antidiscrimination policies aim at adapting and transforming the structures of societies (institutions, laws, policies, procedures, practices, and representations) to make them fair and accessible to immigrants and minorities, integration policies mainly aim at empowering immigrants and their children by enhancing their human and social capital. Clearly, integration policies are not sufficient for addressing the persistence of discrimination. Much more work is needed to understand what diversity or antidiscrimination policies work in limiting bias and reducing discrimination.

8.3 Avenues for Future Research

The many advancements of discrimination research over the past decades, combined with the growing concern of the consequences of discrimination at both the individual, group, and societal levels, point out a range of future research prospects. Experimental methods have been the key approach to measure the prevalence of discrimination, yet the use of this methodology in Europe has not yet been able to disentangle the effects of racial appearance and religious beliefs on opportunities in labor or housing markets. Due to problems of comparability across research designs, experimental studies of discrimination also have a long way to go in investigating how particularities of institutional contexts shape the level of discrimination.

Apart from quantitative and experimental studies that provide estimates of the prevalence of discrimination in societies committed to equality of opportunity, many qualitative studies have looked closer into the reactions among those exposed to unfair treatment, blatant racism, and micro-aggressions in everyday life. Victims

of discrimination are not without agency to react and counter unfair treatment, even though they might prefer to ignore their negative experiences rather than speak against them. Clearly, reacting to discrimination is preconditioned by a consciousness of its existence. The function of research on discrimination is also to create the conditions for this consciousness to rise among minority groups, public authorities, and civil society. More research is needed to fully understand the costs and consequences of discrimination and how experiences of discrimination shape life chances, identity, and potential withdrawal from mainstream society.

Importantly, studying ethnic and racial discrimination requires having access to reliable and comparable data describing population groups that are categorized in relevant categories (i.e., related to ethnicity and race). Statistics in Europe are mainly based on nationality and place of birth, and in only a handful of countries is the same information available about the parents of domestic-born minorities (the second and later generations). These categories only partly describe groups and individuals that are facing ethnic and racial discrimination. The choice to deem ethnic and racial categories as irrelevant and even dangerous has its historical rationale, but the lack of data makes it complicated to map out and understand the consequences of the ongoing process of racialization in European societies (Simon 2017). The lack of appropriate data not only jeopardizes a detailed knowledge of discrimination processes, but it prevents the implementation of monitoring of procedures and practices meant to enhance diversity in domains such as education, work, and health and thus entails a severe limitation in the development of effective antidiscrimination policies. How to establish categories that enable researchers to identify the barriers facing ethno-racial minorities that are at present not detectable in national statistics will be a question of major importance in the years to come.

Even if we have focused on ethnic and racial discrimination in this book, multiple grounds of discrimination are often present in the experience of unfair treatment. Intersectionality is a conceptual framework that offers heuristic perspectives for research on discrimination, and it should be developed beyond the usual articulation between gender and race or class and ethnicity. The increase of religious discrimination against Muslims in Europe – a phenomenon often referred to as Islamophobia – is changing the conceptual frames of ethnic and racial studies (Taras 2012). As shown by recent research in Europe, prejudices against Muslims are widespread (EUMC 2006; Strabac and Listhaug 2008; FRA 2017), fostering what has been called a "racialization of religion" (Meer 2014). Whether and how religion is replacing ethnicity or race as a marker of identity, and hence as the basis of discrimination, should receive more attention in future studies.

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