Project RAISE Core Concepts

Project RAISE is researching boundary-making, awareness of structural racism, intersectional identities and inequalities, and collective action in various contexts in Europe. This involves research from various teams from 9 partner organizations collaborating across 6 work packages to uncover both visible and invisible forms of discrimination. This document is a framing document for terms used in the RAISE project. It is built by contributions from the members of the first work package, **Practices and narratives of boundary-making in everyday life institutional settings**. Using a ground-up approach, the terms used to describe boundary-making are nuanced by observations or experiences of about 60 participants in all from Hungary, Poland, the Netherlands, and Belgium—the contexts of the first work package.

The "Recognition and Acknowledgment of Injustice to Strength Equality" (RAISE) projects begins from the perspective that boundary-making processes and social constructions of group demarcations contribute to the reproduction of structural racism and xenophobia. The project seeks to reduce structural racism and xenophobia by raising awareness among people, and the institutions in which they operate, of boundary-making processes and ways these can reproduce structural racism. These processes are presumed to be multilayered and occur in a variety of patterns. The **core concepts** are a starting point for contextualisation of the terms within and across Europe. This is neither an historical overview nor an exhaustive list, it is intended to nuance the terms and provide a guide for consistent usage across the project. An annotated glossary gives some suggested references as a starting point for further research and elaboration.

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Structural Discrimination**,** as stated in the project proposal, "exists because of social constructions of group demarcations". These social constructions are embedded into laws, rules, codes of conduct becoming part of the socio-cultural, educational, economic and juridical systems.[1] As it is encoded into structures of a society, it is re-enforced through the rules, policies, codes of conduct and expectations of its institutions. In **Institutional Discrimination** we expect to find a combination of structural discrimination, with its histories and consequences, along with actions by individuals that, knowingly or unknowingly, reinforce and enact these group demarcations[2]. The consequences of structural and

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[1] Zinzi D. Bailey, Justin M. Feldman, and Mary T. Bassett, "How Structural Racism Works — Racist Policies as a Root Cause of U.S. Racial Health Inequities," *New England Journal of Medicine* 384, no. 8 (February 25, 2021): 768.

[2] Penny Skye Taylor and Daphne Habibis, "How Intergenerational Cycles of White Ignorance and Incapacity Perpetuate Indigenous Inequality," in *Handbook of Critical Whiteness: Deconstructing Dominant Discourses Across Disciplines*, ed. Jioji Ravulo et al. (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2023), 1–15; Haggeo Cadenas, "The Role of Social Reinforcement in Norm Transmission and Cultural Evolution," *Biology & Philosophy* 38, no. 6 (October 24, 2023): 47; Sergey Tyulenev, "Translation and Diplomacy: The Ins and Outs of Social-Systemic Boundaries," *Diplomacy & Statecraft* 33, no. 3 (July 3, 2022): 589–604; James Rosbrook-Thompson and Gary Armstrong, "Respectability and Boundary Making on a Superdiverse Housing Estate: The Cross-Racial Deployment of Intra-Ethnic Stereotypes," *The British Journal of Sociology* 73, no. 2 (2022): 259–72.

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institutional discrimination are not limited to the economic arena[3], but also affect education[4], housing[5], and health—to the point of shaping immune responses[6] and brain development.[7] Left unexamined, unacknowledged, or untouched, structural discrimination results in lasting inequalities.[8]

Consideration of both of these forms of discrimination can be likened to Michel De Certeau's description of the difference in experience of a city between those who view the city as from above, voyeurs, and those who experience the city in their everyday routines, walkers. The voyeur perspective emphasizes uniformity while the walker perspective both takes the landscape for granted and finds ruptures, obscured spaces invisible to the view of the voyeur. To get a realistic understanding, both perspectives are needed.[9]

Structural, institutional, and personal discrimination are often found intertwined. Among school children there is a strong understanding that to be from Europe is to be white.[10] This assumption is itself reflected in attitudes towards those considered non-European, who are presumed to be migrants. Demographic studies of migration trends in Europe show that between 1990 to 2010 the

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[3] See for example: David De Coninck and Laure Verhulst, "Inequality beneath the Surface: A Belgian Case Study on Structural Discrimination in the Workplace and the Role of Organizational Structure, Culture and Policies," *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal* ahead-of-print, no. ahead-of-print (January 1, 2024); Sarah Ganty, "Socioeconomic Inequality as Misrecognition: What Role for Anti-Discrimination Law in Europe?," *Human Rights Law Review* 21, no. 4 (2021): 962–1007.

[4] See for example: Lore Van Praag et al., "Belgium: Cultural Versus Class Explanations for Ethnic Inequalities in Education in the Flemish and French Communities," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education*, ed. Peter A. J. Stevens and A. Gary Dworkin (Palgrave Macmillan, Cham., 2019), 159–213; Dounia Bourabain, Pieter-Paul Verhaeghe, and Peter A. J. Stevens, "School of Choice or Schools' Choice? Intersectional Correspondence Testing on Ethnic and Class Discrimination in the Enrolment Procedure to Flemish Kindergarten," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 26, no. 2 (February 23, 2023): 184–204; Kerstin Duemmler, "The Exclusionary Side Effects of the Civic Integration Paradigm: Boundary Processes among Youth in Swiss Schools," *Identities* 22, no. 4 (July 4, 2015): 378–96; Frank Kalter and Irena Kogan, "Ethnic Inequalities at the Transition from School to Work in Belgium and Spain: Discrimination or Self-Exclusion?," *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 24, no. 3 (2006): 259–74.

[5] See for example Abel Ghekiere and Pieter-Paul Verhaeghe, "How Does Ethnic Discrimination on the Housing Market Differ across Neighborhoods and Real Estate Agencies?," *Journal of Housing Economics* 55 (March 1, 2022): 101820; Hilary Silver and Lauren Danielowski, "Fighting Housing Discrimination in Europe," *Housing Policy Debate* 29, no. 5 (2019): 714–35; Rosbrook-Thompson and Armstrong, "Respectability and Boundary Making on a Superdiverse Housing Estate."

[6] See for example: Sarah Holmes Watkins et al., "An Epigenome-Wide Analysis of DNA Methylation, Racialized and Economic Inequities, and Air Pollution" (bioRxiv, December 8, 2023); Tiffany M. Powell-Wiley et al., "Social Determinants of Cardiovascular Disease," *Circulation Research* 130, no. 5 (March 4, 2022): 782–99.

[7] See for example: Michelle Kelly-Irving and Cyrille Delpierre, "Framework for Understanding Health Inequalities over the Life Course: The Embodiment Dynamic and Biological Mechanisms of Exogenous and Endogenous Origin," *J Epidemiol Community Health* 75, no. 12 (December 1, 2021): 1181–86; Yuna Koyama et al., "Poverty from Fetal Life Onward and Child Brain Morphology," *Scientific Reports* 13, no. 1 (January 23, 2023): 1295.

[8] Bailey, Feldman, and Bassett, "How Structural Racism Works — Racist Policies as a Root Cause of U.S. Racial Health Inequities."

[9] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life. 1*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2013), 91–110.

[10] Nicolas Oppenchaim and Alain Thalineau, "'To Be French Is to Be White': Children's Uses of Ethno-Racial Categorizations in France," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 46, no. 10 (January 11, 2023): 2043–66; Duemmler, "The Exclusionary Side Effects of the Civic Integration Paradigm."

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majority of migration occurred within Europe rather than from outside of Europe.[11] While this trend continues to be the case, in the most recent studies (2023)[12] some people without a **migration background** are now numerical minorities in several superdiverse cities.[13] Still, rather than leading to frequent and positive cross-group interactions, researchers have shown, that people living in super-diverse contexts remain highly segregated.[14] Here, individual interactions reflect the ambiguity of cities as sites of integration both in social and institutional contexts.

To address this gap between living nearby diversity and the interactions between group members, it is necessary to consider **Boundary-Making** in everyday situations between individuals as they do and do not interact. From a diverse population in the context of parenting encounters, the first work package of the RAISE project aims to expose the dynamics of belonging and exclusion as experienced by parents of young children and to critically engage with the lexicon used in studies of racism and inequality.

Boundaries between people are often changeable. They are shaped by a variety of factors including the individuals with their particular characteristics, the formal and informal structures in which the situation occurs, as well as the presence of bystanders. These **Individual acts of connecting and distancing** enable or constrain the interaction between individuals. Put another way, boundaries in themselves can be neutral. However, the interactions surrounding formal and informal boundaries are perfused with the intentions of a variety of actors.

Expressions of boundaries can include the broad range of ways that divisions are communicated. Divisions can be experienced in the arrangement and use of physical spaces, how power is distributed and applied in local institutions (local government, education, etc) or the degree of openness in social networks. These and other boundaries may serve as constraining or limiting structures within a given community that set the expectations for acceptable (normative) behaviour.[15] Some boundaries are expressed in physical constructions but it is often **Symbolic Boundaries** that divide groups of people.

In his analysis of boundary-making, the sociologist Andreas Wimmer, described two images that are particularly useful. The *Process Model for ethnic boundaries*[16] visualises the complex array of factors and interactions between groups and individuals, while the *Taxonomy of ethnic boundary-making*

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[11] Christof Van Mol and Helga De Valk, "Migration and Immigrants in Europe: A Historical and Demographic Perspective," in *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, ed. Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas and Rinus Penninx, IMISCOE Research Series (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 31–55.

[12] "Migration - Foreign-Born Population - OECD Data," the OECD, accessed March 11, 2024, http://data.oecd.org/migration/foreign-born-population.htm.

[13] Marina Lazëri, "Understanding Minority Feeling among People without a Migration Background: Evidence from Five Majority-Minority European Cities," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49, no. 8 (May 9, 2023): 1977–95; Lisa-Marie Kraus, "Beyond Appreciation and Rejection: Reactions of Europeans without a Migration Background to Being an Ethnic Minority," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49, no. 8 (May 9, 2023): 1957–76.

[14] See : Hamed Nilforoshan et al., "Human Mobility Networks Reveal Increased Segregation in Large Cities," (July 24, 2023); Kim Knipprath, "From Culturalisation to Individuation: The Role of Urban Spaces in Shaping Intergroup Contacts and Symbolic Boundary Perceptions," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 49, no. 8 (May 9, 2023): 2014–33.

[15] Karen Phalet et al., "The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries," *Comparative Migration Studies* 1, no. 1 (January 1, 2013): 1009.

[16] Wimmer (2008), 1009.

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strategies[17] provides a structure for how various strategies are related to each other in the processes that Wimmer observed.

Altering Boundaries typically occurs at the relational level. Although there can be occasional, intentional changes to a system, reinterpretation that differs from expected happens every day. In these interactions, **Symbolic Boundaries** (formal) serve a societal or institutional function at the same time as social boundaries (informal) and both are subject to **Continuous negotiation.**

When encountering boundaries, individuals interact with that boundary – in both conscious and in habitual ways. The discourses present in the context, the individual and in the circumstances will shape the strategies which a person can employ. It can be difficult and painful to become conscious of some expressions of boundaries and then to alter behaviours, especially for those who do not benefit from the systems of oppression. Those who benefit from oppressive systems may also express boundaries without much reflection given how "normal" some forms of oppression appear to be, there can be resistance to change behaviours. These strategies will be further conditioned by an individual's position in power hierarchies (i.e. social, education, economic).

One helpful visualization for the range of factors influencing an individual's response is **The Cultural Iceberg Model.** The iceberg illustrates that some factors are visible (above the water line) while others are invisible (below the water line). Core beliefs, norms, and biases are typically only visible during interactions. While the iceberg model is useful for identifying sites where conflict and misunderstanding are possible, it does not offer insights into the process of interactions.

Another possibility is offered by the concept of **Cultural repertoires** which explains that individuals possess or develop various strategies when they encounter a social boundary. This may be best illustrated by an example.

> In WP1, a full-time employed Belgian mother of young children was interviewed about parenting encounters. As a self-described feminist she prefers to keep company with mothers of Belgian descent who also work.
>
> However, because she is of Turkish descent, she finds that at the playground she is often approached by other young mothers of Turkish descent on the presumption that their ethnic group will provide a common worldview.
>
> However many of them do not work due to their views on gender roles. In her own description, the feminist aspects of herself feel more authentic, thus she feels more herself with others who share a feminist perspective.

Several boundaries are described in the above example: ethnicity, gender, age, parenting, and cultural expectations of women. These boundaries are also described in a way that shows they may intersect, overlap and exclude each other. Some of these boundaries are experienced as legitimate, some are neutral, while some may be experienced as unjust.

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[17] Andreas Wimmer, "Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary-making," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31, no. 6 (September 1, 2008): 1025–55.

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In the example above, a feminist mother of young children who is of Turkish descent and living in Belgium draws on a number of cultural repertoires in her interactions and relations with others. She is **Combining cultural repertoires**, as she refers to "Turkish" identity and to being a "minority mother of young children" and to "living in Belgium," which, together, give less emphasis to the category of "feminist". In another situation, she may rely on a different combination of features as she positions herself in the situation.

Since people rely on the cultural repertoires that they know, the number of repertoires a person has increases the variation and diversity of acceptable responses (normative behaviour). A person can come to believe that a limited range of repertoires represents what is "correct". In some situations, prejudicial attitudes can masquerade as an aspect of culture.

Race is shaped by history and serves social and political purposes. The concept of race has changed over time and now is increasingly understood as not being tied to biological markers. Because race is constructed through discourse (social, economic, knowledge), it takes on hierarchies of categories. Through these hierarchies, discourses on race have material consequences. An example from the research on parenting encounters illustrates how racial discourses contribute to unjust treatment.

> In an interview about parenting encounters in schools in Belgium in Project RAISE WP1, a mother of 2 young children talked about her experiences with other parents. While she and her husband had moved to Belgium, both of her children were born in Belgium.
>
> When it was time for the older child to go to school, they were happy with the education he received at the local school. However, she felt the other parents were simply too busy to meet her. She described the atmosphere not as hostile, but neither was it comfortable or friendly.
>
> When their second child was ready to begin school, they chose to enrol both children in a school that is known for more racial, religious, and ethnic diversity. She described for several minutes a number of ways she was invited to participate in school life, at coffee meet-ups for new parents, and in volunteering in the class.

Discrimination based on race is typically understood to be **Racism** but injustice and discrimination also appear in other forms, as will be discussed later. Racism is experienced on multiple levels and across multiple identities, which led Kimberlé Crenshaw to introduce the concept **Intersectionality** in 1989.[18] Intersectionality helped to make visible that marginalization and discrimination are always tied to multiple axes—structural, representational, and political.[19] In everyday life, these axes are not discrete—they function together.

Some racist language, expectations and views of how the world works have become so ubiquitous that they are hardly noticed by those in the dominant group. These become (re)enacted in everyday

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[18] Amanda Gouws, "Feminist Intersectionality and the Matrix of Domination in South Africa," *Agenda* 31, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 20.
[19] Gouws, 20–21.

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relationships at individual, cultural and structural levels resulting in experiences of what Philomena Essed, professor of Critical Race, Gender, and Leadership Studies, calls **Everyday Racism**[20]. She developed a visualization that reflects the interaction of cultural, structural, and individual participation called *The structure of everyday racism*.

In order to further describe the mechanisms of how racist attitudes and notions are transmitted, the notion of Implicit Teaching may be helpful as it focuses on the habits and modelling that reinforce the 'normal' way of doing things which, in turn, reinforces implicit racist norms and bias.

An example of implicit teaching can be found in Project RAISE WP1 in education:

An adult education teacher developed a parent education program for local primary schools to increase participation at school by parents who have immigrated. The teacher attributes a lack of parental participation in the formal education of their children by parents with a migration experience to a single cause: poverty.

This glosses over the variety of cultural attitudes and expectations towards formal education, experiences of trauma, issues in the labour market, gender roles, care of younger children, and any number of other issues, and instead presumes the European expectation of parental involvement in children's education to be the only possible model.

This bias is taught implicitly not only by the structure, delivery, and location of the program but also directly in its content. The program is taught at school by adult educators from the majority group in a lecture format. Both the structure (organised start and end time, one event) and format (lecture) reinforces distance and hierarchical relationships between professional educators and parents who have immigrated. The prepared content anticipates what might be preventing parental involvement and addresses these potential causes with a call to responsibility. This leaves little room for curiosity about the actual situation and experiences of the parents.

In contrast, a local school in another area of the project, uses a different strategy to increase parental involvement. Parents at the school come from a variety of socio-economic, educational, ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds. They offer informal meetings at alternating times (mornings, evenings) where parents share strategies for school involvement. A more casual and equal style of communication lowers the boundaries, makes room for multiple approaches, and has shown involvement across different groups.

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[20] Philomena Essed, *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, Inc., 1991).

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Since the implicit transmission of bias is not done with intention, it touches the full range of interactions and can be found in informal settings as well as in formal ones. This is one of the mechanisms by which frameworks and structures that support and reinforce discrimination continue to do so.

Across Europe, studies have shown that implicit bias leads to explicit kinds of **Discrimination** in a variety of blind interactions such as health, employment opportunities, or housing. This discrimination creates physical boundaries (neighbourhoods, stores where certain foods can be purchased, etc) as well as social boundaries that perpetuate inequalities which, in turn, reinforce the implicit biases. **The pyramid of discrimination and violence** helps to visualise increasing levels of threat in discriminatory acts while acknowledging that they are all based in attitudes and beliefs.

This brings to light the reality that, in a particular incident, people can play a variety of

Roles in Discrimination and Violence. These include central roles like **Victim, Perpetrator,** or **Bystander.** But even these roles are not discrete as shown in the **Victim-Perpetrator-Bystander constellation**[21]. Within each of these roles is the possibility of the others. This constellation is based on research that shows that when an individual witnesses an act of discrimination and violence, there are a range of responses that people take, known as the **Upstander/Active** bystander

> Active bystanders or upstanders are those who intervene in some way when they witness discrimination. The intervention should fit the expression of discrimination. For example, microaggressions, expressed as exclusive or discriminating behaviour, can be confronted with questions. In a similar way, prejudicial comments may be confronted with questions. Asking a person to explain the racist joke or comment takes the power out of their assumption that 'everyone' agrees or understands their attitude to be normal.

> Active bystanders act on a feeling of responsibility for the safety and equality of others.

Bystander Effect**.**[22]

As a result of this, there are calls for witnesses to take on an active intervention to become an **Upstander/Active bystander.**[23] It has been suggested that people are more likely to intervene in a situation when they have a sense of belonging to the space and each other.[24] the **Diversity and Super-Diversity**[25] that is present in major cities and increasingly visible in suburban and more rural

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[21] Robert M. Ehrenreich and Tim Cole, "The Perpetrator-Bystander-Victim Constellation: Rethinking Genocidal Relationships," *Human Organization* 64, no. 3 (September 8, 2005): 216.

[22] John M. Darley and Bibb Latane, "Bystander Intervention in Emergencies: Diffusion of Responsibility.," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 8, no. 4, Pt.1 (1968): 377–83.

[23] An example of a recent empirical study on active v. passive bystanders in workplace bullying see: Kara Ng, Karen Niven, and Guy Notelaers, "Does Bystander Behavior Make a Difference? How Passive and Active Bystanders in the Group Moderate the Effects of Bullying Exposure," *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology* 27, no. 1 (February 2022): 119–35.

[24] For a brief discussion on the analysis of how built space encourages or discourages the formation of relationships and belonging see Eric Klinenberg, *Palaces for the People: How Social Infrastructure Can Help Fight Inequality, Polarization, and the Decline of Civic Life*, First Edition (New York: Crown, 2018), 55–60.

[25] To capture such processes of demographic and cultural diversification, and the rather complex social situation that emerges from it, the notion of super-diversity has been coined (Vertovec, 2007). It is often presented as challenging approaches in migration studies and ethnic studies which use an "ethno-focal lens" as it calls for more attention to "the conjunction of ethnicity with a range of other variables" such as gender, religion, social class, sexual orientation, age, and language (Vertovec, 2007: 1025; see also Foner et al., 2019);

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communities. But the presence of many different cultures, ethnic, religious, or gender groups in a given community does not guarantee interaction or equality between the groups. Recent research suggests that superdiverse cities actually make it easier for people to stay within cultural or ethnic boundaries.[26]

The desire to stay within a cultural community can be attributed to the fear of those outside a given group. **Xenophobia**, when public fear is stoked against a particular group of people who have migrated are made into an out-group, is a stance that is typically associated with conservative parties that oppose immigration. Yet, in Europe's secular democracies there can is a **Secularist bias** that opposes public expressions of religion that can be attributed to particular out-groups. Still, it is rarely all those involved in migration who are the intended targets, usually a particular group is the target of the fear. In Western Europe, this tends to be directed at young men of colour who are, or are presumed to be, Muslim. [27]

Whiteness as a notion largely developed among people of European heritage who were actively making exclusionary boundaries as part of their own nation-building projects.[28] Many people—and not only those of European heritage—take **White as normative** especially where "racial presence, difference and particularity of white people is invisible and undisturbed".[29]

Still found in social, political, religious, educational and economic systems of former colonies of western nations, whiteness was constructed to serve the nation-building projects.[30] This construct continues to justify **Unearned advantage** in many of these same systems worldwide (social, political, religion, education, business). Western societies have benefitted from the subjugation and exploitation of people around the world as well as natural resources. [31] These benefits have contributed to building up the very systems that created the unearned advantage.

In communities around the world, whiteness dominates the power structure; it is hegemonic**. White Hegemony** lingers not only in Europe but also in countries around the world that were colonized by European nations. This continues through corporate or business interests and in politics. It is also present in NGOs where aid is provided with particular expectations or requirements.[32] Places where one might expect to find an egalitarian stance, can be surprisingly unequal.

Ariadne Driezen, Noel Clycq, and Gert Verschraegen, "In Search of a Cool Identity: How Young People Negotiate Religious and Ethnic Boundaries in a Superdiverse Context," *Ethnicities* 23, no. 1 (October 11, 2022): 4–5.

[26] For example: "daily encounters with difference in public spaces involve two different levels of interactions between people: at an individual level performed within the rules of civic inattention, and at a group level, featured by often persistent prejudice towards specific groups. From her ethnographic findings she concludes that interpersonal interactions that are performed within the rules of civil inattention are guided by a mere mode of being together in public."; See also Hamid Nilforoshan et al., "Human Mobility Networks Reveal Increased Segregation in Large Cities," *Nature* 624 (2023): 586–92.

[27] Michelle Hale Williams, "Can Leopards Change Their Spots? Between Xenophobia and Trans-Ethnic Populism among West European Far Right Parties," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 16, no. 1 (March 1, 2010): 111.

[28] HyeRan Kim-Cragg, "The Emperor Has No Clothes!: Exposing Whiteness as Explicit, Implicit, and Null Curricula," *Religious Education* 114, no. 3 (May 27, 2019): 239–40.

[29] Gouws, "Feminist Intersectionality and the Matrix of Domination in South Africa," 23.

[30] Kim-Cragg, "The Emperor Has No Clothes!," 240.

[31] Taylor & Habibis, 2023, p.3

[32] Gemma Bird and Davide Schmid, "Humanitarianism and the 'Migration Fix': On the Implication of NGOs in Racial Capitalism and the Management of Relative Surplus Populations," *Geopolitics* 28, no. 3 (May 27, 2023): 1235–61; Beata Paragi, "Hegemonic Solidarity? NGO Perceptions on Power, Solidarity, and Cooperation with Their Donors," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 41, no. 2 (2016): 98–115; Maïka Sondarjee, "Coloniality of

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An even stronger stance would be engaging in **Anti-Racism** which would recognise the racist behaviours, actions, or policies and then take action to make material changes.[33] However, in many cases anti-racism stops short of these goals through a process of **White centring** that continues to focus on the moral goodness of the white majority who dislike racism.[34]

White centring can be expressed in a variety of ways including **Colour-blindness**[35], the denial of race and rejection that racism happens *here*, and **Diversity-seekers**[36], whites moving into culturally diverse neighbourhoods as a way to value the concept of diversity. Both of these are forms of a kind of **Nonperformativity of antiracism** in which whiteness remains the central perspective and statements against racism are the only action taken.[37] Not only does nonperformative antiracism not take action against racism, the stance itself is a denial that racism exists and has real consequences, thereby reinforcing the negation, silencing of experiences of non-whites.

To truly effect change, anti-racism must be coupled with a **liberatory praxis** that recognises racism, centres the experience of marginalised people and groups, and participates in cooperative action.[38]

Epistemic Power in International Practices: NGO Inclusion in World Bank Policymaking," *Global Society* 0, no. 0 (2023): 1–23.

[33] Tariq Modood and Thomas Sealy, "Beyond Euro-Americancentric Forms of Racism and Anti-Racism," *The Political Quarterly* 93, no. 3 (2022): 433–41; Sara Ahmed, "The Nonperformativity of Antiracism," *Meridians* 7, no. 1 (2006): 104–26; Carolin Müller, "Anti-Racism in Europe: An Intersectional Approach to the Discourse on Empowerment through the EU Anti-Racism Action Plan 2020–2025," *Social Sciences* 10, no. 4 (April 2021): 137.

[34] Sarah Mayorga-Gallo, "The White-Centering Logic of Diversity Ideology," *American Behavioral Scientist* 63, no. 13 (November 1, 2019): 1789–1809.

[35] Ariana Rose, "'Dutch Racism Is Not Like Anywhere Else': Refusing Color-Blind Myths in Black Feminist Otherwise Spaces," *Gender & Society* 36, no. 2 (April 1, 2022): 239–63; Dan Rodríguez-García, "The Persistence of Racial Constructs in Spain: Bringing Race and Colorblindness into the Debate on Interculturalism," *Social Sciences* 11, no. 1 (2022): 13; Zenia Hellgren, this link will open in a new window Link to external site, and Bálint Ábel Bereményi, "Introduction to the Special Issue: Far from Colorblind. Reflections on Racialization in Contemporary Europe," *Social Sciences* 11, no. 1 (2022): 21.

[36] Talja Blokland and Gwen van Eijk, "Do People Who Like Diversity Practice Diversity in Neighbourhood Life? Neighbourhood Use and the Social Networks of 'Diversity-Seekers' in a Mixed Neighbourhood in the Netherlands," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36, no. 2 (February 1, 2010): 313–32.

[37] Ahmed, "The Nonperformativity of Antiracism."

[38] Kirsten van der Ham, "White Racism and Dutch Churches: In Search of Liberative Practices," *NTT Journal for Theology and the Study of Religion* 77, no. 1 (April 1, 2023): 1–21; Amy Casteel, "Making Progress or Perpetuating Power?: A Look at (de)Colonial Approaches in Theologies of Migration," in *(De)Coloniality and Religious Practices: Liberating Hope*, vol. 2, International Academy of Practical Theology. Conference Series (Tübingen: Indexus Theologicus, 2021), 90–97; Falguni A. Sheth, "The Veil, Transparency, and the Deceptive Conceit of Liberalism," *philoSOPHIA* 9, no. 1 (Winter 2019): 53–72; Charmaine Roche and Jonathan Passmore, "'We Do Not See Color!': How Executive Coaching Can Help Leaders to Create Inclusive Corporate Cultures by Acknowledging Structural Racism in Its Ecosystem," *Consulting Psychology Journal* 75, no. 1 (2023): 5-31.

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Annotated Glossary

This document is not meant to provide comprehensive, thick descriptions of these very complex terms. Instead this glossary is meant to frame how the terms are used in Project RAISE. There are several sources listed for each term as a beginning point for further elaboration.

Structural Discrimination

Relating primarily to a society, structural discrimination brings together the injustice and inequalities that are based on social constructions of group demarcations which are then embedded into laws, rules, codes of conduct becoming part of the socio-cultural, educational, economic and juridical systems.[39] Rather than focus on an individual experience or a particular issue, a structural view of discrimination tries to account for the varied and complex social mechanisms that result in discriminatory, racialised ideologies and practices[40].

The norms, rules, practices, habits and expectations that reproduce inequalities that consequently accumulate in time and scope – either because of earlier discrimination in the same social sphere (*past-in-present discrimination*) or because of discrimination in (an)other social sphere(s) (*side-effect discrimination*).

Institutional Discrimination

At a somewhat smaller level, institutional discrimination occurs between an institution and a group or an individual when that institution enforces or enacts the group demarcations that are embedded in a given society.

Contemporary policies and practices of dominant institutions based upon laws, norms, rules, regulations and procedures that determine access to resources and by intention have a differential and exclusionary impact on member of a subordinate group.

Educational institutions have been shown to play an influential role in institutional discrimination, linking structural policies with individual acts of inequality and injustice. Not only do schools, and the teachers in them, communicate and enact a society's norms , schools serve to provide or limit access to further education and to socio-economic outcomes. Studies in the Netherlands have linked schools as a main context of 'everyday racism'.[41] While the details of the experiences of discrimination differ,

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[39] Bailey, Feldman, and Bassett, "How Structural Racism Works — Racist Policies as a Root Cause of U.S. Racial Health Inequities," 768.

[40] Shreya Atrey, "Structural Racism and Race Discrimination," *Current Legal Problems* 74, no. 1 (December 1, 2021): 1–34.

[41] See Chapter 6 in Philomena Essed, *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, Inc., 1991).

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the experience of reinforcing majority norms and denying difference can also be found throughout work package 1 in Poland[42], Hungary[43], and Belgium[44] As well as in other countries.

Statistical discrimination

This includes actions which are based not on personal racism or prejudice but on perceptions of a minority group as having certain characteristics which will have negative consequences for the organisation (based on statistical interference in the absence of perfect information).

Boundary-Making

Boundaries

Boundaries between people are made, re-made and re-enforced on multiple levels including the categorical (formal) and the social (everyday). This falls in line with the description of boundaries from the 2008 publications by the Swiss sociologist, Andreas Wimmer:

> A boundary displays both a categorical structural and a social or behavioural dimension. The former refers to acts of social classification and collective representation; the latter to everyday networks of relationships that result from individual acts of connecting and distancing [45]

Boundaries occur at multiple levels and are, therefore, not simply reflections of societal norms.

Individual acts of connecting and distancing

Embodied actions that communicate connection, distance, or a combination thereof. Both formal and everyday boundaries are, to some degree, permeable. Individual actors may respect, confront, blur, shift, or otherwise contribute to expressions of boundaries.

In line with the descriptions of boundaries by Wimmer (2008), individual actors can be considered as "constrained" by institutional environments, distribution of power, and the networks of alliances when interacting with boundaries.[46]

Expressions of boundaries

There are a variety of behaviours and strategies that are used to (re)enforce a boundary[47].

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[42] Gizem Karaköse and Filiz Göktuna Yaylacı, "International Migration and Integration: Turkish Immigrants in Poland," *Migration Letters* 20, no. 2 (March 22, 2023): 155–69; Brianna L. Kennedy, Merel Habraken, and Suzanne N. Melfor, "Assaults on Belonging: How Dutch Youth without 'Blue Eyes, Cheese, and Clogs' Experience Everyday Racism in Educational Contexts," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 26, no. 5 (July 29, 2023): 642–62; Essed, *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*.

[43] Anikó Fehérvári and Krisztián Széll, "Roma or Non-Roma: How Are Teachers' and School Heads' Perceptions and Self-Identification of Roma Students Related in Hungary?," *Intercultural Education* 0, no. 0 (2024): 1–18.

[44] Kalter and Kogan, "Ethnic Inequalities at the Transition from School to Work in Belgium and Spain"; Charlotte Maene, Ronan Van Rossem, and Peter Stevens, "Entangled Identities and Acculturation: Comparing Majority and Minority Adolescents' Multiple Identity Profiles in Belgium," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 85 (November 2021): 112–21.

[45] Andreas Wimmer, "The Making and Unmaking of Ethnic Boundaries: A Multilevel Process Theory," *American Journal of Sociology* 113, no. 4 (January 2008): 975.

[46] Phalet et al., "The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries," 990.

[47] Duemmler, "The Exclusionary Side Effects of the Civic Integration Paradigm," 392.

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        Essentialised assumptions (positive or negative)[48]
        Networking and community building techniques/strategies[49]
        Definitional characteristics of group members
        Power relations[50]
        Clear or overt explanations of boundaries, exclusions
        Propagation of a norm or stigma[51]
        Classificatory practices[52]
        Racialization[53]
        Performativity[54]

     Symbolic Boundaries[55]

Symbolic boundaries serve as the social barriers to belonging and welcome. They are collectively shared conventions; they operate as unconscious toolkits, providing individuals and groups with the

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[48] "in positive and sometimes admiring comments about the 'wonderful Roma culture and languages transmitted over centuries', their 'strong focus on family values', their 'artistic and specifically musical talents' or simply 'being happy folk'. While these seemingly positive ideas appeared to counter the more unfavourable or outright dehumanizing narratives about Roma, they were equally essentialising forms of boundary-making in that they perpetuated the idea of Roma people as separate, distinct 'others'." Taulant Guma, "The Making of a 'Risk Population': Categorisations of Roma and Ethnic Boundary-Making among Czech- and Slovak-Speaking Migrants in Glasgow," *Identities* 26, no. 6 (2019): 677–78.

[49] "The shift in services and resources from the more general category of EU nationals or Slovak and Czech migrants to the more restrictive target group of 'the Roma population' or 'Roma clients' gave salience to the divide Roma/ non-Roma as the socially relevant boundary. This, in turn, required and at the same time reinforced essentialising and racialised ideas about 'the Roma' as a clear-cut and homogeneous group, making invisible the heterogeneity I came across during my fieldwork" Guma, 683.

[50] Power hierarchies derive from – and perpetuate – objective group differences in access to resources. See: Wimmer, "Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary Making"; Phalet et al., "The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries," 130.

[51] "…discourses and encounters between Scottish residents and migrants on the ground as processes of stigmatisation, highlighting the asymmetric power relations between non-Roma Scottish residents ('the stigmatiser') and Roma ('the stigmatised')." Guma, "The Making of a 'Risk Population,'" 671.

[52] When a support worker asked the informant to "confirm" their ethnic identity as Roma, a boundary was created in two ways. First, "…presupposed Roma to be a strict either/or category which Mr Búrik's reply of 'half' called into question. Secondly, the classificatory practice of ticking the 'Roma box' immediately created a social distance…" Guma, 680.; "Thus, although it was (non-Roma) Slovak/Czech migrants working in frontline services who often enacted various classificatory practices vis-à vis the Roma population, these practices were significantly enabled, delegated and reinforced by non-migrant actors and policy-makers." Guma, 681.

[53] *Towards a Political Theology of Race* links **racialization to the production and maintenance of a hierarchized social order** that protects the economic privilege of a small group. See: Falguni A. Sheth, "The Production of Acceptable Muslim Women in the United States: Sheth   Production of Acceptable Muslim Women," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 77, no. 4 (2019): 411–22.

[54] "…theories of performativity call for a nuanced analysis of its specific performances in concrete situations, and disclose the specific situations under which the Christian message of salvation acquires its particular meaning. Such a reconstruction of Christian tradition will reveal the variegated ways in which people in different societies have embodied Christian identity." Judith Gruber, "White Innocence / White Supremacy in: Interdisciplinary Journal for Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society," *Interdisciplinary Journal for Religion and Transformation in Contemporary Society* 7, no. 2 (2021): 531].

[55] Knipprath, "From Culturalisation to Individuation," 2016.

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means to make sense of the world around them.[56] They can be enforced top down, but are often enforced from the ground up (e.g. religious communities).[57]

In a broad sense, symbolic boundaries are the groups of social norms, acceptable attitudes and practices that are used to create a sense of who belongs and who does not. This can be extended to include types of entertainment, art, or music that represent these symbolic boundaries.[58]

The role of symbolic boundaries in education can include the vocabulary and cultural references that are part of the (majority) dominant group.[59] This, according to Bourdieu, perpetuates and reproduces class privileges by defining what "legitimate culture" can be.[60] This, in turn, can modulate a person's tolerance of inequality. Going one step further, symbolic boundaries, when used to define what is considered acceptable, shape people's views on "moral obligation" towards those consider to belong and those considered as other.[61]

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[56] Aryan Karimi and Rima Wilkes, "Assimilated or the Boundary of Whiteness Expanded? A Boundary Model of Group Belonging," *The British Journal of Sociology* 74, no. 2 (2023): 189–204; Michèle Lamont, Sabrina Pendergrass, and Mark Pachucki, "Symbolic Boundaries," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences (Second Edition)*, ed. James D. Wright (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), 850–55.

[57] Religious boundary-making is enforced from the bottom up through binding social ties (social closure) and shared cultural preferences (cultural maintenance See: Phalet et al., "The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries," 128.

[58] Vincenzo Cicchelli et al., "'Because We All Love K-Pop': How Young Adults Reshape Symbolic Boundaries in Paris, Manchester, and Philadelphia," *The British Journal of Sociology* 74, no. 1 (2023): 17–34.

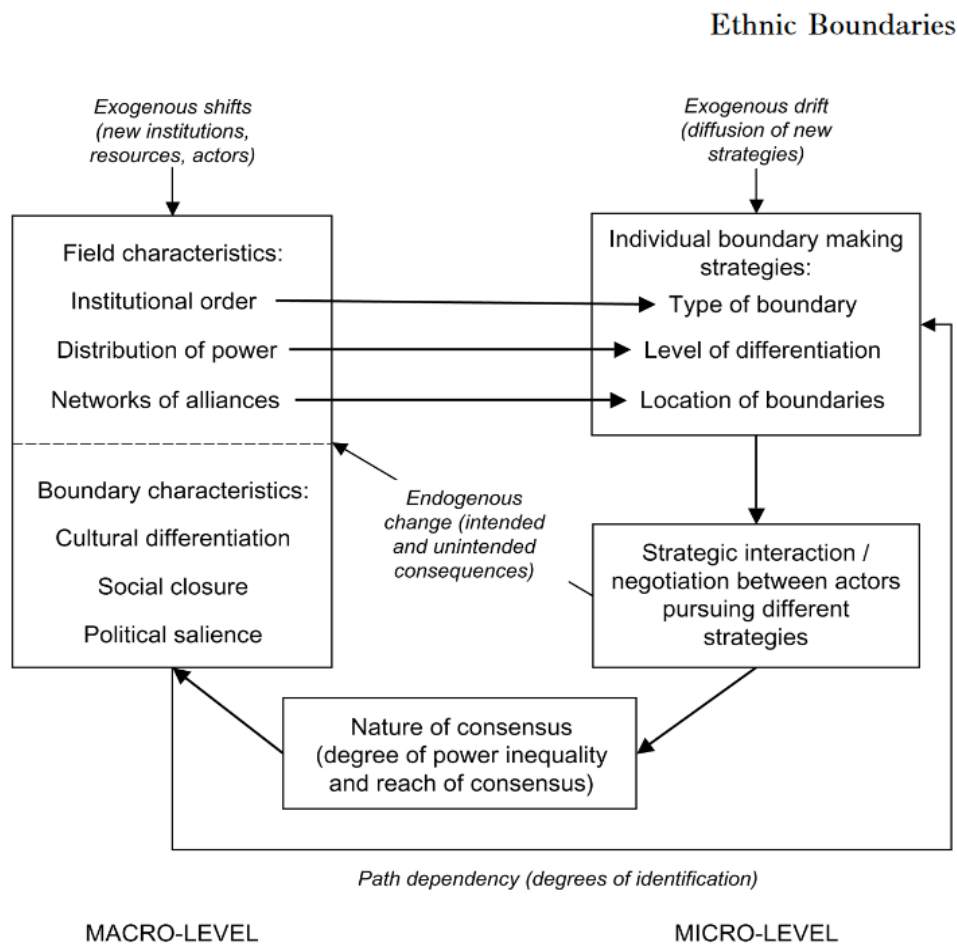[59] Lamont, Pendergrass, and Pachucki, "Symbolic Boundaries," 851.

[60] Lamont, Pendergrass, and Pachucki, 852.

[61] Penny Edgell et al., "The Stakes of Symbolic Boundaries," *The Sociological Quarterly* 61, no. 2 (April 2, 2020).

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Process Model for ethnic boundaries[62]

Andreas Wimmer[63] described how boundaries that exist between groups of people develop, are reinforced, and become part of the social order. This process takes into account the micro-level (individuals) and the macro-level (institutions and societies). There are external pressures that exert force at the macro or the micro level as well as internal pressures between the interactions of groups of actors and the institutions. This model recognizes the complex range of forces that both re-enforce and challenge existing boundaries.

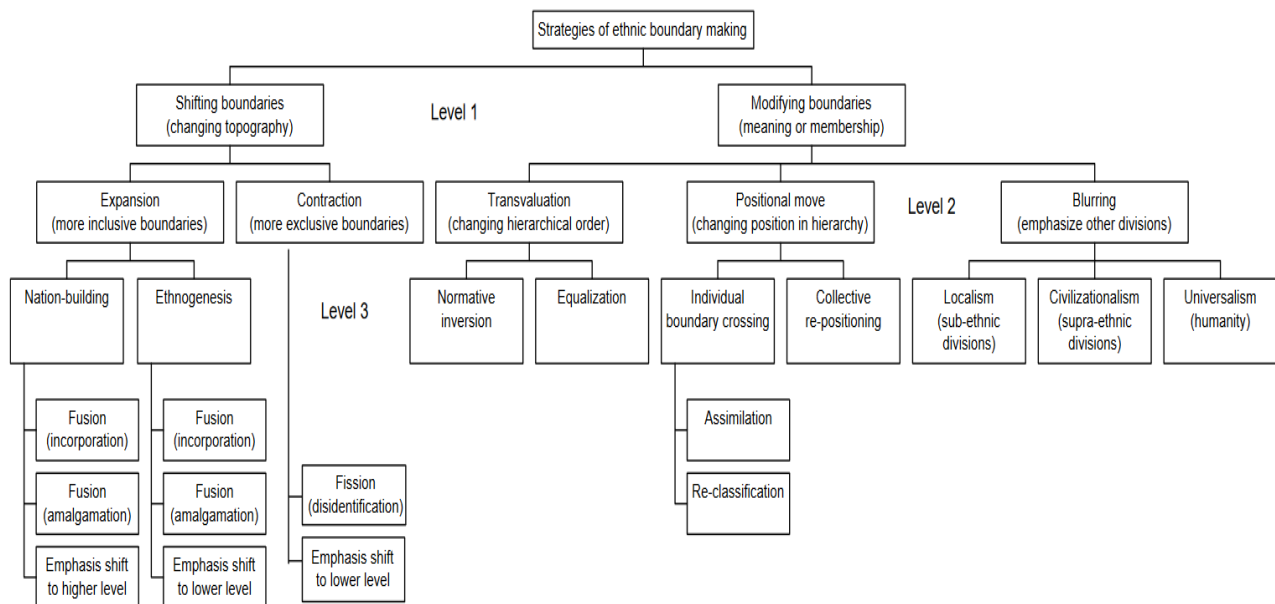
Process model of the (un)making of ethnic boundaries.

Wimmer, Andreas. "The making and unmaking of ethnic boundaries: A multilevel process theory." American journal of sociology 113, no. 4 (2008): 970-1022.

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[62] Phalet et al., "The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries," 1009.
[63] Phalet et al., "The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries."

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Taxonomy of ethnic boundary-making strategies

Strategies of boundary-making have been organized into three levels by Andreas Wimmer[64] in the field of sociology. The first level offers only two options: changing the location of the boundary or changing the definition of the boundary itself. Further than this are strategies that increase what can be included or what can be excluded.

Taxonomy of boundary-making strategies

Andreas Wimmer (2008) Elementary strategies of ethnic boundary-making, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 31:6, 1025-1055: p.1044.

Altering Boundaries[65]

Shift: moving the location (definition) of the boundary by:

Expansion: grouping existing categories into a new, larger category

Contraction: to draw a tighter, more limited category

Modify: moving the meaning of the boundary by challenging the current hierarchy of categories to change the normative expectations (also known as inversion).

Reposition: move one's position in a hierarchical system or in relationship to the boundary

Blurred: re-focusing group boundaries around something other than ethnicity/race/religion in order to include or exclude specific others

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[64] Wimmer, "Elementary Strategies of Ethnic Boundary Making."
[65] Phalet et al., "The Making and Unmaking of Religious Boundaries," 986–89.

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Continuous negotiation

Boundaries are continuously negotiated, since social actors engage in struggles over social categories and distinctions in a variety of settings
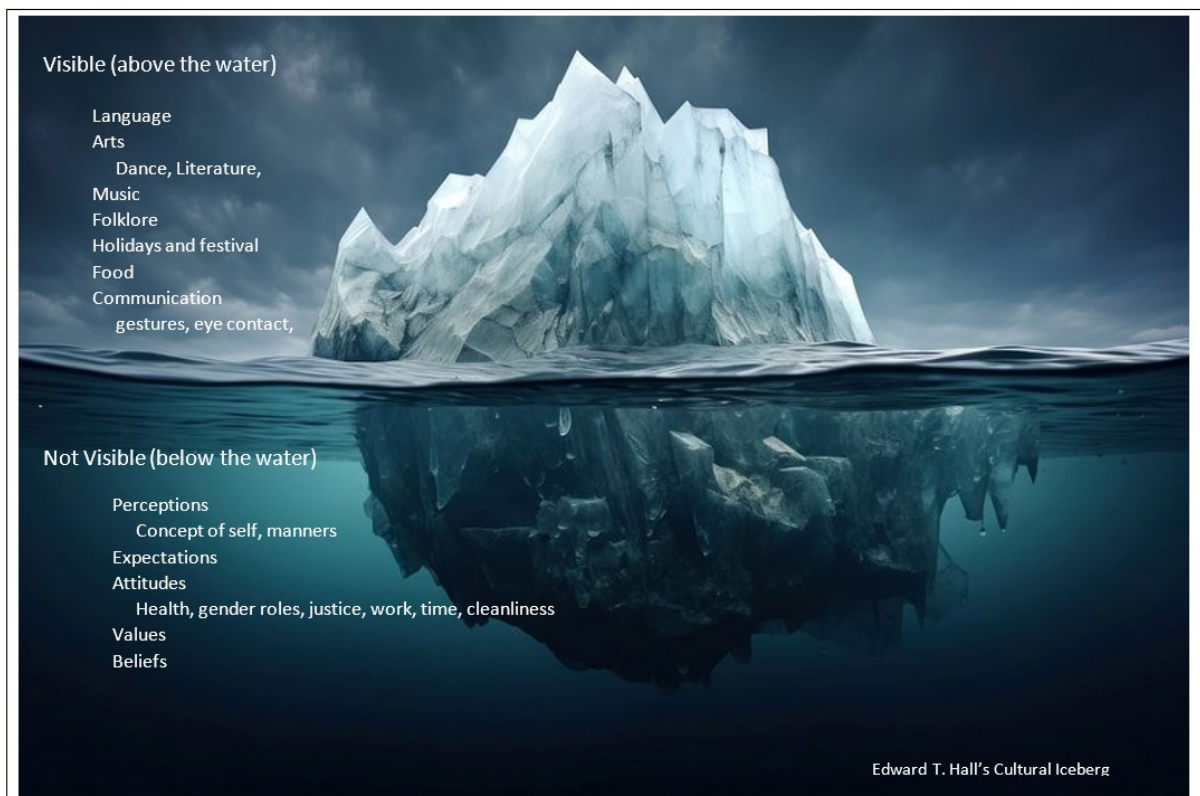
> …the (re)production of social differences and the inclusion or exclusion of immigrant groups in educational settings. Many of these studies reconstruct how schools as institutions contribute to the exclusion and inclusion of immigrants by depicting formal (e.g. curricula) and informal mechanisms (e.g. interactions between teachers and students) that produce social differences

It is in this continuous negotiation that social differences are created, maintained, or crossed.[66]

The Cultural Iceberg Model[67]

A staple in intercultural studies, Hall's cultural iceberg ties the abstract concepts of visible and hidden culture to an image of an iceberg. The underwater portion of the iceberg, what is not visible, is larger than what is above the water, what is visible. In a similar way, a person's (or culture's) perceptions, attitudes, values and beliefs form the invisible structure that supports the behaviours we can see.

In project RAISE, this model helps to bring to mind that discrimination occurs not only in visible actions, but that those actions relate to, and can reveal, hidden culture. In Project RAISE, we are looking for ways both visible and hidden culture contribute to various forms of racism and discrimination.

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[66] Duemmler, "The Exclusionary Side Effects of the Civic Integration Paradigm," 379.
[67] The analogy by Edward T. Hall of culture as an iceberg has been popularised in a variety of visual images. Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976).

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Cultural repertoires

According to sociologist Ann Swidler (1986),The concept of cultural repertoires explains that 'culture' provides various 'capacities' from which skills or strategies may be formed. A culture or individual's repertoire is both informed and constrained through its range of 'ordinary' patterns and organizing.[68]

Combining cultural repertoires

That concept continues in use to mean "a set of knowledge, skills, and symbols that provide the materials form which individuals and groups construct strategies of action" and that more than one repertoire can be consulted so that individuals may blend into a "cultural toolkit" from which they can apply various strategies to a given relationship/situation.[69]

Racism

Is a form of prejudice and discrimination against members, or suspected members, of a specific group. It is a practice that involves essentialising differences of a given group. This is primarily based on physical characteristics where differences become categories with hierarchies and boundaries between groups. Racism often extends to include customs, practices, traits that are typically considered cultural.[70]

Race

Functionally, race is a label that serves social and political functions and is not based in biology or science. The manner in which the term is used has its roots in religious conflicts and colonization. The concept of race has been used to justify various political and social forms of segregation and slavery.[71]

Racialisation

Traced back to the use of the terms white or western/European by colonisers in order to create a distinction. Tariq Modoo and Thomas Sealy describe it as the 'othering' of a subordinate group by a dominant one.[72]

Intersectionality

Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the notion of **Intersectionality** in 1989 to make visible that the marginalization of Black women occurs on multiple axes structural, representational, and political.[73] Power dynamics and structural injustice within these axes work together against women of colour. By utilizing a matrix instead of binaries, intersectionality challenges single-axis thinking.[74]

Matrix thinking is a powerful tool, according to Amanda Gouws, Chair in Gender Politics at University of Stellenbosch, when it is combined with **liberatory praxis**.

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[68] Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 2 (1986): 273–86.

[69] Shira Zilberstein, Michèle Lamont, and Mari Sanchez, "Recreating a Plausible Future: Combining Cultural Repertoires in Unsettled Times," *Sociological Science* 10 (May 3, 2023): 349.

[70] Modood and Sealy, "Beyond Euro-Americancentric Forms of Racism and Anti-Racism," 433–35.

[71] Jane H. Hill, *The Everyday Language of White Racism*, Blackwell Studies in Discourse and Culture 3 (Chichester, U.K. ; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 1–30.

[72] Modood and Sealy, "Beyond Euro-Americancentric Forms of Racism and Anti-Racism," 434.

[73] Gouws, "Feminist Intersectionality and the Matrix of Domination in South Africa," 20–21.
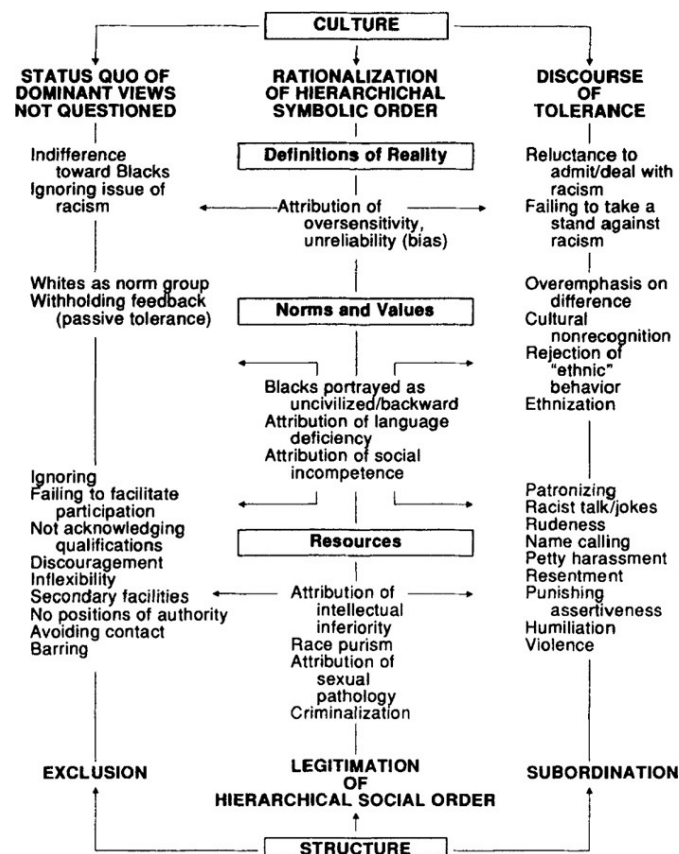
[74] Gouws, 21.

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Everyday Racism[75]

Everyday racism refers to the various complex of racist practices that have become accepted as a normal part of everyday life. It goes some way towards explaining "the (re)production of racial inequality" by linking racism in both institutional and relational contexts.[76] These include the day-to-day indignities, microaggressions and other types of mistreatment that privileged groups enact towards members of disadvantaged groups.

The structure of everyday racism[77]

Philomena Essed[78] developed this model to show the interaction of a complex of strategies used to (re) produce racism through culture and structures in everyday interactions.

Implicit Teaching

In the discipline of education, education can be understood to as delivered in three ways: explicit, implicit and null curriculum. Cultural attitudes and norms are also delivered in these three ways in both formal and informal teaching. Embedded within these cultural norms are hidden attitudes about those who do and do not conform, **implicit bias**. Whiteness is considered normative across European cultures and this is embedded in such things as civility (to be civilized) where "It professes to accord equality to all and to promote care for the less advantaged, upholding high and noble moral codes."[79]

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[75] App that helps people become aware https://alltogethernow.org.au/our-work/everyday-racism/
[76] Essed, *Understanding Everyday Racism: An Interdisciplinary Theory*, 185–282.
[77] Essed, 185–282.
[78] Essed, 185–282.
[79] Kim-Cragg, "The Emperor Has No Clothes!," 240.
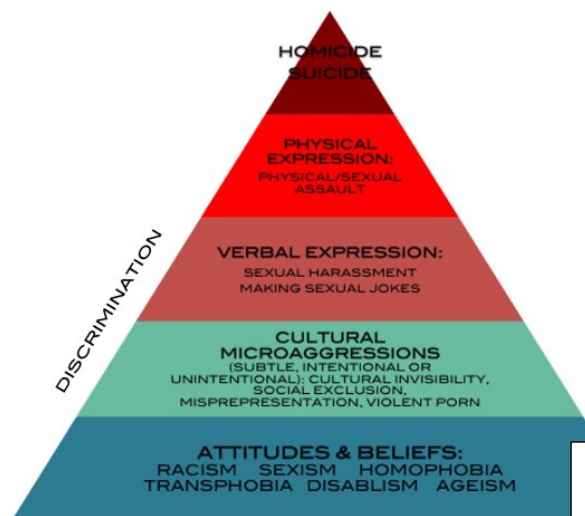
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In other words, everyday explanations and understandings of how the world functions and why, the anthropologic concept of folk theory[80], are transferred through the language, modelling, and expectations. They are communicated through implicit teaching.

Discrimination

The concept of discrimination is unjust action taken against a particular person or group of persons and includes both attitudes and actions. It is asserting that one has the power to separate things based on difference—particularly in a manner that assigns a hierarchy of goodness, worth or value. Sexism, racism, class, socioeconomic, ability/disability, immigration are all biases that lead to unjust discrimination.

The pyramid of discrimination and violence[81]

The underlying **attitudes and beliefs** of a culture or individual lie beneath their behaviours (see Cultural Iceberg). **Microaggressions** seem small to those committing them—they're body language, phrases, expressions, jokes and/or stereotypes. Some of these can be everyday phrases that a person may use without intended to harm another or understanding that the phrases serve to maintain and uphold discrimination. The **verbal expression** of prejudice can be used to hurt or harass others or to prove one's superior position. Such statements may also be used to try to determine whether their interlocuter is supportive, neutral, or against their prejudicial position. **Physical expression** may include a full range of violence used to assert control (intimidation to assault).

Anti-racist attitudes and actions may be performed and still result in microaggressions

Roles in Discrimination and Violence

In acts of discrimination sometimes there are very clear roles during the interaction. The typical descriptions correspond with what actually happened.

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[80] Hill, *The Everyday Language of White Racism*, 5–11.

[81] Adapted by Calgary Communities Against Sexual Abuse (2013)"Pyramid of Sexual Violence" from Sarah McMahon and Victoria L. Banyard, "When Can I Help? A Conceptual Framework for the Prevention of Sexual Violence Through Bystander Intervention," *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse* 13, no. 1 (January 1, 2012): 3–14; See also: Anti-Defamation League (2018) "Pyramid of Hate"
https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/pyramid-of-hate.pdf

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Victim

The intended recipient of the act of discrimination or violence (typically in an attempt to exert, reinforce, or demonstrate control).

Perpetrator

The person who enacts the discriminatory and violent act(s)—intentionally or otherwise.

Bystander

A person who is not involved in an incident but is present in the area. The first step is noticing that something is taking place.
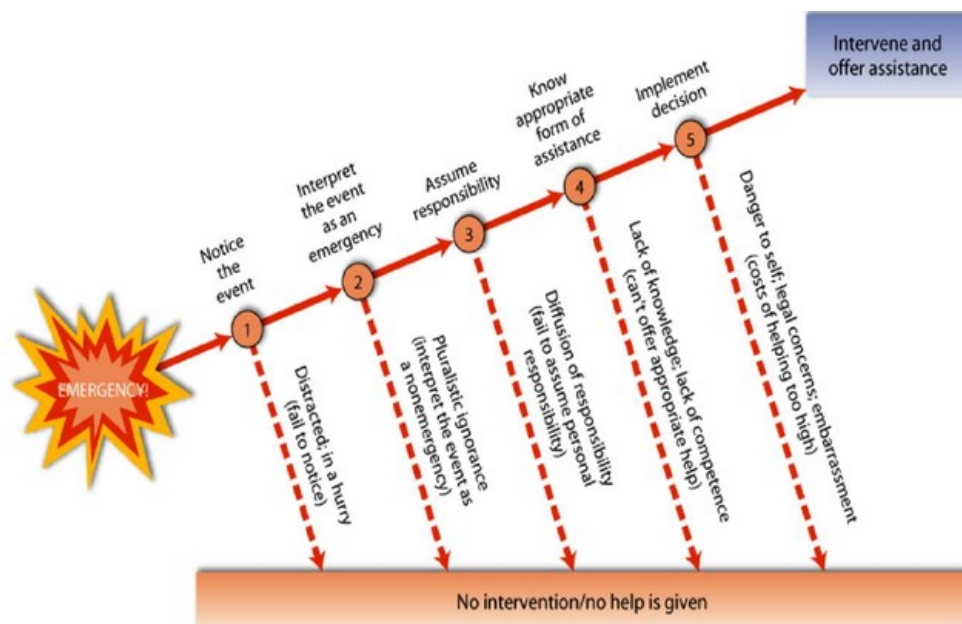
Upstander/Active bystander[82]

Active bystanders or upstanders are those who intervene in some way when they witness discrimination. The intervention should fit the expression of discrimination. For example, microaggressions, expressed as exclusive or discriminating behaviour, can be confronted with questions. In a similar way, prejudicial comments may be confronted with questions. Asking a person to explain the racist joke or comment takes the power out of their assumption that 'everyone' agrees or understands their attitude to be normal.

Active bystanders act on a feeling of responsibility for the safety and equality of others.

Bystander Effect[83]

Even in a public place, people may notice an act of discrimination but do nothing to actively support or oppose it. The first thing a bystander must do is to become aware of the situation. Second, to recognise intervention is needed. After that, a bystander must determine both their responsibility to intervene and what kind of intervention is possible. Finally, to make a decision and act. The Bystander Intervention Model was developed by Latané & Darley.
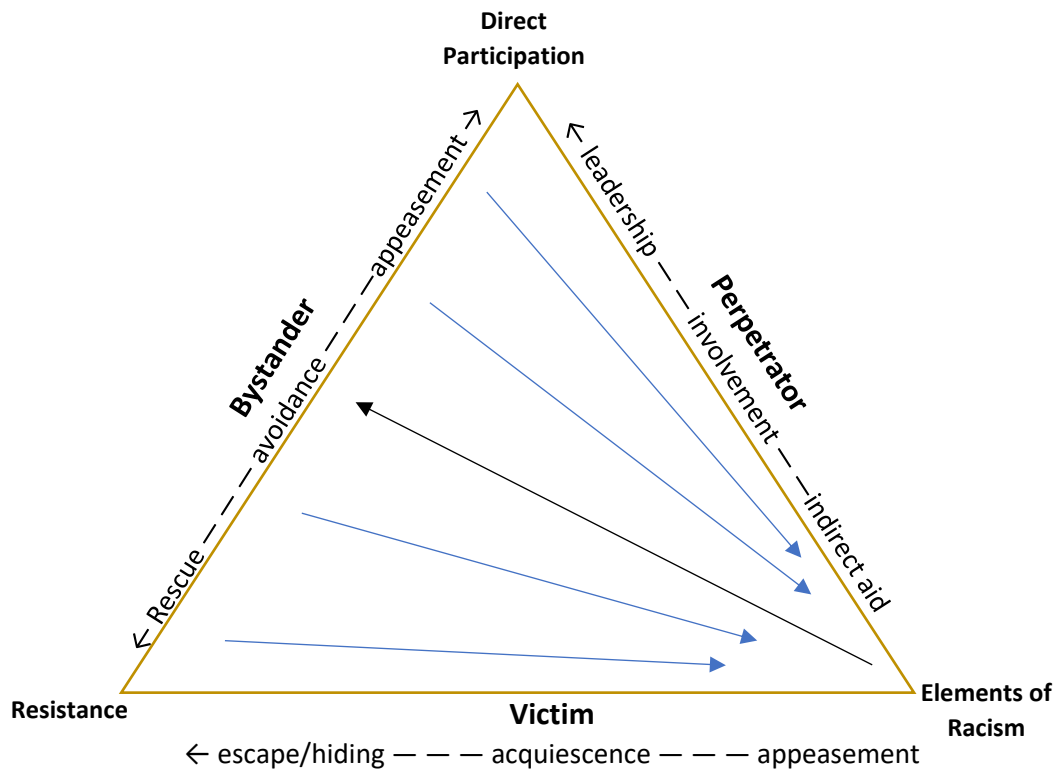

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[82] https://righttobe.org/guides/bystander-intervention-training/

[83] Bystander Intervention Model by Darley and Latane, "Bystander Intervention in Emergencies."
as used in H. Colleen Sinclair, "When Good People Do Nothing: On Bystanders and Border Camps," Pyschology Today, September 15, 2020.

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Victim-Perpetrator-Bystander constellation[84]

The roles of victim-perpetrator-bystander are not necessarily straightforward. There can be a range of action/responsibility within each role. For example a perpetrator may take direct action with the victim, or they may be in leadership over the person(s) taking action. There are also those who, indirectly, make it possible for the perpetrator(s) to take that action. For example, the inaction of a

Direct Participation

Bystander
appeasement ↗
← avoidance
← Rescue

Perpetrator
↖ leadership
involvement
indirect aid

Resistance

Victim

Elements of Racism

← escape/hiding — — — acquiescence — — — appeasement

bystander to intervene may indirectly enable a perpetrator.

A bystander may withdraw from the situation, may be present but not respond, may intervene indirectly or directly, or may facilitate escape during the action on behalf of the victim or perpetrator.

Again, there are a range of responses for each role, including that labelled as victim: acquiescence, avoidance/appeasement, resistance, or even escape.

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[84] Based on the original constellation in the context of genocide Ehrenreich and Cole, "The Perpetrator-Bystander-Victim Constellation," 216.

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Diversity and Super-Diversity[85]

The presence of many different cultures or ethnic, religious, or gender groups in a given community does not guarantee that community is inclusive.[86] It would seem that while proximity would blur boundaries or make them porous[87], research suggests that superdiverse cities make it easier for people to stay within cultural or ethnic boundaries.[88] Those members of the community who have not experienced migration seem to have a range of awareness about whether the boundaries in the community are porous or rigid.[89]

Xenophobia[90]

Fear or discrimination based on specific groups of people (or their ancestors) who have migrated to the locality: immigrants. Also known as nativist or exclusivist. In Europe more attention has been paid cultural and religious differences than racial differences.[91] It is important to note that not all immigrants are considered out-groups, but those with greater cultural and religious differences.

Secularist bias

One aspect of secular states in Europe is the idea that the nation replaces or supersedes one's religion (if one still has a religion). Non-religious groups that focus on "human rights, feminism, secularism and gay rights" will often publicly oppose public expressions of religions that they feel are too conservative

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[85] To capture such processes of demographic and cultural diversification, and the rather complex social situation that emerges from it, the notion of super-diversity has been coined Steven Vertovec, "Super-Diversity and Its Implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (November 1, 2007): 1024–54.It is often presented as challenging approaches in migration studies and ethnic studies which use an "ethno-focal lens" as it calls for more attention to "the conjunction of ethnicity with a range of other variables" such as gender, religion, social class, sexual orientation, age, and language ; See also Nancy Foner, Jan Willem Duyvendak, and Philip Kasinitz, "Introduction: Super-Diversity in Everyday Life," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 42, no. 1 (January 2, 2019): 1–16; Driezen, Clycq, and Verschraegen, "In Search of a Cool Identity: How Young People Negotiate Religious and Ethnic Boundaries in a Superdiverse Context," 4–5.

[86] The stability of boundaries is related to social closure of the majority and minority communities.

[87] Being in regular contact with individuals with diverse migration backgrounds should translate into the perceptual blurring of group-level distinctions between western, eastern European and north African/middle eastern migrants. Knipprath, "From Culturalisation to Individuation," 2018.

[88] For example: "daily encounters with difference in public spaces involve two different levels of interactions between people: at an individual level performed within the rules of civic inattention, and at a group level, featured by often persistent prejudice towards specific groups. From her ethnographic findings she concludes that interpersonal interactions that are performed within the rules of civil inattention are guided by a mere mode of being together in public ; See also: Nilforoshan et al., "Human Mobility Networks Reveal Increased Segregation in Large Cities."

[89] "The individuation hypothesis suggests that in multiethnic environments, people without a migration background perceive group boundaries as blurred and without clear distinctions . . . . The culturalisation hypothesis, on the other side, suggests that people without a migration background living in multiethnic environments are likely to perceive bright boundaries along cultural, ethnic or racial lines"" Knipprath, "From Culturalisation to Individuation," 2015.

[90] Williams, "Can Leopards Change Their Spots?"; Debanjali Ghosh, "The European Union's Response to Rising Xeno-Racism in Europe: An Assessment," *Canadian Journal of European and Russian Studies* 15, no. 1 (September 20, 2022): 1–23; Emma Marris, "Why Hidden Xenophobia Is Surging into the Open," *Nature*, December 14, 2023.

[91] Noel Clycq, "From 'People Just Like Us' to the 'Fundamentally Other' in an Era of Antiracism: The Instrumental Use of Religion to Exclude the Other While Avoiding Stigma," *Current Sociology* 65, no. 5 (September 1, 2017): 720–21.

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on these issues. In some countries in Europe, they do object to public influence by Christian institutions, but more often they object to visible, public expressions of Islam.[92]

Islamophobia

An unfounded fear of people who, or who are assumed to, adhere to Islamic beliefs and practices. In some countries of Europe, secular liberalist groups cooperate with conservative Christian groups to oppose the practices of Islam.[93] It is the case that policies have been enacted to oppose the practices of Islam (face veils, building codes, banning minarets, ritual food practices)

Whiteness

Both colonization and globalization have established that Europe[94] (along with its citizens who migrated to colonies) is the 'norm' against which all others are measured. The roots of many of the systems at use in the world today—including the perspectives of what constitutes history, culture, music, art, beauty, medicine, logic, religion—developed in western societies where Whiteness continues to be expected as "normal".

Whiteness, as a concept, may acknowledge that there are many cultures, but continues to presume that the general white experience (history, science, medicine) is the normative one.

White + Europe + Christian

The identity of whiteness is a combination of identification with Christianity and with ethnicities that were considered white (European).[95] Although it is often equated with skin tone, it is actually a product of colonisation where "discourses, identity, power (and disempowerment), and knowledge"[96] that were initially deployed to support the subjugation of others have become normative.

White as normative

Since it is a generative frame of thought or Foucauldian discourse, whiteness developed overtime into common sense[97] or the "standard by which other experiences are judged to be valid or invalid."[98] This attitude is found not only among people of European descent, but among many people groups. The

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[92] Kasia Narkowicz and Konrad Pędziwiatr, "Saving and Fearing Muslim Women in 'Post-Communist' Poland: Troubling Catholic and Secular Islamophobia," *Gender, Place & Culture* 24, no. 2 (February 1, 2017): 288–99; Erkan Toguslu, ed., *New Multicultural Identities in Europe: Religion and Ethnicity in Secular Societies* (Leuven University Press, 2014).

[93] Narkowicz and Pędziwiatr, "Saving and Fearing Muslim Women," 292.

[94] "The increasing number of colonized populations and tensions with non-European powers crystalized the idea of White solidarity in 'a triple conflation of White = Europe = Christian,' which provided cultural and moral content for the widening of Whiteness." Bonnett, 1998, p. 1038 in Karimi and Wilkes, "Assimilated or the Boundary of Whiteness Expanded?," 200.

[95] "The increasing number of colonized populations and tensions with non-European powers crystalized the idea of White solidarity in "a triple conflation of White = Europe = Christian," which provided cultural and moral content for the widening of Whiteness." Bonnett, 1998, p. 1038 in Karimi and Wilkes, 200.

[96] Betty Luu and Peiling Kong, "Confronting Whiteness in Developmental Psychology: Impacts on Ethnic Minority Families in the Australian Child Welfare System," in *Handbook of Critical Whiteness: Deconstructing Dominant Discourses Across Disciplines*, ed. Jioji Ravulo et al. (Singapore: Springer Nature, 2023), 1–17. 3.

[97] Hill, *The Everyday Language of White Racism*, 19.

[98] Taylor and Habibis, "How Intergenerational Cycles of White Ignorance and Incapacity Perpetuate Indigenous Inequality," 3.

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most acceptable or "desirable outcome" in "education, behaviours, and attitudes, beliefs and values" came to be white and western. [99]

It is so common, so normative as to be unnoticeable. This is further "masked because White neoliberal values of individualism reduce things to the individual and render context invisible."[100]

Unearned advantage

The history of colonization and globalization has not only had a negative impact on people already living in those places but many other people around the world. White western political and economic structures built on the marginalization of others proved profitable.[101] Through these profits, direct advantages were conferred on (un)knowing white westerners indirectly.[102]

Unearned advantage includes that to be white is generally considered to be reliable in experience or knowledge. Reliability of people who are not considered white, on the other hand, must be proven or earned since knowledge that comes "from knowledge production processes that are not embedded in recognized White western epistemologies."[103]

White Hegemony

The power of white institutions (government, banking, healthcare, education, etc) that is justified and legitimised by a belief in White superiority. The attitude of being superior to other cultures/races/ethnicities is not only evident in historical situations but continues to be present in "social structures and systems".[104]

Anti-Racism

Anti-racism is a stance that begins by recognising "racism as an ongoing reality" [105] and then takes action to end or combat racism.

White centring

The tendency to put white people or their experiences at the centre of attention in discussion or in efforts related to racism. This happens in a variety of settings from formal academic work to informal conversations. White centring sets conditions so that whites can discuss diversity from their own "desires, intentions, and comfort"[106] without addressing "the material conditions of marginalised peoples".[107]

White-centring limits anti-racism to strongly worded statements condemning racism and appreciating interethnic interaction without actually engaging in interethnic relationships or taking actions that combat racism.[108]

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[99] Taylor and Habibis, 3.
[100] Taylor and Habibis, 4.
[101] Taylor and Habibis, 3.
[102] Taylor and Habibis, 4.
[103] Taylor and Habibis, 3.
[104] Taylor and Habibis, 3.
[105] Ahmed, "The Nonperformativity of Antiracism," 110.
[106] Mayorga-Gallo, "The White-Centering Logic of Diversity Ideology," 1794.
[107] Mayorga-Gallo, 1797.
[108] Ahmed, "The Nonperformativity of Antiracism."

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Colour-blindness

A stance that denies the presence or power of racism. It claims that it is better to exclude racial or ethnic identities "from specific social domains such as (sections in) the labour market, the educational system, or even the family".[109]

Diversity-seekers

People who intentionally prefer to find housing in diverse neighbourhoods are called diversity-seekers. But such proximity does not result in diverse relationship networks. Instead, research has shown that openness to diversity, even to the point of moving into a diverse neighbourhood, does not result in more diverse relationship networks.[110]

Nonperformativity of antiracism

When an act of racism occurs, institutions use statements to respond but, and the key point is, these institutions do not commit to action against racism.[111] Instead, these declarations are themselves the action.

More than not taking direct action, these statements can also contribute to a climate that refuses to recognise racism within and, what is more, "is a mechanism for the reproduction of institutional authority, which conceals the ongoing reality of racism".[112]

liberatory praxis

More than a commitment against racist ideas, liberatory praxis takes steps to address exclusion and injustice in systems.[113]

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[109] Clycq, "From 'People Just Like Us,'" 719.

[110] Blokland and van Eijk, "Do People Who Like Diversity Practice Diversity in Neighbourhood Life?"

[111] Ahmed, "The Nonperformativity of Antiracism."

[112] Ahmed, 110.

[113] See Kirsten van der Ham, "White Racism and Dutch Churches: In Search of Liberative Practices," *NTT Journal for Theology and the Study of Religion* 77, no. 1 (April 1, 2023): 1–21; See also Ahmed, "The Nonperformativity of Antiracism."

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Images

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