New voices in cultural relations

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Discrimination in Europe from a Black European perspective

A framework for inclusion and anti-discrimination based on qualitative expert interviews with Black politicians in Europe

Joanna Enu Obeng

Foreword

I am delighted to present the first edition of our new series New voices in cultural relations. In much of the British Council's research portfolio, we focus on the views of young people and bringing to the fore voices that are not often heard in decision making circles. Like the Cultural Relations Collection, from which this new series evolved, the central aim here is to showcase fresh perspectives and innovative thinking, fostering a platform for emerging scholars from the UK and beyond.

I'm especially pleased that we brought this collection to life in partnership with BISA, the British International Studies Association. Given the complex and uncertain times in which we live, the field of international studies is more important than ever, helping us to explore and understand the intricacies of global interactions.

This series of essays was gathered through a competitive process. It asked course leaders in the international relations discipline to put forward outstanding Masters-level dissertations that made an original contribution to their field, either through providing new scholarly insight or offering a new policy direction.

The diversity of the contributors to this series is another aspect we celebrate. Our postgraduate authors come from varied cultural and academic backgrounds, each bringing a distinct perspective to their research. This underscores the idea that international relations is not a monolithic field, but one that thrives on diversity and inclusivity.

I must first congratulate our winner, Louise Sherry, for her dissertation reflecting on the state of climate justice and COP27. The judging panel noted that 'not only does the dissertation tackle a subject of crucial global importance, it has the clear potential to transform thinking on this topic, and, one would hope, policy.' In that regard, it is a worthy winner of our prize.

The remaining essays, each commended by the judging panel, cover topics as varied as the role of information warfare in the global system; the resistance movement in Myanmar; a critique of the 'war on terror'; and an approach to inclusion and anti-discrimination in the EU drawn from interviews with Black politicians in Europe.

I would invite you to engage with the essays with an open mind. The ideas presented here are thought provoking and you may disagree with what you read. But it is in that spirit of engagement and dialogue that we hope that New voices in cultural relations will inspire you. And that it will also inspire not only current scholars and practitioners, but also future generations of international relations students, to continue exploring and contributing to this ever-evolving field.

I would like to thank our partners, BISA, for their constructive and energetic approach to this work. Thanks also to my colleagues Reesha Alvi and Purti Kohli for their excellent project management from start to finish. I'm grateful to my colleagues Amanda Alves, James Carey, Dr Lisdey Espinoza, Michael Peak and Devika Purandare for their thoughtful evaluations of the first round of submissions, and to the academic panel – Dr Nancy Annan, Dr Yoav Galai, Dr Victoria Hudson and chair Prof Kyle Grayson – for making the difficult decision of selecting the winner and commended essays.

Lastly, I extend my thanks to all the students who submitted to the competition, and my congratulations to our winner and to the runners-up. It was a pleasure to read your work, albeit a challenge to make judgments on such a diverse range of scholarship, but it is clear that the future of international relations is in good hands.

Christine Wilson
Director Research and Insight
British Council

Introduction

About New voices in cultural relations prize

The British Council works to support peace and prosperity by building connections, understanding and trust between people in the UK and countries worldwide. We do this through a range of cultural relations activities which aim to create greater mutual understanding, deeper relationships, and enhance sustainable dialogue between people and cultures.

In this spirit, the British Council in partnership with BISA (The British International Studies Association) have created the New voices in cultural relations Prize for Master's students writing a dissertation in the area of international relations.

The objective is to provide new scholarly insights or propose new policy directions that contribute significantly to the field of international relations. The prize recognizes and promotes exceptional academic achievements that have the potential to influence attitudes, practices, or policies in international relations.

Universities were invited to put forward the strongest Master's dissertation in the field of international relations. Entries were assessed by an international committee within the British Council and then by a panel of judges convened by BISA.

The publication of this essay is reward for this being one of the shortlisted entries. All shortlisted authors also received 12 month's BISA membership.

About the essay

Discrimination in Europe from a Black European Perspective: A framework for inclusion and anti-discrimination based on qualitative expert interviews with Black politicians in Europe.

Joanna Obeng used Critical Race Theory (CRT) in this dissertation to investigate and address the phenomenon of Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism in Europe. The dissertation contributes to understanding and addressing Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism in Europe through a critical lens, emphasizing the need for intersectionality, legal reform, organizational change, and empowerment of marginalized voices.

By employing CRT and qualitative research methods, the study aims to inform policy, activism, and scholarly discourse on combating racism and promoting racial justice in Europe.

The judging panel noted: 'The dissertation ambitiously tackles anti-Black racism in the EU, offering an insightful framework for addressing racism in Europe. It incorporates narrative interviewing and grounded theory to generate valuable empirical findings that contribute meaningfully to the discipline.'
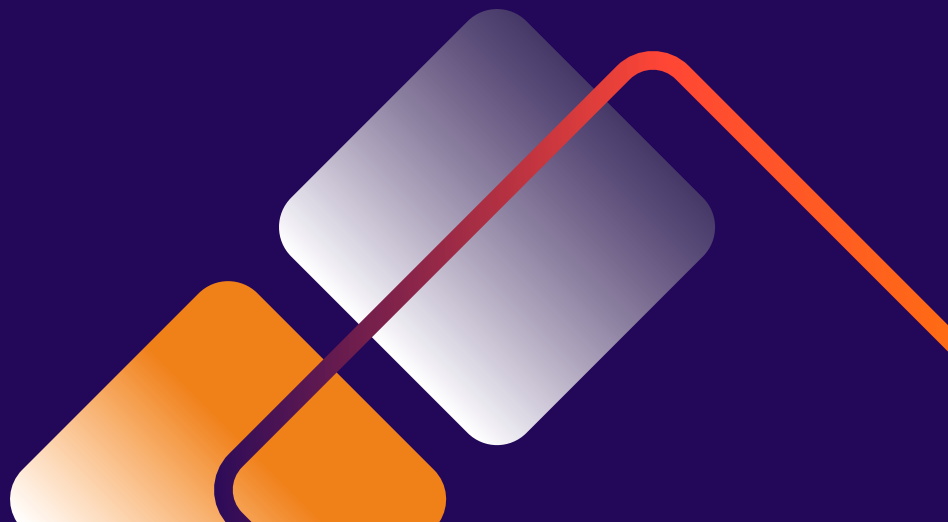
Abstract

Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism is a racist phenomenon against Black people. Besides long colonial ties in Europe, Europe continues to stay rather quiet. To understand the phenomena of Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism in Europe, Critical Race Theory was used in this dissertation, and it explores the question of Europe's silence on racism and argues three aspects. First, that it relies on a different understanding of racism compared to the USA, secondly a lack of intersectionality approach in theory and practice, and lastly the existence of different outlooks of anti-discrimination legislation on national and international levels that leads to an unbalanced way of handling the issue. It further discusses three ways to combat Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism through a CRT perspective by first exposing colorblindness in the law, ensuring organizations taking more positive action, and curing silencing through counter storytelling and providing Black people a voice. Lastly, the research has used the inductive qualitative method of Grounded Theory to interview three Black Europeans and People of African descent within the European political space and portrays an inclusion framework from the perspective of victims.

Acknowledgments

My deepest appreciation I would like to express to Dr. Frands Pederson for his entire support before and during the process of writing the dissertation. With your help, I was able to narrow down my research topic and focus on my research question. Finally, I'm extremely grateful to all Black European politicians who were willing to be interviewed for such a sensitive topic and shared their stories and recommendations.

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List of Abbreviations

C

CSP Conference of the States Parties

CRT Critical Race Theory, Critical Race Theory

E

EC European Commission

ENAR European Network against Racism

EP European Parliament

EU European Union

G

GT Grounded Theory

M

MS Member States

O

OSCE Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

R

RED Racial Equality Directive

1. Introduction

'I can't breathe.'

The last three words from George Floyd who was murdered by a police officer in the USA in 2020, sparked 'a global racial reckoning.' His death reawakened the cry for racial justice and was a catalyst to awaken the reality again of Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism that Black minorities experience around the world, including in Europe (Freeman et al., 2022, p176).

Every country within Europe has a unique demographic position with diverse histories. However, Black minorities within European countries are highly dependent on 'white majorities' when it pertains to equal and fair rights opportunities. Unfortunately, they are often victims of injustices that are scarcely recognized (Adekoya, 2020). According to Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), there are many accounts of racial discrimination against Black Europeans and People with African heritage around Europe (Thompson, 2014, pp253–254). They published their 'Annual Hate Crimes Reports' with interesting results. They found out that 'hate crimes' against Black people have massively increased. In the years 2013 & 2014 alone, it was reported by OSCE that more than 16 Black people were killed and hundreds of others faced various assaults. For instance, the death of a Black African man in Russia, who was pushed on train tracks, or a Nigerian group of refugees being horribly violated 'with pepper spray and brass knuckles' in Hungary, or how a white man killed two and violated three more Black Senegalese people in Italy, and numerous other instances around Europe (Thompson, 2014, pp253–254).

While the 'Ku Klux Klan' in America is nonexistent in Europe, white supremacist and neo-Nazi people groups have been present. Racism occurs to a variety of people groups and seeks to degrade human beings upon differences such as skin complexion. Besides Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism, there is also anti-Islam/Muslimophobia, antisemitism, and anti-Romani (Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, p262). Within the European Union (EU), the minority group that suffers specifically from racial discrimination are Black Europeans and People with African heritage. Approximately '7,000,000 to 12,000,000 individuals of African descent currently live in and have long had a presence in Europe, forming an influential part of the African diaspora' (European Network Against Racism, 2012, cited in Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, p264). Most of the stereotypes of Africa and people with African heritage are linked to colonialism and eurocentrism. Besides their extensive presence of over 500 years in European history, academic literature currently hardly picks up the predicament of Black Europeans and People with African heritage suffering under it. It's mostly kept invisible and the recognition of it is increasingly ignored (Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, p265).

The EU has, since the year 2000, introduced important legislation and policies against discrimination (Essed, 2014, p65). In addition, the work of 'Europe Network against Racism (ENAR)' has been present over the years as they advocate 'racial equality' (ENAR, 2023).

Nonetheless, besides ENAR's work, upcoming far-right coalitions in many EU member states (MS) and many new incidents of racism in EU countries reveal the importance of challenging it on a European level repeatedly (Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, p269).

This dissertation uses Critical Race Theory (CRT) to assess and comprehend these research questions by debating the phenomena of Afrophobia/Anti-Black Racism, the possible reasons for the silencing of it in Europe/European Union and discusses ways of challenging the silence through a CRT perspective. Furthermore, through qualitative Grounded Theory methodology, key aspects of an inclusion and anti-discrimination plan were constructed from the perspective of Black politicians in Europe.

The entire dissertation is split into two aspects, first the theoretical/analytical context and secondly the empirical work. Beginning with 'History of Black Europeans/People with African Descent in Europe' (Ch. 2.1) the history is going to be demonstrated, to show how Black people in Europe have been treated for decades. After the history, the main approach of the analytical framework, Critical Race Theory is explained (Ch. 2.2) and first used to look at 'Afrophobia and Anti-black racism in Europe' (Ch. 2.2.1) to fully understand the racial discrimination Black people are undergoing in various EU MS. The foundational context continues by looking at 'Racism and Equality in the European Union' (Ch. 2.3) through the lens of CRT and uses three arguments to explain why Europe has been silent. The theoretical contextualization ends with 'Combatting Afrophobia/Anti-Black Racism' to discuss various possibilities through a CRT academic perspective (Ch. 2.3.1). After the theoretical contextualization, the second aspect of the dissertation starts. Here through 'Grounded theory methodology' (Ch. 3), three Black politicians were interviewed. After these interviews were conducted, they were transcribed and organized into similar categories based on the interview results. This creates the necessary concept for further dealings and provides Black minorities with a voice to express their stories, and ideas of how Afrophobia can be suppressed on a European political level (Ch. 4.3) The dissertation ends in the last chapter with the conclusion and future research ideas (Ch. 5).
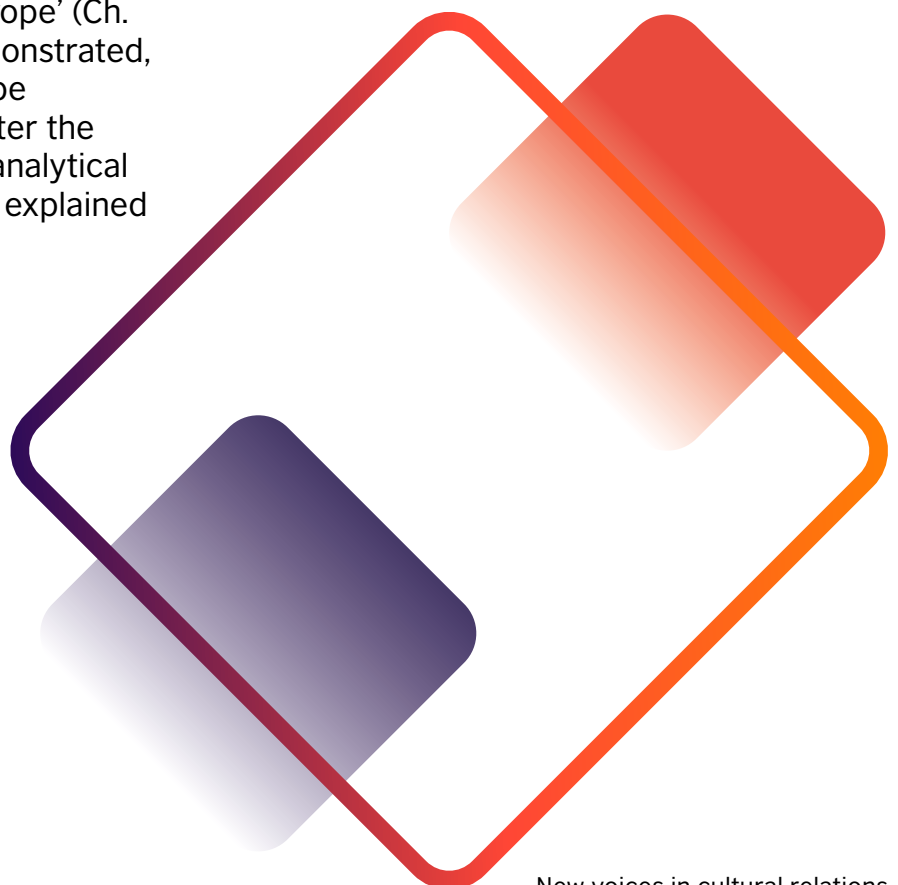
2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 History of Black Europeans/People of African Descent in Europe

i. 15th Century and upwards

The history of people with African heritage settling in Europe is often dated back to slavery, however, it started way earlier. African people were seen 'in the Roman Empire since antiquity' (UNESCO, 2020). During this time, taking a demographic poll was rare, thus the numbers are hard to detect today. Nonetheless, certain public figures were known, for instance, 'the emperor Septimius Severus [145–211], who was born in what is now Libya,' or the public scholar 'Saint Augustine [345–430]' (UNESCO, 2020).

Towards the end of the 15th century, Arabians and Africans from the northern part were rulers of most of 'Iberian Peninsula.' And then with time, more wealthy families within the central and northern parts of Italy employed people from Africa. This can be seen in a lot of 'Renaissance paintings' (UNESCO, 2020). Even though the Black population had been significantly small with just, for instance, a couple of thousand across Europe, i.e., France or Germany; Africans had an impact on European culture and thinking (Blakely, 2008). Between 1450 and 1505, around 140,000 slaves came from Africa to Europe. As most took roles as servants, some were also working in agriculture and fishing, 'day labourers, midwives, bakers' and other 'lower-class' jobs (Blakely, 2008). A lot of slave Black women were used as 'concubines' and had 'mulatto offspring who received favored treatment, and in some instances, attained middle-class and even aristocratic status' (Blakely, 2008). Besides the treatment that Black people received in Iberia, looking at 'the northern, central, and eastern European' side, their experience is similar though their numbers are smaller. The wealthy employed Black people as servants.

Around the early times, there were a few prominent Black people, such as 'Anthony William Amo' who was born in 1700 on the Gold Coast (today Ghana) and became prominent within Germany with his outstanding philosophical university studies (Blakely, 2008). When we look at these prominent individuals, it is often believed that their stories are archived, because of 'exceptionalism' and their possible contributions to European society. However, even with the few prominent individuals mentioned in the 15th century, not much has been known about their everyday lives and their engagement with other Black people (Otele, 2020, p2). There were a few other

Black people who were treated with esteem; however, this was not for the majority. Overall, the scholar Olivette Otele makes it clear that the history of Black Europeans and People with African heritage has been broadly forgotten. For instance, there is a lack of information within European colonial history on the resistance to the enslavement they received from Black people, even though resistance was very common (Otele, 2020, p2).

During the slave trade (16th–19th century), Black people increasingly were seen more negatively than positively. Through various images of Black people, i.e., arts, white Europeans looked at Black people in a sexualized way and viewed them as 'tormentors.' The scholar Robinson highlights how, especially in the 18th century, 'the narrative of unsophisticated 'Negros' was shaping colonists' ideology' (Otele, 2020, p3). Robinson states that the process of 'the destruction of the African past' had gone through various levels, especially 'naming' which was essential to the erasure of the value of Black people during that time. The concept of 'Negro' was created and meant that 'the Negro had no civilization, no cultures, no religion, no history, no place, and finally no humanity that might command consideration' (Otele, 2020, p3). Robinson adds that 'the creation of the Negro, the fiction of a dumb beast of burden fit only for slavery, was closely associated with the economic, technical, and financial requirements of Western development from the sixteenth century on' (Otele, 2020, p3). In addition, the ideas of seeing Africans as children and 'paternalism' were common, whereby Africans were viewed as beings 'needed to be taken care of or even saved from themselves and their peers- as exemplified by the justification of slavery by its supports in Europe in the eighteenth and nineteen centuries' (Otele, 2020, p4). Only those people with African heritage who were 'exceptional' were more remembered in European history.

ii. 19th/ 20th Century

In the 19th and 20th centuries, viewing Black people in Europe as inferior exploded through various happenings and people such as Adolf Hitler or Joseph Gobineau (Blakely, 2008). The pathologizing of the Black body as a sexual object was dated back to colonial history and in the 19th century in Europe 'century exhibition of the enslaved woman Saartjie Baartman from South Africa in British and French museums, where Europeans could ogle at what were perceived unusual buttocks and private parts' (Essed, 2014, p67). Also, 'exoticism' came with it, the European curiosity about the Black and Brown body accompanied the idea of viewing Africans as people characterized by 'bestiality.' Black People were seen as 'wild animals, untamed and prone to violence. Associated with evil, Africans needed to be 'domesticated' if Europeans in contact with them were to feel and be safe. Undomesticated, they needed to be kept at a safe distance, preferably away from Europe' (Otele, 2020, p4).

It was just around the 20th century when the number of Black People rapidly increased up to 'hundreds of thousands' in Europe. Most of the Black people were from Africa and colonized 'directly, or from historically enslaved Africans transported to the (former) European colonies in the Caribbean and South America' (Essed, 2014, p58). Most of them came particularly from north and sub-Saharan Africa within the 20th century primarily 'as workers.' There were some Africans who came to Europe as students and immigrated to communist nations and many political refugees from countries such as Somalia or Ethiopia settled down in different European nations.

Keeping silent over slavery, colonialism, and the wrong treatment meted out to Black people in Europe for decades, fueled the 'disconnection, in the European mind, between current anti-Black racism and histories of colonialism and enslavement' (Essed, 2014, p69). As African-Americans continue to share their horrific history from decade to decade, for African descendants within Europe, it remains an untold history.

2.2 Critical Race Theory: an analytical framework

This dissertation uses Critical Race Theory to understand the phenomena of Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism in Europe, explores the question of Europe's silence on racism and discusses ways to combat Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism through a CRT perspective.

CRT is an academic approach that withholds the main tenet of: 'Race is a social construct, and that racism is not merely the product of individual bias or prejudice, but also something embedded in legal systems and policies' (Sawchuk, 2021). It's a compilation of different thinkers who change the interaction between 'race, racism, and power'. CRT unique questions the core of liberal systems and challenges constitutions (Delgado and Stefancic, 2017, p3). It has its roots in different tenets that make out the framework for the analysis: '(a) the permanence of race and racism; (b) CRT as a challenge to the dominant ideologies of White supremacy; (c) the centrality of experiential knowledge of specific person groups of color to critically examine the effects of racist ideologies and action through their voices; (d) the notion of interest convergence, i.e., incremental civil rights progress for Black Americans only comes when the interests of Whites are highlighted, elevated and kept entrenched; (e) the concept of intersectionality in the analysis of race, gender, language, social class and other elements of identity; and (f) a commitment to racial social justice action' (Dixon and Parker, 2022, pp4–5). These are considered the major aspects of CRT which will be applied in this dissertation.

Looking specifically at CRT in international relations: Race is a believed ideology, action, and legislation that is fueled by the power of the state (Henderson, 2013, p72). It is further explained by Howard School 'as a social construct that categorizes or classifies humans according to contrived differences' (Freeman et al., 2022, p180). It has been said by many scholars globally that race and racism stay at the core of global politics. For instance, racism in International Relations is often hidden, even though it was essential to the origin of the discipline. IR roots lay in solving 'the dilemmas posed by empire-building and colonial administration facing the white Western powers expanding into and occupying the so-called 'waste places of the earth', as the Global South was commonly referred to by contemporaries' (Schmidt 1998; Long and Schmidt 2005; Vitalis 2005; Bell 2013, cited in Anievas et al., 2015, p2). Especially in nations such as i.e., the UK or the US IR got popular because of the topics of 'empire, imperialism, and inter-racial problems' (Barkawi 2010, cited in Anievas et a., 2015, p2). Around this time many scholars from around the globe engaged with 'imperial discourses on race' when it came to IR. Nonetheless, race or racism has subsided over the last years.

The critical theorist Errol Henderson shows to what extent classic theories of IR are influenced by white supremacy (Henderson, 2013, p71). Henderson exposes that the Darwinist evolutionary theses, which stood on the concept of the hierarchy of races, which believed that white Europeans are at the top and non-white people, especially Black people are at the bottom with the lowest positions, was very prominent in especially the early work of these IR thinkers (Henderson, 2013, p72). Thus, this white racial domination mindset expressed itself in slavery and colonialization, where white people were seen as the favored ones, biologically distinct, and had civilization, and Black people were viewed as lower species of humans and were marked by 'barbarism.' All this rationalized slavery or colonialization and fueled the execution of these things and

resulted in a racial hierarchy mindset that influenced and 'guided, the international politics of the predominately white states in their interaction with other polities.' At that time, IR was 'interracial relations' (Du Bois 1915; Lauren 1988 cited in Henderson, 2013, p72). One of many examples of this is seen by the thinker 'Reinsch,' who is one of the founders of IR as a discipline. He said in his early work this statement: 'National imperialism was transforming the landscape of international relations as states attempted 'to increase the resources of the national state through the absorption or exploitation of undeveloped regions and inferior races' without 'impos[ing] political control upon highly civilized nations' (1900, 14, cited in Henderson, 2013, p73).

Other IR scholars Olson and Groom (1991, p47) noted here that his writing shows that IR has its beginnings rooted in 'Imperialism, and studies of imperialism' and during that period were heavily influenced by racist assumptions (Henderson, 2013, p73). Furthermore, other works from Reinsch further confirm this mindset by him mentioning that there are 'physiological differences' between the brains of Blacks and whites. It's inevitable to understand 'world politics' by forsaking the continuity of race and racism and continuality bringing it to attention (Zvobgo, 2020). The 'norm against noticing white supremacism in' this discipline results in IR not accurately presenting the field's history and ignoring its current effects of it on Black People.

As CRT in international relations and the analyses of Afrophobia and Anti-Black racism have been recognized in various fields such as education or law in America, it has not been fully seen in Europe. As there are European critical thinkers i.e., Gillborn (2008), it overall has been viewed as an American instant. In Europe, there are two common misunderstandings concerning racism that are visible. First, the explanation of minorities is rather explained by class status than race. And secondly, Europe views race only in the context of the horror of the Nazi regime with the holocaust and pays small attention to the racial exploitation in their colonial history (Möschel, 2007, 2011, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). This, coupled with the downgrading of racism encounters of people of color and the continued uprise of 'white Western European nationalism' that views migrants 'as foreigners' that are never fully Europeans, plays a major role in Black Europeans and People of African descent falling prey to racial encounters in Europe, which is going to be laid out in the next chapter in view of CRT.

2.2.1 Afrophobia and Anti-Black Racism in Europe

CRT, with the analysis of Afrophobia and Anti-Black Racism, is one way how scholars critic in what ways legislation and laws have been wrongly engaged in establishing 'white supremacy' and degrading Black People around the world (Bonilla-Siva, 2015; Christian, 2018; Ray et al., 2017; cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p4). Afrophobia removes the worth of a large people group by differentiating them by various visible characteristics, including the color of their skin. It specifically targets people with African heritage (ENAR, 2023). It's founded 'on socially constructed ideas of 'race', implying deep historical roots that reflect the groundless belief that certain 'racial' groups are biologically and/or culturally inferior to others' (Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, p262). Anti-Black racism is unique in its approach against racism, as its zooms in on the belief that Black humans are 'non-human or sub-human' (Michael, 2017, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). This is in connection to the understanding of racism and the happenings of colonialism and the 'translative slave trade.' It further produces activities around 'racial discrimination,' whether through direct, indirect, or structural violence and hate speech targeted against Black people, and identifies them with 'a different epistemology and ontology of racism and its effects on Black people (Dumas, 2016; Ray et al.,2017; Sexton, 2010, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5).

It covers 'the socio-economic and political challenges' which derive, and it's rooted in 'a social contract' definition of Black people. One key aspect of CRT is seeing Anti-Black Racism not as 'an aberration'. It creates the flow of society, and it's sadly often not understood that Afrophobia is visible in every aspect of life, even in the continent of Europe, which is often ignored. Looking within European Law, the 'anti-discrimination legislation', race is seen as 'a legal category' (Essed, 2014, pp68–69). However, it is not translated firmly within policymaking. Looking at France and the Netherlands, both avoid using race as a 'formal policy category' in their political discourses. This is visible in most European nations, where the terminology of 'race' is avoided, because they associate it directly with racism (Essed, 2014, pp68–69). In some nations, there is a lack of a national explanation concerning the terminology of 'race,' which leads to a lack of a 'formal registration on the basis of race, color or ethnicity' (Essed, 2014, pp68–69). Nonetheless, images of race are still embedded in some ideologies and beliefs. Within public discourses, i.e., religion or culture clearly are touched on rather than 'color' which is often hinted at and not directly expressed especially within 'European cultures and institutions,' Racism is embedded in various practices.

For instance, the 'informally segregated neighborhoods (United Kingdom (UK), France, Germany), formally sanctioned segregated schools, so-called Black and White schools (the Netherlands), neighborhood harassment of refugee families (for instance Spain, Greece or the Netherlands), police violence (for instance in Austria) and so on' (Essed, 2014, pp61–62). In addition, looking at the labor market, 'racial codes and barriers' maintain for the majority for them to stay 'white.' For instance, in England and Holland, Black minorities are stationed within politics, but 'not without exposing them as well to forms of everyday racism (Puwar, 2004, cited in Essed, 2014, pp61–62). Because of the silencing of the term 'racism' and the offensive response of emotionalism and aggressiveness from 'white Europeans,' many Black people sometimes are not realizing racism towards them or lack the equipment to resist it effectively. Those who encounter racism are often met with feelings 'of powerlessness in the face of accusations that they are 'just oversensitive' (Essed, 2014, pp61–62). This dissertation argues, from the CRT standpoint, that the reason for this behavior from white Europeans steams that 'racial Europeanization' exists that fuels the European mind with the ideology to look at Black People as 'Others' (Slootweg et al., 2019 and Goldberg, 2006, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). Othering is a form of racism that responds to an 'alternation of whiteness' that erases racism and totally disregards the way 'whiteness and white supremacy have been rooted in the epistemological and sense-making European consciousness and state actions (Slootweg et al., 2019, p148, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5).

In addition, racism experienced on a systematic level is highly problematic for victims, as it can negatively affect their mental health (Bhui, 2002, cited in Essed, 2014, pp61–62). Within the United Kingdom and in the Netherlands, interesting numbers have been registered concerning Black People being diagnosed with schizophrenia. It is not directly visible if it's in correlation with the 'result of misdiagnosis, an increase in mental health problems or an increase in the number of people of Afro-descent vising mental health clinics' (Essed, 2014, pp61–62). Most studies on health for Black People in Europe have come out of England. Data has revealed that 'Black Caribbean and Black African populations' have a clear negative health profile with diagnosis, i.e., diabetes or blood pressure (Bahl, 1998; Dalton, 2014; Nazroo, 2007; Agyemang, 2009, cited in Hansen, 2014, p208). Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands have 'high rates of hypertension: the prevalence of hypertension among Ghanaian men and women is 54% and 56%, respectively'. This is far above other communities in Holland and even in the US with African-Americans (Agyemang, 2012, cited in Hansen, 2014, p210). CRT offers insight and knowledge into the phenomena, which brings understanding to the root issue of discrimination in health that Black people experience (Black Health Education Collaborative, 2022, p2). However, there is a lack of CRT medical research on Black People and their health that is being published on European soil that is being actively used (Black Health Education Collaborative, 2022, p2).

Looking specifically at employment, Black Europeans and people with African heritage still report encountering racial inequality. Many aspects decide if there are employed i.e., educational status, finances, social network, as well as gender. There was also a report done around 20 European nations and it was seen that stereotypes, racist and discriminating actions are visible at all levels in the educational system (ENAR, 2023). Institutional discrimination is happening on a wider scale and has long-reaching effects on the entire society; the education institution is one of them. Furthermore, there are Black celebrities and politicians who draw attention to their own experience with 'racist, anti-migrant, verbal, and online abuse' (ENAR, 2023). At last, Black Europeans and people of African descent 'are disproportionally affected by ethnic profiling by the police' (ENAR, 2023).

A study, that examined the amount of people being stopped by the police, how frequent it was, and the entire situation around it. The outcome is around ten MS 'in which a control group of the majority population respondents [was] living in the same neighbourhood as the minority respondents' (Kellock, 2014, pp243,245). By the end of the research, it was found out, that Black minorities are much more stopped by the police than any other minority. Moreover, the report also showed how Black people were stopped much more often on public transport; for instance, in Spain, 81% of North African descent compared 'to 30 % of majority respondents.' Looking at identity checking, in Italy alone, 90% of those with North African heritage are more likely to be checked than '48% of the majority respondents' (Kellock, 2014, pp243–245).

Looking finally at Eastern MS, there is usually an apprehension concerning those who were even born there and have a dual heritage as 'distrust difference is a daily fight' (Otele, 2020, p172). Nina, a Black girl growing up in Slovakia or the 5000 'Afro-Polish' from Poland, their experience with the rest of society is marked as 'two-fold.' It is a sexualized relationship in places, i.e., 'dance clubs and arts centers, mainly between black African men and white Eastern European women, or an exoticization of dual-heritage women by fellow countrymen and countrywomen, who display both fascinations with dual-heritage bodies and unexpected racist attitudes towards people of African descent' (Otele, 2020, p172). Black Europeans and People of African descent experience in Eastern MS is marked by 'immobility,' 'utter helplessness' and even are by many avoided (Otele, 2020, p173).

Here, using examples and personal stories of Black Europeans and people of African descent is vital in the use of CRT as it exposes how they are rarely seen as full Europeans or receive the 'foreigner status' (Oron, 2012, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). Shedding light on these racism stories and using 'counterstories' is again vital in pushing back the 'the domination of whiteness and white supremacy when it comes to analyzing the, what, why, and how questions of racism and anti-Blackness and Afrophobia against these groups' (Dixon and Parker, 2022, p6).

2.3 Race and Equality in the European Union

'Racism and racial discrimination against people of African descent remain a widespread yet unacknowledged problem in Europe. It is time to recognize it and take measures to combat Afrophobia more effectively'

the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights, Dunja Mijatović (Council of Europe, 2021)

There is an urgent need for a CRT viewpoint to be fully established in Europe (Möschel, 2021, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5), as one of the greatest struggles that Black people in Europe face is the 'denial of racism' (Essed, 2014, p61). During the 1990s, the EU laid racial discrimination on the agenda of the EU MS. However, like it is with many public discussions and policies, 'the application of the word racism has not moved beyond the 1950s model of explicit race hierarchies (exceptions are a number of critical scholars and anti-racism activists)' (Essed, 2014, p61). With the examples of Afrophobia on various levels and the discussion of racial encounters from the previous chapter, the question remains of why Europe stays overall quiet about racism. This dissertation argues three points:

i. 'Differing Concepts of Race and Racism in Europe and the United States'

CRT has not been fully established in Europe because Europe has a different perception of race/racism than the US. Most EU nations dismiss the phenomena of 'racial hierarchies on moral grounds' and, with it, do not assume that racism is among them. With it, racism, in their perspective, only belongs to far-right extremist groups. But that racism also comes in subtle, and many various forms is being rejected and not viewed as 'racism.' Furthermore, when it comes to being held accountable, each MS points to someone else. They say: 'Racism might be out *there*, but never *here*, not in this specific country' (Essed, 2014, p61). This thinking is often accompanied by believing that racism only exists in America, which is odd from the CRT viewpoint. CRT was established in America, in the post-war era, the US was the standard for European scholars working in the legal field, and the USA inspired many core approaches in Europe. Thus, one might conclude that CRT would be visible in political law journals or that European scholars would use CRT to look at the legal system in Europe (Moschel, 2007, p69). This different view of it has led Europe to a place of ignorance, by not considering CRT scholars, as it looks at race from an American standpoint (Moschel, 2007, p70). With it, CRT thinkers know why during the establishment of the 'General Policy Recommendation No.7 on National Legislation to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the European Commission on Racism and Intolerance (hereinafter ECRI)' was unsure of using the term 'race' and wanted it to be removed as they feared they would recognize that there are multiple human races, even though from a scientific standpoint, there is only one (Moschel, 2007,pp74/75). It seems that Europe is 'afraid' to recognize the issue of racism and race. CRT has been especially ignored in the 'European legal world' which results in Europe being quieter about it, which is fatal (Moschel, 2007, p76).

ii. Lack of Intersectionality in Theory and Practice

Secondly, from a CRT perspective is argued that a lack of intersectionality approach in EU legislation also leads to silencing. The EU adopted anti-discrimination legislation in 2000 that has been vital in confronting discrimination in organizational contexts. Overall, the EU carries legislative work toward 'race equality.' For instance, they have: 'the Race Equality directive, the Employment Equality Directive and the Framework Decision on combating racism and xenophobia, which EU Member States are required to transpose and implement in their national legislation' (Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, pp267–269). Furthermore, the 'Article 21 (1) of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU' is strictly against any form of racist conduct. Nonetheless, anti-racism policies within the EU are mostly not been enforced according to the ENAR. Only a couple of legislations have been enforced and only a few decisions were made 'by the Court of Justice of the EU.' Moreover, there is not a single legislation or EU policy plan for Black Europeans and People with African heritage (ENAR, 2023). The organization within the EU that is
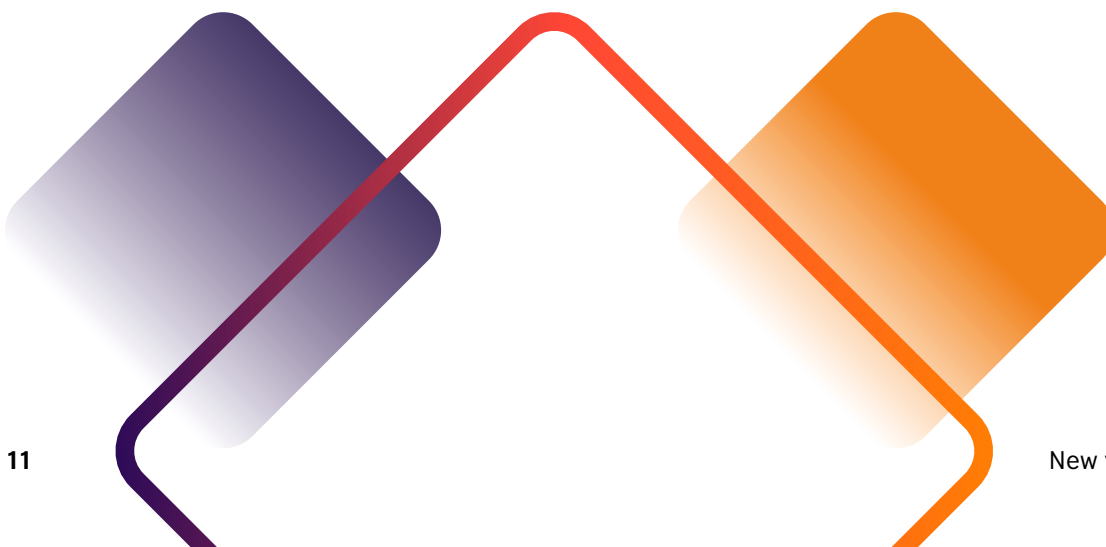
responsible for the Roma Community called 'National Roma Integration Strategies (NRIS)' established a legislation plan for MS to follow and combat against racial discrimination encountered by the Roma group (ENAR, 2023). While NRIS has come under serious critics, i.e., that they are not focusing on 'racism and anti-Gypsyism,' they are still vital in making life better for the Roma Community within Europe. The discussion about racism was intensively highlighted again when President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen said in a speech to the European Parliament (EP) in 2020, considering the Black Lives Matter Movement, that racism must be addressed and that the EU must act and comply with their 'United in Diversity' motto (European Commission, 2020, p1).

Thus, the EC created the 'EU anti-racism action Plan 2020–2025,' listing different strategies for combatting it. For instance, using policies (European Commission, 2020, p3); through 'law enforcement authorities (European Commission, 2020, p7); by 'combating stereotypes and raising awareness of history' (European Commission, 2020, p14) or even advocating for action on 'local, regional national and international levels' (European Commission, 2020, p16). They concluded the plan by ensuring that this can only work if all EU sections work in one accord. Furthermore, the EC invited the EP to support the anti-racism plan by discussing it and ensuring that it's being implemented by the MS (European Commission, 2020, pp 25–26).

While the action plan and other ideas are heading in the right direction, EU legislation is often 'focused on an individualized, incident-based understanding, which makes it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to address systemic forms of discrimination' (Sanaullah, 2022). A major tenet of CRT is: 'the concept of intersectionality in the analysis of race, gender, language, social class and other elements of identity;' (Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). CRT rejects a one-way approach of discrimination whereby only race, gender, sexual orientation, or religion is going to be used as a factor for discrimination. Here CRT calls for approaches that identify various forms of discrimination, which could result in another way of encountering discrimination (Moschel, 2007, p63). An 'intersectional approach' must be added that also includes racial discrimination that tackles cases with intersections such as i.e., a Black Muslim woman with a disability (Sanaullah, 2022). Otherwise, it leads to a silencing of racism in Europe, as 'many needs, such as those of our hypothetical black woman, may go unaddressed. This is no small problem' (Delgado and Stefanic, 2017, pp61–62).

iii. 'Differing Philosophical Approaches to the Law Leads to Another Human and Civil Rights Framework within Europe.'

Lastly, various EU nations have created their individual 'government-funded, independent anti-discrimination agencies.' For instance, within Holland, there has an institution called 'Institute for Human Rights.' This institution looks at cases in whereby a 'petitioner (the one who feels discriminated against) and the respondent (the party who allegedly has discriminated) are heard' (Essed, 2014, p65). Nonetheless, a lot of Black people do not use these services, because of fear of being victimized, or they fear the possible outcome.

Besides the international legislation established in the EU, as pointed out, each European country has, on a micro level, their 'own national statutes or provision offering protection by the criminal, civil or administrative law, which usually apply to private actors as well' (Moschel, 2007, p85). Nonetheless, it has been seen that these services do not provide full safety against discrimination. In addition, often, there is a scant obligation to fully 'comply with the reporting requirements, and implementation of these treaties on a national level [has] been left to the State's discretion, thus creating varying levels of protection within the European states' (Moschel, 2007, p86). And even when cases and discussions are brought up, i.e., 'European Court of Human Rights, or ECHR,' the process is often very long and burdensome (Moschel, 2007, p86). Thus, the different racial understandings and dealings between the international and national levels have led CRT to not fully gain reign in Europe and led Black Europeans and people of African descent to continually encounter racial assaults (Moschel, 2007, p89). This further explains why CRT has not been established in the 'European legal context,' and racism has been silent in Europe, as different approaches exist at an international and national level.

2.3.1 Combating Afrophobia/Anti-Black Racism

With the silencing, there is still a large part of the failure to fully acknowledge the fight against Afrophobia. ENAR explains various reasons for it. One reason is the 'socio-economic statutes' of the Black community and their restricted ways of being in engagement with important political relationships (Privot, 2014, pp32–35). While the Black population in Europe is almost at 15 million, a huge part of them are 'first generation migrants' with a lower economic status, which hinders them from fully getting rooted and established in Europe. 30% of them are seen as highly skilled Africans, but many others are having issues securing good living conditions for their families, which all could contribute to

the lack and delay of community building, 'political articulation of specific demands and an earlier focus on Afrophobia within the anti-racism field' (Privot, 2014, pp32–35). But scholars make clear, that the greater problem is not with the community but rather with Europe not acknowledging Afrophobia fully. Besides the historical factor and Europe having a long history with Black people, the EU stands upon these fundamental values: 'self- determination, liberty, due process of law, expression, association and so on that Europe cherishes as its epitome' (Privot, 2014, pp32–35). The scholar Michaël Privot responds to it by mentioning that: 'Afrophobia is a symbol of Europe's collective failure to live up to its proclaimed principles and to come to terms with that part of its fabric' (Privot, 2014, pp32–35). With it, it's not surprising to see so many European nations being hesitant in discussions around Afrophobia, and its influence on people of African descent (Privot, 2014, pp32–35). This dissertation continues to discuss three ways from the CRT perspective to challenge the silencing of anti-Black racism:
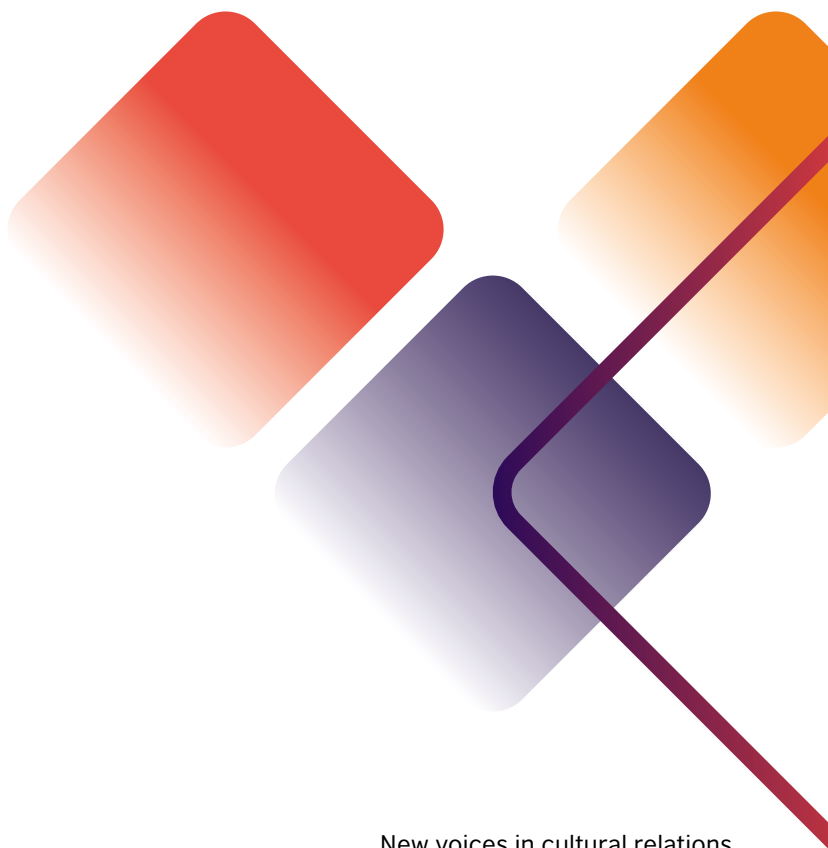
i. Exposing 'Colorblindness'

In America, CRT criticized American law and exposed colorblindness in the legal system. Critical theorists suggest a similar approach in Europe/European Union. In view of the previous chapter, it's visible that laws and legislation against racism are not enough to stop these encounters nor stop 'racial bias' in Europe. For instance, the French Government resisted including an explanation of 'race in the Racial Equality Directive' (Moschel, 2007, pp110–111). This is just one out of many instances of colorblindness in Europe, even within the law. One example of exposure within the law system that can be used in Europe is seen in connection 'to Racial Equality Directive' (RED). The approach from scholar Damian Chalmers where 'a CRT – like analysis' was done for Europe, is useful. He looked at the RED and pointed out some good aspects; however, he mainly criticized that it is rooted in a 'liberal vision' and has a 'single authoritative lens' like most EU laws, as he said. Legislation against discrimination, according to Chalmers, is not quick enough to pick up 'collective identities thus lacking any potential pioneer function, and instead leads to the classification of individuals into broad groups based once again on 'pre-established ideas of race and ethnicity' (Moschel, 2007, p112). However, while EU legislation has a more 'decentralized governance and policy-making structure' this RED has room and marks for an advanced 'pluralist, multicultural vision,' and this potential can be seen in Article 11, 'which admits localized negotiations of identities' (Moschel, 2007, p112). The scholar then concludes that Article 11 provides 'flexible minorities' and 'social dialogue'; these two aspects make out a 'multicultural model' that could bring RED to a standard that could challenge racism on a much greater scale in Europe (Moschel, 2007, p11).

ii. Positive Action

One major tenet of CRT is 'a commitment to racial social justice action' (Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). This makes out the second possible way to further combat racial discrimination against Black Europeans and People of African descent. One commitment to it is seen by the European Network Against Racism (ENAR). In 2011 ENAR made the decision in their 'General Assembly' to be more active in making Afrophobia more visible within their work, and they launched an 'advocacy strategy' that got support from famous Black scholars and activists (Privot, 2014, p32). ENAR's many positive actions include actively promoting for EU organizations to put forth an action plan to combat Afrophobia and put things in place to facilitate 'social inclusion of people of African descent and Black Europeans in European societies, modeled after the EU framework strategy for the social inclusion of Roma' (Privot, 2014, p32). The efforts of ENAR have led to Afrophobia becoming more visible around 2014 at the European level, which led to a hearing that was done in the EP and confirmed 'by international human rights organizations' to integrate Black Europeans and people of African descent especially socially.

Furthermore, ENAR has come up with a 'two-level strategy' concerning the EU and the national sphere. The first strategy consists of recognizing Afrophobia – the racism that affects Black Europeans and People with African heritage. If that recognition happens on EU and national levels and by policymakers and politicians, only then can NGOs hold the MS accountable to combat it. Their second strategy is called 'the implementation of legislation' (Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, p269). As the EU has legislation concerning discrimination and the EU institutions, i.e., the EC as well as

the Court of Justice, need to make sure the laws are kept by the MS because an 'assessments of the European Commission on the implementation of the Race Equality Directive and of the Framework Decision on combating racism and xenophobia shows, there are still significant gaps both in transposition and implementation of these directives' (Momodou and Pascoët, 2014, pp269–270).

iii. 'Cure silencing'

Another way to combat Afrophobia is through directly curing silencing. To challenge white supremacy and white domination, CRT scholarship lays its conceptual framework in using personal encounters and counterstories of racial discrimination against Black people to combat and expose the continuation of the 'social construction of race' (Martinez, 2020, cited in Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). This is one major tenet of CRT to cure silence, and this should be used more against Afrophobia. Especially 'Counterstorytelling' wants to challenge the wrong perceptions that, i.e., Black People have received through media, entertainment, or history. Critical theorists use counterstorytelling to combat these perceptions (Delgado and Stefanic, 2017, pp49–50). For example, the story of 'Asad.' Here a CRT Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism analysis was used to look at a young Black man called Asad and critical theorists Dixon and Parker discovered that

a racist background in a nation still shows signs in our day and age; it confirmed that race is a social construction and other aspects through counterstorytelling (Dixon and Parker, 2022, p5). In addition, to cure the silencing in Europe, highlighting Black people's stories and voices plays a major role in CRT. As victims often endure in silence, pretending it didn't happen or putting the blame on themselves, personal experience provides them with a voice and shows that others encounter similar incidents and gives them a chance to articulate their own recommendations of help they like to receive (Delgado and Stefanic, 2017, pp.50–51), which will be fully demonstrated in the second part of the dissertation.
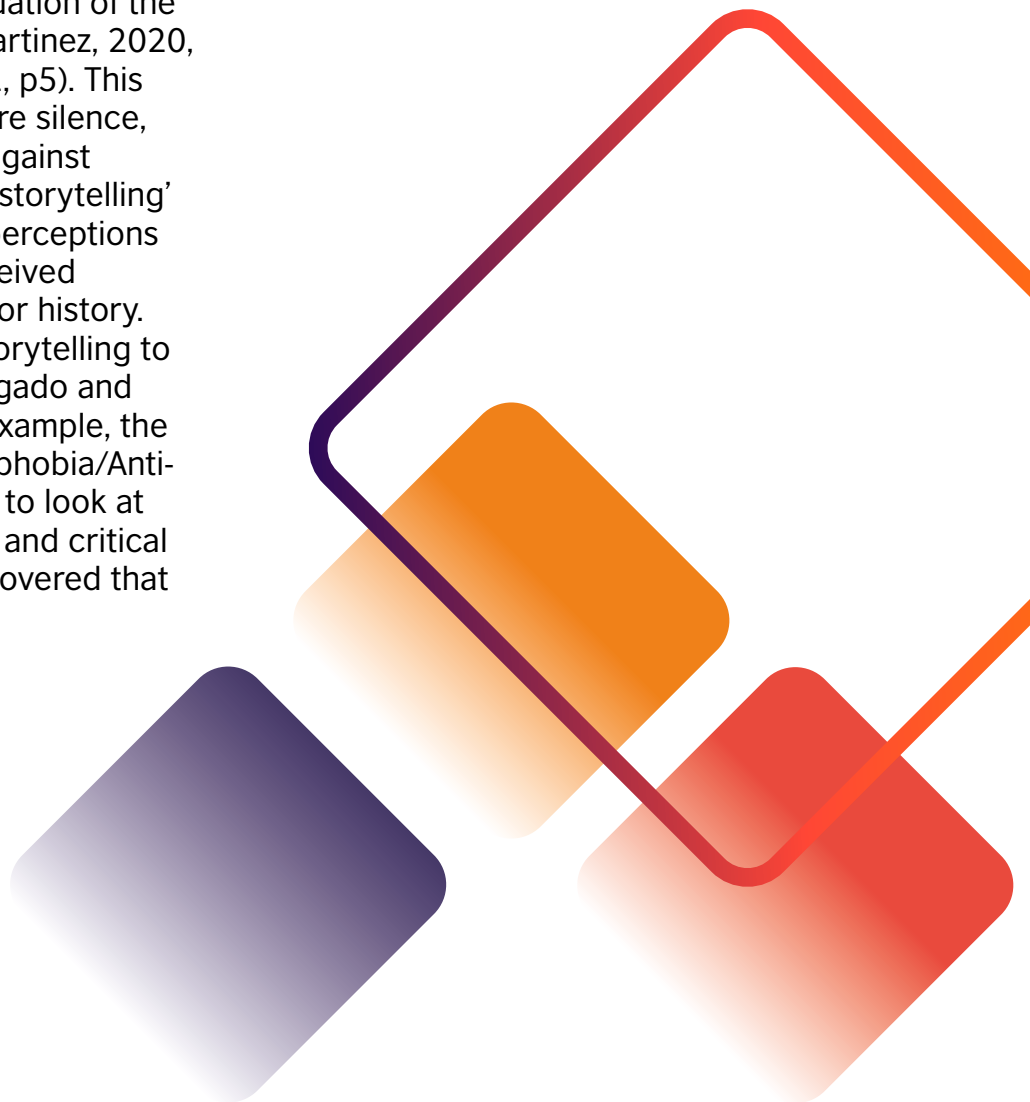
3. Grounded Theory Methodology

3.1 Participant Description

As highlighted in the theoretical context, Black Europeans and People of African Descent have not only been degraded in European history but there has been a constant fight to fully recognize them and their struggles. Only a handful of qualitative and quantitative studies are zooming in on Black Europeans and People of African Descent. This qualitative study uses the Grounded theory methodology, and up-to-date Data (2023) is constructed. In addition, the primary aim of this study is to find out what recommendations Black European politicians have for the reduction of Afrophobia on a European level and shed light on their stories.

With the decision to only interview Black Europeans and People of African heritage in Europe, the dissertation wants to use the CRT tenet of highlighting counterstorytelling and personal encounters of especially Black people and examine the structural, institutional, and everyday racism they encounter within Europe and within the disciple of global politics. Moreover, using 'politicians' provides expert knowledge within the area of study. And finally, the qualitative study is zooming in on Europe because a continent or region determines the quality of life for a human being. Interviewing a group of people who are living on the same continent and sharing similar experiences adds weight to the research results. Three Black politicians were interviewed for this study who are all women and reside in Europe. They were contacted via email and informed about the entire research project. In the email, the interview consent form was shared where details about the interviews were expressed i.e., the date and the anonymity. In addition, every interview question was given to provide them with an overview of what to expect and if they felt capable of doing the interview. Some declined to take part, as they felt not fit to answer the questionnaire. Three out of nine people agreed to take on the study and the interview dates were discussed. During the evaluation, every interviewee is going to be addressed with an anonym letter. The following table shows the interviewees with their place of living and field of work:

Interview person	City	Field of work
Person A, female	France	European Parliament
Person B, female	Germany/Hamburg	SPD German Party, upcoming MEP
Person C, female	Germany/Aachen	Development Policy

Table 1: Overview of interviewees (Source: own figure) chol

3.2 Data Collection through Expert Interviews

All interviews were done by a qualitative approach and a narrative interview guide was used. A narrative interview 'envisages a setting that encourages and stimulates an interviewee (who in NI is called an 'informant') to tell a story about some significant event in their life and social context' (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p2). This method is rooted in 'narrare' (latin term) and defined as 'to report, to tell a story' (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p3). Every interview was done by 'theory-generating expert interview,' leaning on the 'Bogner and Menz' approach from 2009 (Bogner & Menz, 2009, p43). Expert interviews are 'qualitative interview[s] based on a topical guide, focusing on the knowledge of the expert, which is broadly characterized as specific knowledge in a certain field of action' (Döringer, 2021, p265). In addition, experts possess a certain understanding of a particular problem or happening, and they provide insight into that field, where sometimes people have remained silent or have not been transparent about it (Von Soest, 2022, p278). In this research, politicians were used.

The narrative Interview approach 'is a qualitative method' (Lamnek, 198;Hatch and Wisniewski, 1995;Riesman, 1993; Flick, 1998, cited in Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p3) and wants to go beyond the simple question-response schema in whereby the interviewer has everything set out and prepared, but it wants to lessen the impact of the interviewer and give full space for the interviewee to share their stories and experience. However, there is still structure in the narration of the interview. The narrative is formally structured; however, the interviewees can share their stories freely (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p3). The interview guide was created with four sections and eight questions. The sections included an introduction, Institutional Experience and Position, Anti-discrimination Ideas and the ending part. Most of the sections start with an initiation that should trigger the interviewee to start their narration.

After the interview guide was constructed, Zoom was used to construct the interviews. After greeting the participants and answering their last questions, the interviewer wanted to ensure that every interviewee was in a safe environment and assured them that they could share as much as they wanted and can withdraw at any time. Because of the sensitivity of the topic, the goal was to create a trusting and reliable atmosphere and interaction with one another. The narrative interview style has techniques that are essential and that were used in the interview process:

i. Preparing the interview
Before the interview was conducted, preparing for it was key. One key part of preparing for it, is that the researcher must thoroughly understand the discipline. This can include 'making preliminary enquires, reading documents and taking note of rumors and informal accounts of any particular event' (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p). With it, the overall topic of discussion is decided, and it is in the interest of the interviewees. When the researcher possesses a good understanding of the main topic, the researcher comes up with

'exmanent questions.' These questions reflect the desires of the researcher and their own formulation and are seen in the interview guide. During the interview, exmanent questions turn to 'immanent issues,' which are the topics or issues that appear during the interview from the narration of the interviewee. The researcher's aim is to perceive the immanent issues highlighted by the interviewer and focus on that (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, pp4–5). In this research, the researcher ensured that the theoretical context was written out before she began the interviewing.

ii. Phase 1: Initiation

Here the entire order of the interview is explained to the interviewee, first, the asking of the recording, that the interview is anonymous, that she can share uninterrupted, the questioning phase, and other aspects. Moreover, a basic introduction can also be included to push the start of the narration. Around the initial topic, there is a certain guideline, i.e., 'The initial topic must be of personal and of social or communal significance' (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p5).

iii. Phase 2: Main narration

Without interruption by the researcher, the narration goes on. Only when the interviewee either pauses or clearly comes to an end, the researcher steps in. While the narration occurs, the researcher refrains from making any comments but only uses non-verbal signs to communicate active listening such as 'Hmm,'yes' or 'I see' to encourage the interviewee to continue to talk (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p5). The researcher tried to respond with 'Hmm' as much as possible during the interviews.

Phase 3: Questioning phase

When the interviewee transition into a 'natural end, the questioning phase' begins. The interviewer should try to include the language of the interviewee by framing the question and considering a couple of rules. For instance: 'Do not ask why-questions; ask only questions concerning events like 'what happened before/after/then?'' (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p5–6). The researcher had a why question prepared but left it out after examining the rules.

iv. Phase 4: Concluding talk

When the recording is stopped, it provides the opportunity for a 'small talk,' and the relaxed atmosphere helps to gain more information and to even ask why questions. Making notes, especially during this part, is recommended as new information can be brought up (Jovechelovitch & Bauer, 2000, p6). Especially with interview A, more information was gathered after the recording.

In the following table the phases are demonstrated with interview examples:

Phases	Rules	Interview examples
Preparation	Exploring the field Formulating exmanent questions	'When you think about your work experience, was there ever a situation where you felt discriminated against because of your skin color? And if so, in what form did it take place?'
1 Initiation	Formulating initial topic for narration	'Black Europeans and people of African descent are a minority group that particularly suffer from racial discrimination. Even though there is a long European history of colonialism and racial discrimination in Europe, only a few academic pieces of literature highlight Black people and their suffering under 'Afrophobia'
2 Main narration	No interruptions Only non-verbal encouragement to continue story-telling Wait for the coda	'Hmm'
3 Questioning phase	Only 'What happened then?' No opinion and attitude questions No arguing on contradictions No why-questions Exmanent into immanent questions	'What further recommendations do you have for the reduction of Afrophobia towards Black Europeans and People of African heritage in Europe?'
4 Concluding Talk	Stop recording Why questions allowed Memory protocol immediately after interview	/

Table 2: Overview of basic phases of the narrative interview (Source: Jovhelovitch and Bauer, 2000, p4; own figure)
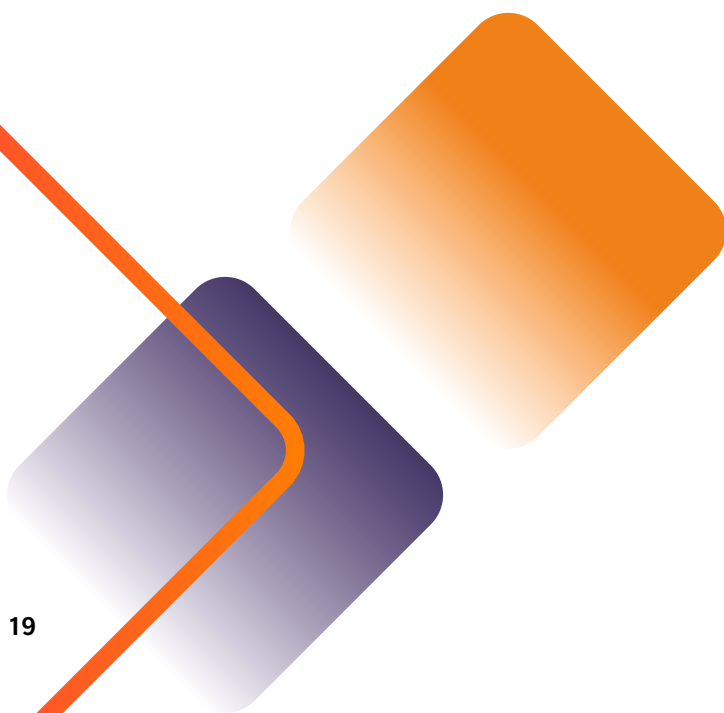
After the three interviews were conducted in the first week of July 2023, the Data Analysis through Open Coding began.

3.3 Data Analysis through Open Coding

The Data Analysis started out with transcribing every interview (see Ch. 8.2). This process took a vast amount of time. After the finished transcript every interview was analyzed through 'open coding' by the Grounded Theory (GT) Methodology. This methodology is inspired by the scholars Glaser, Strauss, and Corbin and is used in many studies (Tie et al.,2019, p1). This form of research 'is a structured, yet flexible methodology. This methodology is appropriate when little is known about a phenomenon, the aim being to produce or construct an explanatory theory that uncovers a process inherent to the substantive area of inquiry' (Tie et al., 2019, pp1–2). It combines various research aspects such as, i.e., 'collection of data, defining subsequent samples, coding data, analyzing data, writing memos and diagrams, generating theory, and reviewing literature, etc. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Urquhart, 2013, cited in Mohajan & Mohajan, 2022, p6). These three aspects of GT were thoroughly used in the research: theoretical sampling, coding, and memoing, which are going to be defined in the following text.

i. Theoretical sampling

The aim of 'theoretical sampling' is for the researcher 'to follow leads in the data by sampling new participants or material that provides relevant information' (Tie et al., 2019, p5). The goal is to create a theoretical category. This process is done when these categories are formed.

ii. Coding

Coding in GT is a procedure that 'is used to identify concepts, similarities and conceptual reoccurrences in data' (Tie et al., 2019, p4). There are different phases that can be used in identifying similarities between interviews and establishing these 'categories: open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.' The researcher used open coding for this work. Strauss and Corbin (1998, cited in Mohajan & Mohajan, 2022, p11) say that 'it is the analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data'. Moreover, it is marked by naming 'concepts' as well as forming categories (Bulmer, 1969, cited in Mohajan & Mohajan, 2022, p11). This intensive process takes place by conceptualizing and categorizing the entire data by breaking it up into smaller pieces which are then thoroughly examined (Vollstedt &Rezat, 2019, cited in Mohajan & Mohajan, 2022, p11). This is a very long process and takes place in various ways. For instance, the transcriptions can be analyzed through 'line-by-line coding, analyzing every sentence and word by word, or using short segments of data, etc., to identify substantive codes emergent within the data' (Birks & Mills, 2015, cited in Mohajan & Mohajan, 2022, p11). In this research, certain paragraphs were coded, and after they had been analyzed and key paragraphs were highlighted, they were first tied into subcategories and then overall categories. This helps the researcher to identify key aspects and focus on certain issues for the data analysis evaluation part (Flink, 2018, cited in Mohajan & Mohajan, 2022, p12). Examples of how the finished codes were compared and subcategories and categories formed, is going to be demonstrated in the next tables:

Interview	Interview quotes	Codes in comparison
Person A Interview	'I would say that, in a city like, Brussels where you have a lot of spheres of powers but also in every capital. As well as at a local level, whenever you have presence of I would say official institution that have, I would say the basis of structural racism; in these areas of powers, former victims reproduce the same racist and sexist violence towards novices' (Person A, EP, l.32-35).	..The basis of *structural racism*..
Person B Interview	'There are, I think, 2 or 3 Black colleagues. None of them in a leading position. So, I would say it's not that it's obvious racist discrimination, but if it comes to structure or institution, I would say yes, there is racial discrimination, because, there are some other rules that lead to, that, yeah, that the structural hierarchies are like they are' (Person B, DP, l. 90-93).	..If it comes to *structure or institution*, I would say yes, there is racial discrimination,..
Person C Interview	'But I wouldn't say that for my person like my person in particular had a racist moment with the people. I just think that the whole structural think is just racist and discriminating' (Person C, SPD, l.130-132).	...whole *structural think* is just racist and discriminating...

Table 3: Example of comparing codes (Source: own figure)

After the codes were compared and similarities were found among the interviews, the first category, 'Institutional and Structural Racism and Discrimination,' with the subcategory 'Embedment,' was created. This process was done with every code. Similar codes were compared, and subcategories and categories were formed. In the following table, all three categories with their subcategories are listed:

Categories	Subcategories
1. 'Structural and Institutional Racism and Discrimination'	Embedment
2. 'Lack of recognition in Europe'	Ignorance
3. 'Framework for Inclusion and Discrimination'	Decolonization, Education, Media, Member Sates

Table 4: Overview of categories and subcategories (Source: own figure)

iii. Memoing

At last, every process was done with memoing. It is an ongoing process and an essential aspect of GT. Memoing is simply noting and documenting your ideas and thoughts while going through the data. They offer inside into the researcher's thoughts and emotions (Tie et al., 2019, p4).

After the production of the Categories and subcategories, suitable Interview quotes were further evaluated and chosen. The results are showcased in the next chapter.

4. Data Analysis Evaluation

4.1 'Structural and Institutional Racism and Discrimination'

The first category is 'Structural and Institutional Racism and Discrimination' with the subcategory 'Embedment' and displays different incidents of how these Black politicians encountered anti-Black racism in their work. All three of them shared different incidents and confirmed that structural and institutional racism exists and is embedded in society.

Person C shared this incident right at the start of the interview:

'I had a very interesting experience. I went to the central party station, where you can enroll and at the entrance, gate entrance, when I walked in, they were friendly, but you know they kind of you know, told me that I was wrong, I'm supposed to go into the next building. And I was like, really? Because I knew that the next building was gonna be a job center where you basically apply for social support, and it was interesting to see that they could not for a minute think that a Black woman is coming in to register for the party. Instead, they kind of, you know, kind of directed me to the social station and I was like, is this how they see, is that the perception of Black people?'
(Person C, SPD, l.13–20).

One major aspect of why Person C started out in politics was to enhance the visibility of Black people and represent their interests and voices (l.27–28). She noticed that white politicians could not fully pick up their issues and saw that Black people were missing in that space. Thus she stepped in as the first Black woman to be nominated for the party in Hamburg (l.314). However, this role came with different obstacles as she encountered structural and institutional racism within her journey i.e., when she decided to open an African Community center right at the center of Hamburg, the party resisted it to the point of cancellation of building plans (l.366–369).

'And another thing is where I feel sometimes discriminated is if they see that I as a person who has been elected do something for my people of my skin color. And if feels like they think that: 'Oh, you are just doing something for your people'
(Person C, SPD, l.115–118).

'But I wouldn't say that for my person, like my person in particular had a racist moment with the people. I just think that the whole structural think is just racist and, discriminating'
(Person C, SPD, l.130–132).

Person B, working in development policy touched on similar aspects and even highlighted the phenomenon that this type of racism leads to a lack of Black staff in leading positions in European institutions:

'There are, I think, 2 or 3 Black colleagues. None of them in a leading position. So, I would say it's not that it's obvious racist discrimination, but, if it comes to structure or institution, I would say

yes, there is racial discrimination, because, there are some other rules that lead to, that, yeah, that the structural hierarchies are like they are'

(Person B, DP, l. 90–93).

In addition, as she has been in that institution for many years, she expanded on the fact, that no Black person has ever been the head of a department. She shared one incident when she attempted to become the head, but a white person was chosen instead. Even in the 'Africa department,' most of the staff is white (l.88). Person A confirms this institutional racism as well, but in addition, it adds another topic to the evaluation: 'Black on Black' violence.

'Yeah, so to continue with the last answer I gave, so as I said I've experienced the most racism from Black women in my work environment on top of the institutional racism. But that race, I would say, racism internal to the community was so acute and that I would feel this type more and a less institutional racism even though I'm not saying that it doesn't exist at the parliament. I would just say that yeah, this is what I have experienced the most'

(Person A, EP, l.48–152).

Working in the European Parliament, Person A shared how she rather experienced discrimination more from her own Black colleagues through the phenomena of reproduction of violence. 'Black on Black' violence or racism is a newfound research and incident where it's believed that racism does not only happen to Black people but through them as well (Johnson, 2014).

'And yeah, in my case, I am French, and both of my parents are from Africa. So, most of my work has been with mixed-race, Afro-German women who are familiar with racial and gender-based violence and that didn't stop them from using that violence against me. Knowing that I was just starting out. So, I was subjected to comments about my African origins, spreading of false remorse, exclusion, inappropriate comments about the way addressed. The worst for me was when a Black woman to whom I report particularly, not even one but 2 of them commented on a photo of my Instagram account, which they found while searching on internet and they compared me to a prostitute and for the record I used to be a model'

(Person A, EP, l.56–63).

Person A shares how this form of discrimination came in the direct form of speech from her own people. She points out that her case is an exception (l.90). However, this leads to future research discussions of why Black people as a minority were treating each other in such a manner. Besides the structural and institutional racism that they experience, what could be the reasons for the reproduction of violence toward each other?

Scholars ponder on this phenomenon, and some explain it through the existence of colorism in the Black community, which is the idea that those of lighter complexion (i.e., mixed race) are treated better than darker-skinned people and possibly inherited that belief (Greenidge, 2019).

4.2 'Lack of recognition in Europe'

The second category is 'Lack of recognition in Europe' with the subcategory 'Ignorance' and displays how these Black politicians collectively see that there is a lack of full recognition of Anti-Black racism/Afrophobia in Europe, as they deny the existence of institutional and structural racism:

'I would say that in Europe, we like to convince ourselves that the problem of racism is always worse elsewhere, like in the United States for example, but in fact, the issue remains neglected'

(Person A, EP, I.28–30).

'And I believe of course, at least, when it comes to Black racism, the world has become more aware of it since George Floyd. Even though they were all, you know, it's kind of like people are blindsided they just don't wanna look at it, but it was there all along'

(Person C, SPD, 81–84).

All three of them did acknowledge different current anti-racism work happening especially since the Black Lives Matter Movement in 2020; the anti-hate speech legislative, Anti-Racism and Diversity intergroup in the EP, ENAR, anti-racist training in institutions, the UN decade, and their own initiatives in pushing for the Black community.

'I would say that one problem, we have at the European Union is that, we focus on two diversity questions. Let's say, at the European Commission: We have a commissioner for equality, but when we talk about equality, we focus on anti-Roma hate, on antisemitism. After when we have racism, we don't know if we put the Black community and the Asian community together. So, it's pretty much confused. And the specificities of each community and problems and history is not being taken into account in the same way. I would say more efforts are done for this particular type of hate and less for another'

(Person A, EP, I.112–118).

Person A makes clear, though, that the work is happening in the EU; the Black Community is not specifically targeted, and because of that, the concept is broad and not specific:

'But this is a very, I would say very broad approach. It is necessary. But I, to my sense, some problems needs to be sold specifically. And that approach is lacking.'

(Person A, EP, I. 125–127).

Similarly, Person B shares how institutions and board directors have taken the initiative to focus on diversity and hire more people with migrant backgrounds. However, there is a collective lack of understanding of structural and institutional racism in European institutions:

'The board of directors doesn't have a clear concept of what they want. And, they don't understand the mechanisms of structural or institutional racism. So it's all pretty vague and not very developed

(Person B, DP, I.129–131)'.

'So, things like that that the people are completely blind or not educated in the impact or the consequences of structural racism'

Besides the arguments presented in the theoretical framework, these politicians conclude that the lack of recognition and silence in Europe stems from a lack of understanding of institutional and structural racism that leads to a lack of full comprehension of the consequences of Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism in Europe.

4.3 'Framework for Inclusion and Anti-discrimination'

The dissertation seeks an understanding of the research questions: *'What recommendations do Black European politicians have for the reduction of Afrophobia towards Black Europeans and People of African heritage in Europe?'*

Alongside the three ideas to combat the silencing of Afrophobia from a CRT academic perspective (Ch. 2.3.1), the aim is to construct a framework for inclusion and anti-discrimination from a Black European victim perspective to further investigate what could be done and highlight the tenet of CRT for stressing personal encounters. The last category, 'Framework for Inclusion and Anti-discrimination,' with the subcategories: 'Decolonization, Education, Media, Member States,' captures the ideas these politicians like to see for Anti-Black racism to be reduced and reveal the challenges these changes would face. All three politicians expressed a desperate need for new ideas to come forth, starting not at the political, but on the educational level:

'So, I would, I would like to want to raise awareness about the reproduction of violence in spheres of power. Because to my sense, this is something that I was not ready for and I was not also expecting considering also that my first experience with the Americans was totally different. But I think in Europe we should, we should insist on that. And also, for the reduction of Afrophobia. I think something should be done in the curriculum for the middle school and high school in order to address the history of Afrophobia in each country'

(Person A, EP, I. 150–155).

'I would say the in the educational programs of each member state. In order to know also how and when did the member state took part into colonization, into slavery and, what is being done today. I think maybe an approach that could be helpful would be, that of trying to focus on each member state and seeing how the Black community in such country A B or C is doing. If this is clear'

(Person A, EP, I.141–145).

Person A addresses the need to talk about the reproduction of violence from Black people and for the history of Black people to be taught in school. Moreover, the role of colonization and slavery must be admitted in the educational programs in the MS, and the progress must be monitored. Similarly, Person C, who also works in the education field besides being a politician, advocates
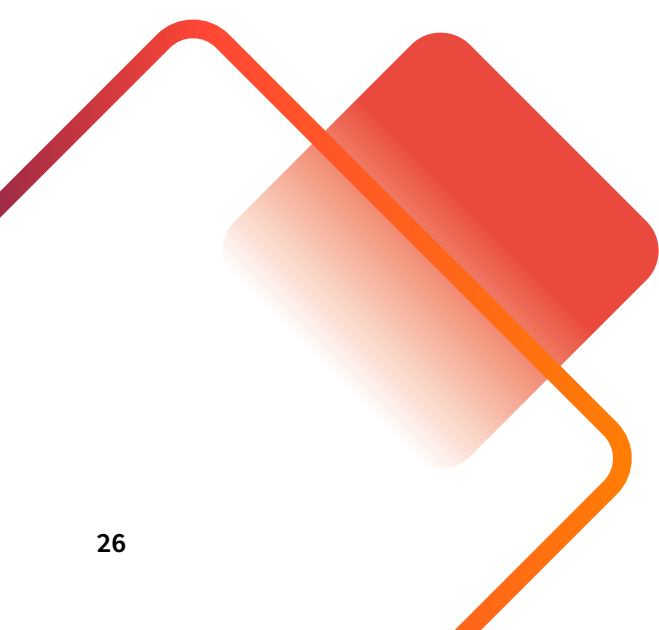
first for more protection for Black children in school (l.262–266). Universities need to also teach about different ethnicities and especially include Black studies in Europe (l.278–279). In addition, schools should have 'complain offices' where Black pupils have the chance to report their racist encounters, and all of this should be addressed from the EP position (l.292–294). Looking further at the EP:

'If we start at the European Parliament section, it is nice to see that there are papers and words, but these papers and words need to have an effect, effective on the countries who have signed to it and if they don't sign it, they need to be, you know kind of punished in a way'

(Person C, SPD, l.216–219).

Person C strictly advocates for MS to be stronger prosecuted if they do not comply with the action plan against discrimination. Furthermore, they also need to default some of their own regulations and procedures that are rooted in discrimination. They should start first to critically assess their own mentality concerning Black people and then address the MS, who then need to be given an action plan that must be presented and accessible for their citizens as well (l.223–232). Citizens mostly have no idea of the legislation. Also, the media channels and networks should be part of the reduction of Afrophobia:

'And I would say also that, specifically in the media, some legislation or recommendation should be done because it's a driver of hate. And that is also so supporting structural racism already backed by official institutions'

(Person A, EP, l.157–159).

Person B first shared a state of hopelessness for the future; however, she recommends that civil society first should recognize Black people, considering them as partners and pursue stronger cooperation with them (l. 153–157):

'I mean, that would be for example, I think a thing I would ask, civil society for. Of course, organizations and institutions, political or civil society institutions, that they really have an active or strategy not only of diversity but equity and social justice. And that especially in the development sector yeah, there should be things like quotas to hire people of African descent'

(Person B, DP, l.159–162).

Besides specifically having representative quotas for hiring Black Europeans and People of African heritage, decolonization should be used more as an approach in European institutions:

'And the other thing would be that they should demand more decolonial processes of daily work, towards the Ministry of Development and Corporation'

(Person B, DP, l.165–166).

This leads us to this framework for inclusion and anti-discrimination from their viewpoint:

Framework

Black Community: Raising awareness of reproduction of violence- Black on Black Violence
Education: Including Black History in the school curriculum, more protection for Black students through complaint offices, using Black studies and literature
Member States: holding MS accountable to their agreements, monitoring their progress, recognizing Black people, and cooperating with them
EU/European Parliament: Reflecting their own mentality and provide actions plans for MS and citizens
Media: Legislation should be done for them to avoid reproducing negative and false images of Black Europeans/People of African descent
Institutions/Companies: hiring quotas for Black people and using a decolonization approach to reflect their behavior consistently

Table 5: Framework for Inclusion and Anti-Discrimination (Source: own figure)

With this framework of ideas against Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism, these politicians also shared possible challenges that must be considered in applying these recommendations:

'So, challenges are that there is a strong block of the European Union that is fighting against any effort of inclusion or diversity. It's a secret for no one that the far right has more and more influence and so the far right really embodies the worst of European ideological tradition. So. exclusive nationalism the message is based on 3 IDs; ethnic exaltation of the nation; xenophobia, anti-immigration; populism. So, that's a big challenge. And we see more and more of these political ideas being spread on social media. I see it every day at the parliament. Also, on media as I told you. So that's a great challenge but I would say at the same time, we have the opportunities also to invest these I would say digital spaces and, spread knowledge, writing theses as you do, in order to also bring a counter point of view that will not be backed by the mainstream'

(Person A, EP, l. 163–173).

'So, it is , you know it's like you're dancing yeah around the issue because on the one hand, you wanna make a change as a privileged person or more or as a majority holder, but at the same time, you know that in order to have a balance, you will have to make space for the others and you don't wanna lose that position as well. So, I do believe there's a lot of things to be done and there's more things to do that's necessary if they really want to fight racism and I'm saying that because if they really want to fight, they would have already done that for the longest. If they would the whole system would be unbalanced'

(Person C, SPD, l. 96–103).

'So, I'm really afraid that, then also the little budgets we have for questions like this are also disappearing. And my question is

really, yeah, how could we make this sustainable? I mean that the little we reached in the last years, we don't lose it again'

(Person B, l. 199–200).

The rise of far-right parties in the EU/European Union, the hard time for white Europeans to give up their seats and make space for Black people, and the question of sustainability; how can the work that is being done be sustained and not die again? – make up some of the challenges that come with implementing these new recommendations. Nonetheless, they all make clear that it all starts with exposure, having discussions around Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism, and refusing to be silent:

'...I would say, that I'm very grateful that you allow me to have a voice...'

(Person A, EP, l.194).
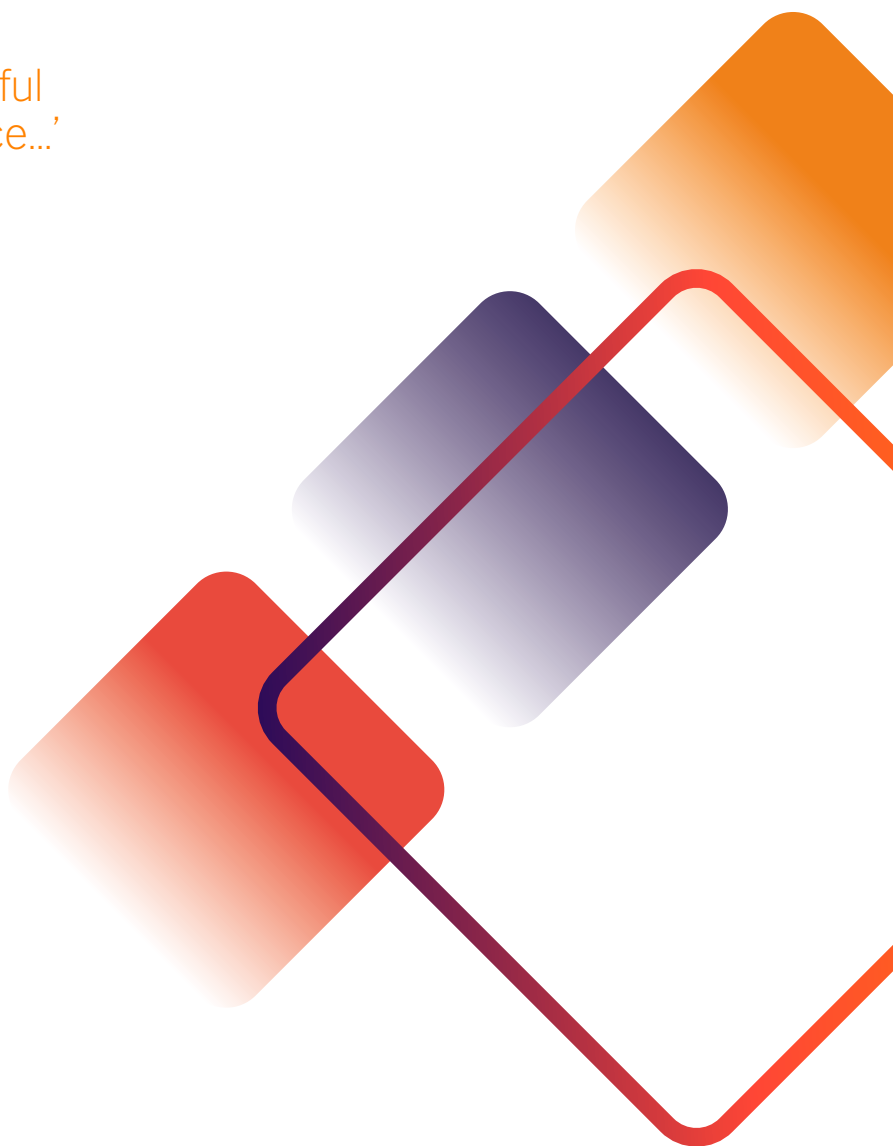
5. Conclusion and Future Research

This research aimed to explore Afrophobia/Anti-Black racism from a Black European perspective by using Critical Race Theory and qualitative expert interviews with Black politicians in Europe to identify and further investigate this form of racism that degrades Black people.

The main research questions were:

1. 'Why has Europe been silent about racism?'

2. 'What recommendations do Black European politicians have for the reduction of Afrophobia towards Black Europeans and People of African heritage in Europe?'

Historically, Black Europeans and people of African descent have suffered under colonialism and racial discrimination for centuries. From a CRT perspective, Europe's silence on racism stems from a different understanding of racism compared to that of the USA. Critical Race Theory has been established in the USA, unlike in Europe, where the belief exists that the USA is worse off, and racism is carried out by far-right groups. Secondly, the lack of an intersectionality approach in theory and practice leads to silencing as well. While the European Union has various legislation and policies against anti-discrimination, the approach of intersectionality is missing, which leads to other forms of oppression. For instance, considering not only a Black person but taking into account other factors of discrimination as well; i.e., disability or religion and the intersection of it all. Lastly, different approaches to anti-discrimination legislation on national and international levels exist, which further leads to silencing, as the full alignment between the EU and MS is missing. While the European Union comes up with their policies, MS on a microlevel comes up with their ideas too.

To combat this silencing, three ways through a CRT academic perspective were argued, first exposing colorblindness in the law. As CRT exposed colorblindness within the institutions in America, this approach must make its way to Europe. Furthermore, more positive action from various institutions and organizations, like ENAR that is actively working with the EU to push for the Black community and finally curing the silencing through counter-storytelling and using personal encounters to provide Black people a voice. The latter approach was used in the second part of the dissertation with Grounded Theory to interview three Black politicians from Europe to conduct an inclusion framework from the victims' perspectives. Collectively, these Black politicians advocated for i.e., Black History to be taught in MS educational system, Black children to receive more protection in schools, complaint offices to be established and MS to be held more accountable in keeping with action plans. Moreover, media outlets positively highlighting Black people, civil society actively cooperating with Black citizens, hiring quotas for people of African descent to be made available in institutions, and Black studies and decolonization approaches to be used intensively in institutions and academia. However, these challenges must be considered: white Europeans making way for their Black colleagues, the sustenance of the current work against Afrophobia, and the rise of far-right parties in the EU.

For future research, the phenomena of the reproduction of violence and Black-on-Black discrimination could be further investigated. Why do victims sometimes reproduce the violence they have experienced? What definite role does colorism play in the Black community, and how can this be prevented?

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7.1 Interview Guide Form

Interview Guide Form

Initiation

I am doing a qualitative research study on 'Afrophobia and Anti-Black racism in Europe' from a Black European perspective in my postgraduate studies in International Relations at the University of Westminster. I'm highly interested in your subjective perspectives as a Black European and your overall experience in working in the field of politics. Thank you for making yourself available for this interview.

The entire interview is anonymous. You can freely express yourself as much as you like. I'm first not going to interrupt you; I will just make a couple of notes and return to it later.

To start this interview, what was your journey like working in the political field as a Black woman? What was your motivation? Freely share your journey.

Introduction

Initiation

When we now look at Europe; Black Europeans and people of African descent are a minority group that particularly suffer from racial discrimination. Even though there is a long European history of colonialism and racial discrimination in Europe, only a few academic pieces of literature highlight Black people and their suffering under 'Afrophobia'.

Do you think the issue of racism has been taken serious enough?

Institutional Experience and Position

Initiation

Looking now at your work field. The European Union for instance demonstrates legislation concerning equality and anti-discrimination. However, recent reports show that Black People still encounter racism on various levels. In 2020 with the rise of the Black Lives Matter Movement, I came across an article from an MEP sharing how she encounter racial discrimination even in the European Union.

1. When you think about your work experience, was there ever a situation where you felt discriminated against because of your skin color? And if so, in what form did it take place?

2. How do (white) colleagues react? How do you react when you spot discrimination in the workplace?

Anti-discrimination Ideas

Initiation

Looking now over at anti-discrimination ideas, legislation, and policies that have been established over the years.

1. What does the European Union or other institutions do against anti-Black racism or discrimination towards the Black community? Are they effective?

2. What further recommendations do you have for the reduction of Afrophobia towards Black Europeans and People of African heritage in Europe?

3. How can they be implemented? What challenges or opportunities might these changes bring?

Ending

1. With your current work, do you feel you make an impact? What other issues are you passionate about?

2. Is there anything you would like to add in addition to the interview questions?

We have reached the end of the interview. Thank you so much for your in-depth insight and for the time to do this interview with me.

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