# PODER

## Identity, power, inequality:

**requestioning group based exclusions in the context of adult education**

# PODER

## Identity, power, inequality


*Written by*

**Artemisszió Foundation** (Hungary)

Adrienn Bogdán, Ágnes Kovács, Diana Szántó

**Élan Interculturel** (France)

Ines Katz, Gabriel Felipe Solano Iglesias, Mariana Hanssen, Vera Várhegyi, Theó Dupont

**Giolli Cooperativa Sociale** (Italy)

Chiara Ioriatti, Maria Grazia Ruggieri, Massimiliano Filosi, Roberto Mazzini

**Ulex Project** (Spain)

Hilal Demir

**Universidade do Porto** (Portugal)

Beatriz Villas Bôas, Eunice Macedo, Joana Cruz, José Pedro Amorim, Luiza Cortesão

*Edited by*

**Artemisszió Foundation** (Hungary)

Ágnes Kovács and Diana Szántó



**2023**

***This Reader has been published with the support of the European Union. The contents of this publication are the sole responsibility of the partners of the Poder project and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the European Union.***

# Table of Contents

# Introduction

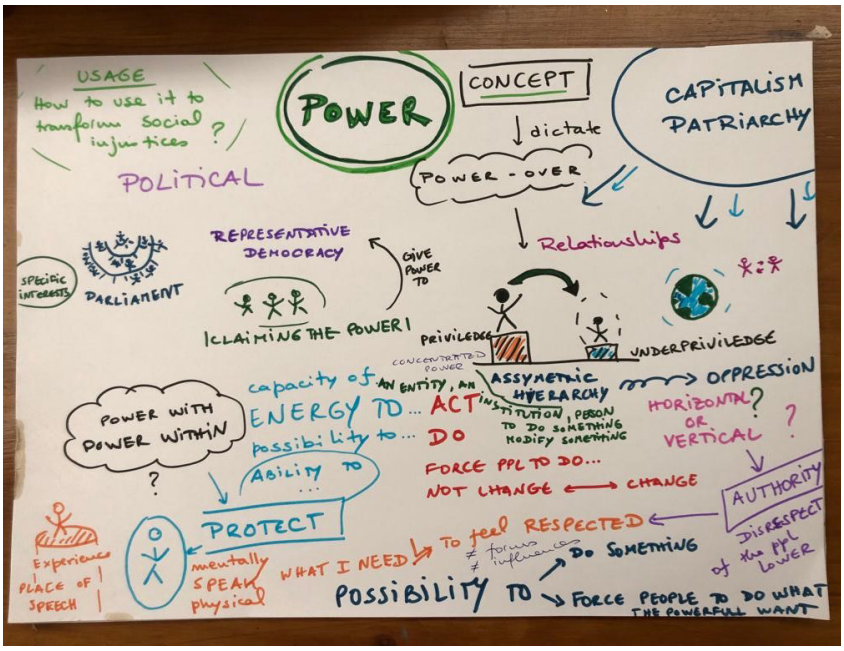
## *Identity, power, inequality*

*Ágnes Kovács (Artemisszió Foundation, Hungary), Vera Várhegyi (Élan Interculturel, France), Joana Cruz, Beatriz Villas-Bôas, Eunice Macedo, and José Pedro Amorim (Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, University of Porto, and Paulo Freire Institute of Portugal).*

The collection of essays you're about to read was written in the framework of the PODER project, whose mission was to explore how differences in power, status, and hierarchy influence adult education activities, such as a theatre workshop, a cooking class, a French lesson etc. Concerns related to power and hierarchy can emerge at least in three different ways. Individual status differences tend to arise in any group. Some individuals acquire more status than others, with respect to the relevant activity of the group: one student who proves to be a more talented actor, who spontaneously has an impeccable French accent, or who's always ready to give a hand to others in their tasks. There are also individual and/or cultural preferences: some of us attribute more importance and respect to status or hierarchy. For instance, some students will hesitate to ask questions or express their disagreement from fear of failing to show proper respect to the educator, while others will be inclined to counter the educator precisely because of their hierarchical role. Finally, learners and educators have a specific perceived status simply because they belong to specific social groups – based on age, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, religion etc. These differences tend to create unfair distinctions and inequalities, inside but also outside the classroom – distinctions which are not always understandable by those who do not experience discrimination. The purpose of our reader is to offer some background information that concerns such group-based hierarchization. In this introduction we briefly explain where these hierarchizations originate from, why we feel they can cause suffering, and how we could work to reduce its negative impacts.

## On power

It is impossible to talk about exclusions and identity struggles without discussing power and the hierarchy it entails. An initial reflection exercise through a questionnaire gave us access to the group's shared understanding of Power, pictured below. To see power in its complexity, to address it explicitly and move away from a neutral understanding of it is to recognise that "assumptions about power are essential elements upon which the rest of the theoretical approach is built" (Murphy, 1982:180). To explore the different layers of the meaning of the word "power" s to admit the difficulties and tensions inherent in discussing social problems, and hierarchical, and asymmetric relationships. It is important to try to define "power" in order to reflect on the hierarchical dimension that structures all the mobilisations and fights unravelled throughout this reader.




The complexity of conceptualising Power

In a relevant manner for the construction of our argument, Murphy's (1982) influential work made a distinction between three kinds of power that are worth recalling as they keep being significantly updated: the power to command, the power to constraint and the power to profit. The first, power to command, is a visible form of power that confers to some the power to direct, while putting the other in the obligation to obey. The "power to constraint and the power to profit from are less visible forms of power (...) that lead dominated groups to misrecognize the power relations" (Murphy, 1982, p. 200; see also Freire, 1970[2005]). Formal structures, such as the school, constitute "an effective mechanism for legitimating and transmitting inequalities in capitalist society" (Murphy. 1982:200). This contributes to what the author sees as an unseen power, as powerful as other forms.

In her milestone work the Power of the Weak (1975), Elizabeth Janeways, looks at the word "power" in encyclopaedias, and finds two different perspectives: i) the liberating power, where the capacity to do something or to act is emphasised - the power-as-seen from within; ii) and the limiting power that is exercised by the self on others as a means of dominance or of compelling obedience - the power-as-experienced by others. With this finding came the "disquietude that limiting power, or dominance, apparently surfaced first" (Janeway, 1975:103). This double-edged depiction of power propped a relational and morally dubious entanglement of both perspectives, being one the possibility of the other: my liberating power could be sensed as domination by the other.

Here the collective dimension of oppression arises since power is distributed among groups and is embodied in "concrete relations between individuals who belong to different social groups" and, therefore, have different benefits" (Boal, 2010:124-125). Such relations of power are explored by Paulo Freire, one of the greatest pedagogues of the twentieth century, starting from the Pedagogy of the oppressed (1970 [2005]), in which he unveils the relations of domination and subordination between oppressors and the oppressed, who internalise the myths used by the dominant group to legitimise their power (See also Macedo, Vasconcelos, Evans, Lacerda & Vaz Pinto, 2013). Freire (1970) highlighted throughout his life that education is always oriented towards one of two antagonistic political projects: liberation or domestication.

In the same vein, for Max Weber (1983), one of the founders of comprehensive sociology, power allows those who possess it to impose their will on others. Therefore, power is related to the inequalities that exist in social relations. Moreover, Foucault's (1977/2006) contribution to the field of social theory is also extremely relevant to the analysis of power insofar as it deconstructs it, finding it in the (micro)politics of daily life and so highlighting how it is present in all kinds of social relations. Martin-Baró (1984; 1989) also insisted that power characterises social relations based on the difference of resources, which allows some to fulfil their personal or class interests, and impose them on others, since power is inherent in every social relationship.

To sum up, one may say that recognising the conflictual nature of society and the omnipresence of power is fundamental. According to Freire, education always had this political nature. Conflict and power have economic and ideological dimensions (Blanco, 1993) inherent in the diversity of the locations – and combinations – of power in which people and social groups live (Young, 2000). In line with a view of "inclusion and democracy" (Young, 2000), Charles Tilly (2004) - based on his collective work with McAddam and Tarrow - asserts that social movements tend to respond to these conflicts involving "collective making of claims that, if realised, would conflict with someone else's interests, politics in the sense that governments of one sort or another figure somehow in the claim making, whether as claimants, objects of claims, allies of the objects, or monitors of the contention" (Tilly et al., 2004:33).

## Why is this relevant in the context of education?

Even though pedagogical institutions and authorities may pose or wish to be seen as neutral, through their structure, programme, proceedings they tend to legitimise and transmit to learners the forms and relations of power to which they belong. This specific function of educational systems inside a complex, modern society, is presented under what sociologists have called Symbolic Violence (Bourdieu–Passeron, 1970): a social apparatus that imposes certain power relations as legitimate and participates in these power relations by making them invisible and seem natural. As a result, educational systems have the function of reproducing a social order through their pedagogic action. The importance of the training of educators is, then, crucial: educators must have the tools to act consciously inside their pedagogic practice, taking a critical stance towards the reproduction of social prejudices and the naturalisation of injustice and social asymmetries. This can be done by cultivating a sensibility that helps render unjust social conditions visible, as well as by recognizing the responsibility inherent in educational practices and as a result, potentially transforming them.

## Group based hierarchies

In" Theory of Justice" (1999) John Rawls proposes an interesting thought experiment to check to what extent a society is socially just, i.e., not favouring any group over another: If we had the choice, would we be equally happy to be born into any identity group or social milieu? If the answer is negative, we can be pretty sure that there is some group-based stratification system that favours some groups over others in terms of access to rights, symbolic and material resources. Pratto and Sidanius, authors of the theory of social dominance, observe a "basic human predisposition to form and maintain hierarchical and group-based systems of social organisation." Their claim is none less than group-based stratification is a universal feature of human cultures, "beneath major and sometimes profound differences between different human societies, there is also a grammar of social power shared by all societies" (1999:iii).

Contrary to individual ranks, group-based hierarchies do not appear in non-human primates, and only started to develop in agrarian societies about 10.000 years ago (Mazur,

2013:54). Two dimensions may be an exception and seem to permeate all human societies: age and gender (Pratto, Sidanius 1999:33). These are observed even in small nomadic hunter-gatherer communities. Despite a great variety in the extent and form of this hierarchisation, there seems to be a reliable pattern: the adults dominate the young and males dominate females in all known societies.

Pratto and Sidanius argue that there is a third type of stratification, which is an arbitrarily set system, and which can use any socially constructed group as criteria for division: race, religion, clan, tribe, lineage, linguistic / ethnic group, or social class. This third type appears only whenever an economic surplus is produced by the community: this allows some males to specialise in the "arts of coercion" such as armies, police, bureaucracy (1999:35). This tendency does not only refer to modern capitalism, or a small portion of societies governed by exceptionally evil or greedy elites. The authors' conclusion is explicit: "the apparently perfect correlation between the production of sustainable economic surplus and the emergence of arbitrary-set social hierarchy appears to imply that systems of arbitrary-set hierarchies will emerge whenever the proper economic conditions allow" (1999:36).

What does the establishment of such group-based hierarchies actually mean? That physical and social spaces, opportunities will be segmented for different groups. The segmentation can happen through explicit rules, such as in the Apartheid era, when some beaches, transports, buildings were closed to non Whites in South Africa, but also in the United States, or in times and spaces when and where women have not had the right to vote or gay couples to get married. It can also happen through implicit rules, when signs are not posted yet differentiation still occurs: cv's of candidates with differently marked names are evaluated differently, etc.


"Reserved for the sole use of members of the white race group" sign in English, Afrikaans, and Zulu at a beach in Durban, 1989 from wikipedia

## What's wrong with group-based hierarchies?

The description above makes group-based stratifications almost natural, an evident consequence of the social evolution of our species. Are we certain we should act against it, instead of humbly accepting our place in the grand system? Firstly, the fact that something is "natural" does not need to imply it's desirable. Cancer, diabetes, and a plethora of illnesses are natural, but that does not prevent us from working against them. If group-based inequalities are a "natural" feature of the human condition, so is "empathy," the recognition of others' suffering and the desire to reduce suffering. "Because the most real thing in the world is suffering" (Harari 2018:356). Group-based inequalities have induced tremendous suffe-

ring in the worst moments of human history, such as slavery, genocide, poverty, racism, dehumanisation. In better moments, it would "only" imply that individuals have dramatically different chances, access to resources, life expectancy etc. just because they are members of particular groups. This may go against our sense of justice.

## The argument of justice

Justice is not a new concept and has been a proven principle of social organization as early as 4000 years ago. The Code of Hamurabbi, composed circa 1772 BC by the sixth King of the First Dynasty of Babylon, references a type of strict causitic law, organised in "if... then" sentence structures. The purpose of the text was to demonstrate how King Hamurabbi vowed *"to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak [...] to enlighten the land and to further the welfare of the people"* (Hamurabbi, translated by Harper, 1904).

There is no one objective form of justice, as it is heavily connected to our own sense of justice. As much as we like to think otherwise, justice is man-made. Firstly, it can change between time-periods, which is why habits that were considered natural at one time became to be seen as barbary later on, for example, slavery became outlawed in many European countries, as well as beating one's wife, or more recently, one's children (Szántó, 2022). Justice can change between different nations and cultures: as of early 2023, 19 European countries recognize legally the same-sex marriage, while 14 European countries still place a constitutional ban on it. A sense of justice can also change within the same individual, depending on age or topic at hand.

Which can lead us to the understanding that while what is exactly just or unjust is not universal, it is universal to think that behaviours or customs can be just or unjust. There are competing sources within ourselves about our sense of justice that we cherish: the maintenance of order (legality) or the protection of fairness (morality). When we talk about morality, we often refer to our sense of right and wrong, which we learned during our socialisation from a young age. Questions raised by thinkers of moral political philosophy often centre around what is just, according to the protection of human rights and from the point of view of what is considered to be systemic and personal responsibilities (Rawls, 1999; Nozick, 1974). Political realists are often not anti-moralists, instead they raise the importance of legitimacy of existing power structures and how it can create stability in society. They argue that even if an existing power position was gained through violence – such as revolution, slavery, colonialism, personal power struggles – that doesn't necessarily mean the existing power structure is not legitimate (Galston, 2010; Guess, 2010; Rossi, 2019). Legitimacy for example in the case of usage of violence can mean that certain groups that hold the monopoly of violence, such as the military, police etc. are required to operate in transparent ways so that it can be monitored, controlled, and in case of misuse or abuse of power, the guilty can be held responsible.

## But what if a nation or a society is unjust?

Moralist thinkers argue that a malfunctioning state is not the only way to use power incorrectly and/or without legitimacy, but it can also disqualify said state if it does not represent the interest of its citizens and does not fulfil its duties. What kind of duties can we think of? One positive tendency of modern democracies has been a steady decrease in the rate of extreme poverty. That progress hit a plateau in 2020 due to global changes such as the Covid-19 pandemic and inflation (World Bank, 2022). However, wealth and income inequality has been not only growing within and between countries, but this increase has also been exacerbated from 2020 and since the Covid-19 pandemic. What does this mean? As of 2021, the poorest 50% of the population owns only 2% of the total

wealth, while the richest 10% owns 76% of all wealth (Chancel – Piketty – Saez – Zuchman, 2022).

Total and complete equality is not reachable, and also rarely desired even by the defenders of moral philosophy. Instead, they call for a curbing of sharp inequalities. John Rawls famously painted an ideal utopia in his book, "A Theory of Justice." His preferred form of justice is "justice as fairness" and in this theory social justice is distributive, i.e., the society is based on cooperation and provides for those who cannot provide for themselves due to circumstances out of their fault. Distribution here does not mean total equal distribution of wealth, instead an equality of chances, treatment, and resources. These utopian societies are not necessarily economical according to present day criteria, instead they are based on justice (Rawls, 1999).

Political equality has been achieved in liberal democracies, allowing having equal formal rights such as the right to vote, voicing opinions, holding political office. However, there is difference between de *jure* (of law, or by right) and *de facto* (in fact, in reality) political equality. *De facto* political inequality can be seen in racial discrimination in the criminal justice system, or in the disproportionate parliamentary seats occupied by men, compared to women even though women account for almost 50% of the world's population. Nevertheless, even if people were truly equal before the law not only in theory, but also in practice, it would still be an incomplete system without economic and social equality.

Whether to avoid other people's suffering or to be in line with our own sense of justice, we may feel compelled to work against group-based hierarchies. To know how to start, it may be a good idea to understand where these hierarchies come from, how do they come about.

## How do we see others?

1. "These XXX are tall beasts with deep sunken eyes and beak-like noses… Although undoubtedly men, they seem to possess none of the mental faculties of men. The most bestial of peasants is far more human. It is quite possible that they are susceptible to training and could with patience be taught the modes of conduct proper to a human being."

2. "Vices the most notorious seem to be the portion of this unhappy race: idleness, treachery, revenge, cruelty, impudence, stealing, lying, profanity, debauchery, nastiness, and intemperance, are said to have extinguished the principles of natural law, and to have silenced the reproofs of conscience."

3. "XXX as can be seen from numerous examples are extremely depraved, wicked, and deprived of conscience. They are the only race that have found ways of manipulating and cheating other races and always justify it when they are confronted."

4. "Look what they are doing to their own people. It is all about the destruction of the family, of cultural and national identity, perversion, and abuse of children, including pedophilia, all of which are declared normal in their life."[1]

Although you may not recognize immediately what social groups the passages above refer to, and who wrote them, you may identify them as manifestations of explicit bigotry and extreme prejudice. They are what Pratto and Sidanius would consider examples of "legitimising myths": ideologies that justify the subjugation of some groups by others. Most of us find solace in the idea that these are things of the past. Social psychologists refer to such manifestations as "blatant bias," and indeed, research tells us that in modern liberal democracies only 10% of the population holds overt prejudices (Fiske 2017:509). Those of us identifying in the 90% may lay back with relief. However, celebration may be premature. The same researchers tell us that even if we don't harbour explicitly overt prejudices, don't condone

**1** The sources of these quotations are given at the end of this chapter under "list of quotations". We suggest that the reader try to imagine possible situations to which these sentences may apply – until verifying them.

racist ideologies, and do not have bad intentions, inadvertently we can still reinforce patterns of discrimination. But what does this actually mean? Where do these biases come from; how can we commit discrimination without being aware of it?

## Creating categories

Have a look at the five images below.

Should you not recognize the faces, chances are your brain has already (in a fraction of a second, apparently) reduced the infinite possibilities by identifying these people as women, of a certain ethnicity, of a certain age. The process is called categorisation, and it is a key step in human perception and thinking. Categorisation is an automatism, this means that it occurs without intention, effort, or control (Fiske 2004:411). It simplifies the complexity of the world based on generalisation and classification, as follows:

1. It minimises differences within members of the same category and increases the perception of differences between members of different categories.

2. Categorisation implies a "depersonalisation" (not the same as dehumanisation): people are no longer represented as unique individuals but rather as members of a particular group, as "embodiments of the relevant prototype" mobilising a set of stereotypical features. (Hogg 2003: 464)

This last idea implies that categories are not empty labels, they come with "stereotypes" i.e., associations connected to the social groups[2]. These help us make further inferences and support our guesses about which of the five ladies above is likely to be a feminist, an activist, university professor, have golf as a hobby, lead an extreme right party or spend time in the international space station. Our stereotypes about the social groups (such as Black, White, young, Muslim etc.) will make certain associations more plausible than others. Stereotypes are learned associations between groups and characteristics that we learn from the media, our parents, school etc. But are all such connections false? Aren't some of them glimpses of deeper truth about a particular group? Maybe even pointing to their very essence?

**2** For a more detailed definition: Stereotypes apply "to an individual one's cognitive expectancies and associations about the group. Stereotypes appear as coherent concepts or naive theories about the "characteristics of group members and why those beliefs go together" (Fiske 2004:399)

## Filling and essentializing categories

Let's pick a familiar example. Can our ideas of "feminine essence" be just a bundle of stereotypes about femininity? The short answer to this last question is: yes, they can. Some categories seem to have a deeper essence that explains all the observable features e.g. that women are caring, tolerant, less assertive could emanate from their essence. We can quickly scan the sample of females we know: indeed, some women are caring and tolerant, but not all, and some arrive to great excess of assertiveness. From the late 70s an increasing number of women – women of colour, religious minorities, sexual minorities etc. – felt that the assumption according to which there is a unified "Woman experience" does not describe their situation, as there are distinctive, measurable and unique differences, that race, ethnicity, class, sexuality and culture affect in their situation. Essentialisation is yet again a feature of our thinking, rather than a feature of the group observed. Essentialism is an "early cognitive bias" that we learn in early childhood, it is "a pervasive, persistent reasoning bias that affects categorisation in profound ways" (Gelman 2003:6). Essentialism is not just an evolutionary psychological theory; it can also be used as a weapon. Essentialism gives the basis of many discriminatory, exploitative, or extremist ideologies and is often correlated with racial prejudice (eg: Mandalaywala et al 2018). Essentialist thinking can lead to ideas such as "all Roma are naturally talented at music," "all Black people in the USA have athletic superiority" or "all Jews are greedy or power hungry." This thinking can reduce people to one identity and proposes actions accordingly, such as "women's only job is to create a home and provide for children," "Roma can only succeed if they pursue careers in music," "Black people can only succeed if they pursue sports." Knowing where categories originate from may help to go against essentialism[3].

## Where do the categories come from?

Are they objective, natural, "out there" just waiting for us to discover them? We often use the words "black" and "white" to categorise people according to skin colour. Have a look at the image below. Can you find the objective border between "Black" and "White"?

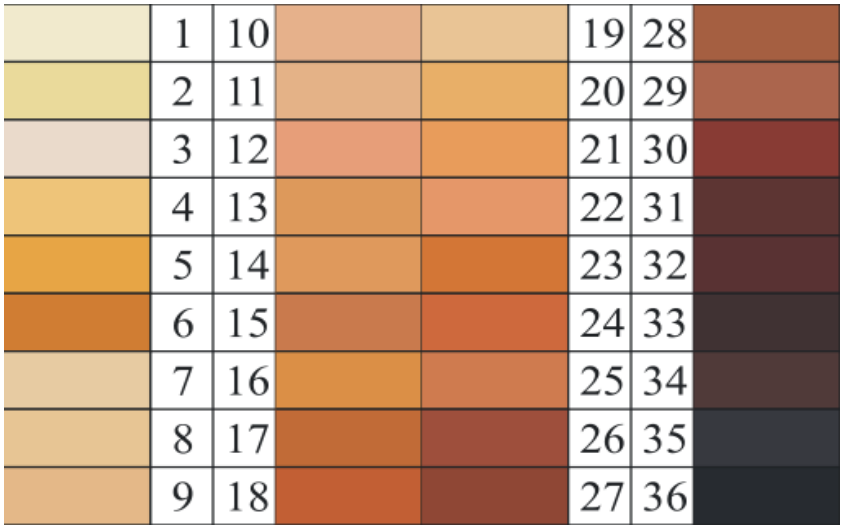



Figure 2 Felix von Luschan Skin Color chart

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Felix_von_Luschan_Skin_Color_chart2.svg

Truth is it would be quite impossible to separate the girls into Black and White, and even to do a more precise categorisation including more racial categories of Latina, Asian etc. There are just too many nuances, diversity is difficult to simplify into two or even more discrete categories. What is true for skin colour, is true for most other categories. They are not a reflection of some natural, objective truth, they are the consequence of social perception and human decision. For instance, while slavery was in place in the USA, in many states 1/16 African heritage was enough to define someone as Black. Today, a person with half-African and half-European heritage is still more often viewed as black rather than white (Fiske 408). The fact that the categories (such as Black, White, etc) are arbitrary, or that they don't have a stable fixed essence that we could discover does not imply that they are meaningless for the people "in it" and that they don't affect our lives deeply. Some categories become social or collective identities when we weave our connection to a particular group into a meaningful story. (Harari 2018:313)

**3** Though in this section our aim is to deconstruct essentialism, it is worth to remember that there is another side to the coin. Essentialism is not only the sin of the racist, but it can also be a strategy of minority groups, in particular in a first phase of the fight for equality, connected to the need of creating awareness of certain discriminations. This is connected to what Spivak describes as "strategic essentialization" (Spivak, 1988).

"*Collective identity refers to people's identification with the groups and social categories to which they belong, the meanings that they give to these social groups and categories, and the feelings, beliefs, and attitudes that result from identifying with them*" (Vignoles et al., 2011:3).

The category of "Black" may be a positive identity for many people. The category "White" less so. Why is this asymmetry? Why don't all categories become identities? According to the "*Self-determination theory", "identities are adopted in the service of basic psychological needs*" (Deci and Ryan, 2003: 254) such as belonging to social groups (e.g. a music subculture identity) feeling competent (e.g. professional identity) finding autonomy (e.g. a gamer identity), status (inhabitant of a prestigious district) but also value and meaning (e.g. religious identity). We participate in many social groups, and the roles and practices we meet within these groups are imitated, explored, rehearsed, adjusted, and assimilated to satisfy these needs. Through such processes of adjustment and assimilation, we end up with a multitude of social identities.

Yet not all of them have the same importance in every moment. So how does one become more important than another in a particular situation? For social psychologists, the answer is "salience" which refers to what extent a category is accessible (well-rehearsed, often recalled) and to what extent it fits the situation (Hogg, 2003:469). If walking in the street a woman is subjected to catcalling, chances are she won't think of her chess-player identity, rather of her gender identity. Somewhat similarly, through resistance to centuries of racist segregation, Black identity became the anchor of a sense of belonging, strength and meaning. White identity takes shape only for a minority of supremacists, for the rest of Whites the category remains too large to carry meaning or a sense of belonging, even if it can bring them privileges (freedom from negative discrimination) it is too large to give a sense of subjective value[4].

That an identity becomes salient, it does not mean that we lose all other identities. Though, when a social identity is perceived in such a pervasive way it tends to hide all other features and identities. For instance, if I'm perceived only as a "migrant" whatever I say or do is attributed to this identity. In the worst-case scenario, an identity becomes a "stigma" when a group identity implies only negative associations and individuals with the stigma are 'discredited and not fully human" (Fiske 2003: 400). But the reduction to a single identity can also be impulsed from the in-group: "*every now and then a fanatical creed comes along and insists that people should believe in only one story and have only one identity*" (Harari 2018: 339). Such distortions are consequences of stories we tell ourselves or that others talk about us, they do not fully describe any individual. Nobody is just Black, just White, just atheist or Muslim etc.

Whether Black and White are perceived as identities or mere social categories, they can do what many categories do: serve as a selection of people into "us" or "them" groups, thus creating the dividing line between "in-group" and "out-group." This primary categorisation has far-reaching implications on how humans have treated each-other in the past and the present. Funnily enough, the mere categorisation into *us* and *them* sets in motion dynamics that make people favour members of their own group (the "in-group") over members of other groups (the "out-group") even when the criteria for making the two categories is completely meaningless. (See Tajfel and Billig's much cited experiment, Tajfel, Billig 1971).

## In-group favouritism: from subtle to blatant bias

"*The character of our people, who have always been distinguished by their generosity, magnanimity, mercy, and compassion, and (our country), fully reflects these traits. We know how to be good friends, how to stand by one's word. We will never let anyone down and will always support those in a difficult situation without hesitation.*"[5]

**4** Not to confuse here the question of when a category becomes and identity with the question of when a category implies privileges.

**5** See authors amongst the endnotes.

One of the most interesting discoveries of social psychology is that people favour "us" more than they explicitly disfavour "them" (Fiske 2017:513). This may sound optimistic, but it's mixed news. The bottom line is that subtle bias is built into all of us, that it influences our choices and reactions, without our intention or knowledge. To arrive at this conclusion, researchers devised implicit techniques that do not rely on what people say about themselves. These are often associative tasks, where participants must make connections between different stimuli. The typical result (in racial priming experiment, for example) is that Whites connect positive traits (such as smart) faster to Whites than to Black people[6]. It is usually the positive preference for one's own group that appears, not so much a negative attitude to the outgroup. But in real life situations such as hiring, this will make the difference between employment and refusal. Subtle bias can thus lead to differential behaviour, i.e. *discrimination*.

## Do members of minoritised groups also prefer their own groups?

While moderated by the effects of adaptation and assimilation, members of minoritised groups also show signs of in-group favouritism. However, the consequences are extremely different. Consider the sentences below:

"*We are the most beautiful creatures in the whole world, XXX people. And I mean that in every sense, outside and inside. And to me, we have a culture that is surpassed by no other civilization.*"[7]

Replace "XXX" for Black, White, or even your own nationality, or a minoristised group in your society. Compare the possible impacts of the same sentences, pronounced from different positions. The sentences are taken from an interview with Nina Simone in the late sixties, in a context marked by active racial segregation in the US. Her speech revalorises a potentially stigmatised identity. The same sentences from a majority position are a declaration of supremacy and superiority of the dominant group. Indeed, in-group favouritism does not sit on equal horizontal ground, there are group-based hierarchies giving advantages to some and disadvantages to others.[8]

## What's wrong with in-group preference?

Subtle bias resulting from our in-group favouritism may be indirect and not overtly intentional, it is still affecting members of the other groups, who will perceive the ambiguity, the mixed feelings, and the ambivalent treatment. What's more, as we've seen above it can lead to different forms of discrimination, which has many other consequences besides hiring or acceptance decisions: verbal discrimination refers to stereotypical comments or jokes. This may not sound very serious, but it can normalise the negative bias. In-group favouritism can provide a fertile ground based on which in special circumstances or constellations subtle bias can be grown into blatant prejudice. In extreme cases it can even lead to more severe forms of discrimination such as segregation - or ultimately to "group extermination."

**6** See for instance the implicit attitude test of Harvard University, you can even take the test online, though it is tailored for the USA context, which may imply some bias for European participants. https://implicit.harvard.edu/implicit/takeatest.html

**7** 2. Nina Simone Full text: "I think what you're trying to ask is why am I so insistent upon... giving out to them that BLACK-ness, that BLACK-power, that BLACK pushing them to identify with black culture; I think that's what you're asking. I have no choice over it; in the first place, to me we are the most beautiful creatures in the whole world, black people. And I mean that in every sense, outside and inside. And to me we have a culture that is surpassed by no other civilization, but we don't know anything about it. So again, I think I've said this before in this same interview, I think at some time before. My job is to somehow make them curious enough or persuade them, by hook or crook, to get more aware of themselves and where they came from and what they are into and what is already there, and just to bring it out. This is what compels me to compel them, and I will do it by whatever means necessary."

Nina Simone talks Blackness, YouTube, uploaded by MsNay702, 2012.11.03.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6oP06L3OEE&t=1s

**8** When discrimination comes with power to oppress, it becomes particularly toxic. It becomes something radically different for simple in-group preference. That is why it is problematic to speak about anti-white Black racism.

See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dw_mRaIHb-M

## In-group preference and authoritarianism

People differ to what extent they "*conform to traditional values (conventions), obey powerful leaders (authoritarian submission), sanction nonconformists (authoritarian aggression), and derogate outgroups (prejudice)*" a set of features referred to as "Right Wing Authoritarianism" or "RWA" (Fiske 2017:517). People high on the RWA scale are particularly vulnerable to manipulative discourses depicting a threat to values or to the current order. The sentence at the beginning of the section "*The character of our people, who have always been distinguished by their generosity, magnanimity, mercy and compassion.*" is from Vladimir Putin's 2023 February speech. Ripped out of context, it appears as a harmless reminder of a positive bias towards one's own identity, fomenting a sense of cohesion. But in the scenario of an authoritarian leader, they become potent tools to reduce the multiplicity of identities to one, and hijack that identity to recruit people to their agenda.[9]

## In-group preference, perception of threats and creation of enemies

Proponents of the "Terror Management Theory" discovered that our cultural belief system acts as a buffer to protect us from our fear of death (eg: Pyszczynski et al., 2003). When reminded of their mortality, in situations of real or invented threat, people will have a stronger desire for the protection of their values and group identities, hence reinforcing in-group favouritism.

"*The Muslims are invading whole areas of the country, neighbourhoods in which they apply their law, it's an occupation! Of course, there are no tanks, there are no soldiers, but it's an occupation all the same.*"[10]

The positive bias for one's own group is harnessed to create antagonism against the enemy figure, whoever that may be. For Francis Fukuyama, such declarations are illustrative of a pattern of "politics of resentment," where a whole nation in majority situation is represented as a humiliated group that deserves and seeks restitution of its dignity (2018:15). According to Fukuyama what we see here is a perverted *identity politics*, that no longer focuses on the grievances of a social group that has been discriminated against, but taps on the need for dignity to boost and manipulate this need for their political agenda, which can be anything between creating false enemy figures inside, or waging a war with a neighbouring sovereign nation. All in all, what started as an adaptive capacity and need to symbolically defend our in-group can, in particular constellations, be manipulated into blatant bias or even into violence. For Umberto Eco, the creation of an enemy is not the unfortunate side effect of an otherwise adaptive in-group preference, rather a necessary step to define the in-group. "*Having an enemy is important not only to define our identity but also to provide us with an obstacle against which to measure our system of values and, in seeking to overcome it, to demonstrate our own worth. So, when there is no enemy, we have to invent one.*" (2012:10 Some phenomena we see in the contemporary world may suggest that Eco's words are more than poetic intuition. We have enough evidence to think that in-group preference added to group-based inequalities can threaten the cohesion of a whole society. It is therefore something that we have to work against.

## Responding to group-based inequalities: Identity politics

If discrimination targets specific social categories, it makes sense to seek justice on behalf of these social groups. This is the programme of what came to be known as "identity politics."

In recent years, the typical public discussion relating to topics of identity politics has often been focusing on more and more nuanced questions: Which bathrooms transgendered people should use? Where is the line between flirting and sexual harassment in a workplace? Is there

**9** President of Russia Vladimir Putin (2023.02.21.) Presidential Address to Federal Assembly. Retrieved from: http://www.en.kremlin.ru/events/president/transcripts/messages/70565

**10** Marine le Pen, december 2010 public speech in Lyon

a need to change words and grammar to create a more inclusive language? Are these questions signal that change has begun, or to the contrary, does attributing so much importance to symbolic issues divert attention from the struggle for more equal redistribution? Identity politics has been fiercely debated for the past years, but these debates rarely do justice to the original impetus this term represented at its inception by the Black feminist group Combahee River Collective.

Black feminist activists and intellectuals, such as The Combahee River Collective, bell hooks, Patricia Hill Collins, Angela Davis etc. argued that politicising everyday life and the very identity of those oppressed is the appropriate response to the intersectional oppression Black women in the United States face.

The Combahee River Collective puts it this way:

*"Above all else, Our politics initially sprang from the shared belief that Black women are inherently valuable, that our liberation is a necessity not as an adjunct to somebody else's may because of our need as human persons for autonomy. This may seem so obvious as to sound simplistic, but it is apparent that no other ostensibly progressive movement has ever considered our specific oppression as a priority or worked seriously for the ending of that oppression. [...] This focusing upon our own oppression is embodied in the concept of identity politics. We believe that the most profound and potentially most radical politics come directly out of our own identity, as opposed to working to end somebody else's oppression. In the case of Black women this is a particularly repugnant, dangerous, threatening, and therefore revolutionary concept because it is obvious from looking at all the political movements that have preceded us that anyone is more worthy of liberation than ourselves. We reject pedestals, queenhood, and walking ten paces behind. To be recognized as human, levelly human, is enough." (The Combahee River Collective, 1977)*

## Overlapping inequalities, and the need for the intersectional perspective.

People commonly perceive identity politics as a fight for a specific cause, a "*political or social activity by or on behalf of a racial, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender, or other group, usually undertaken with the goal of rectifying injustices suffered by group members because of differences or conflicts between their particular identity (or misconceptions of their particular identity) and the dominant identity (or identities) of a larger society*" (Duignan, 2023.).

However, these categories rarely stand alone, and the original intellectuals behind identity politics never thought that these causes have to be standing alone. Identity politics was originally meant to be perceived in an intersectional way. Intersectionality talks about interacting systems of oppression, which not only means to analyse the effects of different identity-based exclusions but to combine this analysis with a structural critique. Crenshaw (1989), who created the expression of identity politics, wrote "*When feminism does not explicitly oppose racism and when anti-racism does not incorporate opposition to the patriarchy, race and gender politics often end up being antagonistic to each other and both interests lose.*"

Marginalised groups are often disproportionally affected by systemic inequalities, such as socioeconomic hardships, access to healthcare, poor mental health, domestic abuse, early death, and other adverse experiences. This is the reason why an intersectional perspective, and considering multiple aspects of oppression can give us a better glance into how group-based inequalities can play out and be resisted.

## The false opposition between social justice and identity politics

Ever since the 19th century, social justice has mainly meant redistributive justice. Claims have been made for: a more just distribution of wealth, goods, and economic opportunities (Fraser, 1996). Seeing the sharply widening economic inequalities, systemic abuse, and corruption (Lopez, 2017) it is easy to understand why focusing on class differences is still essential. However, during the last few decades, a divide has seemingly emerged between the two versions of social justice struggle: one fighting for redistributive justice and the other for a "politics of recognition." Fraser defines the latter in this way: "*the goal, in its most plausible form, is a difference-friendly world, where assimilation to majority or dominant cultural norms is no longer the price of equal respect*" (Fraser, 1996;1).

Members of both the left and right might voice ideas that would claim one is more important than the other. From a conservative point of view identity politics can be seen as a zero-sum game – in which the gains of minorized groups logically leads to the losses of majority groups. From this position identity politics is sometimes criticised as a futile quest for a moral recompensation, for a debt that cannot be repaid" (Mitchell, 2019). Leftist critics argue that identity politics have "*led to a fracturing of oppressed and exploited populations into numerous inward-looking interest groups whose differing priorities obscured their common goals and challenges and prevented the kind of mass mobilization necessary to secure their basic rights*" (Duignan, 2023.07.11.).

However, we need to recognize that there are more similarities than differences between the two types of social justice claims. "*Justice today requires both redistribution and recognition, as neither alone is sufficient*" states Fraser (1996,5). The crucial task in question is: how do we combine these two approaches in practice?

## A third way: The Intercultural approach

The vision of interculturality suggests that our efforts to understand the other are never vain – and never or seldom impossible in principle. This does not imply dismissing, excusing, or relativizing acts that members of a group may have committed against another. Nor does it imply dismissing difference in needs) or in values. But it does invite to move beyond resentment and to search for negotiating common grounds to overcome rigid oppositions. The intercultural approach has its own politics, as it incites to dialogue and coalition formation across identity boundaries against injustices. Its social vision rejects fragmentation and segregation, no matter the justification. Separation, and discriminating on the basis of real and imagined boundaries is a human tendency. The question is indeed how to overcome this heritage and how to create a society based on openness and diversity against closure and bigotry. Identity politics is important because it does not let us forget historic injustices, but its present-day manifestations risk to leave their root cause – racial capitalism – practically undisturbed. The intercultural approach offers an alternative theory of change, proposing to find common ground within the "multitude" (Hardt and Negri, 2019) in order to fight together the social reproduction of exclusions. This is a politics of boundary stretching as opposed to boundary making.

## The intentions of this book

This Reader is meant to be a rapid overview of identified struggles around identity and power, rather than an exhaustive account of conditions leading to exclusion. The selection presented here was made through each team's relationship with these topics. A picture of the partnership as a group emerges in terms of the diversity of our views and our locations of power.

In line with the concerns above, we try to respect the complexity, as it emerges in the diverse chapters in this book.

In **Chapter 1**, Feminism and Gender Equality, we can see how discourse can be both an element of oppression or resistance, "evad[ing], subvert[ing] or contest[ing] strategies of power" (Gaventa, 2003:3). The idea that the so-called "weak" have no power is strongly contested by bell hooks (1984), who sits on Janeways' work "The Power of the Weak" to emphasise the responsibility of dominated groups in "the definition of oneself that is put forward by the powerful" (bell hooks, 1984: 90). Refusing such a definition is an exercise of this basic personal power, an act of resistance and strength. It contributes to unveiling the myths dominant groups use to legitimise themselves as powerful, pushing others to the margins of society as powerless. bell hooks (Idem) reinforces a gendered view while asserting that

"we must reject the notion that obtaining power in the existing social structure will necessarily advance feminist struggle to end sexist oppression...., the greater material privilege [of some], control over their destiny, and the destiny of others (...) will not end male domination as a system (Ibid).

Following former emphasise on intersectionality, some trans-feminist movements believe and fight not only within a cis-strait white movement bubble but build a movement that intersects race, social class, gender, and sexuality. According to Akotirene (2019), it is important to understand intersectionality as "the intersection and overlap of gender, race and class, etc. modern colonial apparatuses" (Akotirene, 2019, p. 14, our translation).

This intersectional positionality is also used in **Chapter 2**, *Antiracism movement*, which recognises the limits of attributing a single identity to a person, and the need to bring the structural lenses on exclusion, showing the connectionbetween different forms of oppression. As Jodi Dean (1997:3) puts it, "*Identity refers to a site from which the world is viewed (...) the presumption of commonality has led us to turn political differences into identity differences, we have viewed disagreements over issues as fundamental disavowals of who we are. Thus, we have failed to notice that some of our disagreements are just not about identity.*"

Martin-Baró (1984;1989) exposed the impact of material resources on social relations and of the range of the individual possibilities to act in the world. This seemed to be one of the most hidden topics we could find in educational settings: the persistence of class-based discrimination. **Chapter 3** Class-based discrimination tries to contribute to its recognition inside educational settings, showing its characteristics in hidden and invisible forms and its impacts on groups and individuals. This perspective puts under a new light the debate on (economic) redistribution, (cultural) recognition and (political) representation, a topic dear to Nancy Fraser (1995, 2010).

**Chapter 4**, *LGBTQIA+ rights movement*, brings a critical view on the cisheteropatriarchy - a system of power and control that positions cis-straight white males as superior and normative in their expression of gender and sexuality (Harris, 2011) - and reflects how this position impacts on queer people's lives and how prejudices and stereotypes limit one's actions in the world. The importance of LGBTQIA+ rights movements is to unveil the cis heteronormative society and to claim different other possibilities of understanding and living gender and sexualities which emerge from life and experience.

**Chapter 5** *Disability Rights* addresses ubuntu philosophy and shows how we can see disability theory under new lenses. Foucault (1978) already called attention to the body, showing how violently and arbitrarily it is domesticated to legitimise domination regimes. Among others, Magalhães (2007:237) draws on Foucault's studies to point at the the importance of the domestication of the body in the structural matrices of oppression, "[where] it is not by chance that ["we"/societies] hide, ignore, forget and discriminate people with disabilities - because it was not (yet) possible to tame them to the dominant

version of the legitimate subject" (our translation). Instead of a dychotmoic vision, which uses a lack-based observational lens that claims "normality" from the dominant perspective, ubuntu proposes a view of interdependence that unites people and accepts multiplicity and diversity (see also Lister, 1997). This integrative vision is more in line with the deep ecology vision that claims that everything is intertwined, as we can understand in **Chapter 11**, *The Ecological Movement*

As we can grasp it in **Chapter 6** Roma rights, the exclusion of the Roma community - is embedded in the day-to-day micropolitical arena as an embodied phenomenon, socialised in everyday settings. Marginalised by the centre of the society, people belonging to these communities tend to be put in passive positions, such as answering or obeying, relying on the power to command, one of the three kinds of power identified by Murphy (1982) as referred to above. The fact that it is rare to see Roma people as trainers, but not as trainees, gives us theresponsibility to learn about this culture, while being aware of its internal heterogeneity to avoid reproducing stereotypes and prejudices against the Roma community and to the contrary, to find space to include them in society.

In a similar vein, **Chapter 13**, Islamophobia, addresses the pressing concerns about the present-day narratives regarding Islam, and Muslim people in "Western" societies. As the hostility and resistance towards Islamic faith and culture has longstanding roots, it is important to break down barriers, fight against stereotypes, and create opportunities in training settings to discuss the effects of Islamophobia on learners, trainers and on the broader society.

When discussing *Antipsychiatry*, in **Chapter 8** we address what Foucault (1977) called "the disciplinary power", a heritage from some administrative systems and social services created in the 18th century that still prevails. We can testify to the possibility of its transformation: to create an open institution instead of a closed system of surveillance, as a result of a long battle for equalising the ways in which diverse human beings are seen. Together with **Chapter 7**, about *Prison and restorative justice*, **Chapter 8** has a strong methodological focus and problematises the role of the educator. What should the educator do? What tensions exist inside total institutions[11]? How can the educator answer to the eminent dilemmas and conflicts?

As referred to in **Chapter 9**, *Migration* prejudice concerning terms such as immigrants, refugees, and asylum-seekers is a consequence (and a prevailing expression) of coloniality. One may say that the "where do you come from?" question impacts on how people are labelled. Depending on where we are in time and space, migration can have different names with distinct meanings. Nowadays, even though migration happens everywhere, including within Europe, the focus is on people that dislocate to Europe from outside, Europe functioning as a fortress, (Ferreira and Tavares,1998). According to Macedo (2009:82), following Ferreira and Tavares, to resist reflexes of closure, Europe's borders should be seen rather as "locations of cultural marks and spaces of (re)configuration of identities that are cosmopolitan and non-essentialist, hybrid and heterogeneous. (...) [Hence] European citizenship has to reinvent itself around the principles of human rights and recognition of cultural differences and autonomy (...) regardless of gender, ethnicity, race, religion or family and occupational status," a struggle that is still far from its end.

In **Chapter 10**, *Decolonialism* we can see how coloniality's dominance and transversal impact affects different areas, including education, being expressed in seemingly neutral decisions such as what we learn, from whom we learn, or which authors we value in our texts. Based on the decolonial epistemology, this Chapter questions peoples' way of seeing and understanding the world and brings to the fore the importance of being conscious of our place of speech: the position we are talking from - inherent to our social status - and to

**11** Total institutions can be defined as places with physical barriers that interrupt the intercourse with society where everything is controlled, normally with authoritarian tendencies (Goffman, 1961)

whom we are talking - according to the locations we attribute to others (from our observation point). The chapter unveils the need to construct other views about the world that shift away from the devaluation of others to pursue a horizon of interdependence and solidarity.

Still following the reflection about decoloniality, it is impossible to talk about ecology without crossing it with identity and the power relations it entangles. As we see in **Chapter 11**, *The Ecological Movement* the areas most affected by ecological concerns are frequently the ones where communities with low social status are based, and the persons that constitute the community are people of colour. Connecting this with what Chavis (1987), calls *environmental racism*[12], we can see in Brazil, for example, that the black community is the most affected by deforestation, landslides, heavy rains and flooding, even if these are the groups of the population that have a smaller impact on this devastation and the ones who most preserve our Earth. This is a colonial mark.

As Murphy elaborates concerning the cost to the power holder, the power to command – which is very visible in militarisation processes, addressed in **Chapter 12** *Militarism and education* – "requires more elaborate and costly procedures than power to constrain" (Murphy, 1982184), as it rests on direct orders and violent sanctions within a hierarchical, rigidified structure. It is thus a type of power that is not dominant in the European contexts and in northern countries as it restrains the individual's formal freedom that dominates our liberal ideology. However, even when it is hidden, we can still see traces of this form of power everywhere. It is useful to use this chapter as an analytical lens to perceive the current types of dominance in educational settings. As a social-political frame[13], militarisation and the military forces are a base for modelling society worldwide. We can perceive that militarism contributes to two important things to be linked with education: the first is how gender roles are defined and reproduced within a militarist framework based on gender stereotypes (the idea that women are soft and man have to be strong to fight in conflicts); the second is about hierarchy and how it is important to maintain a dominant (male) order.

One may say that militarisation is a strong metaphor for banking education (Freire, 1970), an actualised critique that emphasises the persistence of rigid and vertical relations in everyday educational settings. Paulo Freire (1987) called banking education a type of education where the only possible action offered to the students was receiving and storing the content deposited by the teachers. Freire (1970 [2005]) strongly criticised this model as an instrument that reinforces the dominant positions of certain groups placing others in (dehumanised) submission, and in which we can expect a hierarchical relation between teacher and student, which includes disciplinary actions and control of the body and also of what is being said. Liberating education, as proposed by Freire (1970 [2005]), would oppose this kind of hierarchical positioning and promote horizontal teaching and learning positions that result from dialogic interaction among teachers and learners, in which all can develop and learn, and become authors of their own story by promoting change in the surrounding life conditions.

**12** Environmental racism refers to any policy, practice or directive that differentially affects or disadvantages (whether intended or unintended) individuals, groups, or communities based on race or color (Bullard, 1994, p. 1037).

**13** Catherine Lutz (2018).

## List of quotations from the “how do we see others” section

1. Confucian scholar describes XVI century European travellers. Vaughan G. M. (1988) The Psychology of Intergroup Discrimination. New Zealand Journal of Psychology. 1988 Volume 17. Number 1.
2. Encyclopedia Britannica (1798) “Negro” entry. Online available: https://analepsis.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/03/negro.pdf
3. Commentor in reaction to the “Negro” article 2016.11.15. Retrieved from https://www.nairaland.com/3463525/1798-encyclopedia-britannica-definition-negro
4. President of Russia Vladimir Putin about “Western elites” President of Russia (2023.02.21.) Presidential Address to Federal Assembly. Retrieved from http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/70565

## References to images

1. Oregon State University (2013) Mae Jemison, astronaut https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mae_Jemison#/media/File:Mae_Jemison_2013.jpg
2. CC BY-SA 4.0 (2017.07.12.) Aziza Al Yousef retired university professor (informatics), women’s right activist https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aziza_al-Yousef
3. oao Padula (2009) Marta Mamani, an Aymara golf player https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/apr/20/bolivian-golf-indigenous-women
4. CC BY 3.0 (2011) Sandy Stone, artist, trans activist https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sandy_Stone_(artist)
5. VIP Stories, young Marine Le Pen https://www.stefansautographs.ch/project/marine-le-pen/

## List of references


Blanco, A. (1993). El desde dónde y el desde quién: una aproximación a la obra de Ignacio Martín-Baró. Comportamiento, 2, 35- 60.

Boal, J. (2010). Opressão In Metaxis. A revista do Teatro do Oprimido. Periódico Institucional do CTO- Rio, N°6. Rio de Janeiro.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1970). La reproduction: Elements pour une theorie du systeme d’enseignement. Paris: Minuit.

Bullard, R. D. (1994). Environmental Racism and Invisible Communities. West Virginia Law Review, 96(4). Available at: https://researchrepository.wvu.edu/wvlr/vol96/iss4/9.

Chancel L. – Piketty T. – Saez E. – Zuchman G. (2022): World Inequality Report 2022. World Inequality Lab.

Chavis, B. (1987, April 23). Environmental Racism. The Charlotte Post, Charlotte, NC. Available at: https://exhibits.lib.unc.edu/items/show/7443.

Combahee River Collective (1977): The Combahee River Collective Statement. American Studies at Yale. Available online: https://americanstudies.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/Keyword%20Coalition_Readings.pdf

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. Stanford Law Review, 43(6).

Dean, J. (1997). Feminist solidarity, reflective solidarity: Theorizing Connections after identity politics. Journal of Women Politics & Policy, 18, 1-26. Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/249019877_Feminist_solidarity_reflective_solidarity_Theorizing_Connections_after_identity_politics.

Duignan, B. (2023.07.11.) Identity politics. Britannica. Online available: https://www.britannica.com/topic/identity-politics Last reached: 2023.08.16.

Eco, Umberto 2012. Inventing the Enemy. London: Vintage Books.

Ferreira, V. e Tavares, T. (1998). Women and Mobility: Shifting Bonds and Bounds in Europe. Em Virgínia Ferreira; Teresa Tavares Sílvia Portugal (eds). Shifting Bonds, Shifting Bounds: Women; Mobility and Citizenship in Europe. Oeiras: Celta.

Fiske, Susan T., Taylor, Shelley E. 2017 Social Cognition-From Brains to Culture. London: Sage 3rd edition

Fiske, Susan T. 2004. Social Beings. Core Motives in Social Psychology. Wiley

Foucault, M. (2006). Ditos e Escritos IV: Estratégia, Poder-Saber. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Forense-Universitária.

Fraser, N. (1995). From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age. New Left Review, 212, 68-93.

Fraser, N. (1996). Social Justice in the Age of Identity Politics: Redistribution, Recognition and Participation. The Tanner Lectures on Human Values. Delivered at Stanford University. 1–68.

Fraser, N. (2010). Scales of justice: reimagining political space in a globalizing world. New York: Columbia University.

Freire, P. (1992). Pedagogia da Esperança. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Freire, P. (1996). Pedagogia da Autonomia. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Freire, P. (1997). Política e educação. 3.ª ed. São Paulo: Cortez.

Freire, P. (2000). À sombra desta mangueira. São Paulo: Olho d'Água.

Freire, P. (2005 [1970]). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: The Continuum International Publishing.

Freire, P. & Militantes da Base F.U.T. (19__). Alfabetização e conscientialização. Coimbra: Edições Base.

Galston W. A. (2010). Realism in political theory. In European Journal of Political Theory. Vol 9. Issue 4.

Gaventa, J. (2003). Power after Lukes: a review of the literature. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Gelman, Susan A. 2003 The Essential Child: Origins of Essentialism in Everyday Thought Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press

Geuss, R. (2010). Moralism and Realpolitik In Guess R. Politics and the Imagination. Princeton University Press.

Goffman, E. (1961). Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates. New York City: Anchor books editions.

Harari, Yuval Noah (2018) 21 Lessons for the 21st Century. London: Penguin Random House

Harris, A. (2011). Heteropatriarchy kills: challenging gender violence in a prison nation. Washington University Journal of Law and Policy, 37, 13–66.

Hamurabbi, translated by Harper, R. F. (1904): The Code of Hamurabbi, King of Babylon. Online available: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Code_of_Hammurabi_(Harper_translation) Last reached: 2023.08.16.

Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2019). Empire, Twenty Years On. New Left Review, 120, 67-92.

hooks, b. (1984). Feminist theory: from margin to center. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Lister, R. (1997). Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives. New York: New York University Press. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-26209-0.

Lopez, G. (2017.08.17.) The battle over identity politics, explained. Vox. Online available: https://www.vox.com/identities/2016/12/2/13718770/identity-politics Last reached: 2023.08.16.

Lutz, C. (2018) Militarization. International Encyclopedia of Anthropology. London: Wiley-Blackwell, p. 7008 .

Macedo, E. (2009). Cidadania em confronto: Educação de jovens elites em tempo de globalização. Porto: LivPsic & CIIE.

Macedo, E., Vasconcelos, L., Evans, M., Lacerda, M., & Vaz Pinto, M. (2013). Revisitando Paulo Freire: Sentidos na educação. Brasília: Liber Livro.

Magalhães, M. J. (2007). Agência feminista e das mulheres: Procurando o novo sujeito feminista?. In L. Amâncio, M. Tavares, T. Joaquim, & T. Sousa da Almeida (Eds.), O Longo Caminho das Mulheres. Feminismos 80 anos depois (pp. 229-244). Lisboa: Dom Quixote.

Mandalaywala, T. M., Amodio, D. M., & Rhodes, M. (2018). Essentialism Promotes Racial Prejudice by Increasing Endorsement of Social Hierarchies. Social Psychological and Personality Science, 9(4), 461–469. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550617707020

Martin-Baró, I. (2006). Hacia una psicología de la liberación. Psicología sin Fronteras. Revista Electrónica de Intervención Psicosocial y Psicología Comunitária, 1 (2), pp. 7-14.

Nozick, R. (1974). Anarchy, State, and Utopia. Basic Books. Preface pp. 149-182.

Mitchell, J. (2019). Why Conservatives Struggle with Identity Politics. National Affairs. Available at: https://www.nationalaffairs.com/publications/detail/why-conservatives-struggle-with-identity-politics Last reached: 2023.08.16.

Murphy, R. (1982). Power and autonomy in the sociology of education. Theor Soc 11, 179–203. https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00158740.

Pyszczynski, T., Greenberg, J., & Goldenberg, J. L. (2003). Freedom versus fear: On the defense, growth, and expansion of the self. In M. R.Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), Handbook of self and identity (pp. 314–343). New York: Guilford Press.

Rawls, J. (1999). A Theory of Justice. Revisited Edition. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Rossi, E. – Sleat, M. (2014). Realism in Normative Political Theory. Philosophy Compass, 2014.

Ryan, Richard M., Deci, Edward, L. 2003 On Assimilating Identities to he Self: A Self-Determination Theory Perspective on Internalization and Integrity within Cultures. In: Handbook of Self and Identity Leary, Tangney Eds New York: The Guilford Press. pp 253-274.

Tajfel, Henri; Billig, M.G.; Bundy, R.P. 1971. Social Categorisation and Intergroup Behaviour. In: European Journal of Social Psychology 1 (2) pp 149-178.

Tilly, C. (2004). Social Movements, 1768-2004. London: Paradigm Publishers.

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139175043

Spivak, Gayatri. 1988. “Can the Subaltern Speak?” In Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, edited by Larry Grossberg and Cary Nelson, 66–111. Houndmills: Macmillan.

Szántó, D. (2021): On Justice. Part of the training curriculum, developed by the ZELDA project. Training 4 Interculturality. Co-funded by the Erasmus+ programme of the European Union. Avalabile online: https://www.training4interculturality.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/FILE-12_Justice.pdf Last reached: 2023.08.16.

Vignoles, V.L., Schwartz, S.J. and Luyckx, K., (2011). Introduction: Toward an integrative view of identity. In Handbook of identity theory and research (pp. 1-27). Springer New York.

The World Bank (2022): Correcting Course. Poverty and shared prosperity 2022. ISBN (electronic): 978-1-4648-1894-3. Available online: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/b96b361a-a806-5567-8e8a-b14392e11fa0/content Last reached: 2023.08.16.

Weber, M. (1983). Fundamentos da Sociologia. Porto: Rés-Editora

World Economic Forum (2022): Annual Report 2021-2022. Available online: https://www.weforum.org/publications/annual-report-2021-2022/in-full/

Young, I. (2000). Inclusion and democracy. New York: Oxford University Press.

# Feminisms and Gender Equality

*Vera Várhegyi (Élan Interculturel, France)*

The word "feminism" has a peculiar tendency to trigger resistance. It's not rare to hear people (mainly women) protest "oh no, I'm not a feminist" as if it was something inherently bad: enemy of men, too radical, too pushy, etc. Even though at its core, feminism is a call for equal rights between men and women, which genuinely (without the label) most of us would endorse. The concept of "gender" does not seem much more evident. So much so, that some even talk about the "anti-gender movement" (Kováts, 2016), "gender wars". Apparently, for the Vatican, "gender ideology" amounts to a threat to the natural family (Vatican City, 2019). The French movement "Manif pour tous" ("movement for all", spin-off of the movement against same-sex marriage) fears talking about gender threatens children's sexual identity[1], while László Kövér, speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly has compared gender studies to the nazi science of eugenics.[2] Why do these concepts trigger so much confrontation and confusion? In the following, we'll start by opening the concept of gender, then introduce gender equality with the (feminist) movements that have strived for it.

## Do we need the concept of gender? Why?

According to what we know today, sexual reproduction started in simple organisms more than a billion years ago (Goodenough & Heitman, 2014) creating two types of reproductive cells, whose combination creates the next generation. Most animal species (including humans) function on this model, and therefore, their members can be roughly grouped into two categories based on the type of reproductive cells they have. These categories are the biological sexes: male and female. Biological sex then, is a set of biological characteristics, primarily depending on chromosomes, hormones, and genital organs. It's important to note that these biological characteristics are not necessarily aligned precisely: some of us have both XX and XY chromosomes, others may have visible female genital organs with male-typical anatomy on the inside, etc. These nuances and complexities result in a variety of conditions that do not fit the typical definitions of female or male, referred to as intersex. The percentage of intersex people is estimated between 1% and 2% of the total population (Blackless et al, 2000).

For some, this reference to biology, and sexual differences is a good justification for imagining very different life paths and fixed gender role expectations for women and men.[3] However, even in the "animal realm" examples abound of behaviour seemingly connected to female sex that are performed by the males: cassowary fathers incubate the eggs and raise the chicks, male seahorses carry their eggs in their poaches and then give birth to the new generation, to name just two. Then, there is the question of power and domination. Some would claim that there is a "natural" justification for male's domination of females. However, if we consider our two closest biological relatives: chimpanzees and bonobos, we face two very distinct types of social organisations: chimps are male dominated whereas bonobos are ruled by female collectives. We can't point to a satisfactory single proof in our biological past which could justify a male dominated human society (Rogers, 2017).

And then, we have our own experiences: people equipped with female genitalia can be strong, assertive, fast, competitive, brave astronauts (features traditionally associated with men) just as people equipped with male sexual organs can be affectionate, devoted parents and attentive caretakers (features traditionally associated with women). But if our biological heritage is not to "blame", what is the reason for the distinctions, and an apparent

**1** The La Manif Pour Tous (2016.10.03.).

**2** Népszava.hu (2018.08.20.).

**3** Maybe precisely for this reason, for others, this same idea is a threatening one. Judith Butler (1993) for instance calls for the revisiting of our concepts of biological sex, claiming that the bi-categorisation is probably a consequence of our cultural mindset that we project on biology

prioritisation of men over women?
It's in the 1950s that at least three different thinkers independently felt the need to name the difference between biological sex and the ways human societies propose rules and roles for men and women. For John Money (a psychologist, sexologist), Madison Bentley (1945) and Simone de Beauvoir (philosopher and feminist activist, author of "The Second Sex" 1949) the rules of biology do not evidently determine the rules and roles that we see in society. This social, cultural way of living one's "sex" is now referred to as "gender" (a term Money (1955) proposed).

## Gender as a cultural construct

Opening our eyes to gender as a cultural construct can lead to the discovery of an amazing diversity in the ways different groups of people experience and approach gender. Such differences appear on a variety of levels – and may be more or less apparent even if we work with multicultural groups:

1. How many genders are there? It appears that some cultures hold more than two genders, the strict bi-categorisation of masculinity and femininity is not universal and each person does not necessarily identify with one of the two.[4] While working with young adults today, it is not as uncommon to have learners who identify as non-binary as in previous times.
2. If there are several genders, in what way are they different? Do men / women / nonbinary people think in the same way? How do their roles differ? In what way are they different?[5] We may have learners whose religious prescriptions require specific clothing according to their gender or imposes specific rules on their interaction with members of the opposite sex.
3. Do we have one gender all through our life? Is assignation (identification of one's gender) based on physical-medical criteria or on self-identification? Can it change during our lifetime? Again, working with younger age groups, trans students become more and more common in European classrooms.
4. Are there power differences between people of different genders? Does one gender systematically have more power and better access to resources than the other(s)?

There is a subtle, but very important distinction between noticing "the way things are" and wishing for "how things should be". Interestingly, for most of us, when we think of gender (or the sexes) it seems very difficult to remain in a neutral, objective perspective and very easy to shift into the normative realm. A reason for this may be that gender is at a very interesting crossroad between the collective (most religions and cultural traditions have specific narratives and prescriptions about gender) and the individual (we all relate very intimately to some form of sex/gender identity).

Such a normative perspective shifts the questions listed above:

1. How many genders should there be? Should society recognise only two genders (man and woman) or also alternative genders, and positions which are not male nor female? In the classroom or training room this would imply a special attention to using the proper pronouns in languages that differentiate by gender (see text on LGBTQ+ movements)
2. If there are several genders, to what extent should we differentiate them? Should we consider their skills, potentials, roles as interchangeable or as fundamentally different? In the classroom, this raises the question to what extent facilitators should abide by particular cultural rules concerning gender.
3. Should we accept that the gender of a person changes over the lifetime? Or that it is different from that connected to their biological sex?

**4** See the identities of two-spirits (some Native American groups), Hijras (India), Muxe (Mexico), Mahu (Hawai), non-binary, agender and so on.

**5** A possible cross-cultural comparison concerns precisely the dimension of orientation towards convergence (similarity) of the gender and divergence (differentiation) – differences along roles, appearance, style of communication, spaces etc.

4. Should people of all genders have the same social, political, economic status, in other words: should there be equality? Should a facilitator endorse openly an agenda of gender equality?

Of all these questions, the last one is of particular importance. Today enshrined in a variety of international conventions and agendas, "gender equality" seems to have become a widely accepted ideal, but far from an actual reality. What's more, its interpretations vary greatly over time, and even in the present. It is the strive for equality of genders that gave rise to the feminist movement.

## Do we need feminists? Why?

Just as with the concept of gender, part of the controversies stem from misunderstanding and confusion. While there are indeed many forms of feminism, the one common point in all of them is a "belief in social, economic, and political equality of the sexes" and a willingness to work for this belief, as described in the Encyclopedia Britannica (Brunell & Burkett, 2023).


Anti-suffrage postcard. Source: LSE Library, 2018

Contrary to the popular depictions of aggressive feminists, women's movements achieved tremendous changes in one century without violence. For historian Yuval Noah Harari, this is quite unique as social changes tend to go hand in hand with violence in the human world.[6] A bit further we will go through what inequalities different feminist movements targeted, overcame and what remains. However, there is another interesting question that he raises in the interview and that concerns the origin of these inequalities. For Harari, the subjugation of women is a surprising constant across a variety of political systems, cultures, and religions. Two interesting questions appear here; first the motivation for the subjugation of women and the second about how men could achieve this.

## The origin of patriarchy and the legitimising myths

- Is there such a thing as patriarchy?

"*In all their eagerness to disprove the universality of male dominance, several feminists have attempted to resurrect mystical theories about a golden age of "matriarchy" when women reigned supreme over men. Yet nothing justifies the exhumation of this 19th-century corpse. Not the shred of evidence, historical or contemporary, supports the existence of a single society in which women controlled the political and economic lives of men.*" (Harris, 1977)

The word patriarchy can leave an unpleasant taste, so it's worth recalling that the concept does not imply malevolent complicity or conspiracy of men against women. It does not imply that all men would be infected with some toxic masculinity. Patriarchy is mostly used to refer to a type of social organisation in which men tend to hold the positions of power and dominance.[7] Genuinely we may be tempted to minimise the prevalence of patriarchal systems and point to examples of times or places that disprove the universal nature of patriarchal systems. Such accounts however tend to be either confusions between matriarchy and matrilineal descent[8] or "myths created, consciously or not, by men to justify their own power over women" (Bamberger, 1974).

- Why is there such a thing as patriarchy?

Today most residents of EU countries don't think anymore of women

**6** Yuval Noah Harari (2021.03.08.).

**7** If we need to make this definition more concrete we can look up indicators of political or economic power distribution globally: how many states are led by women, what is the percentage of women in parliaments, or amongst CEOs of major companies, in the leadership of armed forces etc.

as essentially weaker, more unstable, less rational by nature. A somewhat more sophisticated explanation of unequal status could stem from women's and men's unequal contribution to the community's wealth or life. Such an asymmetry could reward those members whose contribution is valued as more important – men. Eriksen (1995, p.135) brings up an illuminating example to illustrate this question. He presents the analysis of the Mundurucu, an Amazonian group following a traditional way of life. The division of labour is based on gender: men are mainly hunters. The religion and spiritual life revolve around hunting, which is also more prestigious than agriculture, mostly carried out by women. The prestige and status of hunting is totally independent of the fact that objectively, from a nutritional point of view, agricultural activities are more important for the tribe than the occasional hunting. Instead, hunting serves to maintain and legitimise the dominance of men. The stories about hunting are part of what the social dominance theory (Pratto & Sidanius, 1999) calls legitimising myths. These are a "*set of attitudes, values, beliefs, stereotypes and ideologies that provide moral and intellectual justification for the social practices that distribute social value within the social system*" (1999, p.45). Most stereotypes a culture produces about women work as such legitimising myths, and the Western imagery of "femininity" is no exception. We refer to the specific set of beliefs and attitudes resulting from a patriarchal system as "sexism". Glick and Fiske (1996) differentiate hostile and benevolent sexism. The first is directed to "nontraditional women who violate narrow gender roles" while the benevolent sexism is a seemingly positive but ultimately patronising form directed to women who keep to traditional roles. This distinction may have lost its edge over the last twenty years, but it is important to remember that seemingly positive remarks can also contribute to maintaining oppressions.

But why would men want such domination? "*For Françoise Héritier the reason for this hierarchical order is not the real or supposed biological fragility of the women; rather it is the consequence of human, i.e., mammal procreation. Amongst humans there is an evident biological tie between the mother and the child, while this same tie is logically only hypothetical between the father and his offspring. Consequently, males always try to control reproduction by social means – hence the necessity of their domination.*" (Szántó, 2017 citing Héritier 1996)

## The fight for equality: waves and branches of feminism

Western feminist movement is often divided into four "waves" (Tong & Botts, 2018), each focusing on different aspects of inequality. Before briefly presenting these waves, it is important to note that feminism is not exclusively a "Western" invention. If patriarchy seems to be a global phenomenon, so are the movements trying to step up against it.[9] The European / North American first wave of feminism focused on women's right to vote. While we tend to associate these suffragette movements with the 19th and early 20th centuries, it is worth to note that in France and Italy women had full suffrage only in 1944 and 1945, and the last European countries to offer the voting right to women were Switzerland and Lichtenstein, in 1971 and 1984 respectively.

The birth of the 2nd wave of feminism is often connected to two seminal books: Simone de Beauvoir's "The Second Sex" (1949) and Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique" (1963). These authors pointed to inequalities that were persisting, beyond the right to vote. De Beauvoir, as mentioned before, brought to visibility the idea of gender socialisation with her statement "One is not born but becomes a woman". These books – and then more widely, the second wave – addressed inequalities they noticed in their own environment - European and North American white women, rather from the middle class: the right to work as opposed to domestic life, unpaid labour at home and parity of pay in the workplace, birth control, divorce.

**8** In the case of matrilineal descent, a person is identified with their mother's lineage, such as in the case of inheritance of property or titles. There is an increasingly growing number of evidence suggesting, that in early human societies matrilinearity was more widespread as opposed to patrilineality, the system societies today have (Knight, 2008).

**9** For some key figures outside of Europe, see Savitribai Phule and Pandita Ramabai (India, 19th century), Qurrat al-'Ayn (Iran, 19th century), Mehrangiz Manouchehrian and Azam Taleghani (Iran, early 20th century), Huda Sha'arawi (Egypt, early 20th century), Qiu Jin and He Zhen (China, early 20th century) Awa Ndiaye and Fatou Kandé Senghor (Senegal, early 20th century), see also the Aba Women's Riots of 1929 in Nigeria.

**10** See for example two popular measures: UN's Gender Inequality Index (United Nations, n.d.); or the World Economic Forum's Global Gender Gap Report (Global Gender Gap Report 2022, 2023).

Even if full equality has not yet been reached,[10] the feminist movement certainly made a tremendous impact on the lives of women – but not all women.

While this "2nd wave" was certainly not homogeneous (at least liberal, materialist, and radical branches should be distinguished), the whole movement has been criticised for their non-reflected ethnocentrism: they seemed to be speaking for and on behalf of all women, but were ignoring the specificities of the needs of women living in other continents, from other social class, race, ethnicity, religion etc. It is partly this awareness of the diversity of the needs of women that called forth the third wave of feminism in the 1990s, characterised by the questioning of who is the subject of the struggle (who are women or what is "a woman") as well as the object of the struggle (what kind of equality do we strive for, what is our fight?).

## A new look about feminism (who are "women")

The 3rd wave of feminism discovers that there is no such thing as a "woman" out of economical, geopolitical, social, cultural context.

Moving the focus beyond the needs of the white middle-class women's equality struggles brought about an awareness to "the ways in which systems of inequality based on gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, class and other forms of discrimination "intersect" to create unique dynamics and effects" (Center for Intersectional Justice, n.d.) a concept referred to as intersectionality formalised by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991).[11] Crenshaw's concepts also had an influential impact on the Combahee River Collective, whose Statement (1977) stems from the recognition that neither White feminism neither Black movements represent sufficiently Black Women. Therefore, women's equality cannot be pursued out of context, disregarding their other identities and social categories.

While the 3rd wave of feminism stood up against homogenisation making the white woman the ideal type, it still originated in Western Societies. The 4th wave, represented by women in the Global South, meant a push back against the universalising tendencies of the Western world view.

*"The issues here, to condense severely, include the idea that Western feminism is excessively focused on female autonomy, which is not necessarily seen as a desirable goal by women/feminists in the global South; and that Western feminism is excessively focused on challenging "patriarchy," when other issues, such as poverty, have greater priority for many women/feminists in the global South*" (Ortner, 2019).[12]

The 4th wave does not simply create a geographical division between the "West and the rest", it calls attention to the diversity of cultural values which underline the struggle. The debate around the "Islamic veil" in France for instance is a good illustration of the diversity of perceptions: universal feminists speaking from the perspective of a universal woman fail to perceive that behind what they perceive as an example of male oppression there is a culturally specific meaning in the practice of wearing a veil that many young French women use, to mark their identity as modern, French and Muslim women (often feminists).[13]

As a result of these debates, the very understanding of what it means to be a woman has been challenged. If in the 2nd wave of feminism the focus shifted from biological sex to include gender, some branches have endorsed a full emancipation from biological sex, to include in the definition of "women" trans women, who may have been born without female biological characteristics, but identify as women. Today (as of the writing of this text in 2023) this shift is far from being fully accepted, confrontations are not uncommon between feminists labelled as TERFs (trans-exclusionary radical feminists) and trans-inclusive positions.

**11** See how Crenshaw reflects on the concept of intersectionality and its use 20 years after she proposed it in her interview in 2017 (Crenshaw, 2017).

**12** See for example: Abu-Lughod 2002, 2013.

**13** See Dounia Bouzar, for instance: Le Monde (2004, March 6).

As a consequence, later waves are "more global, multiracial, less class specific, less heterosexual, and more gender diffuse than the narrower focus of the second wave" (Oren & Press, 2019, p.5). These later waves have a myriad of particular waves within: Afro-feminism or Black feminism (see Bell Hooks, Audre Lorde, Angela Davis, Patricia Hill Collins, Chikwenye Okonjo Ogunremi) Islamic feminism (e.g. Fatima Mernissi, Dounia Bouzar, Amina Wadud, Leila Ahmed, Asma Barlas) postcolonial feminism (Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Vandana Shiva, Bell Hooks) vegetarian eco-feminism (e.g. Carol J. Adams, Marti Kheel, Greta Gaard), trans-inclusive feminism (e.g. Julia Serano, Susan Stryker, Sandy Stone), etc.

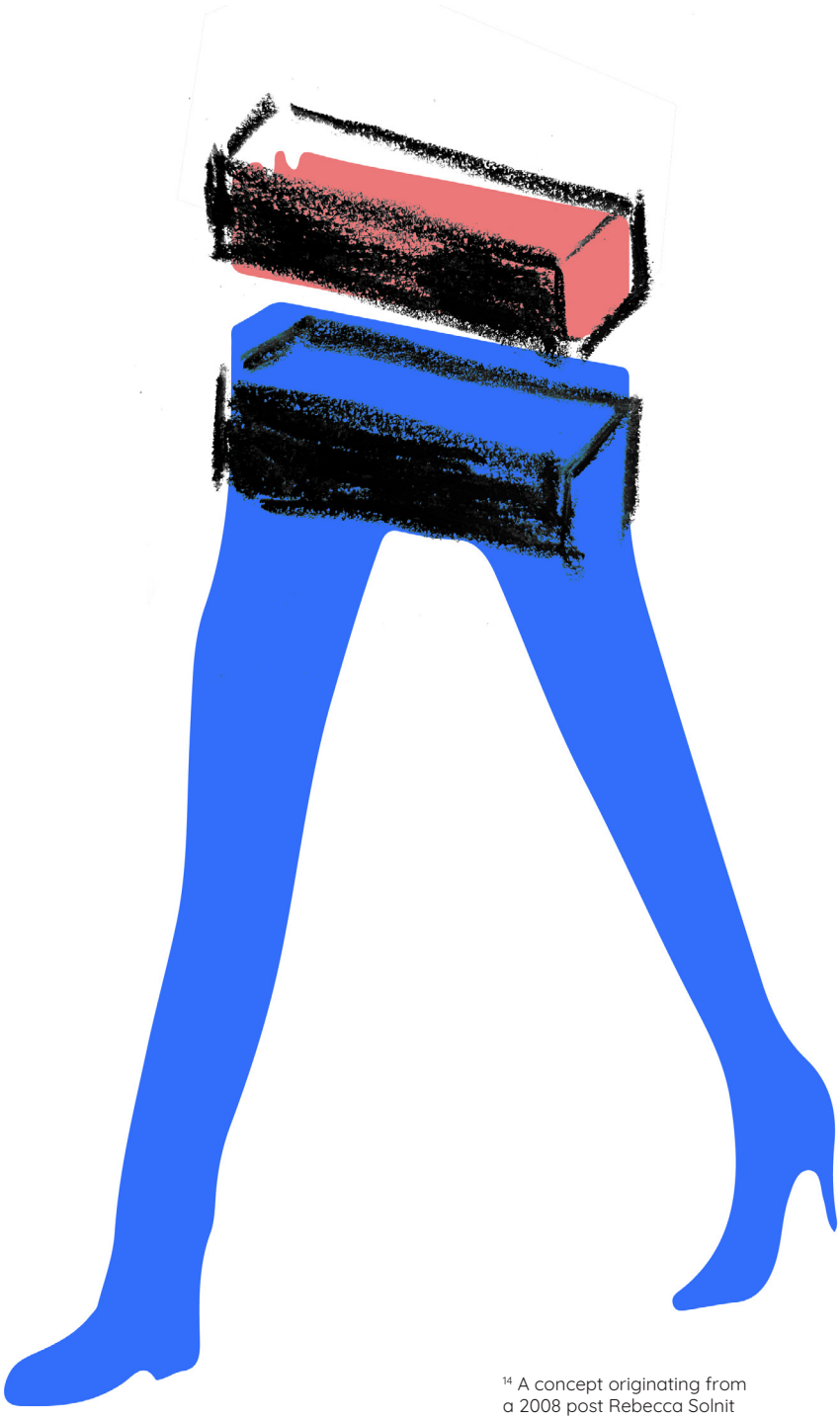
## A new look on gender equality (the object of the struggle)

The third wave also moved the focus beyond the usual indicators that were on the compass of second wave feminists (gender pay gap, work conditions, etc.) to attack more subtle aspects of gender bias. This is triggered by a recognition that gender biases are intricately woven into the fabric of society in small ordinary acts (so-called "micro-aggressions") that could almost seem harmless, but subtly and cumulatively maintain the power differences.

This new approach, very keen on attending to the specificities of identities and conditions, and the desire to unveil hidden layers of inequalities, brought a new vocabulary, new tools (linguistic analysis), and what may seem to be a more rigid idea of equality, which is less accessible and palpable for many. "Multiple axes of marginalised identity were theorised into existence right under the noses of the earlier feminists, and with them, a new need to read everything through a lens that magnifies potential oppression" (Pluckrose & Lindsay, 2020, p.130).

Some examples:

1. New words such as "mansplaining"[14] (men engaging in non-necessary, condescending explanations to women) or "manspreading" (men sitting in public transport with legs wide apart occupying large space) were popularised to give visibility to the subtle practices that men may engage in without any intention but that reaffirm a superior status and power position.



[14] A concept originating from a 2008 post Rebecca Solnit published on Tom's dispatch entitled „Men Explain Things to me".

2. The third wave of feminism also brings about a sense of intransigence with any of these biases and breaks from equality, denouncing them in ways that previous generations may sense as exaggerated. Manifestations connected to the third wave may be contested, on the basis that it suggests the collective guilt and complicity of all men in the persistence of misogynist biases, and so it reifies the dividing line between men and women. Such uncompromising attitude also appears in the classroom: male students taking more space in the class then females may be accused of gender bias (which may or may not be true) and the gender balance of a conference panel or a trainers' team is much scrutinised in terms of whether equality is properly respected.

More recently (from early 2010s) a new wave has emerged following the programme of the third wave, but with an interest in the use of digital / social media in reaching its objectives. The #MeToo movement would be a good example. The #MeToo movement rose from a social media post of Tarana Burke in 2006, to become viral in 2017 through a post of American actress Alyssa Milano, resulting a large-scale international movement of denouncing sexual abuse that was hidden thanks to the relative power position of the men committing them. This new look on harassment inescapably changed our perception of the power relations in any sexual interaction. This opens up new complications: in some circumstances it may be quite difficult to pinpoint a precise border that separates courtship from harassment, therefore, to avoid overlooking real cases of harassment, the traditional rites of male-initiated courtship may become obsolete. The requirement of explicit consent also brings with it a cultural bias, privileging direct, explicit communication that is proper to an ideal, hyper-individualistic, western value system. Fourth-wave feminists have advocated for greater inclusivity and intersectionality and have placed a greater emphasis on issues related to gender and technology, reproductive justice, and environmentalism. For some key figures see: Roxane Gay, Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, Malala Yousafzai.

## What to take from this to the classroom?

First, gender issues are so intertwined with, woven into our daily activities, gender identities accompanying us everywhere, that it is quite improbable that we can carry out our courses and workshops without ever running across one or another type of tension and conflict with respect to gender. The more diverse the classroom (in terms of age, nationality, ethnicity, religion, class, occupation, etc.), the more likely it is that learners will have divergent interpretations of what gender is and different expectations on how gender equality should be enacted. If tensions emerge, it may be quite impossible to adopt a neutral position. Whether or not we have already made up our minds as to which position to adopt, (stand up against the sexist comment that has been voiced or not) it will communicate some position to the learners. It's up to us then, to know what position we'd like to transmit personally, or institutionally, which one is more compatible with our pedagogical mission of inclusion, interculturality and equality.

### Incidents connected:

- "I don't feel like it"
- "Men know better"
- "Not all women believe in sexism"
- "Do not mansplain me"
- "Do not assign"
- "Gender equality"

## Bibliography


Abu-Lughod, L. (2002). Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others. American Anthropologist, 104(3), 783–790. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3567256

Abu-Lughod, L. (2013). Do Muslim Women Need Saving? Harvard University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt6wpmnc

Bamberger, J. (1974). The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society. In M. Z. Rosaldo; L. Lamphere (eds.). Woman, Culture, Society (ed.). pp. 263–80. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Blackless, M., Charuvastra, A., Derryck, A., Fausto-Sterling, A., Lauzanne, K., Lee, E. (2000). How sexually dimorphic are we? Review and synthesis. American Journal of Human Biology, 12(2) pp. 151-166 https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1520-6300(200003/04)12:2<151::AID-AJHB1>3.0.CO;2-F

Bentley, M. (April 1945). Sanity and Hazard in Childhood. The American Journal of Psychology. 58 (2): 212–246

Bouzar, D. (2004, March 6). Musulmanes et féminisme. https://www.Lemonde.fr/. Retrieved July 25, 2023, from https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/2004/03/06/musulmanes-et-feminisme-par-dounia-bouzar_355772_1819218.html.

De Beauvoir, S. (1949). Le deuxième sexe. Vol. 1, Les faits et les mythes. Paris, France: Gallimard.

Brunell, L. & Burkett, E. (2023.05.15.) Feminism. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Sociology. Last updated: 2024.01.24. Retrieved from: https://www.britannica.com/topic/feminism

Butler, J. (1993). Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'. New York, NY: Routledge.

Center for Intersectional Justice. (n.d.). What is intersectionality. https://www.intersectionaljustice.org/what-is-intersectionality last access last accessed on 25/7/2023

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. Stanford Law Review, 43(6), 1241–1299.

Crenshaw, K. (2017, June 8). Intersectionality, More than Two Decades Later. www.law.columbia.edu. https://www.law.columbia.edu/news/archive/kimberle-crenshaw-intersectionality-more-two-decades-later#:~:text=It%27s%20not%20simply%20that%20there%27s,but%20that%27s%20not%20my%20intention.

Eriksen, T. H. (1995). Small Places, Large Issues – An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology London, United Kingdom: Pluto Press

Friedan, B. (2013). The Feminine Mystique. W.W.Norton & Company, Inc.

Glick, P., & Fiske, S. T. (1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70(3), 491–512. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.3.491

Global Gender Gap Report 2022. (2023, October 9). World Economic Forum. https://www.weforum.org/reports/global-gender-gap-report-2022/

Goodenough, U. & Heitman, J. (2014). Origins of Eukaryotic Sexual Reproduction. Cold Spring Harbor Perspectives in Biology. 6(3): a016154. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3949356/

Harris, M. (1977.11.13.) Why men dominate women. New York Times. Section SM. Page 13. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/1977/11/13/archives/why-men-dominate-women-startling-new-evidence-of-female-infanticide.html

Héritier, F. (1996). Masculino/femenino. El pensamiento de la diferencia. Barcelona, Spain: Ariel.

Kováts, E. (2016). The Emergence of Powerful Anti-Gender Movements in Europe and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy. In M. Köttig; R. Bitzan; A. Pető (eds.). Gender and Far Right Politics in Europe. (ed.). Springer. pp. 175–189. ISBN 978-3-319-43533-6.

Knight, C. (2008). Early Human Kinship Was Matrilineal. In N. J. Allen, H. Callan, R. Dunbar and W. James (eds.), Early Human Kinship. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 61-82.

La Manif Pour Tous (2016.10.03.) CP – Stop á lá diffusion du genre á L'école [Stop the diffusion of gender in schools] Retrieved from: https://www.lamanifpourtous.fr/actualites/cp-stop-a-la-diffusion-du-genre-a-lecole

Le Monde. (2004. 03. 06.). Musulmanes et féminisme, par Dounia Bouzar. https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/2004/03/06/musulmanes-et-feminisme-par-dounia-bouzar_355772_1819218.html

LSE Library (2018.02.02.). Anti-suffrage postcard. Suffragists on the warpath. Retrieved from: https://www.flickr.com/photos/lselibrary/26165613708/

Money, J., Hampson, J. G., Hampson, J. (1955 October). An Examination of Some Basic Sexual Concepts: The Evidence of Human Hermaphroditism. Bull. Johns Hopkins Hosp, 97 (4). pp. 301–19.

Népszava.hu (2018.08.20.) Kövér László: a genderizmus náci tudományra hasonlít, a médiába be kell avatkozni [László Kövér: genderism resembles Nazi science, the media must be interfered in] Retrieved from: https://nepszava.hu/3005577_kover-laszlo-a-genderizmus-naci-tudomanyra-hasonlit-a-mediaba-be-kell-avatkozni

Oren, T., & Press, A. L. (2019). The Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Feminism. In Routledge eBooks. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315728346

Ortner, S. B. (2019). Too soon for post-feminism. In Routledge eBooks (pp. 61–76). https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315728346-5

Pluckrose, H. & Lindsay, J. (2020). Cynical Theories. Durham: Pitchstone Publishing.

Rogers, N. (2017.03.14.). Bonobo Matriarchs Lead the Way. Old females decide when and where their tribe will travel. Inside Science. – Creature. Retrieved from: https://www.insidescience.org/news/bonobo-matriarchs-lead-way

Sidanius, J., & Pratto, F. (1999). Social dominance: An intergroup theory of social hierarchy and oppression. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press

Solnit, R. (2008, April 12). Men explain things to me. https://tomdispatch.com. https://tomdispatch.com/best-of-tomdispatch-rebecca-solnit-the-archipelago-of-arrogance/

Szántó, D. (2017a). Medical Pluralism In Medical Anthropology Reader. last accessed on 13/1/2023 at https://healthydiversity.eu/media/HEAD-Medical-anthropology-reader.pdf Pages: 51—55

Szántó, D. (2017b). The social construction of gender In Medical Anthropology Reader. last accessed on 13/1/2023 at https://healthydiversity.eu/media/HEAD-Medical-anthropology-reader.pdf Pages: 86—95.

Tong, R. & Botts, T.S. (2018). FEMINIST THOUGHT: A MORE COMPREHENSIVE INTRODUCTION. New York, NY: Routledge

United Nations. (n.d.). Gender Inequality Index. Human Development Reports. https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/thematic-composite-indices/gender-inequality-index#/indicies/GII

Vatican City. (2019). Male and female, He created them. Towards a path of Dialogue on the question of gender theory in education. Vatican City. https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_20190202_maschio-e-femmina_en.pdf

Yuval Noah Harari (2021.03.08.). Natalie Portman & Yuval Noah Harari on The Women's Movement. YouTube.com. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wFisgnYY24o

# The Anti-Racism Movement

***Chiara Ioriatti***
***(Giolli Cooperativa Sociale, Italy)***

Of all the movements presented in this brief reader, anti-racist movements are probably the most often mentioned and present in the news and in social media, and, at the same time, they are also the best known by the vast majority of the population. In this brief presentation, we will first try to trace the main features of the movements and the historical steps that led to their current understanding, aware that this is an extreme simplification of a movement with very pronounced local and historical peculiarities. Secondly, we will try to underline why educators/trainers should explore this theme. Our main goal is, in fact, to define some key concepts, and most importantly to highlight why a professional who works in education should be prepared on this topic. For this reason, we decided to foresee limited space for the historical treatment of the movement, which plays an important role but with respect to which much has already been written (you will find insights from the bibliography). Instead, we tried to give more space to the discussion of how this movement is present in everyday life and the relationship between the movement and educational work.

## Definitions

- Anti-racism

It can be defined as a practice composed of a range of ideas and political actions, actively identifying, and opposing racism - in all its forms, such as racial prejudice, systemic racism, and the oppression of specific racial groups. It is usually structured around conscious efforts and deliberate actions which are intended to provide equal opportunities for all people on both the individual and the systemic level. The goal is thus to change policies, behaviours and beliefs that perpetuate racist ideas and actions.[1]

It might sound obvious, but it is important to underline that antiracism exists because racism does. This seemingly trivial statement allows us to contextualise another important fact: the existence of racism, as well as that of the presence of discrimination, are denied by a part of civil society all over the world. Although one might think otherwise, these voices are not necessarily denialist or extremist groups. Many people do not deny the possibility that there are sporadic events of racism, where one person insults or attacks another on ethnic grounds,[2] but would argue that these incidents are purely "personal". What is most often denied is the "structural" dimension of racism.[3]

- Racism

A brief explanation of racism is thus necessary. As we will see, the local and national contexts, history, and politics deeply affect the features of racism and its meaning, and the definition given by society and even experts differ over time. Nevertheless, the first attempt can be made using the definition given by a dictionary.

According to an Oxford dictionary, racism is: "*prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism by an individual, community, or institution against a person or people on the basis of their membership of a particular racial or ethnic group, typically one that is a minority or marginalised.*" (Oxford, 2020).

This is a good enough definition, but it leaves "the belonging to a racial or ethnic group" unproblematized, as if racial groups were objectively existing categories and not social constructions. From a different perspective, we can say that racism is a belief system that categorizes people based on visible (or imagined) biological characteristics, links these characteristics to moral, intellectual traits, and organizes groups defined in this way in a hierarchical social order. It is also remarkable that the above definition creates an equation between racial and ethnic groups, and indeed many a times racial groups are ethnised – people identified as being of the "same colour" treated as if they all

**1** This definition uses the following source: Boston University, What is Anti-Racism? BU Community Service Center. https://www.bu.edu/csc/edref-2/antiracism/ (accessed on the 10/08/2023)

**2** As discussed by the Harris Poll Survey in America (Johnson, 2022)

**3** See, for example, APA. Denial of structural racism linked to anti-Black prejudice. 2022. www.apa.org https://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/2022/05/denial-structural-racism-antiblack-prejudice

belonged to the same people (see Latinx in the US racial categorization system), while ethnic groups can be also racialized (the Irish in the US and the Jews in Europe treated as a sub-category of humanity, inferior to those defined as "white" – note here the social construction of whiteness).
Over time, reflections and research on the topic have struggled to include different points of view, to analyse the phenomenon in its complexity, including reflections that take into consideration the relationship between who "defines" what racism is and who "suffers" from its effects, who "can speak" about racism, and who the "authors" are of those crimes.

## Types of racism:

- Individual racism

refers to an individual's racist assumptions, beliefs or behaviours and is "a form of racial discrimination that stems from conscious and unconscious, personal prejudice" (Henry and Tator, 2006). Individual racism is connected to/learned from broader socio-economic histories and processes and is supported and reinforced by systemic racism.

- Everyday racism

a concept developed in the 1980s, is about racist practices, making racism common societal behaviour. It consists of smaller and bigger day-to-day violations of the civil rights of ethnic or racial minorities, negations of their full humanity and attacks against their dignity. Sometimes the interpretation of the event remains contestable: Is it or is it not racial discrimination? It may take circumstantial evidence or inference from other experiences to understand the possible racial connotations. The outcome of an event is often more telling than the reported motive.

- Internalized racism

can be defined as "the (discriminated individual's) inculcation of the racist stereotypes, values, images, and ideologies perpetuated by the White dominant society about one's racial group, leading to feelings of self-doubt, disgust, and disrespect for one's race and/or oneself" (Pyke, 2010. p.553). This can show up in several ways, ranging from skin bleaching to policing one's own behaviour in order to defy a stereotype, to "fit in," or not to appear as "too much" of something that is not the "norm". This is the interiorization by persons in minority groups of the value system of the majority.

- Systemic or structural racism

is racism that manifests itself in all aspects of society and institutions. Systemic racism encapsulates that set of public policies, practices and social systems rooted in institutions that lead to the exclusion or promotion of certain groups. These public policies have a huge impact on the kinds of services and opportunities that different ethnic groups have access to. Such discrimination still occurs today, for example in employment or in the lack of proportional representation of black people in the media.

Moreover, the distinction between "overt" and "covert" racism makes a distinction between visible and "easy to find" occurrences, and incidents that are sneaky and are silently accepted because they are difficult to identify.

Examples of overt racism include the following acts and attitudes which often overlap: hate crimes and hate speech, systemic racism, institutional racism, discriminatory policies and laws, racial profiling, media, social media, and negative racial stereotypes, gaslighting/racelighting (persistent negative bias and narratives about an individual or a group based on race, ethnicity, cultural background, and/or national origin), anti-immigrant sentiment and attacks.

Examples of covert racism include the following, which may also overlap: implicit hiring discrimination, implicit glass ceiling at work, implicit networking/opportunity discrimination, implicit housing discrimination, implicit police protection discrimination, implicit legal rights discrimination, implicit healthcare discrimination, implicit banking/lending discrimination, implicit sales/customer service discrimination.

## Brief history of the movement

Anti-racism has a complex history and is often linked to the characteristics of the individual country, its history, in particular colonial history, and the migratory phenomena characterizing it. In North America, discussions on racism evoke black Americans and are directly related to the history of slavery. In contemporary Western Europe, racism is tied mostly to migratory phenomena and colonialism. In Eastern and Central Europe, both historical memories and present-day incidents connect racism with Jewish and Roma communities, moreover, there is also a strong (and growing) sense of xenophobia and anti-refugee feeling, even in the absence of big numbers of refugees. According to Rebughini (2020), antiracist actions be classified as, "defensive", by the activists of the host country, or "counteroffensive" by the migrants themselves. The former has developed more in countries with a "universalist" tradition such as France, while the latter is more widespread in countries that have highlighted more "diversity", such as England (Floya and Davis, 1992). The defensive actions imply the will to "protect" migrants that are settled in the host country, denouncing discrimination and hate actions, and trying to spread a culture of "welcoming" newcomers. By "counteroffensive" we mean all the actions and movements organised by people with a migratory background that denounce violations and racist actions that they suffer and fight for themselves and other migrants. Even though they can co-exist, it is important to underline this distinction as it can show how countries differ in which group, the natives, or the migrants are considered to be more legitimate to stand up and have a "voice" in this issue.

Not only the forms of racism but also the forms of resistance are historically produced. Some scholars highlight that not in all countries can anti-racism be considered historically a movement, but rather mobilisation in some places. This distinction highlights the different levels of civil society activation and the persistence of claims over time. A movement usually has a broader, longer-term goal and is more internally structured. In contrast, mobilisation has a more temporally defined character, more specific goals, and less internal structuring. In general terms, we can say that European anti-racism has its roots in the Enlightenment (17th and 18th Century) and in the recognition of human rights, and the right to "diversity". This early-day anti-racism had among its principles the idea that all men were equal and had inalienable rights, equal to all "races". At the same time, we can trace a "counter-movement". From the strong commitment of Enlightenment thinkers to sciences, came out the pseudo-science called "scientific racism", sometimes termed biological racism, that is the pseudoscientific belief that the human species can be subdivided into biologically distinct taxa called "races" (Garrod, 2006). Flourishing in the late 18th and 19th century, ranking people and societies based on their physical characteristics and geographical origin, discussions of these issues were carried out at the intellectual, humanistic, and then the scientific level.

Widening our gaze outside Europe, the American Revolution and the abolitionist movement in Europe and the United States led to the increase of articulation of actions and concepts against racism and slavery till the 1950s/60s. A crucial turning point was the active participation of part of civil society. Between the 1940s and 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement fought for the rights of African Americans/Black people[4] with the goal of ending racial discrimination. Activists of the movement implemented a series of lawsuits, protests, boycott acts, initiatives, and actions, as a way of saying enough is enough. In this period, the first strong actions against segregation took place. Well-known figures of the movement like Martin Luther King and the great demonstrations and non-violent actions linked with his activism, Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Malcolm X and race riots are widely recognised as game changers in racial relations in the United States.

**4** There is an ongoing debate about whether or not we should be using "African Americans" or "Black people", and on the use of the B - capital letter. See: Eligon, J. 2020. A Debate Over Identity and Race Asks, Are African-Americans 'Black' or 'black'? The New York Times, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/us/black-african-american-style-debate.html and McWorther J. 2004. Why I'm Black, Not African American. Manhattan Institute. https://manhattan.institute/article/why-im-black-not-african-american

**5** ENAR, Equality Data. https://www.enar-eu.org/about/equality-data/

**6** See Chapter on the Roma-rights movement.

The results of these protests have determined the structure of our societies today, which recognise at the normative level the freedom and equal rights of individuals, and over time have also defined laws to punish those who fail to live up to the principles of equality. Nevertheless, everyday racism remains a wide-scale societal problem, and not only in the form of implicit, covert acts of discrimination, but as huge human rights violations, as the George Floyd case shows. On their turn, these incidents ignite present day anti-racist movements, such as Black Lives Matter.

## Difference between law and mentality

Acts of racism are recorded every day, even if there is still a big gap in the data. Yet no Europe-wide data is available on exactly how many persons experience unequal treatment because of their racial or ethnic origin. The United Kingdom is the only country to collect equality data on ethnic minorities.[5] Some information, albeit partial, with respect to the number of these crimes can be traced through the ENAR and respective national agencies' territorial "antennae" to track the phenomenon. Racism, however, does not only exist in acts of concealed discrimination that can be traced in statistics. There have been ethnic killings and intimidations in Hungary targeting the Roma.[6] Ethnic segregation in schools is unlawful in Europe but remains a fact everywhere and police brutality against people of racial minorities regularly puts not only the US but also European countries in flames. These incidents show that laws are not enough to eradicate acts of racism. There is a need for the overall transformation of mentalities.

## What has the movement not achieved?

Legislative recognition of racial crimes and the open statement of prohibition of discrimination is a key step. However, society and the behaviour of individuals are not defined simply by "what the State says". The legal system does not always cover what the community considers morally right or the actions it considers "normal".

Formal recognition of equality cannot be separated from a deep understanding and a consequent action and work in the community and in the society. For this reason, battles for the substantive application of laws and the attitudinal change in society are not over. Mentality does not change due to a law.

The movement is strictly linked with the composition and attitude of the society, and its production of socially meaningful identities. In today's complex societies the number of identities to be taken into account is rapidly increasing. A pluralist society is an ideal where all these identities are equally recognised. As we are far from the ideal, anti-racist actions are still needed as racism is not only a phenomenon that still exists, but it also increases in some areas.[7]

**7** See, for example, APA. Denial of structural racism linked to anti-Black prejudice. 2022. www.apa.org https://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/2022/05/denial-structural-racism-antiblack-prejudice

## Nowadays

It is important to point out that over time, not only has the anti-racist movement continued to exist, but it has evolved and changed, including increasing contact and integration with other movements. Racism is one of the most well-known sources of discrimination (and some assert that it can hide/shadow other types of discrimination, such as gender, religious faith, class etc.). Year by year, an awareness has grown that movements that fight against discrimination, including racial discrimination, must encourage dialogue, unite and above all recognise that a person, whose identity is not determined by a single character attribute, can be the victim of multiple forms of discrimination. Hence the importance of pointing out "intersectional" discrimination, as did the Combahee River Collective.[8] In addition, space has been given to important reflections on "who" is part of the movement, and "for whom" it is.

Why do "white people" struggle to address the issue of racism? The answer, as reported by the New York Times in reference to the reflections of Robin Di Angelo, an American educator and sociologist, lies in white fragility: "*Whites become defensive when their ideas about race and racism are challenged, and particularly if they are involved in the dynamics that ensure white supremacy. Their feeling uncomfortable with the topic and feeling protected from discriminatory dynamics makes them fragile and unwilling to confront when it comes to talking about racism. And so they react by saying things like 'I don't see skin colour', 'I have black friends', or 'classism is the real problem'.*"[9] As mentioned in this reader and in previous works of PODER project, "racial colour blindness"[10] is an issue that we all should be aware of. Naturally, this does not prevent all people from taking a stand and wanting to intervene as anti-racists, in the form of "allies".[11]

Actions and demonstrations are rising also from the (potential) victims. A well-known example, which has been widely covered in the media, is that of "Black Lives Matter" following the acquittal of George Zimmerman for the murder of 17-year-old African American Trayvon Martin. In 2013, artist and activist Patrisse Cullors published a post denouncing the incident using the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. From that cue, Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi and Cullors decided to found a global movement with the following goal, as stated in the bylaws: "*To fight together, imagine and create a world free of racism against black people, in which every black person has the social, economic and political resources to succeed.*"[12] Committed to fighting racism and discrimination, the movement regularly organizes demonstrations to protest police violence and legal inequalities perpetrated against black people. The assassination of George Floyd in 2020 gave a new impetus to the Black Lives Matter movement and ignited the world. New spaces have also been given to movements not necessarily related to Europe and America (i.e. The Anti-Racism Movement (ARM) is a grassroots movement created by young activists in Lebanon). Antiracism, as stated at the beginning, is action. Accompanied by the protests that have occurred around the world, in recent years we have begun uncomfortable, honest, and necessary conversations about racism, focusing especially on what each of us can and must do to combat it. We realized that saying we are not racist is not enough, because it is necessary to actively act against racism through overtly anti-racist behaviours and ways of thinking.

## How to work with the topic of racism in adult education?

To create an equal society, we must commit to making unbiased choices and being antiracist in all aspects of our lives.[13] Since "everyone" must act, why is there a specific reflection for educators? We believe that there are specific considerations to be made for those who, for work or volunteering, deal with education. These are linked both to the role they play and to the situations they might face in the daily life of their profession.

**8** Kimberlé Crenshaw (2017) On Intersectionality: Essential Writings. The New Press.

**9** Daniel Bergner, The New York Times, White Fragility' Is Everywhere. But Does Antiracism Training Work?, Published July 15, 2020 (consulted 16.10.2023)

**10** Fitchburg State University. Anti-racism Resources. https://fitchburgstate.libguides.com/c.php?g=1046516&p=7616506

**11** Sue, D. W. (2017). The Challenges of Becoming a White Ally. The Counseling Psychologist, 45(5), 706-716.

**12** Jordan Zakarin, How Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza and Opal Tometi Created the Black Lives Matter Movement, Biography (Consuled on 16.10.2023)

**13** National Museum of African American History and Culture. https://nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race/topics/being-antiracist

- Be educated and aware

For a person working in the field of education it is important to be aware of the modalities and typologies of racist acts (recognised or not by the law), and about the ways of reporting these events, for several reasons. First, because there exists the possibility becoming a victim or a witness of such events during the personal or work life of each of us. Second, because anyone who works with lots of people has the possibility to share and spread information about the existence of the phenomenon and about the necessary actions to be taken to combat racism. Moreover, this is significant because the people with whom an educator works, particularly in language courses for foreigners, may have limited access to information about the possibility to report crimes and discrimination and the national laws about it. An educator is in contact with a set of potential victims at risk of discrimination and exploitation.

- Conflicts about racial issues are to be expected (as with any other forms of conflict)

As stated by El-Mafaalani, "*Those who assume that a lack of conflict is an indicator of successful integration and an open society are mistaken. Conflicts arise not because the integration of immigrants and minorities has failed, but because it is increasingly successful. Social coalescence generates controversy and defensive populist reactions all around the world*" (El-Mafaalani, 2018).

For an educator, it is possible to find one's self in situations of conflict on these issues and it is correct not only to know this, but to be ready to stand in this conflict, elaborating it and recognizing that growth and change also pass through confrontation.

Some tips:

1. Do not avoid the word "racism" or fail to address a sentence or an act as "racist".
2. Do not attack or judge "the person" who pronounces a racist sentence, but problematise the idea/concept said.
3. Ask the group to discuss, intervene, and protest if they want.
4. Accept pressure, silence, and feeling uncomfortable.

- Problematising

This short introduction has highlighted some reflections that, as we have seen, underline that the question of anti-racism is not easy and that only a discussion and a problematization of its elements can lead to a change in society. It is not rare to be met with the opinion that for example, a white person, heterosexual man, or a person with full citizenship should not speak for a woman, a black person, or someone who is undocumented. How could he really understand? What right does he have to talk about these issues? We believe that it is correct to ask these questions, but doubts should not discourage us from taking stands, but rather encourage us to correctly problematize interventions. The antidote to white supremacy is to look at what can be done in order to change "white supremacy" in learning spaces.[14]

Some tips:

1. Do not avoid the issue.
2. Do not take for granted that the educational system you are working in is equal and inclusive, instead, be ready to report to your supervisor when necessary.
3. Ask some questions that can help to frame the topic both for your own benefit and for the benefit of the participants of the training. It is important to problematize this topic not only in classes with ethnic or racial diversity but also in homogeneous classes. Problematizing antiracism is not necessarily linked with being in touch with persons from minorities.
4. You can pose questions that explore if every participant means the same thing about racism, like "Where is the line between racism and "non-racism"?", or "When does an act become a discriminatory act or even hate crime?". Even those who say they are not racist, may have biases and pre-

**14** Jons, K. and Okun, T. White Supremacy Culture. 2001. CS WORSKSHOP https://www.cwsworkshop.org/PARC_site_B/dr-culture.html

judices that they are not aware of. “How do you feel about these prejudices? What does it mean to have them?”

5. Before all of these, you can ask yourself what your relationship is to racial prejudices. It is also important to understand your own stance on racism.

- The value of words

As with any other forms of discrimination, language and communication are necessarily involved in the struggle. On the one hand, because it is necessary to name racism and its components to get out of the preconception, seen earlier, that formal equality presupposes the fact that we are a hate-free society, to find the courage to present society in its real essence.

“We must call misanthropy to order. We cannot tolerate it and elevate it to ‘ideas’ that revitalise the debate, but we must call it by its name: racism. Extremism. Misanthropy. Fascism. Hatred is not an idea” (Kübra Gümüşay, 2022).

Secondly, because the use of language and our choice of words define and shape society and our respect for others, so those involved in education must be aware of it for their own good and to know what they transmit to others.

The theme of racism and anti-racism emerges clearly in more than one of the cases of “critical incidents” that we have collected. This, should it be necessary to emphasize it again, proves how absolutely topical the issue is and how in our daily lives as educators we need to examine how to recognise and act against racism.

## Relevant projects on racism or antiracism

- European Coalition of Cities against Racism

The ECCAR Toolkit for Equality. The Toolkit gives examples and detailed guidance on implementation of equality measures. All the information has been collected and elaborated in cooperation with a wide range of local politicians, civil servants, consultants, civil society organizations, lawyers and the local people concerned. This provides a broad expertise on the “what”, “how”, and “when”. https://www.eccar.info/en/eccar-toolkit-equality

- Mardigian Library

University of Michigan-Dearborn’s Mardigian Library is a freely accessible guide that provides information about people, groups, and projects dedicated to building inclusive and caring communities. The intention is to provide a starting point for developing a vocabulary to discuss anti-racism through readings and other media and to be better prepared with research and information seeking strategies. https://guides.umd.umich.edu/c.php?g=1045713

- STAR PROJECT (Stand Together Against Racism)

The STAR project, Stand Together Against Racism, is a 3-year collaboration among 4 partners from Spain, Italy, Bulgaria and Poland, with the aim to counter invisible racism and other form of intolerance in our everyday lives. Constellation is a manual for working with young people on the topic of racism and invisible racism. https://erasmus-plus.ec.europa.eu/projects/search/details/592140-EPP-1-2017-1-ES-EPPKA3-IPI-SOC-IN

- Stanford University

The purpose of Stanford University’s Anti-racism Toolkit is to support dialogue about racism within the Stanford staff community, and engage and unite the community in actions that will advance racial justice. https://cardinalatwork.stanford.edu/anti-racism-toolkit

- Wellcome

This foundation developed a Toolkit to help their staff to achieve racial equity in their organisation and work. https://wellcome.org/what-we-do/diversity-and-inclusion/wellcomes-anti-racist-principles-and-toolkit

## Bibliography

American Psychological Association. (2022, May 23). Denial of structural racism linked to anti-Black prejudice [Press release]. Retrieved from https://www.apa.org/news/press/releases/2022/05/denial-structural-racism-antiblack-prejudice

Being antiracist. (n.d.). National Museum of African American History and Culture. Retrieved from https://nmaahc.si.edu/learn/talking-about-race/topics/being-antiracist

Bergner, D. (2020, July 15). White Fragility' Is Everywhere. But Does Antiracism Training Work?. The New York Times. Retrieved from https://www.amren.com/news/2020/07/white-fragility-is-everywhere-but-does-antiracism-training-work/

Boston Univeristy Community Service Center. (n.d.). What is anti-racism?. What is Anti-Racism? – Community Service Center. Retrieved from https://www.bu.edu/csc/edref-2/antiracism/

Crenshaw, K. (2017). On Intersectionality: Essential Writings. The New Press

Eligon, J. (2020, June 26). A Debate Over Identity and Race Asks, Are African-Americans 'Black' or 'black'? The New York Times. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/26/us/black-african-american-style-debate.html

ENAR Aisbl. (2022, March 17). Equality Data - European Network Against Racism. European Network Against Racism. Retrieved from https://www.enar-eu.org/about/equality-data/

Erasmus+. (n.d.). STAR PROJECT (Stand Together Against Racism). Erasmus+ EU programme for education, training, youth and sport. Retrieved from https://erasmus-plus.ec.europa.eu/projects/search/details/592140-EPP-1-2017-1-ES-EPPKA3-IPI-SOC-IN

European Coalition of Cities Against Racism. (n.d.). The ECCAR toolkit for Equality. ECCAR. Retrieved from https://www.eccar.info/en/eccar-toolkit-equality

Floya, A. & Yuval-Davis, N. (1992). Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle. London, United Kingdom: Routledge

Garrod, J. Z. (2006). A brave old world: an analysis of scientific racism and BiDil. McGill Journal of Medicine. 9(1), 54–60. Retrieved from https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2687899/

Gümüsay, K. (2022, May 5). Speaking and Being: How Language Binds and Frees Us. London, United Kingdom: Profile Books.

Jons, K. & Okun, T. (2001). White Supremacy Culture. Retrieved from https://www.dismantlingracism.org/uploads/4/3/5/7/43579015/okun_-_white_sup_culture.pdf

McWorther J. (2004, September 8). Why I'm Black, Not African American. Los Angeles Times. Retrieved from https://manhattan.institute/article/why-im-black-not-african-american

Puvanendran, K. (2021, June 16). Wellcome's anti-racist principles, guidance and Toolkit. Wellcome. Retrieved from https://wellcome.org/what-we-do/diversity-and-inclusion/wellcomes-anti-racist-principles-and-toolkit

Pyke, K. D. (2010). What is Internalized Racial Oppression and Why Don't We Study It? Acknowledging Racism's Hidden Injuries. Sociological Perspectives, 53(4). 551–572.

Rebughini, P. (2000). Le Metamorfosi ei Limiti dell'Antirazzismo in Europa: Tra Lotta Politica e Affermazione Culturale, Studi di Sociologia, 38(3). 311-326. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/23004812

Research help: Anti-racism resources: What does racism look like? Colorblindness. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://fitchburgstate.libguides.com/c.php?g=1046516&p=7616506

Stanford Univeristy. (n.d.). Anti-Racism Toolkit. Stanford University Anti-Racism Toolkit. Retrieved from https://cardinalatwork.stanford.edu/anti-racism-toolkit

Sue, D. W. (2017). The Challenges of Becoming a White Ally. The Counseling Psychologist, 45(5), 706-716.

Tator, C., Henry, F., Smith, C., & Brown, M. (2006). Racial Profiling in Canada: Challenging the Myth of "a Few Bad Apples." University of Toronto Press.

University of Michigan-Dearborn. (n.d.). Anti-racism resources. Home - Definitions & Terms - Anti-Racism Resources - Subject Guides at University of Michigan-Dearborn. Retrieved from https://guides.umd.umich.edu/c.php?g=1045713

Zakarin, J. (2021, January 27). How Patrisse Cullors, Alicia Garza and Opal Tometi created the Black Lives Matter movement. Biography. Retrieved from https://www.biography.com/activists/patrisse-cullors-alicia-garza-opal-tometi-black-lives-matters-origins

## Additional material – by topics


Definition and history of antiracism

Antiracism | Dictionary.com | Meanings & Definitions of English Words. (2022). In Dictionary.com. Retrieved from https://www.dictionary.com/browse/antiracism

Guides: Anti-Black Racism: History, Ideology, and Resistance - Oakland Campus: Where to start. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://pitt.libguides.com/antiracism/wheretostart

MSEd, K. C. (2023, April 17). What does it mean to be anti-racist? Verywell Mind. https://www.verywellmind.com/what-is-anti-racism-5071426

White fragility

White antiracist activists — teaching while white. (n.d.). Teaching While White. Retrieved from https://www.teachingwhilewhite.org/resources/white-antiracist-activists

Language and terminology

Black and African Americans. (n.d.). Community Commons. Retrieved from https://www.communitycommons.org/entities/f7444b0a-55c7-4281-bca7-f01d89eb4eba

Forms of Racism — Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre. (n.d.). Alberta Civil Liberties Research Centre. Retrieved from https://www.aclrc.com/forms-of-racism

Justice, N. C. F. S. (n.d.). Racial Justice in Education: Key terms and Definitions | NEA. Retrieved from https://www.nea.org/professional-excellence/student-engagement/tools-tips/racial-justice-education-key-terms-and-definitions

List of books to read, reading references

Anti-racism - reading references - consilium. (2020, June 17). European Council. Retrieved from https://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/documents-publications/library/library-blog/posts/anti-racism-reading-references/

Anti-racist education. (2015, October 26). Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation. Retrieved from https://www.stf.sk.ca/bibliography-resource/anti-racist-education/

White fragility

DiAngelo, R. (2018). White fragility: Why it's so hard for white people to talk about racism. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Antiracism

Bryant-Davis, T., & Arrington, E. (2022). The antiracism handbook : practical tools to shift your mindset & uproot racism in your life & community. Oakland, CA: New Harbinger Publications, Inc.

Fleming, Crystal. (2019) How to Be Less Stupid About Race: On Racism, White Supremacy, and the Racial Divide. New York, NY: Penguin Random House.

Graves, J. L., Jr, & Goodman, A. H. (2021). Racism, not race: Answers to Frequently Asked Questions. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hadenius, A., & Karvonen, L. (2001). The paradox of integration in Intra-State conflicts. Journal of Theoretical Politics, 13(1), 35–51. https://doi.org/10.1177/0951692801013001002

Kendi, I. X. (August 13, 2019). How to Be an Antiracist. New York, NY: One World.

Oluo, I. (2018). So you want to talk about race. New York, NY: Seal Press. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/So_You_Want_to_Talk_About_Race

Race Relations: Myths and Facts. (1991). Toronto Mayor's Committee on Community and Race Relations.

Samuels, R., & Olorunnipa, T. (2022). His Name Is George Floyd: One Man's Life and the Struggle for Racial Justice. New York, NY: Viking

Schaeffer, M., & Kas, J. (2023). The Integration Paradox: A Review and Meta-Analysis of the Complex Relationship Between Integration and Reports of Discrimination. International Migration Review, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/01979183231170809

# Class-based discrimination

*Ágnes Kovács (Artemisszió Foundation, Hungary*

Sexism, Racism, Homophobia. These terms are commonly heard nowadays in the news, professional circles or in conversations with friends or family. Class-based discrimination is a less common concept, but what it means can be just as disruptive in an adult educational setting. How we perceive social class differences in a group and how that might differ from the other's perception and lived experiences can cause interpersonal tensions. How a trainer is able to recognise, understand and handle such – sometimes more overt, but often covert – tensions is key.

This article aims to help the reader conceptualise social class, understand different perceptions about social class, manifestations of classism especially in the training room. It also provides some ideas about the steps that can be taken by a trainer to better understand group dynamics, heavily affected by classism.

## What does social class mean?

Before we begin to investigate how social class can be the ground for discrimination in the training room, we must attempt to form a shared understanding of what social class actually is. When we think of the word (social) class, the first thing that comes to mind perhaps is the division between upper class, middle class and lower class or working class as these differences appear in social magazines. For others, the word evokes Karl Marx and his theory about the "class war" between the "bourgeoisie" and "proletariat". Residents of post-state socialist or post-soviet countries may experience strong personal feelings when they hear about social class as it can be seen as an ideologically charged concept.

In social sciences, the exact definition, meaning and use of social class can change over time and according to the theoretical frameworks we use. However, it is usually clear that when we talk about a person's social class, we refer to the person's relative rank in a society, depending on:

1. **financial opportunities**: such as one's wealth, income and property ownership compared to others, referring to the amount of money earned and how it is earned;
2. **positions occupied in society**: such as education level, work qualifications, occupation, job status, connections to other people – and the advantages and disadvantages that come with these aspects;
3. **socio-cultural practices**: things the person likes and consumes, the way they spend time, compared to other people etc.

Together, these aspects create a hierarchical system, in other words a "class structure" (Huszár 2022).

It is not the product of modern societies to have hierarchical systems in which members of different groups obtain unequal amounts of power, status, privileges and rewards according to social standing and occupation type. Feudal classification in European societies separated people into groups under the king or monarch, the noble class, clergy, merchants, warriors or knights, and villagers, peasants, or serfs (Bloch 1939). However, the way social groups connected to each other went through huge and rapid changes between the end of the 17$^{th}$ century and the beginning of the 19$^{th}$ century. The formation of classes as we know and experience today have developed due to large scale changes such as rapid urbanization, industrialization, the development of the market economy, changes in the ownership of productive assets as well as modes of exploitation. These developments are responsible for creating the social structure as we know it in most modern, capitalist societies.

In the theory of Karl Marx, people's position is society is tightly connected to their position in the labour market. His emphasis is on the role of power, struggle and the ownership of the means of production. He viewed modern society as the creation of the capitalist class, or the "bourgeoisie", and identifies its origins in the class conflict between the capitalist class and the working class, or the "proletariat". In his view, it was capital that broke down all previous social barriers, as the main differences between groups of people are no longer mainly based on nationality, ethnicity or cultural characteristics. He describes the resulting capitalist system as an alienated society based on the ownership of private property and the exploitation of those who do not own private property and are forced to sell their labour. In other words: the social standing of the owner of a means of production (such as a factory, or the machines of a factory) and the owner of only their own labour (the workers) produce vastly different chances in their involvement in the production process.

French Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (2000) consider social classes not only based on people's access to means of production (assuring wealth), but as complex social and cultural formations. For him, modern social classes are the result of struggle for resources and power positions between members of a distinct field, such as the field of education, arts, or politics. In his view there is a constant struggle and evolving dynamic between people. People can gain a better position – such as a promotion at their workplace – through their own achievements, through the defeat of others, and/or through the perception others have about them. There is a set of abilities, characteristics and behaviours that make us likeable and valuable members of society or specific groups that we are part of in the eyes of others, and we learn these abilities and set of behaviours – in other words, our habitus – during our socialization in our families, schools and broader communities (Bourdieu 2000).

In his theory about social reproduction, Bourdieu emphasizes that socialization does only mean learning certain behaviours and socially valued knowledge but also accumulation of different types of capital, that can make us more or less likely to succeed in life and move forward. Bourdieu (1998) differentiates 3 types of capital: economic, cultural and social. The total of these capitals adds up to the symbolic capital of the person, i.e. their social status that puts him or her above or under others. There is a connection between the three forms of capital, as they tend to reinforce each other. If we have more economic capital, we can for example buy books, which we can learn from and gain new skills, and thus strengthen our cultural capital and lead to higher positions in the class structure. Capitals are embodied and manifest in the habitus in a way we perform class, in language, body posture, clothing, etc. Hence the possibility to exclude somebody symbolically, even without noticing it, just using a certain vocabulary, that they would not understand. People do not only perform class, but they also think within this structure even if they do not do it consciously. Middle class people have strong opinions of the "poor", and reciprocally, mobilizing socially constructed and maintained stereotypes.

- Can we change our social class?

While social class shows some level of stability across generations, it does not mean that everything is set in stone for a person's future at the time they are born.

Social mobility (changing one's social class) means that a person moves upwards or downwards relative to the social position of their parents or their own previous position. But what makes a person move within positions? Only a change in one's economic standing (such as pay increase) won't necessarily result in upward mobility right away. As previously described, social class is made up of several different aspects, and thus changing a class position also requires the "*comprehension of the other class's norms, values, and*

*culture*" (Liu, 2011). Changing a class position requires also a growing level of education, accumulating some wealth, developing a different way to consume goods, to behave and communicate with other people, new "rituals" to learn.

Upward mobility is possible due to individual effort, but societies vary a great deal in how much they support these individual efforts. Upward mobility is more likely to happen where society has placed supporting structures around people. In the second half of the 20th century social mobility became a possibility for more and more people – especially so for countries of the Global North –, which means that people were able to reach more advantageous economic and social positions and break out from a lower-class social status characterizing their childhood. Mass social mobility happened partly due to gross social changes such as the expansion of public education and women entering the labour market, among other factors.

Upward mobility is not the only possible way to change social class positions. In recent years worries about possible **downward mobility** in European countries have been more and more openly voiced. Downward mobility describes the process in which children are not doing as well as their parents. Even before 2020, it slowly became apparent that young people in Europe "*are likely to have fewer opportunities for upward social mobility than preceding generations*" (Eurofund, 2017). The lowering rate of homeownership in younger generations is one sign of this trend. "*Poverty entails more than the lack of income and productive resources to ensure sustainable livelihoods. Its manifestations include hunger and malnutrition, limited access to education and other basic services, social discrimination and exclusion, as well as the lack of participation in decision-making.*" (United Nations, 2022).

## What is discrimination?

In economically developed, individualist societies there is a widely shared belief that poor people deserve their lot as it is possible for anybody to pull themselves up by their bootstraps. However, if upwards mobility is blocked, this is not true. The lack of social mobility leads to growing inequalities, which in turn results in greater social and symbolic distance between classes, potentially leading to more tensions – and more accusation of the Anti-poor sentiment and prejudice easily turns into discrimination. But why does it happen?

On the one hand, it might be an unconscious or conscious political strategy to focus on injustices in relation to race/ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation to deflect attention away from gross material inequalities, especially the realities that people on the fringes of society experience. While struggles for gender- and racial equality are vocal, the important implications of structural inequalities on precarity are rarely recognised, and the struggles of people living in poverty are often forgotten (Hooks, 2000). While people are encouraged and urged to treat social issues separately, they are more likely to pay less attention to the growing level of global wealth inequality.

On the other hand, class-based discrimination is also hard to recognise because discrimination is a legal term and not every country has anti-discriminatory laws or acts. Those countries which do have them mostly tie them to certain "protected characteristics" and there are slight differences in how countries define these. If a person or group is directly and overtly harmed based on these characteristics or being perceived as having these characteristics, that person or group can obtain legal protection. What are these?

Some European examples:

1. **UK law** (2010) prohibits discrimination based on: age, disability, gender reassignment, marriage and civil partnership, pregnancy and maternity, race, religion or belief, sex, sexual orientation.

1. **EU law** (2000) **additionally to the UK law** prohibits discrimination based on: colour, ethnic or social origin, genetic features, language, political or other opinion, membership of a national minority, property.

1. A**dditionally to the EU law, Hungarian law** (2003) also prohibits discrimination based on: paternity, health status, wealth, employment status, membership of an interest group and other status, qualities or characteristics.

- Class is not a legally protected characteristic. Does class-based discrimination still exist?

The fact that class is not an explicit part of protected characteristics in Europe can add an additional layer to the confusion around class-based discrimination. Class is heavily connected to different characteristics – such as property, wealth, income, occupation, and education, – and mistreatment based on those aspects in some countries can be legally recognised as discrimination. However strong laws don't always result in strong actions. It might happen that discriminatory actions are more tolerated by society than they are tolerated by the law and therefore there are rarely any consequences of breaking those laws.

However, just because people regard certain behaviours as common, it does not mean they are right, or not harmful for another person or groups of people. The mechanics behind class-based discrimination do not differ from prejudice due to race or gender. "*Classism (or class discrimination): is the institutional, cultural and individual set of practices and beliefs that assign differential value to people according to their socioeconomic class; and an economic system that creates excessive inequality and causes basic human needs to go unmet*." (Stanford University, 2023).

When we talk about the effects of classism, we look at how it affects members of the lower classes, or people living in poverty. Living in poverty impacts people in a negative way compared to other groups, ranging from impacts on physical and mental health, job security, housing security, employment status, self-esteem etc., subsequently affecting the confidence, resources and power to change this situation for their own benefit (Liu, 2011). However, as opposed to other forms of discrimination, prejudice based on class is often indirect and more structural than personal, which can be confusing for the victim. They might not even notice they are treated unfairly (Fuller-Rowell, Evans & Ong, 2012). Discrimination can be seen on the interpersonal level, such as harsh words said about a person based on perceived class membership, not being able to enter certain spaces such as hospitals or schools, or on the structural level such as policies or financial aids created in such ways that they are only accessible or beneficial to middle class even though they are ostensibly targeted to "everybody" such as "mothers" or "young couples wanting to start a family" in general.

Inequalities rarely go alone, they are often linked to one another, or in other words, they intersect. For example, when black or Roma people look for apartments to rent or jobs to apply for, they can have additional hardships especially if they are also of a lower class – regardless of their professional expertise. These different forms of inequalities, if present at the same time, also exacerbate each other, which results for example in the overrepresentation of black or Roma people amongst the poor, respectively in the USA and in Hungary.

- The hidden forms of class-based discrimination: language

1. Language codes

Every group has their own set of rules, rituals and ways of speaking. Think of how differently you converse with your family, friends, work colleagues, clerical staff or governmental offices. One profound inequality affecting learners or students with regard to social class is related to language codes. But what are language codes? Bernstein (1971) observed two distinct language codes in his research in the British educational system. If people are around others with whom they have some level of shared knowledge, they are more likely to use "restricted code". Restricted here doesn't mean limited or poor vocabulary. Restricted code is utilized to share a larger amount of information leaving out details that the shared context is able to give instead. Shared knowledge builds familiarity with others.

As opposed to this, when people are in more unfamiliar circumstances where they aren't likely to share knowledge with other people, they need to elaborate more, explain things in more detail so everybody present is able to understand. Thus, in new situations people are more likely to use "elaborate code". Being more elaborate doesn't necessarily mean people speak eloquently or elegantly, but it can mean longer and more complex sentence structures (Bernstein, 1971).

Both restricted and elaborate code have their disadvantages, advantages, and have their place in human communication. Problems can arise if societies place a higher value on the usage of one code – usually elaborate code – and punish people who are less able to use it. How does society punish people for language codes? Bernstein (1971) theorises that in western societies, children of the middle class are more exposed to, and due to this are more able to learn and use both codes and switch between them at occasions where society deems one acceptable more than the other. However, children of the working class are often more exposed to restricted code. Educational spaces are often more likely to value the usage of the elaborate code. This could be one possible cause as to why children of the working class can have a poorer performance in language-based classes than their middle-class peers.

Adult educational settings might also show a preference for the elaborate code, which might present hardship and frustration for those who are not able to make this code switch or does not prefer to do it, possibly leading to hidden discrimination.

2. Culture and language

Adult educational settings, if they centre around specific topics or methodologies, can possibly develop their own cultural norms. In an anthropological sense, culture or our "own culture", can not only be seen in religion, our language, our gastronomy, our music preferences, but also how we behave, express ourselves, how we dress, how we communicate with others. Cultural differences can be found among people from the same country, who belong to different age groups, professions, hobby groups, etc. We learn to present ourselves to other people, unconsciously putting on stage our habitus (Bourdieu, 2000). Distinct groups can have their own socialization process and develop their own communicational codes and desired habitus. In this sense, the professional groups of health care workers, engineers, gardeners, NGO workers, teachers,

trainers etc. may have their own shared knowledge and unspoken understanding of things that they take for granted. These groups can also have shared ways of speaking, using slangs, specific vocabularies, or manners to express themselves.

In this sense, increased familiarity with a theoretical frame can encourage trainers to speak the restricted code of that methodology, which can lead to the unconscious discrimination against those who do not possess this "hidden knowledge" just yet. These differences can arise even if our other identities – race, ethnicity, age, religious background, gender, sexual orientation etc. – are miraculously all shared. What can this discrimination look like? It might be that trainers prefer people who they feel understand them more, or who they can converse with more easily and effortlessly. Or they may uphold certain expectations of knowledge, which, if not met, can result in exclusion, or the unconscious devaluation of the participant. These differences in social background and status can also lead to miscommunication and misunderstandings.

Linguistic diversity can cause trouble in different ways in the training room: if the trainer uses foreign words implicitly assuming that everybody would understand them, or to the contrary, if he or she does not take into consideration the difference in language proficiency between the participants.

Differences in proficiency can profoundly affect how participants are able to stay active in our classes and trainings. Language is an especially relevant question if an adult educator works:

**a)** with diverse groups including migrant or refugee people;

**b)** with diverse groups including ethnic minorities who possess their own languages different from the country's official language;

**c)** in multilingual regions of a country with more than one official language;

**d)** in an international setting.

## Making sense of class-based discrimination in the training room

People with more resources or capital, cultural or economic resources makes it easier for middle class or wealthier people to attend educational classes. If one has to work longer or multiple shifts, or does hard manual labour, he or she can have less energy and free time. With stable and/or white-collar employment comes the ability to spare time and funds to attend to classes. With a shared cultural understanding with the trainer and other participants comes the experience or confidence about easily fitting in and communicating with each other. The social positions of the trainer and participants, the difference between them, and how every actor perceives these differences can greatly affect a training situation.

How can the difference in socio-economic resources show up in the training room? Examples could include:

**a)** the trainer sets behaviours, language and knowledge more in line with middle class as the baseline and assumes everybody in the room shares the same experiences;

**b)** participants might speak lowly of people of lower classes, and the facilitator fails to address it;

**c)** a specific activity of a training focuses on social inequality prompting participants to stereotype people of the lower class, an attitude that the trainer re-enforces, or fails to address;

**d)** a training is specifically designed for disadvantaged people, but is not available for them (such as due to timing etc.).

When designing a training, accounting for class differences is not easy to all educators. It can be especially hard to admit our privileges and to understand that we live in unjust societies, where people are treated differently according to where they stand or what others think about them. For people working in the field of education and/or in helping professions there is an additional expectation for ourselves, for our colleagues

and for our professions to be "above" these tendencies. It can be especially painful for us to realise that sometimes our profession, colleagues or even ourselves can behave in discriminatory ways. However, there is also additional power in our position. We can be the driving force to lead discussions and develop understanding of large-scale inequalities and discrimination based on social class as well as help our learners and participants to build awareness, language and self-understanding (Liu, 2011).

- Victim blaming and the "Undeserving Poor" narrative

There are various common stereotypes about people who belong to the working class and/or live in poverty such as the fact that they are lazy, don't want to work, spend disproportionate amount of money on alcohol and other substances or that they are only after welfare assistance and public aid. While these stereotypes are common, the rate of people who believe in them can change among countries, or across periods. As an example, in Hungary during the state-socialist period, people who had no jobs, were legally considered to be "dangerous work avoiders". Just a few years later, after the regime change, half of the population believed that outside factors caused poverty. The sudden introduction of the market economy produced 1.5 million unemployed people in a country with a population of 10 million. When the economy started to slowly recover in the 2000s, the proportion of people who thought that poverty is caused by an individual lack of desire to work hard also increased. This trend turned around again with the deteriorating economic situation brought on by the 2008 Global Economic Crisis (Budapest Institute 2017). This brings light to a common double standard. People's opinion on poor people changes when they or their loved ones experience direct exposure to the risks of poverty or social exclusion. As human beings we are more inclined to think that our own misery is caused by outside factors, yet we tend to attribute the impoverishment of others to character flaws. We also tend to think of ourselves as more deserving of help than others.

Negative bias can also be caused by negative first-hand experiences among those who live or work with disadvantaged people and have personal conflicts with them. On the other hand, the lack of personal experience can also lead to the enforcement of these myths. Urban intellectuals are often informed about poverty through the media, which tends to portray it in dramatic or sensationalist ways. Sometimes government agencies and programs aimed to help poor people communicate about their own clients in a negative way, and these negative portrayals can affect how we think of the people receiving help.

The problem with the "undeserving poor" narrative is that simply finding work and receiving a salary – with or without government aid – might not necessarily result in the person being lifted from poverty or does not lift them permanently as it does only momentarily ease the difficulties but doesn't solve them long term. Sometimes it has to do with the type of work and the level of salary. If a job does not pay a liveable wage, it won't improve the person's chances. Additionally, if a type of work does not offer opportunities to develop as a person, learn new skills, it might function as a "poverty trap" – such as the public work scheme in Hungary – people will have lowering chances at changing their profession into a better paying one.

- Structural inequalities and the "Self-made Rich" narrative

We often equate success with personal abilities and achievements. This can often be true as hard work can lead to better grades in school, a hefty raise in salary or a job promotion. In meritocratic societies, this focus on personal attributes is especially common (Liu, 2011). In the United States, the symbol of the "Self-made Millionaire/Billionaire" is highly prevalent and refers to the idea that a person's success depends first of all on themselves – on their hard work, dedication, wit, etc.

This myth is also connected to functionalist ideas about society. Functionalist thinkers believe that the distance

between social classes and inequalities serves a functional purpose. Our occupations require different sets of skills, education, responsibility, and payment. This differentiation helps society place the suitable people into suitable positions as the higher rewards are paired with positions more needed or functionally more important for society (Davis & Moore, 1997). In these theories inequality can not only be justified, but also seen as an asset to create a functional society.

These ideas, however, downplay the outside effects on a person's success (Zbrog, 2021) such as inheritance, the social influence of their family, generational wealth, or an economic system based on exploitation and disproportionately reduced tax-rates for the wealthy.

- Defence mechanisms in helping professions

Trainers, educators and facilitators who work in the social or civic sector and/or in helping professions face a unique challenge when it comes to class-based discrimination. First, professionals who work with disadvantaged people sometimes chose to do so due to feelings of altruism, empathy, solidarity, and justice which makes these occupations not only their jobs, but their passion. Members of the (upper) middle class may also be drawn to these jobs due to feelings of guilt, responsibility, or the need to work with "real" problems and do something worthy, important or meaningful (Kovai et al, 2021). All of these factors behind the formation of a helping identity can make it harder for us to admit if we engage in discriminative behaviours as we are "supposed to be above it".

People who chose helping professions, especially social work, also often do so because it has been one of the few available ways to upward social mobility for them or because the person or a loved one received services from a social worker in the past. Both reasons can mean that the person's status is not far from the status of the people's they are helping. People who are closest to the poverty line (but still live above it) tend to underestimate the outside risks of poverty to preserve their own sense of security and control in their lives. Interestingly, the closer people are to falling into poverty, the more likely they are to believe that those below them are less deserving. Also, those who live from paycheck to paycheck and are significantly threatened with impoverishment, are more inclined to see poor people as lazy (Budapest Institute, 2017). If people believe that their "clients" who have similar hardships, but still are in a worse off position than them, are there due to their own fault, it can provide them with some sense of security.

## Strategies to approach class-based discrimination in the training room

Class-based discrimination in an adult education setting can be hard to recognise due to multiple reasons. To better understand this phenomenon, below we show an example of a trainer who experienced hardships due to classist remarks during a training:

"*I have been a trainer for several years at that point and I often hold mainly intercultural trainings for various professionals and everyone interested to learn about interculturality based on the Margalit method. At a similarly mixed 6 days long intercultural training, I also taught the participants about critical incidents. There was a policeman who had a case about a Roma man stealing some twigs in a baby carriage from the forest during wintertime. At the time it was illegal to take even twigs from forests in Hungary. This policeman caught him and put him into custody until a judge from Budapest arrived some months later and gave the verdict of not guilty, then also let the twigs-stealer leave saying: "he sat in jail long enough for something of this scale". The policeman felt humiliated and shamed in his position. This case seemed like the perfect illustration of the complexity of poverty and even racism, a topic we have been talking about all day. One smaller group was analysing this case, then afterwards during the bigger group discussion most people just blamed the twigs-stealer, saying things like "who*

**1** The incident is published in our Critical incident collection in which we gathered real cases from adult educators from France, Hungary, Italy and Spain. All cases illustrate a conflict situation in an adult education setting due to power imbalances or different kinds of discrimination.

*steals twigs, would steal the whole forest" or "those who want to work in Hungary, can" essentially saying poor people deserve to be poor. Even the social worker participants joined in on this view, who I thought would be my allies in this discussion. I felt alone as nobody shared my point of view among the participants. I had a really hard time hearing all this as a citizen of this country."*[1]

Here, the trainer's shock is caused by the unanimous reactions of the participants, leaving herself alone with her position. What can we as trainers do if we find ourselves in a similar situation? The process starts with broadening your own knowledge:

1. Class-based discrimination starts with us, the educators/trainers and our (lack of) understanding of our own social positions. You can start to approach this issue by asking yourself the following: is my education level, financial and social situation better compared to my parents, grandparents? How did the place where I grew up advanced my situation? Is my position better or worse than an average person in my country?
2. Do I know the circumstances of socio-economically disadvantaged people living in my country? Do I know their needs and if not, how can I find it out? Do I want to work with and reach out to this population?

If we want to create a workshop or training that is more inclusive for people with socioeconomic hardships, it may require a different approach in how we plan and organize those events. Ask yourself the following questions:

1. By what communication channels can I reach my desired population? Do I need to word my message differently? If yes, how so?
2. How can I lower the "threshold of entry" for this population? If I want to foster participation, do I need to offer financial assistance to make up for the loss of income due to participation (such as a gift card to a supermarket, childcare for the duration of the workshop, monetary compensation etc.)? Do I need to include a specific question in my registration form or application process to receive more information I need?

Establishing more equal opportunities for participation with regard to language use can be crucial:

1. We can create a safer environment by establishing rules, such as not to use "big words" or complex concepts that others might not understand or introduce a rule to always explain in case such a word is used. Another rule could be to use an L sign (by shaping one's index finger and thumb into an L) to mean "Language: I need an explanation for something I just heard". Demonstrate and use these tools yourself to encourage participants as well.
2. In international trainings it can be a custom during the beginning stages while participants get to know each other, that trainers directly addressing the elephant in the room: English – or another language – might not be the first language of some (or all) participants and it is the shared responsibility of all to create a form of communication where people can understand each other as much as possible.

The lack of understanding regarding structural inequalities can make us blind to manifestations of class-based discrimination if they do appear. Ask yourself the following questions:

1. What are the manifestations of structural inequalities in my country? What are the chances of homeownership for a young couple? How accessible is higher education? Is the average wage in my country a "liveable wage" (enough to pay utility bills, rent or mortgage, to buy groceries, access necessary medical care etc.)? Compared to the price of necessities, what is the buying power of minimum wage in my country?
2. How have these tendencies changed over the past 5-10-20-30 years? What are the reliable

sources of information on inequalities in my country or in the EU?

3. Do my participants know more or less about structural inequalities than me? What can be the root cause for our differences in opinion? How can I share my knowledge in an accessible and understandable way? When is an appropriate or beneficial time to share this knowledge?

The dynamics in the group and the rapport you build with participants can make a difference. Do not automatically assume every participant in your group belongs to the middle class based on external characteristics or ways of speech. Ask yourself the following questions:

1. What do I know about my participants? What can their socio-economic status and vulnerabilities be? What is their education level? Are they overworked and/or underpaid? Are they more likely to be the carers of other people (minors, elders, people with disabilities or other dependent people). Do my participants face other types of discriminations (due to age, sexual orientation, gender identity, race, ethnicity, disability, health status, etc.)?
2. How did the recent global crises affect participants? Can they be more vulnerable than before?
3. What is the appropriate level of solidarity and understanding that I can foster among participants at this time?

## Bibliography

*Alapvető jogok biztosának hivatala* [Office of the Commissioner for Fundamental Rights]. (2003). *Egyenlő bánásmódról és esélyegyenlőség előmozdításáról szóló 2003. évi CXXV törvény. [Act CXXV of 2003 on equal treatment and the promotion of equal opportunities.]*

Bernstein, B. (1971). Class, Codes and Controls. London, United Kingdom: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Bloch, M. (1939). Feudal Society. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1998). Gazdasági tőke, kulturális tőke, társadalmi tőke. [Economic capital, cultural capital, social capital] In Lengyel & Szántó (eds.). A társadalmi és kulturális erőforrások szociológiája. [Sociology of social and cultural resources]. (ed.). Budapest, Hungary: AULA Kiadó. pp. 11-43.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). A Mezők Logikája [La logique des champs]. In. Somlai, Felkai & Némedi (eds.). Olvasókönyv a Szociológia történetéhez II. Szociológiai irányzatok a XX. század elejéig. [Reader for the history of Sociology II. Sociological trends until the early 20th century] (ed.). Budapest, Hungary: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó.

Budapest Institute (2017). In Udvarhelyi T. (eds.) Interkulturális megközelítés és esetelemzések. Pedagógiai segédanyag a rendészeti területen dolgozó szakemberek számára. [Intercultural approach and incident analysis. Pedadogical guide for law enforcment professionals] Artemisszió Alapítvány. Budapest, 2017.

Davis K. & Moore W. (1997). A rétegződés néhány elve [Original: Some Principles of Stratification]. In Angelusz R. (ed.). A Társadalmi Rétegződés Komponensei [The Components of Social Stratification] (ed.). Budapest, Hungary: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó.

Equality and Human Rights Comission. (2010). Equality Act 2010. Retrieved from https://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/equality-act/equality-act-2010

Eurofund. (2017). Diverging trends across Europe highlights stagnation and decline in social mobility. Retrieved from https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/news/news-articles/diverging-trends-across-europe-highlight-stagnation-and-decline-in-social-mobility

European Union Agency for Human Rights. (2000). EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. Title III Equality. Article 21 Non-discrimination. Retrieved from https://fra.europa.eu/en/eu-charter/article/21-non-discrimination

Fuller-Rowell, T. E., Evans, G. W. & Ong A. D. (2012). Poverty and health: the mediating role of perceived discrimination. Psychol Sci. 23(7):734-9.

Hooks, B. (2000). Where We Stand. Class Matters. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Huszár, Á. (2022). Osztályszerkezet és jövedelemeloszlás Magyarországon 1982 és 2019 között [Class structure and income distribution in Hungary between 1982 and 2019]. Társadalmi Riport 2022 [Social Report of Hungary 2022]. Budapest, Hungary: Tárki.

Kovai, C., Kovai, M., Mészáros, Gy. & Neumann, E. (2021). Szocioanalízis, avagy a játék a társadalmi egyenlőtlenségekkel. [Socioanalysis: playing with social inequalities]. Fordulat. 28. pp. 102-125.

Liu, W. M. (2011). Social Class and Classism in the Helping Professions: Research, Theory, and Practice. The University of Iowa. SAGE Publications.

Stanford University. (2023). Stanford Student Affairs. Stanford Against Hate. Classism. Retrieved from https://studentaffairs.stanford.edu/stanford-against-hate/classism

United Nations – Department of Economic and Social Affairs Poverty. (2022). Poverty Eradication. Retrieved from https://www.un.org/development/desa/socialperspectiveondevelopment/issues/poverty-eradication.html

Zbrog M. (2021). The Myth of the Self-Made American Billionaire & The Reality of Inherited Wealth. Accredited Online Business Schools. Retrieved from https://www.bschools.org/blog/myth-of-self-made-billionaire

# LGBTQI+ Identities in Adult Education

*Hilal Demir (Ulex Project, Spain)*

Diversity is everywhere, in learning spaces, too. It is a challenge for educators to manage groups with diverse backgrounds. Each individual is different and as adult educators, we need to be aware of different identities and their relationship to power and be inclusive as much as possible. Some identities come with privileges, some identities lead to the marginalisation of those who carry them. As educators, we need to be aware of the power dynamics of these identities. Privileged identities such as heterosexuals or better say cis men and women hold more power than queer people. Because

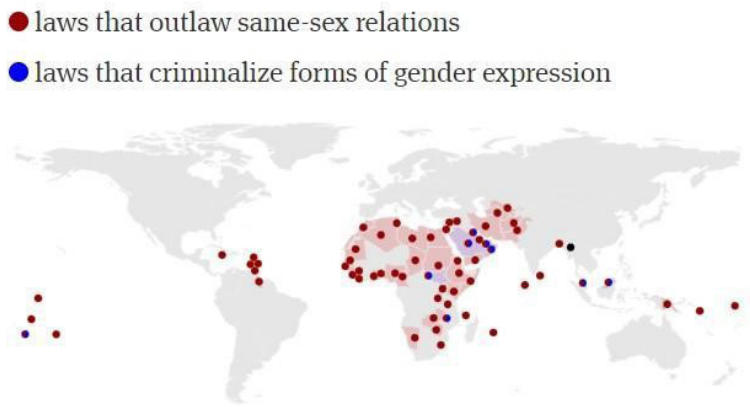



Figure 1: Countries where same sex relations are criminalised[3]

the mainstream social norms in most countries privilege heterosexual relations, heterosexuality is accepted as "natural" and "normal", so these social norms marginalise queer identities. LGBTQI+ identities often face queerphobia in mainstream groups. The long history of homophobia, mostly influenced by religion and social institutions, shaped our cultures strongly. In conservative places or cultures, this is still visible. At least 67 countries have national laws criminalising same-sex relations between consenting adults.[1] In addition, at least nine countries[2] have national laws criminalising forms of gender expression that target transgender and gender nonconforming people. Gender expression is how a person publicly expresses or presents their gender. This can include behaviour and outward appearance such as clothing, hairstyle, makeup, body language and voice. A person's chosen name and pronouns are also common ways of expressing gender. Even though in many countries it is not illegal to openly be part of the LGBTQI+ community, discrimination still exists in the community. It is difficult to change one's opinion in an educational environment on such a topic, but it is always possible to create safer spaces for people whose identities are marginalised.

## Exclusion of LGBTQI+ identities

When we think about identity-based exclusions in adult education, LGBTQI+ identities become one of the most excluded groups of identities. There are understandable reasons for that, such as the fact that homophobia and transphobia are still very dominant social issues in many cultures. LGBTQI+ people are often cast as a threat to traditional notions of the family, society, and the nation. Stigma and hate speech are even more threatening in a pandemic, when vulnerable groups are blamed and targeted. In Poland, for example, local municipalities declared towns "LGBT-free zones" [4], a movement spurred on by a government that has waged a sustained campaign against so-called "gender ideology." Under this rubric, women's reproductive rights, LGBTQI+ rights, and "comprehensive sexuality education"[5] are cast as a sinister, coordinated threat to "traditional values." These issues are also manifest in the field of adult education. In this article, we will look at the history of LGBTQI+ movement, queer theory, pronouns, and how facilitators and adult educators can address these power dynamics in their learning environments.

Many times, people who are not familiar with the terms get blocked and scared to make mistakes, this is quite understandable because there are many different words and concepts being used to describe different orientations and identities. This is, for one, the richness of

**1** As of the writing of this article in the early months of 2023.

**2** Source: https://features.hrw.org/features/features/lgbt_laws/#type-of-laws

**3** Source: Human Rights Watch (n.d.)

**4** Knight, K. (2020, October 28). Polish Court Rebukes "LGBT-Free Zone" Stickers. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/01/polish-court-rebukes-lgbt-free-zone-stickers

**5** Margolis, H. (2023, August 2). Polish parliament should scrap bill against sex education. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/10/18/polish-parliament-should-scrap-bill-against-sex-education

the LGBTQI+ movement, but it can also create a barrier. To be able to overcome this barrier we should get familiar with some basic terms. Below, there are some definitions of key terms that can be helpful.[6]

LGBTQI+: refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer and intersex people, and '+' means other sexual identities and orientations outside the cis hetero category.

Homophobia: the fear and hatred of, or discomfort with people who are attracted to members of the same sex.

Transphobia: the cause underlying all transphobia is a rejection of trans identity and a refusal to acknowledge that it could possibly be real or valid. Transphobia has no single, simple manifestation. It is complex and can include a range of behaviours and arguments. The consequence of transphobia is that trans people struggle to live openly and comfortably in society. An ultimate outcome may be the erasure of trans people as a viable class of people.

Queer: commonly used as an umbrella term by folks who feel that they personally do not fit into dominant norms due to their own gender identity/expression, their sexual practices, their relationship style, their politics, etc. It is a term that has been reclaimed, as it was once considered a derogatory slur towards the gay and lesbian community. Due to this, it is not embraced or used by all members of the LGBTQI community.

Queerphobia: an umbrella term for the fear and hatred of or discomfort with people who are not identifying themselves as heterosexuals.

Oppression: institutionalised power that is historically formed and perpetuated over time, which allows certain groups of people to assume a dominant position over other groups – a kind of dominance that is maintained and continued at an institutional level. This means oppression is built into institutions like governments and education systems. It gives power and positions of dominance to some groups of people over other groups of people. Systems of oppression are built around what are understood to be 'norms' in our societies. A norm signifies what is 'normal', acceptable, and desirable. The 'norm' is something that is valued and supported in a society. It is also given a position of dominance, privilege, and power over what is defined as non-dominant, abnormal, and therefore invaluable or marginal. Norms are also considered to be stable or unchanging over time.

Intersex: a general term used for a variety of conditions in which a person is born with a reproductive or sexual anatomy that is outside the medical system's binary classification of 'female' and 'male'. Formerly known as hermaphrodite or hermaphroditic, these terms are now outdated and seen as derogatory. Intersex is a socially constructed category that reflects real biological variation. Physical attributes considered markers of 'sex' – e.g., breasts, penises, clitorises, scrotums, labia, testes, and sex chromosomes – all vary naturally, but in the dominant culture, sex categories have been simplified into male and female, and people with intersex conditions are subjected to shame, secrecy, and unwanted genital surgeries or hormonal treatments aimed at making bodies fit into a sex binary. There has been increasing advocacy and awareness brought to this issue, and many individuals advocate that intersex individuals should be allowed to remain intersex past infancy and not treat the condition as an issue or medical emergency.

Cis / cisgender: Used to describe people whose gender identity matches the sex they were assigned at birth. We're all assigned to one of the binary sexes – male or female – when born, based on how our genitalia look. Typically, cis men are men who were assigned male at birth and feel that the words "man" and "male" accurately describe their gender. Likewise, cis women are typically women who were assigned female at birth and feel that the words "woman" and "female" accurately describe their gender. The term is used to mark an existing norm, rather than just give names to what does not fit in the societal norms. It is the opposite to the term transgender. 'Cis' is a Latin prefix that means "on the same side [as]" or "on

**6** More definitions can be found here: OutandEqual. (2019). Glossary of LGBTQ Terms. Out And Equal. https://outandequal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/LGBTQ-Terminology-2019.pdfGlossary of LGBTQ Terms. Out And Equal. https://outandequal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/LGBTQ-Terminology-2019.pdf

this side [of]".

Non-binary: a gender identity which falls outside of the gender binary, meaning an individual does not identify as strictly female or male. A non-binary person can identify as both or neither male and female, or sometimes one or the other. There are several other terms used to describe gender identities outside of the male and female binary such as genderqueer, gender non- conforming, agender, and bigender. Though these terms have slightly different meanings, they refer to an experience of gender outside of the binary.

Gender non-conforming: someone whose identity and expression of gender does not ascribe to the gender binary, or, rather, to traditional male/female expressions.

## Sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression

Sexuality can be taboo many times, and when it comes to sexual identity and sexual orientation even more so. There has been a very long debate around same-sex relationships concerning the question if they are natural, biological, or chosen. It can be all or none, but this doesn't change the fact that there are millions of different sexual practices, conventional or non-conventional, and the richness of human sexuality is a difficult topic to put in a limited number of categories. Here are some concepts related to this topic: sexual preference or life choices and sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression.

Sexual preference or life choices are historic terms that have recently changed because they were influenced by the assumption that one's sexual orientation can be chosen and 'cured'. Instead, we now use sexual orientation.
Sexual orientation can be defined as an inherent or immutable enduring of emotional, romantic, or sexual attraction to other people. An individual's sexual orientation is independent of their gender identity.

Gender identity is the internal perception of a person's gender, and how they label themselves based on how much they align or do not align with what they understand their options for gender to be. Common identity labels include man, woman, genderqueer, trans, agender, questioning, and more. The term is often confused with biological sex, or sex assigned at birth. For some people, gender identity is in accordance with physical anatomy. For transgender people, gender identity may differ from physical anatomy or expected social roles. It is important to note that gender identity, biological sex, and sexual orientation are separate.

Gender expression is the external display of one's gender, through a combination of social behaviour, demeanour, dress, and other factors, generally made sense of on scales of masculinity and femininity. This is also referred to as "gender presentation". As we live in a society that holds and enforces messages about what a particular gender is supposed to look like (e.g., men are supposed to look masculine) gender expression is often used (inappropriately and often ineffectively) to determine someone's gender identity. Though these two concepts can be related, one does not necessarily determine or indicate the other.

## A short history of the LGBTQI+ movement

Most historians would agree that same-sex relations existed and are documented in every culture, whether they were tolerated or criminalised since early human history. Many same-sex relations weren't so visible because distinction between heterosexual and homosexual relationships did not always exist. However, there is enough documentation proving that same-sex relations existed in early civilisations such as in Mesopotamia, China, Japan, Egypt, and Greece. This creates a challenge to write about the history of LGBTQI+ movements, because it is difficult to define a timeline and geographical territory in a short text to cover all the struggles.

LGBTQI+ social movements have been organised around the rights of gay,

lesbian, bisexual, trans, queer and intersex people, and of individuals with other sexual identities. The organised struggle began after many years of oppression by the Church, the State, and medical authorities in the late 19th century in Germany,[7] even though there was a struggle in the 1870s by social reformers in England. Their demands were to end the criminalisation, pathologisation and social rejection of non-heterosexual sexualities. Immediately following World War II, several homosexual rights groups came into being or were revived across the Western world, e.g. in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries, and the United States. These groups usually preferred the term homophile to homosexual, emphasising love over sex. The homophile movement began in the late 1940s with groups in the Netherlands and Denmark and continued throughout the 1950s and 1960s with groups in Sweden, Norway, the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere.[8]

The new social movements of the sixties, such as the Black Power and anti-Vietnam war movements in the US, the May 1968 insurrection in France, and Women's Liberation throughout the Western world, inspired many LGBTQI+ activists to become more radical, and with this, the Gay Liberation movement emerged towards the end of the decade. This new radicalism is often attributed to the Stonewall riots of 1969, when a group of gay men, lesbians, drag queens and transgender women at a bar in New York City resisted a police raid.[9]

Even though the movement emerged in the late 19th century, still in the 21st century, in some countries, same-sex relations are being sentenced by the death penalty. While it is true that after a long history of struggle, the LGBTQI+ movements gained a lot of rights until today; the fight against homophobia and human rights violations continues almost everywhere in the world.

From the first movement until our times, LGBTQI+ movements have been fighting for the right to live in dignity, for marriage rights, for equal representation in the parliaments, and against any form of discrimination, homophobia, or transphobia. The first movements chose different names depending on their focus of the social issues such as the homosexual movement, gay liberation movement, gay and lesbian rights movement, LGBT rights movement and more. In the latest decade of the struggle in many places, there have been heated discussions around trans rights. Trans people's rights and demands were the least represented in social movements, even though they were the most oppressed in many cultures. Trans people experience rampant workplace discrimination, may be met with challenges to their parental relationships, lack sufficient access to quality healthcare free from discrimination and face difficulties in obtaining appropriate name and gender designations on their identity documents, and in some places, they even face death for their identities. LGBT movements brought the issue to the table and strategized more on the inclusion of trans rights into the movements. Recently, sexual orientations and gender identities have become more visible and have demanded more representation. This has been an internal movement. People who have not identified themselves with any of the mainstream sexual orientations (gay, lesbian, bisexual) have been marginalised within the LGBT movements for a long time; and because of gained rights, struggles, visibility and queer theory, these marginal sexual orientations, identities, or expressions have been made more visible within the LGBT movements. As a result, many movements in different places added queer, intersex and the "+" sign to include any other non-conform gender or sexual identity into the movement's name, as it is being used in this text.

## Queer theory

The term "queer theory" itself came from Teresa de Lauretis' 1991 work[10] in the feminist cultural studies journal *Differences*, titled "Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities", however, before queer theory made its way into academia, Chicana feminist writer Gloria Anzaldúa used the term in her books and contributed to feminist and queer theory in 1980s. Teresa de Lauretis explains the term 'queer' by asserting that there are at least three interrelated projects at play within this theory: refusing heterosexuality as the benchmark for

**7** Régis Schlagdenhauffen. Gay rights and LGBTQI movements in Europe, Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe [online], ISSN 2677-6588, published on 22/06/20, consulted on 29/08/2023. https://ehne.fr/en/node/12402

**8** Percy, William A. & William Edward Glover, (November 5, 2005) Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context. Routledge.

**9** Bullough, Vern, (April 18, 2005). When Did the Gay Rights Movement Begin? http://www.historynewsnetwork.org/article/11316

**10** de Lauretis, T. (1991). Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities. Differences: a Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 3, 2, pp. iii-xviii. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press

sexual formations; a challenge to the belief that lesbian and gay studies are one single entity; and a strong focus on the multiple ways that race shapes sexual bias. De Lauretis proposes that queer theory could represent all these critiques together and make it possible to rethink everything about sexuality. Gloria Anzaldúa uses 'queer' as a term that brings together different abjections, that is, the meanings it took on in the late eighties and nineties: queer is lesbian, gay, prostitute, foreigner – among other meanings that can be inferred. Anzaldúa critically theorised about gender roles, being in between them, about heterosexuality regulations, and about the place of dissident sexual groups.

One of the key concepts in queer theory is the idea of heteronormativity, which pertains to "*the institutions, structures of understanding, and practical orientations that make heterosexuality seem not only coherent – that is, organized as sexuality – but also privileged*".[11] Heteronormativity is a worldview that promotes heterosexuality as the normal and/or preferred sexual orientation and is reinforced in society through the institutions of marriage, taxes (in some countries married heterosexual couples can present joint tax returns and same-sex couples cannot if they are not legally married), employment, and adoption rights, among many others. Heteronormativity is a form of power and control that applies pressure to both straight and gay individuals, through institutional arrangements and accepted social norms.[12]
Queer Theory critically examines the way power works to institutionalise and legitimate certain forms and expressions of sexuality and gender, while stigmatising others. This is similar to feminist methodologies and studies that look specifically at women's gender and at how the social construction of femininity and masculinity shapes cultures and social life, where we often see that these constructions lead to discrimination at every level.

As a result of the emergence of queer theory and strong allyship between LGBTQI+ movements and feminist movements, there is a deeper analysis of how power works through gender and sexual identities. On the other hand, this allyship between movements sometimes turns into tension where the interest in topics or the prioritising of goals clashes – such as when the definition of woman as a gender identity brought tension between conventional feminists and trans rights activists. This is especially an interesting issue because it indicates how movements intersect. With the rise of far-right extremism in Central and Eastern Europe (and elsewhere), conservative approaches impacted social movements too. Women's rights and LGBTQI+ rights were put on the frontline of political battle zones. It has reminded us once again that an intersectional approach is needed when it comes to human rights. These two most powerful social movements in the world need each other to build power against rising conservatism.

## Misconceptions that can appear in learning environments

There are a lot of misconceptions around LGBTQI+. We are not able to cover all of them here, but as an adult educator or facilitator, you should be aware of some of those that can appear in learning spaces. It is important to correct these misconceptions and prevent any conflicts among participants.

The most common myth is that being LGBTQI+ is a phase and/or a choice. This misconception is especially prescribed to adolescents, as they are labelled as "misguided" and "confused" for feeling and/or experiencing a sexual attraction to someone of the same sex, both sexes, or for identifying with a gender different than the one assigned to them at birth.[13]

Another myth is that lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans people can be identified by certain mannerisms or physical characteristics. People who are lesbian, gay or bisexual come in as many different shapes, colours and sizes as heterosexual people.

**11** Berlant L, Warner M (1998) Sex in public. Critical Inquiry 24(2): 547–566

**12** Jagose, Annamarie. (2005) «Queer Theory.» New Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Ed. Maryanne Cline Horowitz. Vol. 5. Detroit: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980-1985. Gale Virtual Reference Library.

**13** Ziomek-Diagle, J., Black, L., & Kocet, M. (2007). "Let's Dance": Race, faith and sexual orientation. In S. Dugger & L. Carlson (eds.). Critical incidents in counselling children (ed.). (pp 169-180). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

One myth related to gained rights is that in countries where same-sex relationships are accepted by law, there is no need to continue fighting. Unfortunately, even though there are protective laws for LGBTQI+ people's rights, hate crimes still exist and equal representation and discrimination in workplaces are still important issues.

The most accepted myth could be that being heterosexual is "normal" and "natural". This is called heteronormativity. As discussed above, heteronormativity is what makes heterosexuality seem coherent, natural, and privileged. It involves the assumption that everyone is 'naturally' heterosexual, and that heterosexuality is an ideal, superior to other sexual orientations.

## Pronouns

As a way of acknowledgement, visibility and acceptance through language is one area that many queer activists are fighting for around the world. Languages, especially in which pronouns are limited by a binary division – male and female – are not enough to address many other sexual and gender identities. Many non-binary, trans, and even male or female heterosexual or gay/lesbian people, who do not feel that socially constructed male and female roles define them, prefer to use they/them instead of she/her or he/him as their pronouns. In learning spaces for the teacher and trainer, it is very important to acknowledge the preferred pronouns of each participant while referring to them. This is a way of showing respect for and recognition of their identity. When someone is referred to with the wrong pronouns, it can make them feel disrespected, invalidated, dismissed, alienated, or dysphoric. Of course, mistakes can be made as we are conditioned for many years to speak in a certain way but what is important is to acknowledge the mistake and correct it. It is always good to ask participants at the beginning of a session about their preferred pronouns. When other participants use the wrong pronouns, you can politely correct them and tell them the right pronoun. Sometimes some participants may say "it doesn't matter to me" and that might feel dismissive for others present. If the 'gender pronoun round' creates confusion, as it may for people who have never encountered this before, give a short explanation of why you are doing it (i.e. to avoid making assumptions about people's gender, to embrace a non-binary approach to gender, etc.). You might also want to encourage people to write their names and pronouns on a sheet of paper and put them in a visible place for a couple of days in the beginning so that it can be memorised by the group; or propose to use name tags with pronouns.

## Adult Education

Often the way we manage power dynamics around different identity issues is by pretending that the differences do not exist. It is much more useful to acknowledge the existence of differences and imbalances to be able to work with them. LGBTQI+ identity exclusion in education is a sensitive topic and

needs to be handled well. Many schools are running educational programs to prevent bullying among children, though in adult education, adult educators need to prepare themselves well enough to create safer spaces, because for many LGBTQI+ individuals, their identity can carry a lot of trauma and shame. These power dynamics related to gender turn up in all learning environments. Patriarchy centres around, privileges, and prioritises masculinity and oppresses women (cis or trans), nonbinary people, gender non-conforming people, including cis men who do not perform patriarchal expectations. As an adult educator, it is important not to reproduce oppressive mechanisms. Take steps to equalise participation, ensure all participants are heard and diverse gender identities are respected.

Before any session preparation, a facilitator should have some level of knowledge about the participants. Tools and methods offered during sessions should be inclusive and should consider marginalised identities and gender balance. As a facilitator, do not assume that your group will be homogenous even if the differences are not visible or known.

Using inclusive language can make a huge difference. While giving examples, try to use words that are inclusive. For example, in some languages, masculine forms of words refer to everybody such as “guys”, instead, you can use “folks”. Or when you talk about relationships you can refer to them as “partners” instead of wives or husbands.

Unfortunately, many marginalised people have past traumatic experiences in their lives and when it comes to sexual identities, these traumas can be very present in their bodies. So, while implementing physical exercises, a facilitator should be aware that some difficult emotions may come up, therefore they should be prepared for those or offer less physical contact activities. In case you are using physical contact exercise, ask for the consent of the group, and if there are people who do not participate, ask them if it is okay to do it without them, or offer another backup activity without starting a discussion. The same rule applies to the sessions when emotional story-sharing is required. In this case, privacy should be agreed upon by the whole group, sharing should be optional, and some carefully planned follow-up support session needs to be in place.

Also, check your own and your group’s assumptions and prejudices. Be aware of the assumptions you make about someone. It might relate to their gender, race, or other aspects of their identity, or simply their behaviour. As a facilitator, also beware of the assumptions that might come up during a session, and challenge them skilfully, appropriately.

The way people take up space in the group will differ. The ease with which different people will speak in a group depends on various factors, but it also might be linked with socially constructed gender norms (or other systems of oppression). To equalise opportunities to voice various points of view, you can try out different tools such as speaking in the round, in small groups, use the “three matches” method (everybody has three matches and every time they speak, they discharge one match). You can also use the “buddy system” to provide support by arranging participants in pairs. Buddies can be formed specifically such as the same language but works better if it is done randomly. You can use the buddies for various purposes – for checking in after exercises, for discussions, or for performing tasks. After participants form their pairs, give them some time to get to know each other.

Another topic is the arrangement of the toilets. Wherever you are holding a workshop, make sure there is a toilet for people who do not identify themselves as male or female. If that is not possible, a simple solution would be sticking new signs on the existing toilets signs and converting them into more inclusive places for all.

**Incidents connected:**

- “Homophobic remarks”
- “Do Not Assign”
- “You should only propose trainings for heterosexual white women”

## Bibliography


Berlant, L. & Warner, M. (1998). Sex in public. Critical Inquiry 24(2) pp. 547–566

Bullough, V. (2005, April 18). When Did the Gay Rights Movement Begin? http://www.historynewsnetwork.org/article/11316

de Lauretis, T. (1991). Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities. Differences: a Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies 3, 2, pp. iii-xviii. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Human Rights Watch. (n.d.). #OUTLAWED: "The love that dare not speak its name." https://features.hrw.org/features/features/lgbt_laws/#type-of-laws

Human Rights Watch. (2023). Maps of anti-LGBT Laws Country by Country (html). hrw.org. https://features.hrw.org/features/features/lgbt_laws/#_ftn1

Jagose, A. (2005). Queer Theory. In M. C. Horowitz (ed.). New Dictionary of the History of Ideas (ed.). Vol. 5. Gale Virtual Reference Library.

Knight, K. (2020, October 28). Polish Court Rebukes "LGBT-Free Zone" Stickers. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/01/polish-court-rebukes-lgbt-free-zone-stickers

Margolis, H. (2023, August 2). Polish parliament should scrap bill against sex education. Human Rights Watch. https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/10/18/polish-parliament-should-scrap-bill-against-sex-education

Out & Equal Workplace Advocates. (2019). Glossary of LGBTQ terms. Retrieved from https://outandequal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/LGBTQ-Terminology-2019.pdf

Percy, W. A. & Glover, W. E. (2005, November 5) Before Stonewall: Activists for Gay and Lesbian Rights in Historical Context. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Schlagdenhauffen, R. (2020, June 22). Gay rights and LGBTQI movements in Europe. Encyclopédie D'histoire Numérique De L'Europe. https://ehne.fr/en/node/12402

Ziomek-Diagle, J., Black, L., & Kocet, M. (2007). "Let's Dance": Race, faith and sexual orientation. In S. Dugger & L. Carlson (eds.). Critical incidents in counselling children (ed.). (pp 169-180). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

## Additional material

Human Rights Campaign Foundation. (2021). Responding to LGBTQ misconceptions. Human Rights Campaign. Retrieved from https://assets2.hrc.org/files/assets/resources/HRC_ACAF_Responding_to_LGBTQ_Misconceptions.pdf

Neill, J. (2011). The Origins and Role of Same-Sex Relations in Human Societies. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Organising Bureau of European School Student Unions. (2007). Guidelines for Inclusive Education Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Gender Expression. Retrieved from https://www.obessu.org/site/assets/files/2103/guidelines_for_inclusion_education.pdf

Sector, E. (n.d.-b). Advancing the Human Rights and Inclusion of LGBTI People - A Handbook for Parliamentarians. https://www.pgaction.org/inclusion/myths-and-reality.html

# Disability Rights

***Diana Szántó (Artemissió Foundation, Hungary***

## Claiming for disability justice: the social model of disability

The international disability movement as we know it today, bears the mark of the organization of disabled people in the 1960s and '70s in the USA, the UK (Barnes, 2002) and Scandinavia (Ingstad & Whyte, 1995). Disabled people's organizations (DPOs) stood up collectively against stigmatization, segregation, institutionalisation, mistreatment and paternalistic condescendence, their usual lot in the late 20th century Western welfare society. They fought against the public conception of disability as a deficit and an individual defect. Although, as a result of this truly grass-root movement, the public response to disability has changed a lot since the mid-20th century, disabled people and their family-members still have to face regularly the re-emergence of this attitude. This is the hardest, when it happens where you least expect it, in the context of a training which is considered as a "safe space" by participants, as in the following case:

*"A few Sundays ago, I was conducting a meeting with a group of volunteers dealing with people with disabilities and people with cognitive impairments. Some of them knew each other, some not. At one point one woman spoke about some videos she had seen recently of a mother with two disabled children putting stories of her daily life on social media... (saying that) parents with children with disabilities have a greater responsibility because their children will never be "normal". At this point, a second participant left the room, and abandoned the training. ..., (Later) I found out that she was the mother of a child with behavioural problems and that she did volunteer's work precisely because she would like to bring this issue (i.e. children with disabilities considered as abnormal) to the public's attention. ..." (who said this?)*

The trainers always bear the greatest responsibility to keep the space really safe for everybody and it is easy to see that they can only succeed if they are familiar with some of the struggles that disabled people have had to fight, in the past, as well as in the present. Disability politics started as an emancipatory movement against institutionalisation, asking for more autonomy, personal liberty and free choice. Despite some ideological differences, the self-advocacy movement in Sweden, the American Independent Living movement, and the British movement against segregation (UPIAS) all fought for more self-determination. Not only did these movements bring disability to the forefront of public debate, they also successfully changed the language around disability. Early activists of UPIAS argued that it is wrong to understand disability as a consequence of an impairment; rather - they pointed out - it is society that causes disability, with its incapability or unwillingness to cater for the needs of people with disability. For example, if a person using a wheelchair arrives to the school and there is no ramp that they can take, it is the school that creates that state of disability, which translates into the student's incapacity to enter the class. In the same way, if I arrive at school and all the texts are written in braille, I will be the disabled person in that environment.

In the early 1980s Mike Oliver from UPIAS coined the term "social model" (Shakespeare 2006:198), to express this new philosophy, thus introducing a new paradigm building on the rejection of the previously ubiquitous "medical model". According to Oliver and his fellow disability activists, the long-time prevailing medical model had pictured disability as an incurable, incapacitating disease, forcing the disabled person into a dependent, inferior position vis a vis the expert knowledge that commanded all aspects of his or her life. In contrast, the social model situates disability in the disabling environment rather than in the body. Words like "normal" in the context of disability sounds like reverberating from a not that disability-friendly past.

## Changing models have real life consequences

Models are best understood as simplified explanatory mechanisms which – when become publicly accepted – start to function as prisms, through which the world appears to make sense in a particular way. The shift from the medical to the social model did not only change public perception; with it came a new way of seeing society's obligations towards disabled people.

The medical model expresses a view on disability in which it is situated in the individual body, conceived as a deviation from the biological norm (cf. Barnes 1999). The social model, instead, focuses on the social forces that oppress disabled people, making their liberation dependent on political struggle. This theoretically grounded radical activism brought groundbreaking success for the disability movement. In the USA, thirteen years after a 25-day occupation of a government building by a group of disabled activists, President George H. W. Bush signed the Americans with Disability Act in 1990, one of the first comprehensive civil rights acts in the world specifically designed to codify the rights of disabled persons. Centres for Independent Living were set up as an alternative to large scale half-medical, half-disciplinary institutions, with totalitarian tendencies (Goffman 1962). The outlawing of such institutions is called deinstitutionalisation. This is an ongoing process, which ideally is accompanied by the creation of individual housing projects for people with disabilities within the community.

Deinstitutionalisation is today the norm everywhere in the world, even if it is not always the absolute reality. Unfortunately, the speed at which old total institutions are being closed is not followed everywhere by the efficacity of creating alternative living arrangements. Despite of not being perfect, deinstitutionalisation, together with the gradual normalization of inclusive education, – an educational principle by which disabled children learn in mainstream schools, rather than in specialized schools – has done a lot for desegregating people with mental and physical disability around the world.

## The rights-based approach

The social model is closely linked to the Human Rights movement. The rights-based approach, which became a common expression in the late 1990s, stands as a reminder that disabled people do not ask for charity when they claim the right to be recognized as citizens with equal rights; rather they are naturally entitled to be treated as equals in the name of fairness and Human Rights. It is recognized that for practical equality, equal treatment is not enough, what is needed is the active abolition of the obstacles standing in the way of practical equality. This is the logic of equity which considers positive discrimination essential to reestablish not only formal but also de facto equality.

Both equality and equity are legitimate expectations of people with disability, the problem is that sometimes it is hard for persons exterior from the disabled community to find the right balance between the two principles. The following two cases illustrate this difficulty. In the first one the disabled narrator requests to be seen as equal as opposed to being "special". In the second the trainer is torn between the willingness of regarding their disabled participant equal and that of creating for her equitable conditions for her participation. With all their good intentions, they manifestly fail.

"*I attended an international training about disability... During this 3 or so hours long session – and then later during the entire training – there was a photographer and a videographer present. ... I could see and feel that he mostly took pictures of me. It bothered me a little, because I don't like special attention... During the break I asked the photographer to take less photos of me, as it kind of bothered me. He apologized and stopped for the night. However later the organization posted pictures of the training every day on Facebook. I could see that when I was*

*in them, I was always portrayed while I was doing something with my feet, like when I was eating, or writing, or drawing. ... I was never pictured just sitting there, for example just like a person who is sitting down and talking to the others, doing groupwork etc."*

*"I was facilitating a training on the theater of the oppressed. ...The morning was difficult for this one disabled person in the room, who needed a kind of metal support to walk... During the afternoon, she was one of the participants of my workshop. As soon as I saw her enter the room, I went to talk to her and explain that I prepared activities that would need some walking, but that was not mandatory, I could adapt the activity or do as I planned and she could sit whenever she wanted to. She answered me "I can walk whenever I want, and I sit whenever I want". ... I decided to leave the program as it was, so she would feel like any other participant. I did the activities, and I always included a phrase at the end "this can be done standing or seated, you (all) can choose".*

*During the first debriefing, however, she raised her hand and said that she didn't like the activities because I didn't respect her needs, and that I knew it would put her in a difficult situation..."*

## Internal critiques of the social model

As much as the social model has proved to be radically emancipatory for persons with disability, its universal application has generated some critiques within the movement and beyond. Some of the strongest criticism has been supported by feminist theories (Crow, 1992; Morris, 1991), warning that the disavowal of the physical experience of the impaired body does not correspond to the daily experience of millions of disabled people, of those who know "the nightmare of the body", being "deformed, maimed, mutilated, broken, diseased" (Siebers, 2006, p.175), a "corporality rarely imagined by the able-bodied" (Siebers, 2006, p.179). More from a practical point of view, Shakespeare observes that "the social model so strongly disowns individual and medical approaches that it risks implying that impairment is not a problem... (and so) it can be interpreted as rejecting medical prevention, rehabilitation or cure of impairment" (Shakespeare, 2006, p.200). Though the social model of disability may 'liberate' by showing the possibility of a society free of forces of 'disablement', it is based on a premise that might prove to be particularly false as it travels: it supposes a fundamental dichotomy between mainstream society and disabled people. Indeed, the very definition of disability by the social model makes it impossible to see disabled persons otherwise than as victims of their societies (who are simultaneously blamed by this same society). This argument however contains a logical loophole. A collective identity, if based uniquely on discrimination, is not sustainable if the aim is to eradicate discrimination. "We have to beware of the dangers of constructing a collective identity on the basis of situations of exclusion or restrictions produced by the normative cultural matrixes for not to find ourselves in the paradoxical situation where the cohesion of the collective identity is reduced in proportion of the successes of the fight" – Fougeyrollas warns (2010, p.27). The dichotomy dividing the word into the two distinct categories of disabled and non-disabled people, seen insurmountable in the social model, has also some non-intended political consequences. The exclusivity given to the "disabled category" to the detriment of other possible categories of victims of oppression constitutes a limit to alliance-building: "The potential for linking with other oppressed groups remains unfulfilled" (Barnes et al., 1999). Paulo Freire (1970) also criticized the concept of "minority", arguing that the real minority is the elite, and that altogether the several "minority" groups constitute a majority. So that the majority find its collective strength to resist group-based oppression – contends Freire – it should find a way to work on its "unity in diversity".

## The internationalization of the disability rights movement

The very universalizing intent in the social model which explains its global success might be one of its weaknesses, as it might deter attention from intersectionality, which would explain, why – within the disabled community – certain groups, namely, women, children, and the poor – an overwhelming majority of disabled people – might suffer more and differently. Some critics[1] believe that the international disability movement still carries on assumptions and values belonging to the people who initiated the movement, the leaders of which were mostly middle-class men with physical disabilities from the Global North. A truly global perspective on disability must look at how the premises of the social model respond to the life experience of people with disabilities living in the Global South. The creation of Disabled People's International in 1981 was a decisive step towards the globalization of the movement. The United Nations declared the 1980s the UN Decade of Disabled Persons. Following the adoption of the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action during the 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights, the "human rights-based approach" (HRBA) became a required feature of all international development work. The United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability (UNCRPD), enacted in 2006, is the first international treaty officially canonizing the vision of the social model, creating an international legal framework prescribing special obligations to governments. Unlike most international documents that put the onus uniquely on signatory states to uphold the stipulated agreements, the CRPD was the first international document of binding character to make 'civil society' an integral part of its implementation (Meyers, 2016). As to date (May 2022) The convention has been signed by 164 UN member states, its Optional Protocol by 94, making the CRPD one of the most-ratified international treaties.

## Disability in the Global South

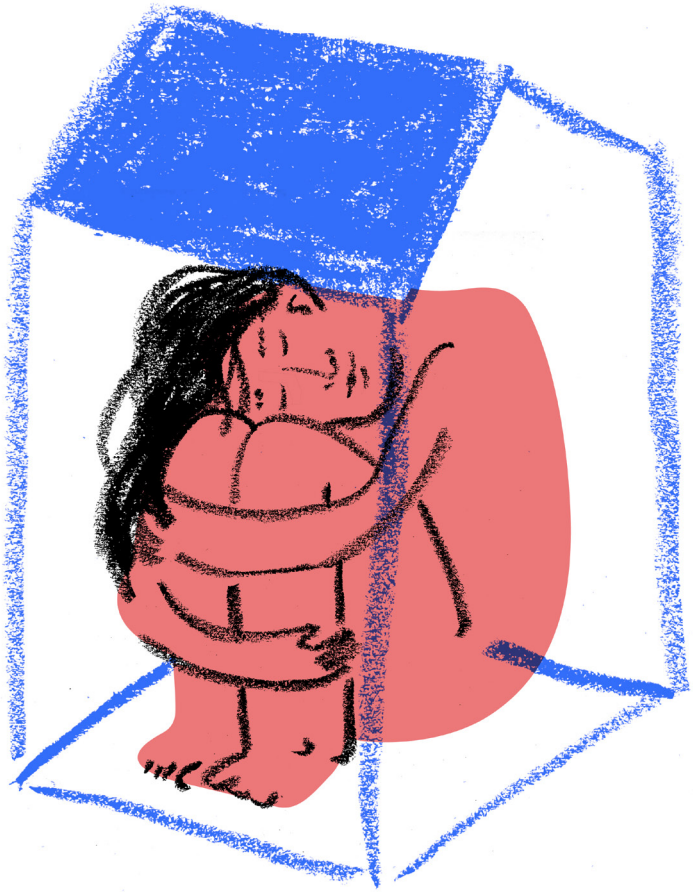
Since the 1970's the Human Rights framework entered the scene of foreign policy, as a principle through which developed countries in the North – first of all the United States – justified their relations with and interventions towards Southern governments. Southern authors observed this process with considerable dismay. Mutua (2002, p.38) decries the Western use of Human rights reinforcing old colonial stereotypes of (White) civilization versus (Black) barbarism. Applying the triple metaphor of "savages, victims and saviours" to Human Rights, he points out that invariably Western governments and NGOs look for victims in the South in order to save them from their savage governments or societies. Meekosha and Soldatic evoke Mutua's three metaphors in relation to disability politics:

"*The savage, or human rights violator is typically a non-Western state, but as states are merely the expression of their cultures, it is really the culture that becomes stigmatised. Now that disability has been more strongly linked with development, we can see how disabled people in the global South can be seen as 'victims' of unsophisticated culture and beliefs, while development and aid agencies run awareness workshops with the representatives of the 'savages'.*"
(Meekosha & Soldatic, 2011, p.1389)

The idea that people in developed countries mistreat their disabled because of undeveloped thinking is pervasive. Benedicte Ingstad calls this complex (evoking old phantasms about modernity and barbarism) the "myth of the hidden disabled" (Ingstad, 1999). The "ignorance frame" produces its solutions. If the problem is false consciousness rather than the lack of available services, then awareness raising is conveniently the most adapted answer in countries where the majority of disabled (and non-disabled) people are deprived of safe drinking water, food safety, available medical care, possibilities of education, and the most elementary housing security. This is how the politically radical vision of the social model gets depoliticized as it travels.

**1** See for example Davis, L. J. (2006)

Disability activists in the South wonder if there is a way of saving the universalism of disability politics without accepting its glaring Eurocentrism. The South African concept of ubuntu (Bolden, 2014) has been celebrated by many as the way out from the straitjacket of the individualistic Western vision of Human Rights. Ubuntu for disability theory can be seen as the inverse of the social model: instead of emphasising separation and opposition, it emphasises relatedness and interdependence: The idea that 'a person is a person through other persons' encapsulates the essence of the ubuntu philosophy, contrasting sharply with the individualized, antagonistic view of the social model (Mji et al., 2011, p.365). An alternative vision of the relation between the individual and the community transpires also from the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities in Africa, adopted by the African Union in January 2018. For example, as opposed to the UNCRPD, the Protocol mentions that disabled persons also have duties towards their communities, as a logical corollary of their right to live in their communities on an equal basis.



## On terminology

The expression "people with disability" has usually been associated with what is called the "medical model" of disability, while the formula "disabled people" was preferred by proponents of the 'social model'. In recent years there seems to be a turn, reflected also in official UN terminology. Thus, grassroots organizations, traditionally referred to as DPOS (disabled people's organizations) have been recently recast as OPDs (organizations of persons with disabilities). There are pros and cons for and against both solutions. At first sight, it seems more respectful to put the person in the front, not his or her disability. However, some people within the community would reject forcefully the idea that they live with disability (as other people presumably live with their partners) and prefer to remind society that if disabled people are disabled it is because they are actively made disabled by everyday practices. In the face of such complexity, the best choice – as always – is to ask the concerned person or community about their preference. Of course, this question can only make sense if the person or the community to be asked can conceive at all to have a preference, which supposes that they are fully aware of the potentially oppressive nature of language. Freire calls this wakening to the social realities of oppressive forces "conscientização". The difficulty is further enhanced if we take into consideration that English is not the vernacular for most of the humans living on the Earth. It would be an error to assume that disability as an encompassing category is translatable to every language. Despite the cross-cultural complexities, it is usually a good idea to avoid addressing a disabled person with condescending pity, using neutralizing euphemisms like "such people", or comparing persons with disabilities to "normal" or "healthy" people.

## Bibliography


Barnes, C., Mercer, G. & Shakespeare, T. (1999). Exploring disability: a sociological introduction. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Barnes, C., Oliver, M. & Barton, L. (Eds.). (2002). Disability studies today (ed.). Cambridge, United Kingdom; Malden, MA: Polity Press

Bolden, R. (2014). Ubuntu. In D. Coghlan, M. Brydon-Miller (Eds.). Encyclopedia of Action Research London, United Kingdom: Sage Publications.

Crow, L. (1992). Renewing the Social Model of Disability. Coalition (July). p.5-9. Retrieved from https://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/40/library/Crow-Social-model.pdf

Davis, L. J. (2006). The End of Identity Politics and the Beginning of Dismodernism: On disability as an Unstable Category. In L.J. Davis (ed.). The disability studies reader. pp. xviii, 451 p. New York, NY: Routledge.

Fougeyrollas, P. (2010). La funambule, le fil et la toile. Transformations réciproques du sens du handicap. Québec, Canada: Les Presses de l'Université Laval

Freire, P., & Ramos, M. B. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York, NY: Seabury Press

Goffman, E. (1962). Asylums: essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates. Chicago, IL: Aldine Pub. Co.

Ingstad, B. & Whyte, S. R. (1995). Disability and culture. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Kasnitz, D. & Shuttleworth, R. P. (2001). Introduction: Anthropology in Disability Studies. Disability Studies Quarterly, 21(3). https://doi.org/10.18061/dsq.v21i3.289

Meekosha, H. & Soldatic, K. (2011). Human Rights and the Global South: the case of disability. Third World Quarterly 32(8). p.1383-1398.

Meyers, S. (2016). NGO-Ization and Human Rights Law: The CRPD's Civil Society Mandate. Laws: Special Edition on Disability Human Rights Law. 5(2):21. p.1-14.

Mji, G., Gcaza, S., Swartz, L., MacLachlan, M., & Hutton, B. (2011). An African way of networking around disability. Disability & Society, 26(3), 365–368. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2011.560419

Morris, J. (1991). Pride against prejudice: a personal politics of disability. London, United Kingdom: Women's Press.

Mutua, M. (2002). Human rights: a political and cultural critique. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.

Onazi, O. (2020). An African Path to Disability Justice. Community, Relationships and Obligations https://eprints.soton.ac.uk/438000/

Shakespeare, T. (2000). Disabled Sexuality: Toward Rights and Recognition. Sexuality and Disability 18(3).
Shakespeare, T. (2006). The social model of disability. In L.J. Davis (ed.). The disability studies reader. Pp. xviii, 451 p. New York: Routledge.

Siebers, T. (2006). Disability in Theory. From Social Constructionism to the New Realism of the Body. In L.J. Davis (ed.). The disability studies reader. Pp. xviii, 451 p. New York, NY: Routledge.

# Discrimination against Romani people

***Adrienn Bogdán***
***(trainer, Hungary)***

## Introduction

When it comes to the topic of racism in larger European context, it is important to focus also on the specific challenges Roma people face in society. Racism against Roma people, while shares similarities with the discrimination other groups experience, shows unique aspects that need separate attention. This chapter will shortly describe the long history of cultural stigmatization, persecution and negative stereotypes Roma people have suffered in Europe and how this can affect our work in adult education within our groups. Although a large part of this text speaks about the history and experience of the Roma people in Europe, it has been inevitably written from a Hungarian (Eastern European) perspective, not necessarily reflecting the complex reality of experiences of the Roma in other parts of the world.

## Gypsy vs Roma debate

In this chapter you will see that I will be using both the term Gypsy[1] and Roma, seemingly inconsistently. It is because I try to choose words that fit the context. In most situations, the term "Roma" is much more adequate, as it reflects a collective will to be named from the inside as opposed to the outside. However, in some contexts, in particularly in Hungary, it seems more respectful to follow linguistic conventions that are upheld also by the members of the Roma community themselves. The debate over the "correct" term goes back to the 70ies. In 1971, the first Roma Congress was held, where participants from different countries made decisions and agreed on multiple pressing issues affecting the Roma. This event also had an identity-forming and constructive effect. The Roma flag was chosen, which is a red wheel on a blue and green background (blue represents the sky, green represents the earth, and the wheel represents migration), and the wheel also refers to the Indian origin, in which the chakra wheel is an important symbol. The colour red symbolizes blood, which gives the power of life and also refers to the victims of the "parajmos" (the holocaust of the Roma community in Romani language).

Members of the Congress agreed that their official language would be the Romani and, closely related to this, they rejected the term "gypsy" (and its different versions) as a label imposed on them from the outside world. Instead, they decided to use the word Roma, as a general ethnonym, which is the plural form of rom - i.e. male in Romani language. Of course, the question may arise as to how normative this is for women, but since this is the official agreement, it is worth using this word in academic circles, as well as in everyday life, when one refers to the Roma people, in general, and treats them as an undifferentiated group. However, depending on the context, when we talk directly to people of Roma origin, meet them, or even work with them as trainers, it is advisable to ask them which term they like to use, because in many cases not everyone can identify with the term Roma and instead prefer to refer to themselves as gypsies, depending also on which term does their specific group prefers.

Unfortunately, the word gypsy nowadays tends to have a pejorative meaning, but this is not always the case. The context is very important, and indeed the opinion and preference of the person or the group must be considered.

## Short history of Romani people

### a) The emigration of Romani people from the Indian subcontinent.

When we talk about Romani people, we should always bear in mind their

**1** Gypsy is obviously not a word Hungarians would use to speak about the Roma. It is the translation of the term "cigány", which is the most commonly used ethnonym in Hungary. It works both as an exonym (non-Roma people speaking about the Roma) and in certain cases as an endonym (for Roma people's self-referencing)

historical background to understand their situation in the present. I would like to draw a broader picture here starting by where they came from, and then focusing on their situation now in Europe, and as a more in-depth example, in Hungary. The history of the Roma is a complex and long topic, thus this chapter will highlight only the most important historical moments, with a special focus on the Roma rights movement. Better understanding these contexts can contribute greatly to working with this population in an adult educational setting.

For long, the Romani people did not have written culture, so most written pieces of their history have been authored by non-Roma which already raises the problem of domination. From what we know from these documents, the proven origin of the Roma can be placed in the Southern part of India (Fraser, 1992). They became one of the peoples of Europe when they arrived in the Byzantine Empire 900–1,100 years ago (Fraser, 1992; Rochow and Matschke, 1991).

### b) Arrival and Settlement in Europe

The Roma arrived in Europe in different waves from East to West. As a result, the Roma constitute a colourful group all over Europe. Early migration occurred from the 12. Century. In Hungary the first written documents mention their arrival in the 1400's. A modern migration wave happened during the end of the 19th century, after the abolition of Gypsy slavery in Romania (Hancock, 1987; Fraser, 1992; Liegeois, 1994).

The greatest diversity of the Roma is found in the Balkan, and in Eastern Europe, but in Western Europe they also form a huge minority. Historic documents prove that the Roma have been living in Europe for several centuries. Notwithstanding, they have been often treated as "outsiders" or "intruders" and this perception still affects them negatively today. Among them were different craftsmen, for example wood and copper workers, agricultural workers, blacksmiths, and musicians. At first, they were welcomed in European societies for their knowledge and skills, but soon they became viewed and treated as "public nuisance" by governments and churches.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Roma minority in Hungary could be divided into several groups based on language; the current groups largely overlap with the groups of that time. The largest group that arrived in the Middle Ages and their group was affected by violent assimilation, which prevented them from practicing their language – with retaliation following if they did use it. Nevertheless, there are still members of this group today who speak the Carpathian dialect characteristic of this group, which is called "Romungro". They are Hungarian speakers - Hungarian Roma people, most of whom distinguish themselves from the rest of the Roma and refer to themselves as "Cigány" (The Hungarian version of Gypsy). The vast majority of the other groups arrived in the second half of the 19th century, at which time they still spoke their mother tongue, which they have largely maintained. Because of the direction of their arrival, they are called "Oláh Cigány" "Olah Gypsies". Their language is of Indian origin. There is also a small third group: the "Beas" people settled in the Southern part of Transdanubia, who speak an archaic version of the Romanian language, preserved from the time when they arrived.

In many countries of Europe, the Roma were subjected to inhumane treatment, including slavery in certain regions. The Roma was sentenced to death during the Middle Ages in England, Switzerland, and Denmark because of their origin. Several countries, including Germany, Poland, and Italy, ordered the expulsion of all Roma. In Hungary they were subjected to forced resettlement, the use of their language was prohibited, and their children were taken away. This treatment continued until the 19th century. In the 1930s, the Nazis considered the Roma to be "racially inferior" and murdered hundreds of thousands of them during World War II. In Hungary in 1934, State Secretary Endre László demanded that the Roma be imprisoned in concentration camps.

After the war, the Roma continued to be oppressed and discriminated against, both in Eastern and Western Europe. Between the 1970s and 1990s, the Czech Republic and Slovakia sterilized around 90,000 Roma women against their will. In Switzerland, the forced removal or Romani children from their families continued up until the early 70ies (Jourdan 2000).The Roma still face discrimination and racism in Europe and cases of hate crimes against the Roma are still reported to this day.

### c) Estimates about the Roma population

There is no completely accurate data on the number of the current Roma population in Europe or worldwide. Statistical figures are often based on highly debatable estimates. The majority of Roma (according to some estimates, 6.5 million people) live in Europe. Most of them (71%) live in the Carpathian-Balkan region, where they form the largest minority group. In the former state socialist countries in the Eastern part of Europe, they are thought to represent around 4% of the population (Bottlik, 2012).

At the same time, only a fifth of the estimated 4.6 million Roma appear in the official census statistics! While 30-50% of them declare their origin during a census in Hungary, Serbia or Bulgaria, only 7-8% in Romania do so, while the country is home to the world's largest Roma community. In addition to Romania, their population is also significant in Hungary, Bulgaria and Serbia, and their proportion within the local population is also high in Kosovo and Macedonia. Roma people still live in the Western part of Europe: in Italy, their number is between 120,000 and 180,000, in France between 500,000 and 1,200,000, and in Spain between 750,000 and 1.5 million.

### d) Challenges in Data collection about the Roma population

But why is there no accurate data? In fact, demographic studies tend to treat ethnic belonging as objectively given, however ethnic identification is highly subjective. Self-declaration is necessarily imprecise from a scientific point of view, especially in a context where being a Roma often entails carrying a stigma. During the censuses, it is a common phenomenon that the Roma do not admit their origin, and this may be due to the fear of discrimination and negative treatment towards them. From a sociological point of view, it might be equally important to know who is identified as Roma by others. This is the method that Hungarian sociologist, István Kemény and his colleagues, used in their famous study (Kemény 1971; Havas 2016)

## Oppression of Romani people through history

The Roma are identified more as an ethnic group than as a race, and in their distinction, the focus is on migration and foreign origins (Mayall, 2004: 118). In Western and Central Europe, they are often considered as "Others" with a different culture. People of Roma origin (as well as many other minorized groups) regularly encounter racism and discrimination. For several centuries and all over the world, there have been efforts to assimilate the Roma, sometimes violently and sometimes in less direct ways. The Roma also faced serious difficulties and persecutions in the 20th century. Institutionalized and structural racism can still be observed against them.

## Slavery

Research testifies that during feudalism, a large number of Roma were kept as slaves (Gheorghe;1983). Until the 19th century, there were Roma groups in Romania who were affected by this form of oppression. During the medieval and early modern periods, Romani people in Romania were often enslaved or subjected to serfdom by local rulers and landowners. They were considered property, bought and sold like chattel, and forced to work under harsh conditions with little to no rights or freedoms.

## Oppression through language

One common form of discrimination has been along linguistic lines. The restriction of the language used was also a violation of the autonomy of the Roma, not only in Hungary, but also in other European countries. The use of their own language was prohibited, thereby resulting in their forced assimilation. Consequently, only one of the Roma groups living in Hungary speaks a Romani dialect, the group of the Olah gypsies. The group of Beas gypsies also has its own language, which is a dialect of the Romanian language, carrying with it a trace of history: When Roma people were forced to Slavery in Romania, they assimilated the language, which is why their dialect today is an archaic form of Romanian. Some groups of them migrated towards Hungary after their liberation. (Fraser, 1995: 33)

## Prejudice

The othering of the Roma led to their oppression, which appeared in the form of structural racism in the 20th century. Throughout history, they have met with rejection. At first, the mainstream society saw them as unreliable vagabonds, and today the previously formed prejudices are still present, even institutional racism has been built on them (Kóczé, 2020). This explains the enduring housing and educational segregation. During everyday life, the Roma can also encounter racism in ordinary situations. Individual prejudice and structural racism go hand in hand and account for their low social status, hindering their access to health, education, or public administration services.

## Genocide

One of the greatest outbursts of oppressions and violence of the 20th century, and indeed of the history of humanity, the Holocaust, also known as 'parajmos'[2] in Romani language, also affected the Roma. Unfortunately, there is no exact data to date, but we know that hundreds of thousands of Roma lost their lives during World War II, as victims of racism. World Roma Holocaust Day is on August 2, a day to remember that this level of hatred must not be repeated.

## What to take from this to the training room?

### a) The responsibility of the trainer

According to Foucault's understanding of power, power is transmitted through people, as they embrace various power dynamics, thus concentrating these in their own beliefs, perceptions, and attitudes. Insofar as power conveys an overall idea about the social imposed from above, members of society also adopt norms that come with that idea (Foucault, 1975). Trainers have power and responsibility in the classroom. They may reinforce or challenge hegemonic ideas. In the case of Roma rights, responsibilities could include being aware of the common misconceptions against Roma people in the broader society, recognizing when these misconceptions are voiced in our groups and not leaving these unreflected. This also involves reflecting on our own biases. The next step is implementing concrete strategies in order to handle conflicts that might arise in the training room. If we encounter prejudice during our training work, it's important to address what's wrong with the thought, without blaming of judging the person. Instead, we should strive to focus on conveying real knowledge and facts, as well as on discursively rehumanizing the group which is being stigmatized.

### b) How to counter negative stereotypes

For a better understanding I would like to give examples of misconceptions so as to dispel them.

*"The Roma are a homogenous group with the same origin and culture"*
It is not true, as I mentioned in the first part of the chapter, they are a heterogenous group with different languages and with different traditions. Differentiation is important for the Roma themselves. We should always refrain from generalizations.

**2** Also referred to as porajmos or parrajmos

*"They don't want to learn."*
It is also a very strong misunderstanding, in many cases it's not that they don't want to learn, sometimes they don't have the opportunity, due to their socio-cultural background and unequal opportunities. Furthermore, segregated education is unfortunately still an existing phenomenon that disproportionately affects the Roma community.

*"Is the culture of the Roma people the culture of poverty?"*
No, the concept of culture is much more complex than this; it can be logically refuted that not every Roma person is poor, and not every poor person is Roma. Furthermore, there is no ethnic culture that would universally apply to all Roma. It is important to pay attention to this, not to conflate the two concepts, and not to treat the situation of the Roma solely as a social issue.

*"The Roma people always have many children."*
A social group's demographic indicators include the number of births, mortality rates, natural increase, or life expectancy at birth. These factors are interconnected and do not change randomly over time but are closely related to the prevailing socio-economic environment. The stereotype regarding the childbearing habits of Roma distorts the real societal processes. The Roma do not have more children because they consciously want to profit from system, it is precisely social discrimination that rigidifies the separation between the Roma and the non-Roma which maintains the difference between fertility rates. The increase in the proportion of the Roma population is also caused, by the declining fertility rate of the non-Roma population, although the Roma are also affected by this process, albeit in a slower space.

### c) Real life examples: stereotypes about Roma people in the training room

Unreflected perpetuation of prevalent prejudices and stereotypes can cause damage in educational settings, even when they are voiced without bad intentions. Here we will show two real life examples where stereotypes against the Roma people arise in the training room, one from the point of view of a Roma student and one from the point of view of a Roma facilitator.[3]

#### Incident 1: Gypsy Mothers

The narrator is a person of Roma origin who took part in teaching assistant training, a course where the topics were basic knowledge of care, family, and society. In several cases, the teacher also shared her opinion concerning work with families of Roma origin. She made generalizing and racist comments, including that Roma children should be treated differently than non-Roma children. Basically, the statement that every student deserves different treatment is indisputable, however, the fact that this is linked specifically to collective origin presupposes dangerous essentialism. Such a statement, suggesting that a child of Roma origin should be treated differently just because he or she is Roma, is harmful because it reinforces the idea that this child is somehow different from others, naturally. In fact, it is crucial for all children to receive the same opportunities and treatment as their peers during their education. Differential treatment in the form of positive discrimination is meant to counteract social processes, rather than interfering with some mythical predisposition. Furthermore, the teacher also mentioned that Roma mothers are better mothers than their non-Roma counterparts as they have "better instinct" when it comes to childcare. This statement would appear positive, but it also contributes to the naturalization of difference," instinct" being a term that connects human behaviour to nature rather than to culture Thus, an apparently positive attribute contributes to the dehumanization of a group. Furthermore, assigning a single positive descriptor to an entire group is as flawed as afflicting it with a negative attribute.

**3** The incidents are published in our Critical incident collection in which we have gathered real cases from adult educators from France, Hungary, Italy and Spain. All cases illustrate a conflict situation in an adult education setting due to power imbalances or different kinds of discrimination. For more firsthand accounts on how power imbalances affects trainers or learners in the classroom, see. Hanssen, M. -- Várhegyi V. (2023) Competence Framework and Critical Incident Collection. Poder project.

### Incident 2: What about Olaszliszka?

*"I am a trainer / facilitator at a Hungarian NGO, which "sensitization trainings" about the prejudices, stereotypes, misconceptions people have about Roma people. Mostly we work in schools for either student or teacher groups. This one time we held a session for a group of teachers of the same school with my co-trainer. Quite a common occurrence is that groups look at us as the representatives of the "unified" Roma ethnic group, who can and must answer all the questions about the behaviours of other Roma. Then when we work with the thoughts and prejudices during our training, we hear this sentence almost every time: "I am not prejudiced / racist, but..." and then we know we will hear something surprising. A teacher from this group said this sentence and followed it up with "what about Olaszliszka?!"[4]. It was not a question, but an accusation. A huge argument erupted in the group. We, as facilitators don't answer these accusations, instead we "invite" the others in the group and ask them "what do you think? What is your opinion on this?" so they can have a discussion. Of course, it is hard to stay patient sometimes, and this is why we go in pairs to facilitate these training sessions, in case somebody's "buttons" are pushed, and the other can take over. I was very surprised and angry as nobody brought up this example in the trainings I facilitated before."*

In this case, the participants comment is making a damning generalization, insinuating that because that homicidal incident against the non-Roma teacher happened, being vary of Roma is justified. Discrimination against a whole ethnic group based on the actions of a few individuals is unfair for the group and further strengthens negative stereotypes in society. In this scenario the Roma person was the facilitator and it was too painful for her to react, instead her co-faciltator, also a Roma person, took the lead in this discussion. In the case of a non-Roma facilitator, it is important to address discussions like this for two reasons. One, we never know if we have a Roma person in our group who might be hurt by these stereotypes. Two, all participants are members of society, and it is good opportunity to stand for Roma rights and help participants to dispel prejudices.

**4** A very famous case in Hungary. In 2006, a teacher drove through a village, named Olaszliszka in Bosod-Abaúj-Zemplén county, Hungary and almost swept away a Roma girl with his car who ran in front of him on the road. He got out of the car to check on the girl, who was uninjured, but frightened. The family members of the little girl broke his windshield, pulled him out of the car through that hole and attacked him. The injuries he sustained from the lynching resulted in his death in front of his own two daughters who also sat in the backseat of the car. Several thousand people attended his funeral. In 2009 the court found all 8 preparators guilty of group homicide committed with extreme cruelty. A nation-wide debate broke out about "Gypsy crimes".

## Conclusion

The Romani people have a rich and complex history that spans centuries, beginning with their migration from the Indian subcontinent to various parts of Europe. Despite their long presence in Europe, they have often been marginalized and treated as outsiders. The Roma's journey to Europe occurred over multiple waves of migration, with significant populations settling in the Balkans and Eastern Europe, as well as Western Europe.

Throughout history, the Roma have faced discrimination and persecution, including forced resettlement, slavery, and targeted violence. The Nazi regime in World War II carried out a genocide against the Roma, resulting in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of individuals. Even after the war, oppression and discrimination persisted, particularly in Eastern Europe, where Roma communities faced forced sterilization and other human rights abuses.

In the classroom, it's essential for educators to address misconceptions and stereotypes about Roma people. By providing accurate information and fostering dialogue, educators can promote understanding and empathy among students. Additionally, educators should be mindful of their own language and behaviour to ensure they do not perpetuate prejudice or discrimination. Creating inclusive learning environments and challenging systemic inequalities are crucial steps towards promoting Roma rights and social justice.

## Bibliography

Kóczé, A. (2020): Racialization, Racial Oppression of Roma. In: Ness I., Cope Z. (eds.): The Palgrave Encyclopaedia of Imperialism and Anti-Imperialism. Cambridge: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Bottlik Zs: Cigányok, Romák Európában

Kállai E.: CIGÁNY CSOPORTOK EURÓPÁBAN ÉS MAGYARORSZÁGON Kemény I. , Report on the research conducted in 1971 dealing with the situation of Gypsies in Hungary. Budapest 1976

Fraser, A. (1995). The gypsies. Chichester: Wiley. 8 Racialization, Racial Oppression of Roma Galtung, J. (1971). A structural theory of imperialism. Journal of Peace Research, 8(2), 81–117.

Gheorghe, N. (1997). The social construction of Romani identity. In T. Acton (Ed.), Gypsy politics and Traveller identity. Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Havas G. (2016). A Kemény István vezette 1971-es Országos Reprezentatív Cigányvizsgálat keretében készült interjúk. Socio.hu. https://www.socio.hu/uploads/files/2016_2/kemeny_gyujt.pdf

Jourdan L. (2000.12.05.) Gypsy hunt in Switzerland: Long pursiot of Racial purity. European Roma Rights Centre. https://www.errc.org/roma-rights-journal/gypsy-hunt-in-switzerland-long-pursuit-of-racial-purity

Mayall, D. (2004/2003). Gypsy identities 1500–2000: From egipcyans and moon-men to the ethnic romany. Florence: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/ 9780203490051.

## Further resources on Roma rights

Amnesty International (2015.04.23.) The Roma in Europe: 11 things you always wanted to know but were afraid to ask. https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2015/04/roma-in-europe-11-things-you-always-wanted-to-know-but-were-afraid-to-ask/

European Comission: Roma equality, inclusion and participation in the EU. https://commission.europa.eu/strategy-and-policy/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/roma-eu/roma-equality-inclusion-and-participation-eu_en

Jovanović D. – Lee J. (2020.02.25.) ERRC Opinions: The Roma Movement in the 2020's https://www.errc.org/news/the-roma-movement-in-the-2020s

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2022.10.25.) Roma in 10 European Countries – Main results. https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2022/roma-survey-findings

# Prison, Exclusion, and Restorative Justice

***Roberto Mazzini***
***(Giolli Cooperativa Sociale, Italy)***

In this article we analyse the role of Adult Educators when they enter prison, to raise awareness about the complexity of the environment and of the task. We touch upon different levels of this complexity: theoretical, methodological and technical. We assume a critical point of view regarding the prison system and propose alternatives as Restorative Justice or Abolitionism. As Giolli's practice is based on Freire's and Boal's work, our reflection is inspired by our approach, even if other theatre methods can also be meaningful, if compatible with this reflection.

## The prison context

According to Foucault (1995), the prison as generalised punishment was invented around the 17th century to humanise punishment that was previously based on spectacular terror (burning, quartering), public accusation (pillory), and expulsion (exile); it has grown with the underlying ambiguity between humanising and exercising better control. The official purposes of imprisonment, as currently stated, are three:

- To deter (to instil fear in citizens)
- To punish
- To re-educate.

In Italy, two centuries ago, Cesare Beccaria introduced and reinforced the last function with his famous text "Dei delitti e delle pene" (About crime and punishment).

But what is the reality?

Official data (Leonardi, 2014)[1] speak of a recidivism rate of 69% in Italy, that is, among those who leave prison, 69% return by five years. It is not a surprise, as separation from society is used to educate for reintegration: an oxymoron. Moreover, in prison one is denied affection, sexuality, work and exchange with the territory, in these circumstances, can we still talk about reintegrating detainees into society?

Therefore, the only two real functions are the first two, moreover affecting mainly the oppressed social classes[2]: the criminal par excellence is the poor, not the high-ranking swindler who speculates on the stock exchange, not the one who pollutes the environment to make profits, not the one who destroys the work of small farmers for his own interests. The stereotype of the criminal is the poor (Chapman, 2013).[3]

What capitalist society needs is a place (prisons, asylums) to lock up people who potentially disrupt order and make it a warning to all the poor not to rebel against the laws and the status quo, under the threat of imprisonment. For the rich, there are many ways out, from laws to lawyers, from alliances to positive stereotypes, etc. Certainly, there are crimes that are not acceptable, but the punishments could include alternative routes to prison (like Restorative Justice) or integrative ones (alternative measures such as house arrest, socially useful work, probation, etc.), while these are not so common.

This is where we are entering as adult educators.

Now we try to describe our position, sharing what our experiences have taught us, without pretending to know the universal Truth.

## Political level

- The position of trainers – Total Institutions

Working in a prison means entering a Total Institution[4] (Goffman, 2017; Ricci and Salierno, 1971)[5] where mainly individuals from lower social classes with less power, let's say proletariat and sub-proletariat or working class,

**1** National Institute of Justice USA (2008, February 20) informs: <The 401,288 state prisoners released in 2005 had 1,994,000 arrests during the 9-year period, an average of 5 arrests per released prisoner. Sixty percent of these arrests occurred during years 4 through 9. An estimated 68% of released prisoners were arrested within 3 years, 79% within 6 years, and 83% within 9 years>.

**2** In Italy, some official data from the Prison Police website rates the recidivism for inmates at 68.45% and for alternative measures at 19% (Redazione, 2018, September 19).

**3** Dennis Chapman described the stereotype of the criminal as poor.

**4** "Total institution" as defined by Goffman is a place (prison, psychiatric hospital, barracks, hospice...) where the total daily life of people is completely controlled and determined by the Institution, while other institutions usually control only partially your life (school, public services, etc.). This fact creates a new strong identity in the internees.

See also Curcio (2013) a deep analysis of mechanisms of oppression in the labour market that create deep suffering.

About Total Institutions, a clear text, dense and deep is in Ristretti Orizzonti, a magazine written in Italian by detainees: http://www.ristretti.it/areestudio/territorio/opera/documenti/volontariato/seminario.html

**5** Concrete research about the reality of prison in Italy; despite the times the analysis is still valid at most.

are imprisoned. Since the prison is a recent punitive instrument, one can hypothesise a society without prisons, at least as a generalised punitive measure. Abolitionism or Restorative Justice could be chosen instead of Retributive Justice.

A possible position of those who intend to work with prisoners, or with their families or with custody officers is to set a long-term goal of overcoming the prison as a generalised punitive measure. The trainer should therefore not be conniving with the dominant idea of Retributive Justice. They should neither contribute to the labelling and criminalisation of those in prison, nor should they adopt a paternalistic attitude of redeeming the convict embracing a therapeutic attitude of 'psychological care'. At the same time, the trainer should not collude[6] with the prisoner, taking them as the 'oppressed', in his illegal – and individualistic – behaviour. Bringing art into prison for only aesthetic or entertainment purposes challenges the political meaning of the intervention.

It is a difficult position to be an adult educator in the prison, which we believe should be inspired by Paulo Freire's "conscientization" (Freire, 1970), hence the trainer should be able to ask uncomfortable questions, both to prisoners and staff and to society, in order to raise a critical conscience about the prison and the current mechanism of 'justice'.

We cannot be complicit in acts that infringe on the rights of others, but neither can we forget that those who end up in prison are not the total sum of criminals, as others exploit people legally or otherwise. Detainees do not constitute a representative sample, as people from the social classes with the least power are disproportionately found in prisons.

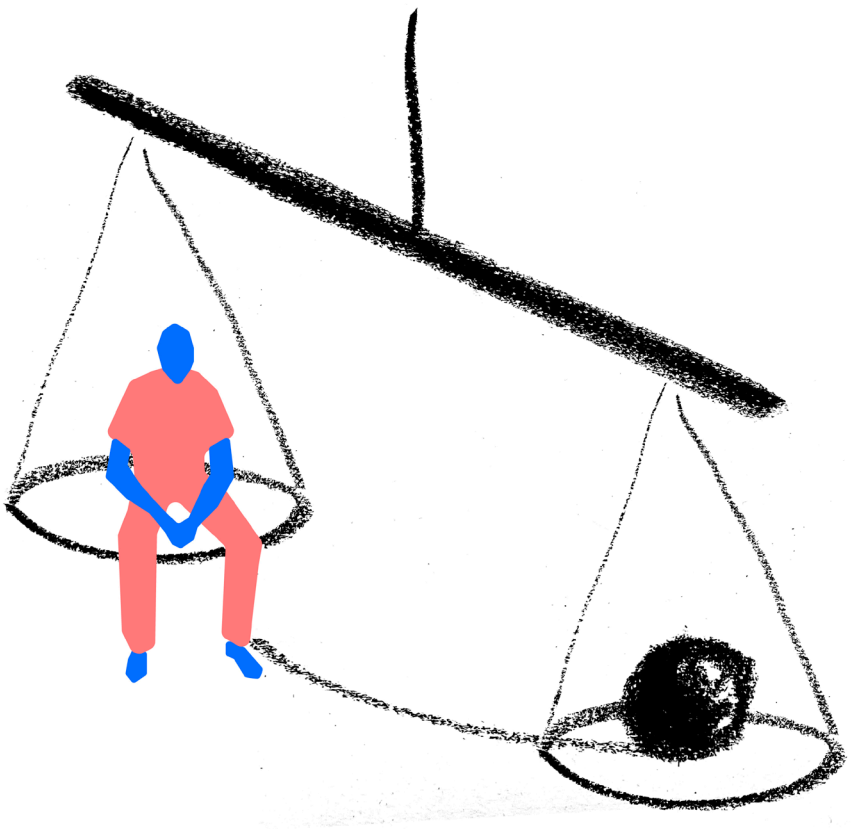
- What power do we have?

As adult educators we enter in a system of power where we, as trainers, have more social power than inmates, but less with regard to the top roles in the Institution. However, we have a little power that we can use for inclusion versus exclusion, being careful not to be expelled from the prison for positions that are too extreme or in fact sectarian[7] (Freire, 1985). We have the power in our educational journey with prisoners to determine above all the contents and the process, albeit with certain limits placed on us by the institution (number and choice of participants, times, spaces, etc. are all elements we can negotiate, depending on the specific prison we are working in).

Our power also acts during the workshops where we can try to open up spaces for inclusion where exclusions are starting: local detainees versus foreign, stronger versus weaker... We can use our power to create an inclusive environment giving space to differences, legitimating various opinions, deepening and questioning stereotypes and prejudices.

**6** "Collusion" is a psychological term referring to the concrete behaviour of a specialist such as a psychologist, who assumes neutrality in a specific situation, such as a couple in conflict, but who partially or totally unconsciously takes one side.

**7** In this text is criticised also the "sectarian position" took on by people that with good will want to change the system but are not able to dialogue with other opinions and have the attitude to teach to oppressed people what to do.



- Possible alliances

In prison, it is essential to have alliances to increase our power, alliances that can range from the "Treatment area" (manager and/or educators, psychologists, volunteers etc.) to the "Security area" (prison director, but also individual officers can be of great help in the process and facilitate it). External alliances such as the Municipality, associations working inside, migrants' or prisoners' rights associations, the Guarantor of Prisoners' Rights, etc. can also make a difference in a project in prison, to the extent that they enable two-way communication between the prison and the territory.

## Strategies

- Realistic but meaningful objectives (triangulation)

An important aspect to be taken into account is the triangulation of needs, which helps to avoid being reduced to working only on the needs of the institution or ours or those of the inmates. Triangulation means understanding (sensing, researching, asking etc.) the needs of the parties involved (mainly us, the inmates, the institution) and assessing what a meaningful objective for us can be in this situation, what conditions we must ask for and finally deciding whether or not to pursue the intervention.

E.g.: we are called by the prison educator to do educational work with the inmates, the warden wants to show his institution as a model prison, the officers do not want additional workload and the inmates want simply to leave their cells. The project has to take these conditions into account and find out how to combine or neutralise them, without crushing the needs of the inmates (mere venting and time out of the cell), of the prison warden (creating a good image), or ours (changing totally the power relations in the prison). It could, for example, take into account the inmates' needs by not squeezing in too much time, but leaving room for informality and socialisation, negotiating with the prison warden that a show could only come out if the inmates want to do it, without imposition; the trainer could tell the prison educator that we will work on the group and on the inmates' life skills and design a path in which to give space and voice to the inmates on the issues they care about, gradually proceeding to a work of consciousness-raising.

Another choice to be made is to decide whether, in our workshop with inmates, to focus on the past (How could we have avoided prison, with more mature and effective strategies, to meet our key needs?), on the present (How to live with this Total Institution while avoiding both total adaptation and counter-productive rebellion?), or on the future (Which difficulties will we have when we get out of here and how could we deal with them constructively?).

Another key strategy we suggest is that of trying to open a dialogue between the prison and the territory, to dilute the totalising aspect of the prison, but also to raise the awareness of the territory on the issue of reintegration and alternatives to prison.

At least two types of projects should be avoided, those centred on:

- complicity in exclusion: i.e. a judgmental attitude towards prisoners, collusion with the above myths, crushing on the institution's ideology,
- paternalism and welfarism: i.e. speaking on behalf of the prisoners about what they need, infantilising them.

## Theoretical level

- Key concepts of the field

The following concepts are important to be considered in order to be inclusive when conducting group work on this theme (e.g. we are called to work with a group of practitioners or citizens) and/or with a mixed or homogeneous group with this identity (e.g. we are called to work with prisoners or a mixed group).

As mentioned above, it is very rare that members of the middle class, the petty bourgeoisie (the so-called white-collar workers, i.e. teachers,

educators, social workers, shopkeepers, etc.) end up in prison and even less so for the upper-middle or upper classes, in other words upper bourgeoisie (from doctors to civil servants, managers to entrepreneurs, etc.).

Foucault (1995) showed how the prison has a genealogy that is linked to a historical change in the form of power of the ruling classes; from a power that is imposed by terror (resounding punishments in the streets for the crowds) to a system based on the control of the poor populations and then the re-education of the offender (internment in total institutions such as hospices, lazarettos, asylums, prisons).

Therefore, for a critical approach to the prison, these key concepts should be taken into account:

1. Distributive and Restorative justice (Zehr, 1990) that is the 2 approaches to criminality, where the first is focused on law infraction and the offender's punishment, while the second focuses on repairing the rupture in social trust and cohesion and pays attention to the victim (the individual and the community they belong to).
2. Abolitionism[8] (Vitale, 2017) that is the concept that prison could and should be abol-ished and replaced by other methods to contain deviance.
3. Total Institution (Curcio, 2013) those which master the total life of the inmates.
4. Recidivism,[9] the process which brings detainees, when released, to commit new crimes and come back to prison.

- Myths[10]

The most frequent myths to be de-constructed (e.g. false ideas that are taken as self-evident by those working in the field) related to justice are:

1. Jail serves to punish and re-educate by re-socialising prisoners. On the opposite, recidi-vism shows the ineffectiveness of re-education.
2. The poor offend more than the rich, precisely because they¬ are in poverty, (Basaglia, 2014) while Basaglia and Critical criminology show that the majority of people offend sometimes law, what is different is that if you belong to low classes, you risk a lot to start a criminal career.[11]
3. Prison is a universal and efficient way of punishment. As Foucault demonstrated, as typical punishment it is recent, it is just some centuries old; moreover, in other cultures the penalty for offenders is different, like reparation, expulsion from the community, etc. (see i.e. Bolivian traditional communities).

All these three myths should be questioned in a project in prison, as they are false as explained in the section on "Political level".

According to Freire, myths can be affected by giving key questions to the group and helping it to pass from naive consciousness to the semi-transitive and transitive/critical one.[12] According to Paulo Freire, the semi-transitive level is the consciousness which starts to reflect on problems and daily life not in terms of passivity or with fatalism (as the naive consciousness) but with the will to change the situation; the limit is that it does that in a simplistic way, usually having a black and white lens; the transitive or critical consciousness is when the group goes deeper to analyse the mechanisms of oppression instead of accusing the bad will of the oppressor as the unique or main factor of oppression.

## Methodological level

- The role of the process leader – The power of the facilitator

We have some power based on:

1. our pedagogical-artistic competence,
2. the positive relationships established inside and outside,
3. the established alliances with some roles in the prison,

**8** Paiella (2020) or Vitale (2017)

**9** A clear text with data from inside the Judicial System in Italy: Leonardi, F. (2014).

For UK read: Ministry of Justice, England and Wales (2013)

See also: In USA 2/3 of inmates re-enter prison by 3 years (U.S. Department of Justice, n.d.)

See also: Institute for Research on Poverty (2020)

See also in French: Gendreau P.,Goggin C., Cullen F., Les effets des sanctions communautaires et de l'incarcération sur la récidive, Chap 3 Compendium 2000, SCC, SPC, 2000

**10** In Freire perspective myths are assumptions, generally not questioned, which cover reality, the real dynamics of power.

**11** There are alternative explanations related to the different attention police put on different social classes, the different offences that are punished in different ways (more the property offences than the ones which affect society globally), the social networks which defend better the members of top classes, the different skills to better navigate in judicial system, the economic resources, the stereotypes that affect judges in choosing or not alternative sanctions, etc.

See also for psychiatry, Basaglia (2014) who makes a critical view on psychiatric ideology which uses science to justify class-based discrimination. The key concept is that the majority breaks the social rules, but a stigmatised minority is mostly affected by the institutionalisation.

**12** Awareness, according to Freire, can have different stages and the process of "conscientization" tries, using questions, to problematise reality and increase the awareness from a naive perspective to a critical thinking.

Conscientization is an awareness-raising process stimulated by a maieutic approach, i.e. a Socrates-like attitude to ask questions instead of statements, to activate the other to think deeper. It is the opposite of the 'transmission' of knowledge on which most school systems are based.

4. our usefulness for the prison which can show by our presence that it is more modern and advanced than others. This is a tricky issue, but our work can be used positively as explained in the "Triangulation" section.

But our role is not simply to run a theatre course or other workshop without obstacles, but also to question the Institution, bringing new perspectives into the system.

- Basic attitude (political and relational)

We believe that at least 3 attitudes are important in conducting the project and in leading the group of detainees if we want to use our inclusive power:

1. Suspension of judgment on the crime committed: we do not enter a prison as new judges, but as activators of critical consciousness.
2. General listening to and respect for the inmates, in particular.
3. Maieutics, i.e. the art of asking questions to bring out the conscience of individuals and the group, from myths, stereotypes, and fatalism to critical thinking. Both towards in-mates and prison personnel.

- Language

What kind of language/expressions should we use and what should we avoid? There are no movements that claim a particular language to define prisoners as it happens for LGBTQIA+ people and others, so there is no politically correct lexicon to learn from in this area. However, it is important to know a bit of prison slang, e.g. "infame", (one who snitches to the guards, in Italian prisons), "agent" instead of guard or warden is more respectful, the word "colleague" evokes to inmates the agents (who call each other in this way). But each place/country will have its own slang to learn.

Most importantly, we must be careful not to use disparaging, judgmental, devaluing language with respect to the detainees, who are first and foremost persons, who have also committed illegalities, but are not "killers, thieves, etc.". They committed crimes but we should not identify them with the crimes, as if these were the unique aspects of their personality. Knowing that law and justice do not always go together, we should also reflect on the type of crime committed (mafia murder is not the same as stealing to feed oneself, raping a woman is not the same as immigrating illegally, etc.); in this way we can test our personal limits to work with some types of people and how much we are able to activate inclusive processes.

## Technical level

- Which exercises and techniques to use and why?

Method is the way to combine techniques with the specific context, the phase in the group dynamics, the goal we have, the time left, etc. So methodological and technical levels are quite different. In general, we can say that to be inclusive we need techniques/exercises of an inclusive framework, that means all the above reflections.

The techniques are different, depending on the methods used. In general, we can say that children's games are not always appreciated as seen as infantilising, and among the theatre approaches much depends on the local culture. We as Giolli use a lot of Theatre of the Oppressed[13] as, in our vision, it is more useful for conscientization and liberation. Therefore, we use games and exercises from Boal's practice (Boal, 1993), Image-Theatre, Forum-Theatre as main tools.

This choice is also made because the arsenal of games from Theatre of the Oppressed emphasises the flexibility and non-professionalism, i.e. it's not important to do very well the exercise, the goal is not to specialise people in some behaviour, but, to the contrary, de-specialise them[14], in order to give back to participants the feeling that they are more than what they currently are, they can sense more, feel more, be creative, break down social structures embodied in

**13** Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) is a system of exercises and technique to help liberate oppressed groups by means of theatre. TO questions the system of power and tries to implement dialogue whereas there is monologue, that is one side dominant the other one, like men versus women, white vs black, able vs disable, heterosexual vs LGBT*, adults vs children, etc. Any difference that creates inequality in power is analysed and questioned and TO delivers tools to find ways to overcome oppression.

**14** In Boal's terms: de-mechanise, that is to release the social conditionings that have been and still affect us at the mind, body, and emotional levels.

themselves. The choice of such exercises and games therefore can help to create an inclusive setting by giving floor to every singularity.

## Organisational level

The goal is to organise an inclusive route; for that we can take in account several elements:

1. the facilitator(s),
2. other support figures,
3. the spaces,
4. the composition of the group,
5. the timing,
6. collaborations to be activated.

To plan a working path in prison we have to make choices among the above-mentioned items. A leading pair instead of a single trainer helps keep an eye on the various hidden dynamics in the group and thus protect the weaker ones, prevent conflicts, etc. An inclusive path benefits from the presence of volunteers and other possible figures within the prisoners' group; this is already a form of inclusion, much appreciated by inmates. It is not always possible, but this can be a request to be negotiated with the institution. Custody officers and psychological figures, on the other hand, are not welcome by inmates, in our experience.

With regard to spaces, it is best if they are as safe as possible, isolated from noise, and suitable for the type of work we want to do. We recommend a group of a minimum of 8 and a maximum of 12 persons, in order to have an optimal workflow, i.e. one that allows to create a sense of group, but also to buffer the inevitable absences. As participants we can choose whether to make a group of nationals or mixed; whether to work with ordinary prisoners or with special ones (sex offenders and other delicate types who do not mix willingly), with women or with men, with long- or short-term prisoners.

If we choose short-term ones, we are aware that the group dynamic will be affected by numerous arrivals and departures, due to releases or transfers. We find it useful to collaborate, for post-prison social inclusion, with external figures and bodies, such as volunteers, educators, teachers, families of prisoners and migrants, voluntary and cultural associations, as well as trade unions and work integration cooperatives, social and educational services and others; in general, those that revolve around the world of work, the positive use of free time, family relations and that are linked to the debate on prisoner reintegration.

## Alternatives to prison

The way we are used to thinking about the prison is based on the assumption that it may seem normal and convincing to think of returning harm to those who have done harm. The point is that a justice that ceases to be a virtue and becomes the exercise of violence, retaliation of evil, even if legitimate, is a justice that poses many problems:

1. it resembles so much what it wants to fight (see: death penalty),
2. a form of justice that coincides with the retaliation against the evil is centred on the person who committed the crime and forgets the victim; if there is no person to pun-ish, there seems to be no justice to be done,
3. for victims of crimes that remain unsolved or for victims of crimes whose perpetrators die, there is much to be done, even if there is no one to punish,
4. a form of justice that coincides with harming the offender is the enemy of truth and re-sponsibility: a justice that coincides with doubling the evil is ethically burdensome for the victims, who have no choice, but to ask for a new evil to be inflicted and there are victims who do not bear this moral cost and do not want to ask for this form of justice.

The application of a penalty is not enough to resolve the demand for justice.

## Is there any other form of justice?

Yes, for instance in many countries there are alternative measures, probation, etc. and attempts to also introduce Restorative Justice to accompany, at least, the actual Distributive Justice.[15] The methodological conditions for activating Restorative Justice paths are: active participation, voluntariness, consensus, confidentiality, privacy.

The characteristic elements in this case are: centrality of the victim and his or her needs, claiming the responsibility of the perpetrator towards someone (and not just something), community involvement, value of the relationship, encounter between the victim and the perpetrator, truth-telling and listening, emotions, repair, shared solution, looking to the future and a trained and impartial third party.

Restorative Justice starts from a different understanding of the crime:

1. the focus shifts to the harm suffered by the victim and especially to the activation of ways of repairing the damage,
2. it takes care of the conflict from a relational point of view,
3. it seeks to give voice to the victim, in his or her singularity, corresponding to his or her request to have their pain, the result of the offence received, acknowledged.

The alternatives to prison are part of another possible world based on justice.

**15** As said by Adolfo Ceretti - Professor of criminology, criminal mediator, expert in Restorative Justice:

"The challenge that Restorative Justice poses is to try to overcome the logic of punishment, moving from a relational reading of the criminal phenomenon, understood primarily as a conflict that causes the rupture of *symbolically shared expectations. Crime should no longer be considered merely as an misdemeanour committed against society, or as behaviour that disrupts the established constituted order and requiring a penalty to be paid, but rather as intrinsically harmful and offensive conduct, which harmful and abusive conduct, which can cause the victims deprivation, suffering, pain, even death and which requires, on the part of the offender, primarily the activation of forms of reparation for the damage caused."

The main supranational standards that refer to Restorative Justice include:

- Council of Europe Recommendation 19/99
- European Union Directive 29/2012
- Recommendation CM/Rec (2018)8 D. Law no. 150 of 10 October 2022 implementing Law no. 134 of 27 September 2021.

About Restorative Justice there are different approaches:

- (Impact Justice, 2023)
- (Restorative Justice, 2023)
- (Thompson, 2015)

See also:

- (Bertagna, G., Ceretti, A. & Mazzucato, C. 2015)
- (Morineau, 2004)
- (Ciappi et al. 2020)

French resources:

- Le Centre de services de justice réparatrice (CSJR) (n.d.)
- Les mesures alternatives à l'incarcération [Report] (2013).

## Bibliography


Basaglia, F. & Basaglia, F. O. (2014). La maggioranza deviante. L'ideologia del controllo sociale totale. Milan, Italy: Baldini+Castoldi.

Bertagna, G., Ceretti, A. & Mazzucato, C. (2015). Il libro dell'incontro. Vittime e responsabili della lotta armata a confronto. Milan, Italy: Il Saggiatore.

Boal, A. (1993). Theatre of the Oppressed, London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Chapman, D. (2013). Sociology and the Stereotype of the Criminal. Kindle.

Ciappi, S., Masin, S., & Pavan, R. (2020b). Come oro tra le crepe: Ovvero l'arte gentile di riparare le relazioni. Modalità e prassi d'intervento del facilitatore nella giustizia riparativa. Italy: PM edizioni.

Connections among poverty, incarceration, and inequality. (2020, June 22) Institute for Research on Poverty. https://www.irp.wisc.edu/resource/connections-among-poverty-incarceration-and-inequality/

Cullen, F. T., Jonson, C. L., & Nagin, D. S. (2011). Prisons Do Not Reduce Recidivism: The High Cost of Ignoring Science. The Prison Journal, 91(3). https://doi.org/10.1177/0032885511415224

Curcio, R. (2013). Mal di lavoro. Socioanalisi narrativa della sofferenza nelle attuali condizioni di lavoro. Italy: Sensibili alle foglie.

Foucault, M. (1975). Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison. Paris, France: Gallimard.

Foucault, M. (1995). Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York City, NY: Vintage Books.

Foucault, M. (2005). Sorvegliare e punire. Nascita della prigione. Milan, Italy: Einaudi.

Freire, P. (1985b). The politics of education: Culture, Power and Liberation. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. Greenwich, NY: Owl Pen Books.

Goffman, E. (2017). Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. Routledge.
Le Centre de services de justice réparatrice (CSJR). (n.d.). CSJR - Centre de Justice Reparatrice. CSJR. https://csjr.org/fr/

Les mesures alternatives à l'incarcération. (2013). [Report] http://www.gip-recherche-justice.fr/conference-consensus/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/fiche-5-mesures-alternatives-a-lincarceration.pdf

Leonardi, F. (2014). Le misure alternative alla detenzione tra reinserimento sociale e abbattimento della recidiva. www.academia.edu. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/9950268/

Measuring Recidivism | National Institute of Justice. (n.d.). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved from https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/measuring-recidivism

Ministry of Justice, England and Wales. (2013). Proven Re-offending Statistics Quarterly Bulletin. Ministry of Justice Statistics Bulletin. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a80dcd4ed915d74e33fcd58/proven-reoffending-2013.pdf

Morineau, J. (2004). Lo spirito della mediazione. Milan, Italy: FrancoAngeli

Paiella, G. (2020, June 11). What is prison abolition? How would it work? GQ. Retrieved from https://www.gq.com/story/what-is-prison-abolition

Redazione. (2018, September 19). Recidiva: sui dati regna l'incertezza. Polizia Penitenziaria. Re-trieved from https://www.poliziapenitenziaria.it/public-post-blog-recidiva-sui-dati-regna-lincertezza-3544-asp/

Ricci, A. & Salierno, G. (1971). Il carcere in Italia. Inchiesta sui carcerati, i carcerieri e l'ideologia carceraria. Milan, Italy: Einaudi.

Sensibili alle foglie. (n.d.). Retrieved from http://www.ristretti.it/areestudio/territorio/opera/documenti/volontariato/seminario.html

Thompson, K. (2015, July 9). Restorative justice in practice - Prison fellowship. Prison Fellowship. https://www.prisonfellowship.org/2015/07/restorative-justice-in-practice/

Vitale, A. S. (2017). The end of policing. London, United Kingdom: Verso Books.

USDOJ: FBCI: Prisoners and Prisoner Re-Entry. (n.d.). https://www.justice.gov/archive/fbci/progmenu_reentry.html

Zehr, H. (1990). Changing Lenses: A New Focus for Crime and Justice. London, United King-dom: Herald Press.

# Anti-Psychiatry Movement

***Massimiliano Filosi and Chiara Ioriatti (Giolli Cooperativa Sociale, Italy)***

## Introduction

Compared to others, this chapter may seem less connected with the work of teachers, educators, or facilitators. But this is not the case: it may happen to any trainer to carry out activities in facilities that deal with mental health, i.e. places that provide support and often accommodation to people that undertook, willing or not, a path of "recovery". These can be "mental health centres", or houses and structures where people are often defined as "fragile" or "vulnerable", where they can live in autonomy with the support of a professional operator and where we, as facilitators, enter to do some kind of activity. At the same time, we strongly oppose the view that the topic of mental health only belongs within the walls of these institutions. The sphere of mental health, "madness", "normality", and the distinction between them is a very sensitive area. In every class, group, or session, there could be somebody affected by this issue, for whom it is possibly connected to a situation of oppression. For this reason, we believe that it is important to discuss this topic even if at first glance, the work of an adult educator may seem unrelated to mental health.

## Contextualization

Before the advent of psychology, the meaning of mental illness was widely debated: the using phrases like "illness", "mental problems", "fake illnesses" or even "simulation" was frequent. An interesting reference for this is the work of Jean-Martin Charcot. In his time, helping "sick" people did not mean therapy, it meant treating them in a hospital, away from other people, not because they were necessarily seen as "ill", but because they "disturbed" other people. Most people who were shut away were often poor or of low social status. In the 19th century in Europe, the medical field was starting to accept psychological hardships as real illnesses and as separate from medical illnesses.

Tamás István Szász contested the definition of mental illness, arguing more for the existence of neurological problems, behavioural disorders, difficulties of a philosophical-existential nature, to which dominant psychiatry offered responses of a restraining nature aiming more at appeasing public opinion than at proper treatments, improving quality of life, respect for rights. Szász also criticises this stance in his book, the "Myth of Mental Illness". Power relations in this field are decisive. Who has the power to determine which patient is "really" ill and who is not, and has the power to lock other people away based on criteria their field created. Power relations are also evident in the case of hysteria – a diagnoses only given to women – which at first was considered also as a form of simulation, or a way of deceiving the doctor. Szász is also critical of strong dichotomies depicting people either as good or bad, as sinner or innocent, as sick or healthy. Power relations often appear physically: white coats of doctors versus sweatshirts of residents, or through the usage of formal/medical language that is not accessible for ordinary people, let alone people with mental illness who might have reduced cognitive abilities. These issues are more linked with the "Institution" itself, but what about us, educators?

## Opening/closing of mental asylums: the Italian case

At the turn of the late 1950s and early 1960s, experiences began to develop in both Europe and in the United States that tended to go beyond the confines of the psychiatric hospital and in the direction of bringing people with psychiatric problems back into the community, through self-managed collaborative groups (therapeutic communities), based on psychosocial principles. The metamorphosis manifested in the growing

opposition to forced medicalisation and to medical treatments considered inhuman, triggering the so-called de-institutionalisation process.

In this context, the Italian experience leading to the approval in Parliament of the so-called "*Legge Basaglia*" forever marked the memory of the people involved. The rejection of traditional psychiatry by Franco Basaglia transformed the institutions for good. Basaglia was renowned both for his visionary ability to imagine and practise therapeutic alternatives to the traditional restraint, such as lobotomy, electroshock, and internment in asylums; and for his ability to involve in this operation the entire civil society. In his vision the insane person was no longer seen as a clinical case, but as a human being with a name, a history, and social ties. It was understood that the patient's full capacity to exercise their rights and duties must be restored. Therefore, the whole society and the communities of reference must be reformed, educated and activated to accommodate the people who, with the closure of asylums, would return to society. Mental Health Centres, places of integration, work and housing reintegration paths, apartment groups were to be formed. Immense efforts must be made to bring out people's abilities, to consolidate them and to enable them to return to exercise, fully, their citizenship. In this way, a concrete response would be given to the constitutional mandate that provides the Republic with the task to remove the obstacles that prevent the full development of the human person and the participation of all in its moral, economic, social and cultural progress. This transformation is not, therefore, simply a matter of the medical and health system, it is an all-encompassing political, social, and cultural program. This led in 1978 to Law 180, which established the closure of asylums in Italy.

Unfortunately, the trend in recent years seems to be going back to medicalisation and to the use of drugs without a real social and political project.

Despite this, at a global level, the two latest international WHO reports[1] on mental health highlight how much the subject has become an essential component of public health and healthcare. Many things have changed for the better, but the path of global transformation of mental health systems is still long and certainly complex because it is closely linked to the promotion and defence of people's rights.

## Terminology

- Antipsychiatry

This term, introduced by the South African psychiatrist David Cooper in the late 1960s, defined a vast, heterogeneous, often contradictory movement that criticised and contrasted the theories and practices of the dominant psychiatry with the aim of experimenting with, and disseminating new therapeutic models and new ways of dealing with "madness" and with so-called insanity.

Before, the "sickness" was attributed to unknown causes or was considered essentially organic. No thought was given to the individual-society relationship. This vision resulted in the *objectivisation* of the patient: the mentally ill person was observed essentially as a case and not as a person. Mentally ill people were admitted to Psychiatric Hospitals where psychiatric science justified their confinement. Anti-psychiatry questioned and deeply criticised this system, and from a political point of view, almost came to deny the existence of mental illness. Franco Basaglia (with Democratic Psychiatry) echoes this criticism, but reiterates that mental illness exists, however, only in a small percentage has organic correlations. Therefore, the mediation between social and economic positioning and deep suffering has become the strongest challenge even for our times.

- Ableism

This word is used to define the practice in which the world is imagined, designed, and organised to meet the expectations and foster the performance of those who are able-bo-

**1** (WHO, 2001) & (WHO, 2022)

died, that is, without physical, mental or other impediments. It is an economic, political, social, and cultural paradigm that is based on social and mental barriers that sharply separate the able-bodied from the disabled, granting the former the possibility of full inclusion in the world and denying it to the latter. Although the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and many national Constitutions provide for equality and equal opportunities, all too often these premisses are disregarded in different spheres of everyday life: work, education, sports, recreation etc. The inclusion of people with disabilities for centuries, and to some extent still today, has meant assistance. Often, assistance has been provided by religious institutions, associations created by family members and then, progressively, financed and organised by national states and local authorities.

In the Anglo-Saxon world (UK, USA), anti-ableism is at the basis of disability studies, which since the 1960s, in the wake of the civil rights movements, has elaborated reflections that look at how the cause of disability resides in the ableist paradigm. Disability therefore is considered a social, political, economic, and cultural construct (see more on this in the "Disability Rights" chapter). In France, for some years now, Odile Maurin has been pursuing the anti-ableist challenge, denouncing how we still run the risk of reiterating mechanisms of segregation and social exclusion of people with disabilities and how often those who do not have the legitimate qualifications claim to speak on behalf of people with disabilities. Maurin strongly affirms the right of all people with disabilities to an autonomous, self-determined and entirely fulfilled life. Activists, who fight for real inclusion and participation of people with disabilities in social life, scrupulously monitor the quality of inclusion and participation, by bringing to public attention what does not work, what excludes, or inferiorises people, or produces secondary and intersectional violence and discrimination (having a disability, being a woman, being a foreigner, for example).

However, it should be emphasised that outside the contexts of activism, science, and other relevant professions, the debate on these issues is not widespread. And if the intent is not to perform a welfarist service but to achieve real inclusion and participation in social life, the involvement and activation of civil society becomes indispensable. There is a need for educational and rehabilitative work to broaden its scope from specific contexts to embrace the whole of society.

From the relationship we establish with diversity, derives the quality of the world in which we live and will live in the future.

- Insanity

What is "Insanity"? And what are the differences between "mental illness" and "madness?"

The terms madness and insanity (taking into account other versions in different languages) are commonly used terms that have lost their specific meaning and have become rather vague, arbitrary, and in some cases, offensive or stigmatising. Talking about mental illness, mental disorder, or psychopathology shifts the discourse and attention to a more technical level that considers the historical evolution of the disciplines and of our society. Beginning to observe disorders, difficulties and suffering in more quantitative rather than qualitative terms, brings the subject of mental health closer and integrates them into the lives of all of us.

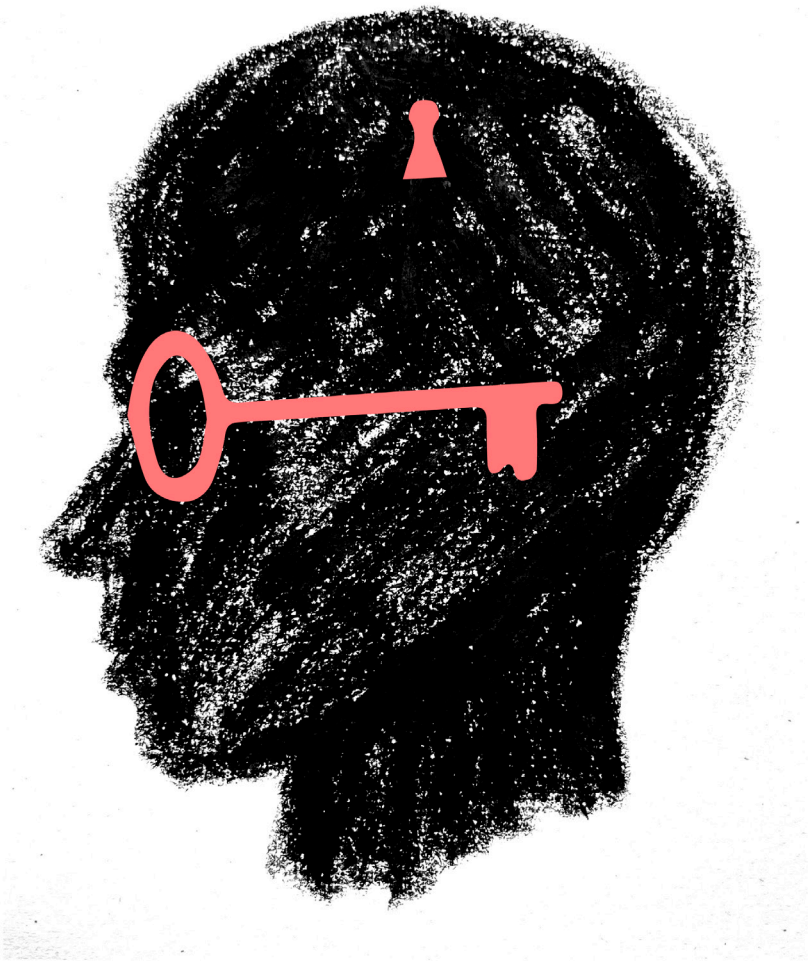
When it comes to madness, for example, we enter the – sometimes frightening – sphere of the darkest colours of our souls. If the choice is not to see the "insane", to exclude them, to confine them, to remove them, any attempt to understand the deep, sometimes destructive, motions of human beings will be incomprehensible, attributed to the sudden and unpredictable loss of sanity. To exclude, confine, punish or control means to take away the freedom and rights of these people. It also means to pacify and confirm in their role the community of the healthy, a commu-

nity unable to contemplate and interact with the irrational. To sedate the insane is, in other words, to sedate the whole society. On the contrary, an intense political (by enactment of laws, enforcement of the Constitution, strengthening of territorial garrisons, allocation of economic resources), cultural (theatre, exhibitions, cinema, information, events), and social work through training, informing and educating citizens, starting in schools, can make it possible to give back to the mentally ill, to the marginal the opportunity to regain possession of their rights and to exercise them, restoring them, contextually to the whole society.

Historically, exclusion based on the health/illness binary has often crossed or overlapped with that between wealth and poverty. In 19th century Europe, wealthy people paid for private health care, while poor people received it as charity. Rich people also benefited from the confidentiality of psychotherapy, while poor people received group therapy due to the lack of funding. Even today, this is a factor we cannot overlook. Economic position and class, just like other factors such as national or ethnic origin, sexual orientation, level of education, etc., add to the complexity of mental health. Those with economic assets, a stable family background, and a solid network of friendships and acquaintances cope with mental illness less traumatically and often manage to return to society without carrying the burden of the stigma of "social dangerousness" or "insanity". The lonely, the derelict, and the poor are doomed to remain excluded. This is why addressing these issues cannot be solved with the performance of a task, with the delivery of a service, with the provision of a benefit. The educator, the facilitator, the animator who is called upon to perform any rehabilitative activity must be aware of this fact, so that the meaning of his or her presence is not reduced to a single performative task.

## Children and Adolescents

Perhaps it may seem out of place to include a paragraph on adolescence and youth in a project that speaks of adult education. However, today's young people in a short time will be adults, potentially participating in courses or trainings for adults. At the same time, we must not forget that every adult was once a child, and in the context of mental illness the effects of what happened at an early age are increasingly in the focus of analysis. Finally, we believe that it is very important to recognise the burden on the mental health of young people, not least in light of the consequences, not fully known, that the COVID-19 pandemic has had or will have on youth and young adults.



The so-called deviance of pre-adolescents and adolescents is manifesting itself with increasing numbers and takes the most diverse forms. The phenomenon is extensive and worrisome. There are many causes.

There is a twofold risk here: the first resides in a kind of cultural distortion that leads one to imagine young people as a homogeneous group. In reality, each individual is a unique and unrepeatable story, composed by affections, relationships, biographical paths, fears, dreams, worldviews, beliefs and uncertainties that demand to be known and that provide personal times to reveal themselves. The second is focusing on the specific case or cases without looking, thinking, hypothesising about how to create bridges, links, opportunities to connect the stories, experiences and hopes of young people with the social world.

## What am I doing here? The question of power and the educators' role(s)

We start by analysing situations where our intervention fits into "officially" dedicated care settings. In this case, it is necessary to understand the context in which we intervene, to know the history of the place by asking questions: why do mental health centres exist? What needs do they respond to? What is their function, their institutional mandate; what are their goals? What professional figures work within them, what kind of roles, which tasks are they responsible for? How is daily life organised in these places? What are the activities, rhythms, rituals, habits, rules that connote them? Who are the "beneficiaries" who are welcomed? What rehabilitative and educational projects are designed for them? What real prospects for social and labour reintegration will they have?

We should also ask ourselves why an outsider professional is required. What are the motivations and purposes of the training? How can the skills of the external expert be integrated with those of internal professionals? How to reconcile the objectives of the centre with those of the course's beneficiaries who, often participate in the activities not voluntarily but upon "invitation" of doctors and operators of the centre?

Finally, several times, it will be necessary to ask what is meant or can be meant by pronouncing, writing, and thinking "mental health". What does the legislature say? What does the healthcare system think? How, historically and geographically, has the definition of mental health or its deviances, been alternated? How do different societies relate to it?

To this, theoretical-cultural knowledge, indispensable for understanding the framework, the educator should add supplementary information that we can gather from the relationship with the participants. Each person, during sessions and meetings, shares their personal story and understanding of the life that should be treated as a precious and unique treasure.

The beneficiaries or attendees of a mental health centres do not constitute a homogeneous group, recognisable by identical relational or linguistic patterns; they are not a collection of people affected by identical pathologies, symptoms, or behaviours. They are individuals, unique, unrepeatable, each with their own history and identity; each moved by or held back by their own personal and changing fears and desires. It is a matter of getting to know these people, possibly slowly, unhurried, welcoming their temperaments, their modes of behaviour, listening to their words, their stories, their silences. Accepting their mood changes. Respecting their timing.

It is useful for the animator, the educator, the facilitator to divest themselves of their own expectations, their own goals in order to establish a real relationship, to build the physiognomy and qualities of the workshop collectively, through authentic dialogue and sincerity.

The workshop is never the main nucleus around which the life of the centre revolves; rather, it is a tiny little tile in a large mosaic, which includes

pharmacological and psychotherapeutic sessions, involves the fulfilment of administrative procedures, and contemplates rehabilitative and educational activities that can be useful for social and labour reintegration through the acquisition or re-acquisition and consolidation of indispensable social skills and competencies.

The workshop is part of a larger project, the external expert should be always aware of it. Through their work, they should be the architect of communication between the inside (the mental health centre) and the outside, that is, civil society. It is not enough to re-enable, to educate those on the margins of society in order to lead them out of the centre; it is also necessary to work with the so-called civil society, to prepare it to welcome and interact with them in the best possible way.

The role of the educator is not simply to "help" the person to "stay" in the society, but even more importantly, to stress that everyone is responsible for inclusion. Moreover, the role of the educator is to create situations, places, occasions to meet and to find ways to build bridges. The social world must be educated about its relationship with diversity in all its complexity. It is a matter of making a very profound change of perspective defining a new hierarchy of priorities where the quality of relationship, care, empathy, and solidarity have the space and importance that today we give to money, success, and speed. A change of time and pace that allows people to reveal themselves without the nagging need to respond to requirements of competitiveness and super performance, to foster acceptance, reintegration and social inclusion, to support family members, to modernise and (with a Freirean term) humanise services. In doing art, culture, social work, one cannot limit oneself to performing a task, to carrying out a delivery articulated by prescribed and table-defined objectives; art, social work, culture tend - as Paulo Freire said - to humanise, filling with meaning the lives of human beings and the societies they inhabit and transform these through their action.

## Theatre activities

Theatre, like any rehabilitative activity, represents a tool with great transformative potential but to materialise it requires the involvement of citizens, institutions, the cultural world, other associations. The most disconcerting and painful aspect in this context emerges by realising that for many, and especially for many young people, the entry into a psychiatric facility, being taken over by the competent service, does not represent an episode, a circumscribed period in their biography, but constitutes the beginning of a path in the psychiatric sphere that will accompany or mark their entire existence.

We find ourselves, as professionals acting in the social and cultural field, faced with the crucial question again: what are we doing here? It is not a question useful for satisfying intellectual exercises of style, it is a question that urges us to a greater understanding of the reality in which we live and that urges us to take a stand, to define and affirm what kind of world we want to create.

A world where the marginal, the weak are progressively pushed away, hidden from view, forgotten? Or a world that can rediscover empathy (the ability of human beings to empathise with others and rediscover in their humanity their own humanity) and solidarity, the bond that connects us to others by unveiling the deep interdependence that exists between all the individual members of a society? A world focused on performance, profit, success? Or a world based on reciprocity, the search for balance and harmony, understanding and dialogue?

In doing art, culture, social work, one cannot limit oneself to performing a task, to carrying out a result articulated by prescribed and table-defined times and objectives. Art, social work, culture (as Paulo Freire said) tend to make it possible for that aspiration to be more, to humanise oneself that fills with meaning the lives of human beings and the societies they inhabit and transform through their action.

## Bibliography


Basaglia, F. (2005). L'Utopia della realtà. Turin, Italy: Einaudi.

Canevaro, A. (2003). Storie e dialoghi nell'anno europeo delle persone disabili. Trento, Italy: Erikson.

Cooper, D. (1967). Psychiatry and anti-psychiatry. London, United Kingdom: Tavistock.

Cooper, D. (1978). The language of madness. London, United Kingdom: Penguin Books.

Erős, F. (2014). Antipszichiátria. In A válság szociálpszichológiája . pp. 72-90. Budapest, Hungary: T-Twins Kiadó.

Foot, J. (2014). La Repubblica dei Matti, Franco Basaglia e la psichiatria radicale in Italia, 1961-1978. Milan, Italy: Feltrinelli.

Foucault, M. (1965). Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason. London, United Kingdom: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1976). Sorvegliare e Punire. Nascita della prigione. Turin, Italy: Einaudi.

Foucault, M. (2006). History of Madness. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Fox, D., Prilleltensky, I., Austin, S. (eds.) (1997). Critical Psychology: An Introduction. London, United Kingdom: SAGE.

Goffman, E. (1961). Asylum – Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates. London, United Kingdom: Penguin.

Goffmann, E. (1961). Asylums. Le istituzioni totali: i meccanismi dell'esclusione e della violenza. Turin, Italy: Edizioni di Comunità.

Guidorizzi, G. (2010). Ai confini dell'anima. I Greci e la follia. Milan, Italy: Raffaello Cortina.

Guidorizzi, G. (2013). Il compagno dell'anima. I Greci e il sogno. Milan, Italy: Raffaello Cortina.

Guidorizzi, G. (2017). I colori dell'anima. I Greci e le passioni. Milan, Italy: Raffaello Cortina.

Laine-Frigren, T. (2016). Searching for the human factor: Psychology, power and ideology in Hungary during the early Kádár period. Jyväskylä studies in humanities (280).

Parker, I. (2015). Handbook of Critical Psychology. London, United Kingdom: Taylor and Francis.

Piro, S. (1973). Le tecniche della liberazione. Milan, Italy: Feltrinelli.

Scabia, G. (2018). Marco Cavallo. Da un Ospedale Psichiatrico la vera storia che ha cambiato il modo di essere del Teatro e della cura. Alpha & Beta.

Szász, T. I. (1969). Intervista a The New Physician. In Forti, L. (1975). L'altra pazzia. Mappa antologica della psichiatria alternativa. Milan, Italy: Feltrinelli.

Szász, T. I. (1974). The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct. Harper & Row.

Szász, T. I. (1988). The Myth of Psychotherapy: Mental Healing as Religion, Rhetoric, and Repression. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Szász, T. I. (1991). Ideology and Insanity: Essays on the Psychiatric Dehumanization of Man. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Szász, T. I. (1997). Insanity: The Idea and Its Consequences. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Szász, T. I. (1997). The Manufacture of Madness: A Comparative Study of the Inquisition and the Mental Health Movement. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Szász, T. I. (2002). Liberation by Oppression: A Comparative Study of Slavery and Psychiatry. New Brunswick, NY: Transaction Publishers.

Szász, T. I. (2006). My Madness Saved Me: The Madness and Marriage of Virginia Woolf. New Brunswick, NY: Transaction Publishers.

Szász, T. I. (2007). La definizione di malattia, lo standard aureo di malattia contro lo standard fideistico di malattia. In Fortunato, S. (ed.). Senso e conoscenza nelle scienze criminali. L'Aquila, Italy: Colacchi.

Teo, T. (Ed.) (2014). Encyclopedia of critical psychology. New York, NY: Springer.

Thornicroft, G., Brohan, E., Rose, D., Sartorius, N., & Leese, M. (2009). Global pattern of experienced and anticipated discrimination against people with schizophrenia: a cross-sectional survey. The Lancet, 373(9661), pp. 408-415.

WHO (2001). The World Health Report 2001 – Mental Health: New Understanding New Hope. Geneva, Switzerland: WHO.

WHO (2022). World mental health report: Transforming mental health for all. Geneva, Switzerland: WHO.

## Additional material

Italian conference on mental health, 2021 (Italian only):

Della Salute, M. (2021). Conferenza nazionale per la salute mentale: "Per una salute mentale di comunità. https://www.salute.gov.it/portale/saluteMentale/dettaglioEventiSaluteMentale.jsp?lingua=italiano&menu=eventi&p=daeventi&id=583

Mental Health Report, 2019
(Italian only):

Ministero della salute, pubblicato il “Rapporto salute mentale” con l’analisi dei dati del sistema informativo SISM | Associazione Ambiente e Lavoro. (2019). https://amblav.it/ministero-della-salute-pubblicato-il-rapporto-salute-mentale-con-lanalisi-dei-dati-del-sistema-informativo-sism/

World mental health report:
transforming mental health for all:

Mental Health and Substance Use (MSD). (2022, June 16). World mental health report: Transforming mental health for all. https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240049338

# Migration

***Ines Katz, Theó Dupont***
***(Élan Interculturel, France)***

News reporting of the 2015 large-scale exodus from Syria and other conflict zones to Europe were clear: a crisis was in the making (Brock, 2020). Images of packed ships and cramped boats were there to remind Europeans that their borders were under attack and that they suddenly had to protect themselves from "migrants [who] were literally washing up on European beaches" (Brock, 2020).

The framing of this so-called 2015 refugee "crisis" had devastating consequences on public perception of immigration in Europe: if in the first instance civil society in many countries tried to help and accommodate the newcomers, over the months and years to follow **an extremely stigmatising narrative took over the media and public opinion**.

In 2018, according to a study by the Pew Research Centre, no less than 82% of respondents in Greece believed that fewer immigrants or no immigrants at all should be allowed to move to their country (Connor and Krogstad, 2018). The corresponding numbers were 72% in Hungary, 71% in Italy and 58% in Germany (Connor and Krogstad, 2018). (Im)migrants are commonly made responsible for all ills – be it job losses, terrorism, rising housing costs, etc. (Connor and Krogstad, 2018). In the meantime, Switzerland was deploying helicopters and a drone over its border with Italy to keep out illegal immigrants (Bachmann, 2016).

Why has anti-migrant sentiment become so strong? Was it always there, but merely dormant? Have all migrants equally become a concern for European states? This article will first go over some of the history of migration in Europe and will then set out to explain some of the debates that surround migration and migrant representations today, and the effect they have on adult education.

## A crisis? Where? – Europe's long history of migrations

What is migration? Is it a new thing? So here we are, in the years following 2015 and its seemingly unprecedented migration crises blowing up everywhere at the borders of European states. But are large-scale migration flows really that new, in the history of Europe? And what is migration, actually?

Let's start with a definition. Migration is, essentially: an umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons.[1]

Migration is not a recent phenomenon. Humans have moved around the globe for hundreds of thousands of years searching for food and riches, new lands to conquer where they could spread languages and cultures or flee from their enemies, but also proliferate diseases and expand their power (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013). The history of Europe itself began with migration and the slow process of human settlement through Europe, Asia and Africa.

As the means of transportation improved, migration flows eventually grew bigger and more frequent and reached unprecedented numbers after Europeans "discovered" and colonised the New World in 1492 (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013). The opening of the immense lands of North and South America and Australasia represented huge opportunities for European production and trade and marked the beginning of the North Atlantic triangular trade (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013). The latter led to the displacement of no less than 12 million enslaved people to the Americas to respond to labour shortages on the newly occupied lands (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013).
Fast-forward to a few centuries later: the slave market was abolished in the 1810s, and the New World lost most of its labour supply (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013). Hence, the period from 1820 to the First World War saw the rise of actual mass migration, to fill

**1** International Organization for Migration, Glossary on migration, IML Series No. 34, 2019, available here. Last visit at 14/11/2023

in the labour shortages in North and South America, where wages were almost twice as high as in Europe; and over this hundred-year period no less than 55 millions Europeans emigrated to North America (Ferrie and Hatton, 2013).

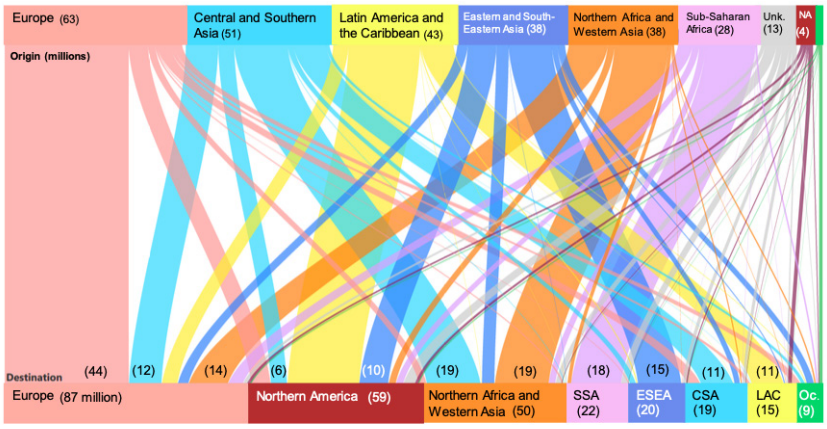
So… mass migration isn't really all that new, is it? Nor does it come exclusively from Asia, Africa, or anywhere outside of the Western world. Then why is it that all eyes are turned to these places when we talk about migration?

## Contemporary forms of migration

Some reasons can be evoked as to why contemporary outlooks on migration construct it as an exclusively non-Western phenomenon. First, the end of WW2 saw a shift in migration patterns: indeed, following WW2, a large number of non-Europeans were settled in post-war Europe to provide the "much needed manpower to help rebuild from wartime destruction" and fill the "massive labour shortage created by the subsequent economic boom" (Chin, 2017). The history of migration in Europe, thus, is characterised by a shift from being a continent of emigration to one of immigration, as the end of the Second World War "spurred the most immense forced and refugee migrations in European history" and "accelerated the disintegration of the European colonial empires, which sent millions of colonial and post-colonial immigrants and return migrants off to Europe" (Bade, 2003).[2]

But not all modern migration is post-colonial in nature. Recent migration to Europe – the one that set off the infamous refugee "crisis" in 2015 – was born out of the necessity of millions of people to escape violence and conflict in their own country and search for asylum. These refugees, mostly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq where conflicts have led to the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people, primarily sought to settle in Germany (that received 442,000 asylum applications in 2015 alone), and Sweden (156,000).[3] Hungary also received a large number of application but it turned out to be only a transition country for refugees heading for the West and the North of Europe.

However, Europeans migrate, too. For instance, in 2020, most of the world's migration happened from Europe to Europe (see Figure 1), while, in the same year, 63 million (23%) of the 281 million international migrants worldwide were born in Europe (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2020). Migration flows have increased everywhere else as well: in 2020, for instance, "nearly all regions have witnessed large increases in their transnational populations" (UN-DESA, Population Division, 2020).




*Source*: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2020b). *International Migrant Stock 2020*.
*Note*: The category "Unk." refers to unknown origin, the category "NA" to Northern America, the category "Oc." to Oceania, the category "SSA" to sub-Saharan Africa, the category "ESEA" to Eastern and South-Eastern Asia, the category "LAC" to Latin America and the Caribbean, the category "CSA" to Central and Southern Asia.

Figure 1: Number of international migrants, by regions of origin and destination, 2020

**2** For more information on decolonial processes, see our article on "Decolonisation".

**3** Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015 (2016). Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/. Last visit at 14/11/2023).

Thus, the history of migration in Europe is a study in contrast. As opposed to recent media representations that pictured Europe as being under constant migration pressure from outsiders, the history of the continent proves us otherwise. **Not only did Europeans migrate too, but they also did in very large numbers, and continue to do so**. Furthermore, Europe is not the only continent to have witnessed an increase in migration flows in the past decade, as they have increased everywhere.

If migrants are everywhere, and come from everywhere (including Europe!), why is their presence being framed as such a threat for Europe? Are all migrants considered an issue for European governments?

## Who exactly do we talk about when we talk about migrants?

Why do we categorise? We started this article with what seemed to be an objective definition of migration, and we have just seen that migrants come from every region on the planet. However, they are not greeted in the same way depending on where they come from, what they are here to do, and when they will leave. Why?

Well, migration is not a neutral term, after all. It can imply certain preconceptions about who moves where and for which reasons, and, in turn, depending on where a migrant comes from, they can be considered more of a threat to cultural and social cohesion than others. There are different kinds of migrations, and, most importantly, different kinds of migrants. The process of categorisation is not neutral; rather, it reflects "*subjective perceptions of how people fit into different spaces in the social order and of the terms on which society should engage with them in varying contexts and at different points in time*" (Moncrieffe, 2007). Categorization remains "*one of the most consequential tools for the demarcation of social inclusion and exclusion*" (Ellerman, 2020).

Thus, different terms have aroused to qualify migrants; terms that sometimes refer to the length of one's stay, the reason for their departure, the kind of work they will be doing once they reach their destination, etc. Technically, anyone that "*moves away from his or her place of usual residence* […]" (definition above) is a migrant. But other terms are commonly used: "expatriates", "immigrants", "migrants", "refugees"[4], "asylum-seekers", etc., terms that have objective definitions but are also loaded with subjective representations of who is to fit in a given category, that come to inform us of the migrants 'place of origin, their nationality, the reasons for which they have migrated, their social class, **their perceived race** etc. These terms serve to categorise, divide, and discriminate according to the rules and perceptions of the dominant culture. These categories are loaded with complex meanings; and the decision to place people in one of these categories is shaped by power relations between country nationals and people that have migrated.

In the case of recent migration to Europe, categories were created to distinguish migrants who were deemed culturally **and/or physically** fit for political membership in Europe and others who are to be discriminated against, as they were seen as the "*bearers of alien cultures that now rendered them 'inassimilable' to the nation*" (Chin, 2017), as too different from Europeans. This logic also applies to any physical appearance that deviates from what is seen as the "European norm" (white, Caucasian), and concretises racist belief systems. Recent migration flows brought about questions and concerns about who was to belong and be included in the European polity who was to be seen as the outsider, the Other. *Cultural difference here is used as a boundary maker, as a more acceptable justification for the fear of the other than racism.*

**4** Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951). Geneva Convention. https://www.unhuncr.org/media/convention-and-protocol-relating-status-refugees. Last visit at 14/11/2023.

## Terms carry weight: who is who, and why?

Race and class are in a strange relationship. The more well-off the migrants are, the more they are welcome, independently of their race. Europeans are usually not afraid of high-profile businessmen (even faced with the proof of controversial origin of their wealth), they are afraid of poor, third world migrants. Categories Reflect these preconceptions and prejudices. How do they affect migrants? It depends on where you come from (and who you are). Let's review some of the assumptions that come with being an expat, or a migrant, or an immigrant, or a refugee, or an asylum-seeker.

First, what's an expat? On paper, an expat (short for expatriate) is someone who moves to another country because they are "*motivated by a career or business objective and infers a level of transience, or a role that's only temporary, as opposed to permanent*"[5]. Research has shown that expatriate identities are often constituted as "*migratory classed whiteness*" (Kunz, 2019) because expats are pictured as fitting into a particular Western whiteness, considered superior to other migrant groups. This, in turn, naturalises a racialised labour migration regime in which hierarchies are sustained between Western migrants - expatriates - and the Others, the (im)migrants.

Constructions of migrants, immigrants, refugees and asylum-seekers are frequently conflated with each other[6] and, most importantly, with "racialised, ethnic, national or religious Others" (Kunz, 2019) and the (im)migrant/refugee is often pictured as "non-white", non-Western, and low skilled (Kunz, 2019); and they may even hold a different legal status, too (DeWolf, 2014). People moving from the Global South to the Global North with a temporary job contract are not considered expats, rather "guest-workers". Guest workers, unlike expats, are categorized as "migrants". Guest worker as a term has gone somewhat out of fashion in some Western European countries, such as Germany, when it turned out that migrant labourers would not necessarily return to their homeland. In some other Western European countries, such as France, it has never been in use. Interestingly in Eastern Europe, namely in Hungary, it saw a revival following the harshly anti-immigration government's move to "import" hundreds of thousands of workers from South Asian countries. No matter the official communication, the public still sees this group of people as migrants, nobody thinks they are just expatriates, temporary foreign workers. The figure of the migrant is often associated with that of a threat, with mass immigration and collective anxieties about internal Others supposedly threatening Europe (Bade, 2003). Here comes a striking fact to illustrate that: expats actually seldom identify themselves as migrants and often express discomfort with being labelled as migrants (Kunz, 2019).

The category "(im)migrant/refugee/asylum-seeker" also reflects and reproduces power relations that originate from colonial times. Post-WW2 immigration from former colonies of European colonial powers was considered inferior to other forms of migrations, and "*mental structures of subordination, racist thinking and latent or even open discrimination that had characterised colonial rule sometimes survived in Europe beyond the end of colonialism overseas*" (Bade, 2003).

Postcolonial migrants, then, are largely considered alien to European identity and perceived as a danger - right as colonial subjects were in the nineteenth century (Kapur, 2007). These colonial subjects had to strive to resemble the European, all the while knowing that this standard was, for them, unreachable, "*for no matter how hard the native struggled to mimic the European at the cost of her own subjectivity, the non-European remained at most, 'almost white, but not quite'*" (Kapur, 2007). Racialised and unequal power relations hence survived the breakdown of European empires in the 1950s, and still have consequences for those considered "migrants" today - who, unlike expats, are stigmatised and discriminated against.

**5** Iris FMP (https://fmpglobal.com/blog/immigrant-vs-expat-vs-migrant/).

**6** Migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants: What's the difference? (2022). International Rescue Committee. https://www.rescue.org/article/migrants-asylum-seekers-refugees-and-immigrants-whats-difference. Last visit at 14/11/2023.

Migrants from more recent migration waves also suffer from a similar predicament: in the media, they are often demonised and depicted as being on the verge on invading Europe through images of packed ships and countless nameless individuals ready to disembark on European beaches (Falk, 2010). For instance, in a 2016 interview, David Cameron – the British prime minister at the time – described the migrants seeking refuge in Europe as a "swarm".[7] This dehumanizing discursive construction of migration as a security issue echoed the images of cramped boats that started flooding the media, depicting migrants as foreign invaders and an existential issue to be dealt with to avoid compromising the fixity of European borders (Chouliaraki and Stolic, 2017). Such depictions served to legitimise security responses on the side of European governments and led to the routinisation of bureaucratic border controls and surveillance procedures such as joint operations and risk analysis (Kaunert and Léonard, 2020). In turn, these security responses have fostered the rise of far-right populist parties that banked on the 2015 refugee crisis to push forth anti-immigrant rhetoric in Italy, Hungary or France, for instance (to quote only a few) (Petroupolos, 2021).

When they are not portrayed as a threat, refugees are usually treated as victims of their very condition, as "*bodies-in-need, deprived of food, clothes or shelter*" (Chouliaraki and Stolic, 2017). Here, the refugee becomes "*either a sufferer or a threat, yet never a human*" (Chouliaraki and Stolic, 2017), and is deprived of their own specificity and singularity as a human being, only to become invisible amongst a "multitude of indistinguishable individuals." (Chouliaraki and Stolic, 2017)

Finally, refugees are also treated differently depending on when they come from: for instance, when the war in Ukraine broke out, the European Union was faced with its largest refugee crisis since WW2, with more than ten million people having fled their homes, of whom 6.5 million were displaced within Ukraine and another 3.9 million were escaping to neighbouring countries.[8] Were the reactions similar to the ones we witnessed during the 2015 refugee "crisis"? Not exactly. Instead, "*acting quickly and decisively, European governments have opened borders and European citizens have opened their homes in an unprecedented showing of solidarity towards refugees*", while "*the Greek coastguard continues to illegally push back asylum-seekers crossing from Turkey while Spanish police forcefully repel those who dare to jump the fence in Melilla*".[9] Not all migrants are the same; and the same goes for refugees, as shown by the EU's double standards in its approach to refugees.

## Creating new narratives through adult education

Challenging these constructs and preconceptions in the classroom requires that we acknowledge the power relations inherent to migration flows and categories in Europe and strive to deconstruct them. By recognising these dynamics, we can hope to create new narratives where people that have migrated can exercise their right of self-definition, away from categories that are stigmatising and reductive.

This, in turn, would help prevent the kind of situation that happened during the incident "**The foreigners have ruined everything**", so that country nationals can avoid general misconceptions about migrants stealing their jobs, depriving them of basic social services, etc. This kind of scapegoating is harming migrants who fall under the category of immigrants, refugees, or asylum-seekers by placing them as a threat and leading to high numbers of country nationals that believe that fewer immigrants or no immigrants at all should be allowed to move to their countries, as mentioned earlier. It can also be very difficult as an individual who has just crossed borders and is away from their family to arrive in a new country and be considered responsible for things entirely outside of their control. This narrative that shifts the blame for all society's ills onto migrants also ignores that

**7** Elgot, J. (2016). "How David Cameron's language on refugees has provoked anger". in The Guardian. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/27/david-camerons-bunch-of-migrants-quip-is-latest-of-several-such-comments. Last visit at 14/11/2023.

**8** Vallinatou and Venturi (2022). "Ukraine exposes Europe's double standards for refugees", Chatham House. https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/03/ukraine-exposes-europes-double-standards-refugees. Last visit at 14/11/2023.

**9** Vallinatou and Venturi (2022). "Ukraine exposes Europe's double standards for refugees", Chatham House.

a large part of them were forced to flee their country of origin, and hope for a return home. Furthermore, it has also been proven that migrants contribute to the economy of their countries of destination, often filling "*critical labour gaps, performing jobs that native workers do not want to perform*" (UN 2020: International Migration, 2020).

The fact that migrants are often considered inferior to Europeans/ Westerners has also led George (from the "**George**" incident) not to feel valued by the social worker who he felt had been unable to find a job worthy of his skills and experiences. If George had come from the Western world, chances are that he would not have had to go through such a hassle to be hired.

As an educator, it is therefore important to be aware of the power dynamics that are present in the classroom or during a workshop, when confronted with a group with different backgrounds, with different stories, who come from different countries or regions of the world. If incidents arise where one of your participants/ students shifts the blame for their personal situation onto migrants like in "The foreigners have ruined everything", it can be useful to talk about it as a group to see where those misconceptions come from and how they can be harmful to others present in the classroom.[10] This way, you can try to deconstruct stereotypes with your group, and try to create opportunities for groups that don't normally meet to get to know one another for what they really are, not for what they are always pictured as in the media, by politicians, etc.

Opening up about those topics in the classroom or during your workshop and trying to deconstruct stereotypes about migrants and foreigners could avoid situations like the ones that happened in the incident "**All Italians are racist**", where men of West African origin recounted how they were treated as less competent and intelligent than their Italian peers, and that "they had been addressed at work as "lazy" or "stupid", or that it was taken for granted that being African meant that they did not know how to use, for example, a laptop." This can fuel anger and resentment on the side of migrants, who feel that they are considered lesser than they are.

Anti-migrant sentiment often goes hand in hand with the rise of xenophobia and racism. For more information on how to deal with manifestations of racism and xenophobia in the classroom, feel free to have a look at our article on the Anti-racism movement!

**10** See also our article on the Anti-racism movement.

## Bibliography


Bachmann, H. (2016). Switzerland blocks migrants wanting to pass-through from Italian border. USA TODAY. Retrieved from https://eu.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2016/09/16/switzerland-blocks-migrants-italian-border/89955758/

Bade K. J. (2003). Migration in European history. Oxford, United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishing.

Brock, G. (2020). Justice for People on the Move. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Chin, R. (2017). The Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe: A History. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Chouliaraki, L. & Stolic, C. (2017). Rethinking media responsibility in the refugee 'crisis': a visual typology of European news. Media, Culture & Society Vol. 39. No. 8. pp. 1162–1177.

Connor, P. & Krogstad, J. M. (2018). Many worldwide oppose more migration – both into and out of their countries. Pew Research Center. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/12/10/many-worldwide-oppose-more-migration-both-into-and-out-of-their-countries/

DeWolf, C. (2014). In Hong Kong, Just Who Is an Expat, Anyway?. The Wall Street Journal. Retrieved from https://www.wsj.com/articles/BL-272B-222

Elgot, J. (2016). How David Cameron's language on refugees has provoked anger. The Guardian. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/jan/27/david-camerons-bunch-of-migrants-quip-is-latest-of-several-such-comments

Ellermann, A. (2020). Discrimination in migration and citizenship. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 46:12, pp. 2463-2479.

Falk, F. (2010). Invasion, infection, invisibility: an iconography of illegalized immigration. In C. Bischoff, F. Falk and S. Kafehsy, (eds.) Images of illegalized immigration: Towards a critical iconology of politics (ed.). Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag.

Ferrie, J. P. & Hatton, T. J. (2013). Two Centuries of International Migration. Bonn, Germany: The Institute for the Study of Labor.

The International Organization for Migration (n.d.). Who Is A Migrant?. Retrieved from https://www.iom.int/who-migrant-0

Iris FMP (n.d.). Expat vs Immigrant vs Migrant: What Are The Differences?. Retrieved from https://fmp-global.com/blog/immigrant-vs-expat-vs-migrant/

Kapur, R. (2007). The Citizen and the Migrant: Postcolonial Anxieties, Law, and the Politics of Exclusion/inclusion. Theoretical Inquiries in Law 8 (2):537-570.

Kaunert, C. and Léonard, S. (2020). The securitisation of migration in the European Union: Frontex and its evolving security practices. Journal of Ethnic and Migration: 1-13.

Kunz, S. (2020). Expatriate, migrant? The social life of migration categories and the polyvalent mobility of race. Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies: 1-18.

Moncrieffe, J. (2007). Labelling, Power and Accountability: How and Why Our Categories Matter – Chapter Introduction. In J. Moncrieffe and R. Eyben (eds.). Power of Labelling: How People Are Categorised and Why It Matters (ed.). 64–79. London, United Kingdom: Earthscan.

Pew Research Center. (2020, August 20). Number of Refugees to Europe Surges to Record 1.3 Million in 2015. Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/08/02/number-of-refugees-to-europe-surges-to-record-1-3-million-in-2015/

Remarque Koutonin, M. (2015). Why are white people expats when the rest of us are immigrants?. The Guardian. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2015/mar/13/white-people-expats-immigrants-migration

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2020). International Migration 2020 Highlights.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. (n.d.). Convention and Protocol relating to the status of refugees | UNHCR. UNHCR. https://www.unhcr.org/media/convention-and-protocol-relating-status-refugees

Vallinatou, A. I. & Venturi, E. (2022). Ukraine exposes Europe's double standards for refugees. Chatham House. Retrieved from https://www.chathamhouse.org/2022/03/ukraine-exposes-europes-double-standards-refugees

Vertovec, S. & Wessendorf, S. (2009). The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies and Practices. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

# Decolonisation

***Mariana Hanssen***
***(Élan Interculturel, France)***

In a cinema club, the facilitator invites participants to propose and describe movies they would like to share, but when a participant proposes a Senegalese film, it is dismissed as an "African movie", and the person who proposed it doesn't get a chance to describe it.

In a training about relationships and intimacy held in Paris, some participants feel neglected because the training does not have a "decolonisation perspective".

In a capoeira demonstration, a black participant is offended when the facilitator describes capoeira as originating from "Brazilian slaves".

We believe that the common point in these incidents is that they all revolve around different expectations concerning how we should deal with a very important part of human history: the history of colonisation and its legacy in the present, coloniality. Let's start by untangling these concepts...

## What are we talking about when we talk in general about decolonisation?

The term 'decolonisation' has mainly been used to refer to the break-up of former colonial empires, leading to the political independence of the countries that were colonised (Blais, 2014).[1] This process, which began at the end of the Second World War, was therefore considered until the early 2000s to have been relatively complete by the end of the 1960s. This framework seems relatively narrow since it omits any other processes/claims resulting from other colonisations/decolonisations. It would thus make the consequences of the political domination of the USSR and its fragmentation invisible. It would even conceal the political and social consequences of the colonisation of North Africa initiated by Abdallah ibn Saad in 647 to the detriment of the so-called Berber peoples (Camps, 1983). On the other hand, further fragmentation has occurred throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, the latest being the independence of South Sudan in 2011, which questions the rigidity of the chronological framework of 'decolonisation'.

## Decolonisation, a relic of history?

Even today, educators may be confronted to incidents that stem from our colonial past. For example, the analysis of the incident "Racial Justice"[2] highlights the fact that colonisation is not only about the domination and political exploitation of native peoples and their lands, but that its marks and consequences are more visible than ever in our contemporary societies. Indeed, in recent years, the term 'decolonisation' has come to the fore in popular discourse. Starting with the post-colonial traditions mostly in India and Decolonial movements in Latin America, the term entered popular social network expressions, particularly in relation to social movements such as Black Lives Matter[3] and the struggle for racial equality.

Renewed interest in decolonisation began to emerge in the late 2000s, with the publication of books and academic essays on the subject. However, it is especially since the 2010s that the term 'decolonisation' has become increasingly present in popular discourse and social movements. In 2015, the "Rhodes Must Fall"' campaign gained worldwide attention by calling for the removal of the statue of British coloniser Cecil Rhodes from the University of Cape Town. Since then, calls for decolonisation have multiplied, touching on areas such as education, art, culture, politics and economics, demanding recognition of the impact of colonialism on contemporary societies and calling for a rethinking of the structures inherited from that period. The critical incident of "Racial Justice", is therefore not an isolated case but rather a witness to the political and

**1** The first mention of the term 'decolonisation' is nevertheless earlier, as it is attested to as early as 1836 in Algeria during the first years of the French occupation.

**2** In which at a capoeira demonstration, a black participant is offended when the facilitator describes capoeira as originating from "Brazilian slaves". You can find the analysed incident in the manual Critical Incidents, p. 5-9.

**3** More information on the movement in the article by Muller (2016).

social consequences of colonisation, its impact on unequal power relations that today still cause suffering and tension.

## From Colonialism to Coloniality

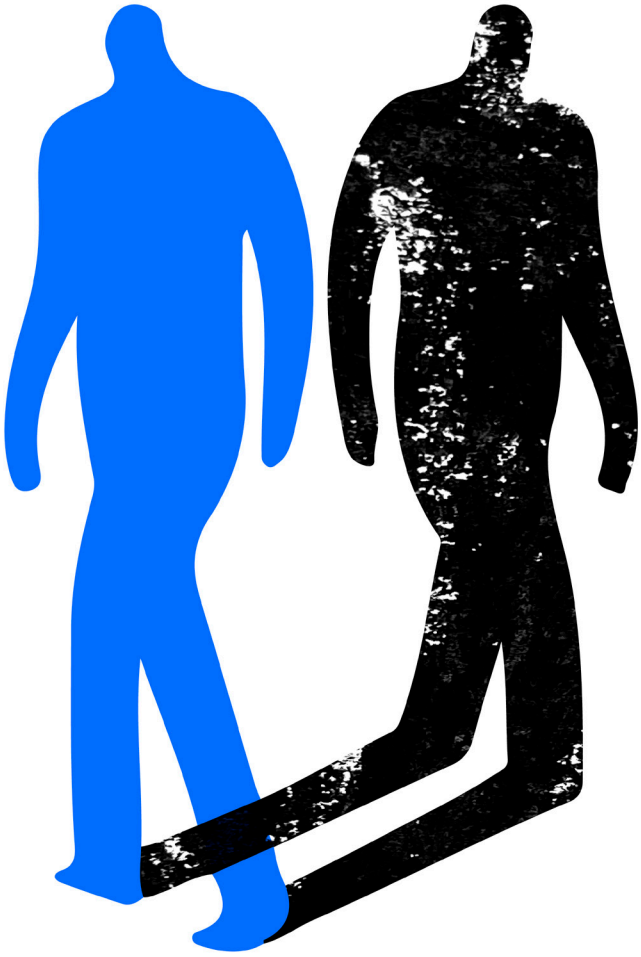
To understand the term decolonisation, it is essential to first explore the concepts of colonialism and coloniality, and the difference between them. To summarise, 'colonialism' refers to the concept of 'colonisation' that we have discussed in the first section of this article. Colonialism relates to the establishment of a political, economic, and social control over groups of people and territories by a foreign power, usually associated with the period of European expansion and imperialism. In this sense, decolonisation means the liberation of former colonial empires leading to their political independence.

Coloniality, on the other hand, refers to the ongoing legacy of colonialism in the present. It is a set of social, economic, and cultural structures that were established during the colonial period and that continue to shape the lives of people in formerly colonised societies. These structures include racism, inequality, and cultural domination, and they are often perpetuated by institutions and practices that were put in place during the colonial era. Decolonisation in this sense means upending the long living oppressive mental structures that colonialism created.

## Coloniality of power, knowledge and being

According to Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano (2000), the coloniality of power refers to the structures of power, control, and hegemony whose source can be traced from the conquest of the Americas in the late 15th century to the current contemporary era. He further states that coloniality of power serves to manage, and keep under control, local knowledge and histories through political frameworks.

Appearing as a consequence of coloniality of power, coloniality of knowledge privileges knowledge that emanates from Europe, and more broadly from the Global North, while undermining, ignoring, silencing, oppressing and marginalising knowledge from the Global South.



**4** For example, in the context of medical studies, France automatically recognises diplomas from European Union countries, Canada and Switzerland. However, members from other countries must take additional exams, or even repeat part of the curriculum in order to practice in France. The amount of retesting is less for Northern countries than for the Global South, also showing this imbalance.

**5** Ibid.

**6** For example, of the last 20 Grammy Award "Album of the Year" winners, 14 artists are from the USA, 4 from the UK, 1 from Ireland, 1 from France. African, South American and Asian artists are represented, but more in minor categories such as world music, jazz, Latin and R&B.

**7** This can be seen, for example, in the Controversy of Valladolid (1550-1551), which sought to decide whether or not Native Americans are natural enslaved. This did not apply to black people, whose slavery intensified following the end of Amerindians slavery.

The effects of this can be seen at the institutional level, for example in the system of recognition of academic knowledge and diplomas,[4] but also in the mass media by an under-representation of so-called 'Southern' cultures for the benefit of Western[5] cultures[6].

Finally, the third pillar of coloniality is the coloniality of being. It illustrates how, based on systemic racism, coloniality justifies stereotypes and discrimination by questioning even the degree of humanity of people who have been colonised.[7] One consequence of the coloniality of being is the integration of colonial values by the colonised. According to the analysis of Frantz Fanón (1986), this process results in the alienation of the colonised. For the Martinique psychiatrist, alienation is inherent in the colonial system. Colonialism exerts psychic violence, through its discourse asserting that the colonised is "ugly", "stupid", or "lazy". For Fanón, the colonised ends up integrating these stigmatising discourses, the feeling of being inferior, he ends up despising his culture, his language, his people; "*he then only wants to imitate, to resemble the coloniser*".

The only way out of alienation is decolonisation, not just of territory, but also of minds. It must enable the colonised to fully realise their humanity.

## Decoloniality as a reaction

The awareness of the impact of coloniality on contemporary societies explains the demand for decolonisation, in the modern sense of the term, and its rise in power in recent years. Decoloniality is thus an active process of delinking from the colonial matrix of power by undoing the associated values and actions that were instilled by the colonial regime. Dastile and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) refer to decoloniality as a political and epistemic project of ex-colonised people. It means, in other words as described by Walter Mignolo to understand the close-knit relationship between the colonial condition and the imposition of a Western logic of 'modernity' as a consequence of colonialism. It is the movement of 'delinking' ourselves from the structure of knowledge imposed by the West, and then 'reconstituting' our ways of thinking, speaking, and living. The main point is to understand decoloniality as a 'praxis' of 'undoing and redoing' (Walsh and Mignolo, 2018).

One might legitimately ask how being aware of these processes can enrich the support of educators towards learners or even how to apply this on a human scale. Indeed, rather than succumbing to the dizziness of a total questioning of our practice, let us remember that the role of educator, coach or even trainer is, in a way, to allow learners to develop the keys of reading and understanding necessary for a good integration of the learners. Therefore, the idea is not to crucify the western frame of reference, but to leave room for other conceptions of the world. When we talk, for example, about decolonisation of knowledge, the idea is not to replace one dogma by another but to recognise the diversity of knowledge, whether it is knowledge based on scientific-rational pillars, both those produced in the Western countries and those in the Global South.

Modern Western knowledge production privileges rationality, which remains today the form of knowledge that is most "valuable". Intuition or a 'gut-feel', for example, based on personal and professional experience and lived reality, is counted as less important and/or not legitimate source of knowledge production and construction to understand the world. Therefore, making room for those different forms of knowledge allows for richer contacts and guidance while respecting the identity of the learners. It is tempting to indulge in a paternalistic and exoticising admiration of the authenticity and wisdom of cultures of the Global South. This kind of ambiguous valorisation has been repeatedly sustained by European anthropological narratives about indigenous groups. This opposition between "our knowledge" and "their knowledge" was skilfully deconstructed in 1956 by Horace Miner (1956). The author presents the American people in the manner of

colonial anthropological narratives and highlights the fact that the treatment of indigenous knowledge by European anthropologists as "magical" logic could be applied to Western countries. Moreover, recent studies (Owens & Muke, 2022) show that indigenous peoples possess their own mathematical systems and that these, although incomprehensible to anthropologists evolving in a different mathematical logic, serve as logical structures for their society. This opposition between simple, immediate, authentic knowledge (of indigenous people) and a less immediate, scientific and reflexive knowledge (of Westerners) is therefore much less obvious than at first sight, so much rationality and mythology are mixed in the construction of knowledge both in the Global North and the South.

In reality, both Western and non-western societies are structured by intuition and reason, by particularity and universality, by myth and logic. Intercultural approaches, then, should not condemn universality but embrace it as the very real disposition of every single culture towards intelligibility and dialogue with any other, making universality truly universal.

## The meaning of modernity

Decolonial epistemology also aims to question what modernity is. Indeed, the concept of modernity emerged in Europe around the 16th century and was influenced by social, economic, and cultural changes[8]. This concept has often been used to categorise different countries, peoples, or cultures according to a set of more or less objective criteria (technological, artistic, military, economic level…) but it is important to remember that this concept was created and developed in the West and that the valued items are anything but universal.

Here, then, is the danger of associating as an adult educator – an inadequate competence framework to certain learners, and/or treating some cultures as superior. Both backwardness and modernity are relative and ethnocentric concepts. If learners possess or develop competences that are far removed from those valued by the systems of the Western countries, they can put themselves in a situation of failure and think of themselves as inferior, as failures. Valuing different systems of learning, thinking and skills[9] helps to fight against learned helplessness and to remotivate the participants.

## Conclusion

The recent demands for effective and social decolonisation are the result of an understanding of the impact and consequences of coloniality on people from societies and countries that have suffered from colonisation. Awareness of these dynamics and the issues raised offers the possibility for adult educators to enrich their support by respecting the identities, thinking, and learning patterns of learners in order to limit as much as possible the discrimination exacerbated by colonisation and to allow for more inclusive support. This process of consciousness includes not only the building of the relationship between student and educator, but also, and above all, the educator with himself in the construction of his/her frames of references.

**8** Some of the thinkers who have contributed to the understanding of modernity include philosophers such as René Descartes, Immanuel Kant and Friedrich Nietzsche, as well as sociologists such as Émile Durkheim and Max Weber. The concept of modernity has also been addressed in the work of many writers, artists and architects, such as Charles Baudelaire, Marcel Proust, Pablo Picasso and Le Corbusier.

**9** For example, valuing emotional intelligence, people's cultures of origin, etc.

## Bibiography

Blais, H. (2014). Pourquoi la France a-t-elle conquis l'Algérie ?. In A. Bouchène (ed.). *Histoire de l'Algérie à la période coloniale* 1830-1962 (ed.). pp. 52-58. Paris, France: La Découverte. DOI 10.3917/dec.bouch.2013.01.0052

Camps, G. (1983). Comment la Berbérie est devenue le Maghreb arabe. *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* (35). pp. 7-24.

Dastile, N. P. & Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. (2013). Power, knowledge and being: Decolonial combative discourse as a survival kit for pan-Africanists in the 21st Century. *Alternation, 20(1)*. pp. 105-134.

Fanón, F. (1986). *Black skin, white masks* (C. L. Markmann, Trans.). London, United Kingdom: Pluto.

Miner H. (1956). *American Anthropologist*, 58(3), p. 503-507.

Muller, M. (2016). Black Lives Matter. *La Pensée 2016:4 (388)*. pp. 37-45.

Owens K. & Muke, C. (2022). Revising the history of number: how Ethnomathematics transforms perspectives on indigenous cultures. *REVEMOP*, 2, 1-19. Article e202007.

Quijano, A. (2000). *Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Clasco.

Walsh, C. E. & Mignolo, W. D. (2018). *On Decoloniality: Concepts, Analytics, Praxis*. Durham and London, United Kingdom: Duke University Press.

# The Ecological Movement[1]

*Hilal Demir (Ulex Project, Spain)*

Our world is evolving constantly and over the past decades, human existence has come to a critical juncture. There are different opinions on how the climate crisis occurred, but one thing is obvious that the impact of the climate crisis became more undeniable and severe affecting many people's livelihoods. With industrialisation and capitalism, humans took more control over nature, separated themselves from its ecosystems, and tried to use its resources without long-term visions. Technology and science became powerful tools also to solve the broken balance of nature as this approach is now called 'techno-fix'. Though in this article we are not going to discuss why, when, or how the climate crisis started but we will try to identify the impact of this crisis and other ecological problems on different identities and how these represent in educational activities. We will look at a brief history of the ecological movement and its link between identity-based exclusions.

## History

The study of ecology is concerned with the relationships between living organisms and their environment and has a long history dating back to the ancient Greeks. However, it was not until the 19th and 20th centuries that the field of ecology began to gain widespread recognition and attention and got entangled with the complex history of social movements.

One of the earliest social movements related to ecology was the conservation movement, which emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This movement was driven by concerns about the loss of natural habitats and resources, and the negative impacts of industrialisation and urbanisation on the environment. The conservation movement led to the creation of national parks and other protected areas, as well as the development of conservation laws and policies. The conservation movement had a positive impact on natural resources, however, sometimes it resulted in the displacement of indigenous people and the deprivation of their rights, thus, clashing with other human rights.[1]

In the second half of the 20th century, the environmental movement emerged as a major social force, advocating for the protection and preservation of the natural world. This movement was influenced by a number of factors, including the publication of Rachel Carson's book "Silent Spring" in 1962, which brought attention to the harmful effects of pesticides on the environment. This environmental movement also drew inspiration from the civil rights and anti-war movements of the time. It was fuelled by concerns about the impacts of climate change, pollution, and other environmental issues.

Another important initiative that left its mark on environmental issues was called "Club of Rome",[2] a forum of discussion between businessmen and scientists taking shape at the end of the 1960s. As the environmental damage caused by industrialisation was becoming noticeable, mathematicians, systems theorists, economists, and historians from the U.S., Italy, France, Switzerland, Austria, and Germany came together to create visions for a sustainable future by modelling possible scenarios which had a great impact on international politics and economic and social sciences at that time. Their book, published in 1972, "Limits to Growth: A Report to the Club of Rome" was a great success with the public and caused a furore in business circles, but its actual, concrete influence on political events unfortunately remained limited. Yet, as the years go by, it is becoming increasingly clear how the reality of the climate crisis threatens to outstrip even the Club's boldest predictions.[3]

In 1972, Arne Naess coined the term "Deep Ecology", enlarging the value of nature from its usefulness for human

**2** Li, T. M. (2007). The will to improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics. Duke University Press Books.

**2** Meadows, D. H., Meadows, D. L., Randers, J., & Behrens, W. W. (1972). The Limits to Growth: A report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind. New York, NY: Universe Books. https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.1

**3** The Prophets of Degrowth. (n.d.). Gegenüber - Goethe-Institut. https://www.goethe.de/prj/geg/en/25018638.html

beings towards its intrinsic and purposeful life with an evolutionary destiny. A spiritual connection to the different life systems, viewed as sacred and worthy, was based on the ancient "Indian understanding that we are not outside nature"[4] and together with the ethical obligation to protect and embrace it would be the basis of deep ecologist commitment. Green movement groups tend to focus on topics that can range from economic decentralisation to alternative spiritualities, to multicultural movement-building[5].

While scientific and philosophical discussions advanced on ecology in the 20th century, Indigenous people and their knowledge of nature and its resources have also known a rediscovery. 'Indigenous Knowledge' is the collective term now used to represent the place-based knowledge accumulated across many generations. This knowledge is not the collection of Western-type scientific information, it is made of traditions, spirituality, rituals, oral stories, and deep knowledge of the land. Indigenous people applied their knowledge for centuries to environmental management, and non-Indigenous, "Western" scientific research and management have only recently considered this practice as useful knowledge. For example, the indigenous concept of "Buen Vivir" from Latin America became an example for a world view in which living in harmony with nature is more important than dominating it.

In the 21st century, ecology and social movements have continued to co-evolve and grow, with new issues and challenges arising. For example, the rise of the global climate movement has brought greater attention to the need for action on climate change and the promotion of sustainable practices. Similarly, the emergence of the ecofeminist movement has brought attention to the intersection of environmental and feminist issues, and to the ways in which these issues can be addressed together. It challenges some key concepts of our occidental culture – like progress, economy, science, etc. – and proposes a women-centred paradigm where divisions are overcome. It follows the principle of complex thinking where interdependency, reciprocity and cooperation are basic elements to revert environmental and human destruction, re-connecting culture and nature, reason and body, daily life, and economy[6].

## The intersection between the ecological movement and anti-capitalism

Ecological movements by their nature intersect with other social movements. Because of the diversity of topics that ecological movements fight against, the root causes of these issues always intersect. For example, while the extractivist politics of capitalism harms natural resources, it also defines gender roles through consumerist campaigns and creates class divisions. This intersectional aspect of environmental issues has also defined the values and goals of ecological social movements:

"*Despite the diversity of the environmental movement, four pillars provided a unifying theme to the broad goals of political ecology: protection of the environment, grassroots democracy, social justice, and nonviolence. However, for a small number of environmental groups and individual activists who engaged in ecoterrorism, violence was viewed as a justified response to what they considered the violent treatment of nature by some interests, particularly the logging and mining industries. The political goals of the contemporary green movement in the industrialized West focused on changing government policy and promoting environmental social values.*" [7]

There is a consensus on the urgency to address the ecological crisis, but not on its roots. The increasing emphasis on green practices/consumption has depoliticised the problem, redirecting the solution to individuals' choices and environmental consciousness. This "green good life" points to the individual's ability to make good choices, and excludes individuals who lack economic means, knowledge, and time, running the risk of not looking into environmental labour and burden inequalities. [8] This also hides the fundamental debate on the responsible use of natural resources, the big pollutive practices from industries and economic agents, and it does

**4** Sessions, George. "The Deep Ecology Movement: A Review." Environmental Review: ER 11, no. 2 (1987): 105–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/3984023.

**5** Lichterman, P. (1998). What Do Movements Mean? The Value of Participant-Observation. Qualitative Sociology. 21. DOI:401-418. 10.1023/A:1023380326563.

**6** Herrero, Yayo. (2020). Ecofeminismos para tiempos de crisis. Pabellón 6.

**7** Elliott, L. (2023, October 3). Environmentalism | Ideology, History, & Types. Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/environmentalism/History-of-the-environmental-movement

**8** MacGregor, S. (2006). "No sustainability without justice: a feminist critique of environmental citizenship," in Environmental Citizenship, eds A. Dobson and D. Bell (Cambridge, MA; London: The MIT Press).

not address the question of public responsibility.

When more people became aware of the ecological and health related risks of genetically modified mass-produced food, individual consumption trends also started to change. People who could economically afford to change their habits moved towards more ecological and sustainable products. This trend created the concept of "greenwashing". "*Greenwashing is a common marketing ploy designed to make products seem more sustainable than they are. It's essentially a way to convince customers that a company is making positive environmental choices, often through eco-conscious verbiage designed to convince shoppers that the product is more natural, wholesome, or free of toxins than competitors.*"[9] As a result, genetically modified and unhealthy, packaged food products became more affordable, and natural products became more expensive in many parts of the world.

In fact, environmental degradation, health hazards and exploitation disproportionately affect marginalised communities. For example, communities of people of colour and low-income communities are often disproportionately impacted by pollution, as they are more likely to live in areas with higher levels of environmental hazards because the prices are cheaper in these areas. There are number of researches showing that, for example, in the United States, POC communities are more affected by air pollution and natural disasters due to generations of discrimination and political neglect. These communities may also face barriers to participating in environmental decision-making and may be excluded from the benefits of environmental protection. Rising sea levels, and extreme weather events such as flooding, prolonged drought, water pollution, and seawater acidification are just a few examples of the impacts of the climate crisis that affect more poor communities in the Global North and whole countries in the Global South. Floods and drought directly affect food production and in many developing countries, it hits farmers particularly hard.

"*Most people today are familiar with the basic contours of the environmental justice argument: racial and ethnic minorities and the poor are subjected to greater environmental risks and harm than other population groups. In Toxic Communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility, Dorceta E. Taylor offers a much deeper portrait of the environmental justice movement, illustrating how minorities and the poor suffer injustices at the hands of profit-seeking businesses and government*" [10]

The anti-capitalist movement, which seeks to challenge and transform the capitalist system, also intersects with the environmental movement in important ways. Capitalism, with its focus on profit and growth, has often prioritised short-term economic gain over long-term environmental sustainability. This has led to environmental degradation and exploitation, as corporations prioritise their own profits over the health and well-being of people and the planet which we also witness in greenwashing.

After an ongoing analysis of ecological social issues, the capitalist system became an important target for environmental movements. The exploitation of natural resources, unequal access to those resources, consumerism, and competition are just a few approaches to capitalism that are being strongly criticised by environmentalists.

The movements that focus on this intersectionality of environmental issues are being called "environmental justice movements". They were first formed in the USA by black people in the '80s when hazardous waste was planned to be dumped in underprivileged black people's living environments. The environmental justice movement grew to combine traditional environmentalism with the conviction that all individuals have the right to live in a safe environment. "*Our economic system, including those companies that provide us with materials, food, water and energy, produces social and environmental injustices that leave too many people, animals and plants poisoned, displaced, or even dead*," says Joan Mar-

**9** Noyes, L. (2022, November 27). A guide to greenwashing and how to spot it - EcoWatch. EcoWatch. https://www.ecowatch.com/greenwashing-guide-2655331542.html

**10** Barton, A. (Winter 2015) "Toxic Communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility by Dorceta E. Taylor" Natural Resources Journal

tinez-Alier, a senior researcher in the Environmental Science and Technology Institute of the Autonomous University of Barcelona.[11]

The EJOLT [12] project is a very comprehensive database documenting environmental justice issues and how they affect communities around the world. It is a global research project bringing science and society together to catalogue and analyse ecological distribution conflicts and confront environmental injustice. Just one example from this database is Yamuna Express way, in Uttar Pradesh, India. The expressway construction has potential environmental impacts on the rural community lives there are listed as food insecurity (crop damage), loss of landscape/aesthetic degradation, and noise pollution. Visible socio-economic impacts are listed as displacement, violations of human rights, land dispossession, loss of livelihood, and loss of landscape/sense of place.

Climate change can be seen as a myth or as a hoax by many people which also depends on political views and awareness levels. However, the impact of industrial big-scale projects and extraction of natural resources on rural and marginalised communities cannot be denied anymore. When we are working in adult education, an educator should be aware of these impacts on different identities.

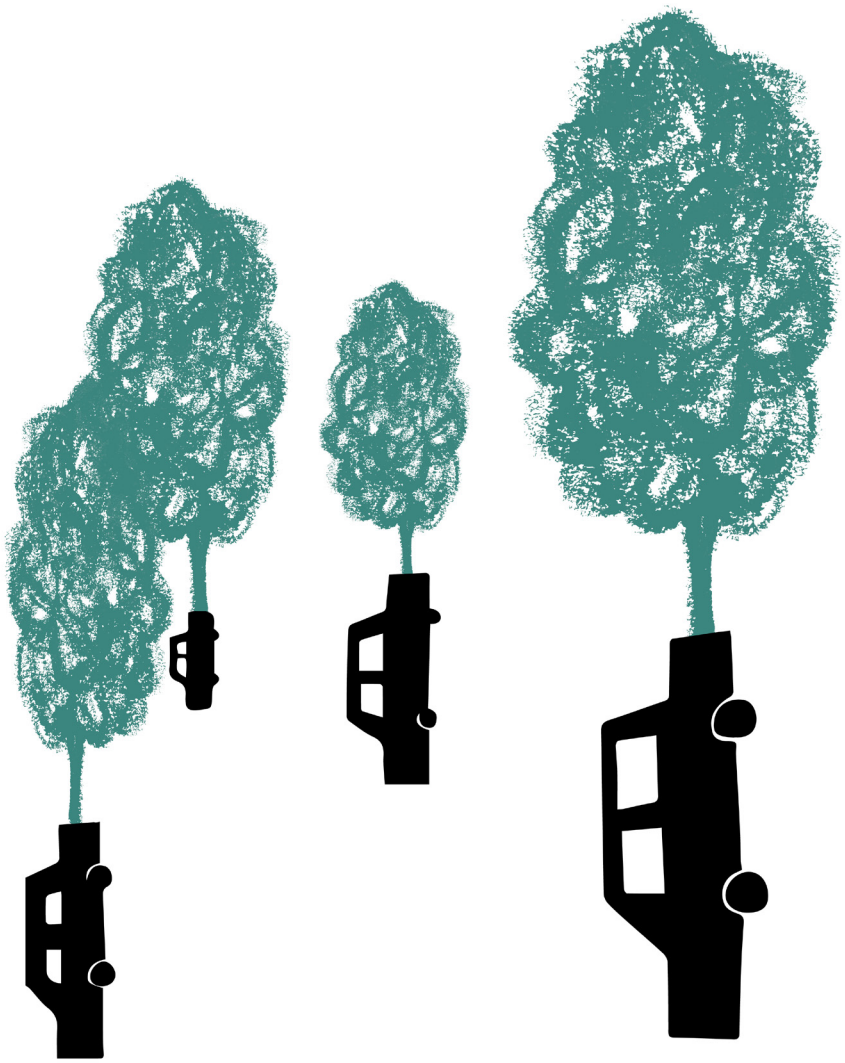
## The importance of environmental justice in adult education

In the past few years, we have witnessed more of the worrying impacts of the climate crisis. Natural resources are becoming more precious than ever before. Drought, forest fires, destruction of lands for fossil fuels, and industrialised animal farms are some of the topics that an educator needs to be aware of and conscious of how these issues are contributing to the climate crisis. Many young learners are very sensitive to these issues – especially after the mediatisation of climate struggles such as Fridays for Future or Extinction Rebellion, known from their direct action and civil disobedience practices, during which they call out for urgent change – as they are going to be the most affected group and their future life conditions depend on the measures that should be taken now.

When we look at the power dynamics around ecological issues, we as adult educators need to be aware of structural inequalities such as access to natural resources or people's livelihoods. Rural communities' livelihoods or indigenous people are directly dependent on natural resources. Government policies and government and private sector projects for extracting natural resources are im-

**11** Supporting the global movement for environmental justice. (2021, June 28). EC R&I Success Stories. https://ec.europa.eu/research-and-innovation/en/projects/success-stories/all/supporting-global-movement-environmental-justice#:~:text=%E2%80%9COur%20economic%20system%2C%20including%20those,in%20the%20Environmental%20Science%20and

**12** Ej Atlas. (n.d.). https://ejatlas.org/



pacting the livelihoods of rural communities and indigenous people drastically. Adult learners who live in cities do not have the same dependency on the environment as a learner who comes from a rural community. Financial need and time to travel to a workshop can be an example of this difference. This creates a power dynamic between them, the same applies to facilitators. Looking into inequalities is an important tool to politicise the debate and helps not to expect the same involvement/choices from everyone. During the preparation phase of a course, facilitators should look at learners' needs for managing time, access to the internet, and travel limitations. When we assume we have similar access to transport, food, water, land, electricity, internet, and technology we may inadvertently create tensions between adult learners and facilitators. We need to be aware that there could be differences in our livelihoods and that the impact of the climate crisis can affect us on different levels.

These differences are not easy to identify in a learning space, but we as facilitators can ask ourselves the following questions to bring more awareness to the power dynamics related to ecological problems:

1. How many people are coming from rural communities?
2. How many young people are present?
3. Are there any visible social class differences? In what way they are different?
4. Are there any people of colour or racialised people present in the room?
5. Where are people travelling from?

Also, emotional issues tend to divide people in rigid visions of what is "the right behaviour"/choice to make. Facilitators and teachers must be conscientious of the climate crisis and preserve resources in the learning space by simply offering some group agreement around water usage, meat and dairy consumption, paper usage, electric usage, and recycling the garbage that is being produced during the training or class which are depending on the location and needs of the space. By respecting the needs of a learning space from an environmental perspective the facilitator can address some of the people's concerns and prevent any possible incidents.

Sometimes some individuals feel very strongly about the climate crisis, especially young people feel the impact of the climate crisis deeply in many places. This sentiment is called nowadays as "climate desperation or depression" and they may push others to act as strictly as they do. In this kind of situation, a facilitator needs to consider everybody's needs and facilitate a group discussion to find the group's preference by giving them a chance to speak up about their concerns and needs. If an adult educator works with youth, they should anticipate strong feelings (anxiety, anger, dread, numbness, hopefulness etc.) around this topic and need to be ready to contain these strong emotions in the group.

## Bibliography

Barton, A. W. (2015). Toxic Communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility by Dorceta E. Taylor. Natural Resources Journal, 55(1), 236. http://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nrj/vol55/iss1/12/

Carson, R. (2002). Silent Spring. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Elliott, L. (2023, October 3). Environmentalism | Ideology, History, & Types. Encyclopedia Britannica. https://www.britannica.com/topic/environmentalism/History-of-the-environmental-movement

Herrero, Y. (2020). Ecofeminismos para tiempos de crisis. Bucaramanga, Colombia: Pabellón 6

Li, T. M. (2007). The will to improve: Governmentality, Development, and the Practice of Politics. Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books.

Lichterman, P. (1998). What Do Movements Mean? The Value of Participant-Observation. Qualitative Sociology. 21. DOI:401-418. 10.1023/A:1023380326563.

MacGregor, S. (2006). No sustainability without justice: a feminist critique of environmental citizenship. In A. Dobson and D. Bell (eds.). Environmental Citizenship (ed.). Cambridge, MA; London: The MIT Press.

Meadows, D. H., Meadows, D. L., Randers, J., & Behrens, W. W. (1972). The Limits to Growth: A report for the Club of Rome's Project on the Predicament of Mankind. New York, NY: Universe Books. https://doi.org/10.1349/ddlp.1

Næss, A., & Jickling, B. (2000). Deep Ecology and Education: A Conversation with Arne Næss. Canadian Journal of Environmental Education, 5(1), pp. 48–62. http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ638001.pdf

Noyes, L. (2022, November 27). A guide to greenwashing and how to spot it - EcoWatch. EcoWatch. https://www.ecowatch.com/greenwashing-guide-2655331542.html

The Prophets of Degrowth. (n.d.). Gegenüber - Goethe-Institut. https://www.goethe.de/prj/geg/en/aus/gg1/25018638.html

Sessions, G. (1987). The Deep Ecology Movement: A Review. Environmental Review: ER 11, no. 2 pp. 105–25. https://doi.org/10.2307/3984023.

Supporting the global movement for environmental justice. (2021, June 28). EC R&I Success Stories. https://projects.research-and-innovation.ec.europa.eu/en/projects/success-stories/all/supporting-global-movement-environmental-justice#:~:text=%E2%80%9COur%20economic%20system%2C%20including%20those,in%20the%20Environmental%20Science%20and

Taylor, D. E. (2014). Toxic communities: Environmental Racism, Industrial Pollution, and Residential Mobility. New York, NY: NYU Press.

# The Militarisation of Education

***Hilal Demir (Ulex Project, Spain)***

It may seem very difficult to make a connection between adult education and identity-based exclusion with antimilitarism. Even though we may not be very aware of this connection, it is worth exploring how militarist values are present in learning spaces. When we talk about power dynamics, the concept of power and the traditional understanding of power is very much shaped by militarist ideology which is referred to as top-down authoritarian power. This understanding of power has a strong link with educational practices. While challenging power dynamics in learning spaces, it is crucial to look at different perspectives of how power is constructed. Of course, our cultures are constantly changing and adapting to new trends, but militarist values still exist in various forms including in education. Discipline, punishment, respect for and submission to authority without questioning, exclusion, enemy creation, and prejudices are some examples of these forms.

We have thought that military forces are necessary to defend one's country and the military became an important institution in many countries. To be able to legitimise this military power, nationalism, borders, and patriarchy worked together. Every year the expenditure on military and arms is rising in countries' budgets and the budget for health and education is getting smaller than the military expenditures in many places. A 2015 report by the Sustainable Development Solutions Network found that achieving the SDGs in health, education, agriculture and food security, access to modern energy, water supply and sanitation, telecommunications and transport infrastructure, ecosystems, and emergency response and humanitarian work (SDGs 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14 and 15) – including additional sums to allow for climate change mitigation and adaptation – would require further spending from public sources of $760–$885 billion a year between 2015–30 (compared to 2013 prices). This amounts to 46–54% of the world's military spending in 2015.[1]

There will be conflicts at micro or macro levels always, but the solution cannot be buying more military equipment but rather an investment in education and peace resolution programs. Sadly, since 2022, we have been witnessing once more with the Russo-Ukrainian War that modern wars result in the death and displacement of many civilians. Our global economy is affected by these armed conflicts as well as millions of people who are not even close to the conflict zone. At the time of editing this article, the conflict between Palestine and Israel once more is taking a devastating turn. Millions are marching in their countries to stop the genocide of the Palestinian people by the military forces of Israel, which is a highly militarized country. Unfortunately, in these times we lose our hopes, but our efforts to construct a better world must continue everywhere anyway.

## Militarism

Cynthia Enloe defines militarism as an ideology consisting of a body of core beliefs (re)produced within and by civil society:

a. *"that armed force is the ultimate resolver of tensions;*

b. *that human nature is prone to conflict;*

c. *that having enemies is a natural condition;*

d. *that hierarchical relations produce effective action;*

e. *that a state without a military is naive, scarcely modern, and barely legitimate;*

f. *that in times of crisis those who are feminine need armed protection;*

g. *that in times of crisis, any man who refuses to engage in armed violent action is jeopardizing his own status as a manly man."*

**1** SIPRI: The opportunity cost of world military spending. (2016, August 29). PeaceWomen. https://peacewomen.org/resource/sipri-opportunity-cost-world-military-spending

*"Now let us look at militarisation. It is not itself an ideology. It is a socio-political process. Militarisation is the multi-stranded process by which the roots of militarism are driven deep down into the soil of a society – or of a non-governmental organisation, a governmental department, an ethnic group or an international agency. There is nothing automatic or inevitable about the militarisation process. Militarisation can be stalled by exposure, critique and resistance at an early stage; occasionally it may be reversed. It also, however, can be propelled forward after years of apparent stagnation. Most militarising processes occur during what is misleadingly labelled as "peacetime".* [2]

Militarisation of society happens everywhere in the world. As we can understand from Enloe's definition, it is not related to whether a country has military forces or not, in some countries it is easier to identify, but in some, it is more difficult. Militarisation also happens in education like learning to obey authorities, learning history as war history, heroism, borders, army recruiters visiting schools etc., or in our daily lives through social media, TV news, computer games, and fashion. Many social issues like patriarchy, racism, colonialism, gender and sexual identity discrimination, can be linked to militarism. It is a strong socio-political process that holds many social issues. In the next section, we will look at struggles against militarisation from a feminist perspective.

## Anti-militarist feminism

When we talk about militarism, war, army etc. an important pillar of these terms is patriarchy. Gender roles are being constructed by societies and modern state societies are under the constant influence of militarization. "Women need to be protected", "women are soft", and "women are peaceful" are just some examples of gender stereotypes about women's roles in society. During wars, the woman's body becomes the territory of the soldiers. Similarly to women's roles, men's roles are constructed by militarism: "men need to be strong", "men become men if they fight for their country", and "men hold control", etc. These are just some simple examples of idealized gender roles, yet they are still in place.

In his book Love and War, Tom Digby (2014) explains how militaristic cultures lead to the perpetuation of the gender binary, heterosexual adversity, and gender-based violence. According to Digby, a militaristic culture is programmed to recognise only two genders – male and female (called the gender binary) – and to recognize only heterosexual love. The result is antagonism and violence between men and others – including women, homosexual men, transgender individuals, heterosexual men that have feminine qualities, and heterosexual women with masculine qualities. Anyone who does not fit into the cultural framework of this militaristic, male-dominated, heterosexual culture is a potential victim of the violence and force that is celebrated by and emanates from that very same culture. That is if you are "different", you become less human (or even an object), and perpetrators become desensitised to violence against someone they view as less than human. [3]

These gender roles and the binary of gender are constructed by patriarchy with the help of militarism. They are two ideologies that support each other's

**2** Enloe, Cynthia (May 2014) Understanding Militarism, Militarization, and the Linkages with Globalization, Gender and Militarism, page 7

**3** Deckard, M. F., Floyd D. B. (2022) Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict. Third Edition

existence. That's why a feminist critique of militarism is indispensable. These rigid binary gender norms, acceptance of violence, conflict escalation, and the impact of wars can easily appear in learning spaces.

## Adult education, militarist values and proposals for facilitators

Militarist values can visibly appear especially when we are dealing with conflicts. Conflicts are part of any learning journey with a group. When we feel we are challenged and feel uncomfortable the first usual reaction to deal with this uncomfortableness is to avoid or attack. This is what we have been taught in school, in our family environments, or in societies. In many incidents where conflicts are not successfully resolved, we can identify the unwillingness to work in collaboration, to be open to change and to give/receive constructive feedback. This is very common as many of us haven't learnt or practised any skills to de-escalate a conflict and resolve it. As an adult educator, the best way to deal with in a conflictual situation is to look at the needs of the conflicted sides. Sometimes these needs cannot be identified easily or are invisible but simple questions can help to understand what really causes the conflict.

You need to be conscious of the power you hold as an educator over participants. Sometimes we may use this power to guide the group through a learning process but sometimes our preparation may not fulfil the group's needs. In these cases, we need to give the power back to the group and let them decide how to continue. We can always offer alternatives and collaborate with the group and find the most meaningful way to continue. Some participants may resist the power you hold and can challenge it. That is OK. Find ways to receive their consent to work with you.

Consent is the key to transformative and collaborative processes. Before doing activities, summarise the activity and ask if everybody wants to do it. In group building sessions, try to reach group agreements.

Wars and political conflicts are the reality of our systems and there may be participants coming from conflict zones or those who have been forced to immigrate because of war. They may have a lot of anxiety, but this is not limited to people who are directly affected, but can also influence people who fear that these conflicts can reach their homes. Check with them if they need any emotional or physical support during the workshop, and what kind. They may need short breaks or contact with their families/support people more often than usual. Be mindful of triggering content and agree with the group to use a "triggering content" warning if you think related topics may appear during the workshop. Do not open any conversation on the conflict in question without the consent of the participant(s).

Do not try to be perfect and mistake-free. These attitudes create a big distance between you and the group which is not so helpful and create power over the group. Accept when you don't know something. Acknowledge that if this is a new area for you, you will sometimes get it wrong. Own up to your mistakes and learn from them.

Embrace discomfort. Discomfort is often a part of growing and learning experiences. Learn how to sit with your own discomfort and manage it within a group or with individual participants. Don't let scapegoating happen to people causing discomfort. Let your discomfort motivate you to make a change, rather than make you feel guilty. Risk stepping out of your comfort zone!

## Bibliography

Cockburn, C. (2003). Why (and which) Feminist Antimilitarism? https://www.cynthiacockburn.org/Blogfemantimili-

tarism.pdf

Deckard, M. & Floyd, D. (2022). War and Romance. Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace, & Conflict (Third Edition). 4. DOI:176-182. 10.1016/b978-0-12-820195-4.00274-0.

Digby, T. (2014). Love and war: How Militarism Shapes Sexuality and Romance. New York City, NY: Columbia University Press.

Enloe, C. (2000). Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Enloe, C. (May 2014). Understanding Militarism, Militarization, and the Linkages with Globalization, Gender and Militarism, page 7

Modules for Global Justice - Servei Civil Internacional de Catalunya. (2022, February 15). Servei Civil Internacional De Catalunya. https://www.scicat.org/en/modules-for-global-justice/

Sowing Seeds: the militarisation of youth and how to Counter it. (2013, August 7). War Resisters' International. https://wri-irg.org/en/SowingSeedsOnline

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, & Perlo-Freeman, S. (2016, April 5). The opportunity cost of world military spending. SIPRI. https://www.sipri.org/commentary/blog/2016/opportunity-cost-world-military-spending

Zajovis, S. (n.d.). Women in black: War, Feminism and Antimilitarism. Women in Black. https://zeneucrnom.org/en/23-aktivnosti/feminizam/1574-women-in-black-war-feminism-and-antimilitarism

# Islamophobia

***Soukaina Touba (Élan Interculturel, France)***

Islamophobia is a pressing concern in our contemporary times, particularly as we contemplate the daily political and social narratives surrounding Islam and Muslims in "Western" nations. The historical roots of this social phenomenon trace back to the emergence of the Muslim empire in the 7th century. Indeed, it can be argued that the resistance to the Islamic faith, culture and civilisation may well be a legacy of the longstanding conflicts between Western and Eastern empires, as exemplified by the encounters between the Roman Empire and the Muslim East. These hostilities often took the form of protracted battles that dominated the Middle Ages, with the Crusades for example, fuelling a sense of xenophobia and intolerance toward Muslims in the collective Western Christian consciousness. We are witnessing a shift in the perception of Islam in Europe, transitioning from historical Christian anti-Islam bias to modern manifestations of racism (Geisser, 2004). Islamophobia appears to represent a neologism signifying an age-old concept, a notion based on a very old prejudice, as highlighted by Edward Saïd. (Saïd, 1981, cited by Housee, 2014) As per Saïd, the Muslim East has historically been a problem for the Western world and has always been viewed as a threat. As Saïd argues, the Orientalist thought has used, and continues to employ, precise narrative frameworks tinged with paranoia when discussing Islam.

## Origins

However, tracing the precise origin of the term remains elusive. Sources suggest that the word was collaboratively coined by activists, journalists, NGOs and IGOs during the late twentieth century, with the goal of highlighting the detrimental rhetoric and actions directed at Islam and Muslims in Western democratic societies (Bleich, 2011). Nevertheless, the contemporary relevance of the term can be attributed to a report published by the British think tank Runnymede Trust in 1997 (Conway, 1997). The conception and use of the word Islamophobia played an important role in raising awareness and served as a critical tool to address the specific nature of the multiplex discrimination perpetuated against Muslims. It's noteworthy, however, that the definition of Islamophobia by Runnymede has faced contestation (Allen, 2016b) for its excessively literal approach in defining Islamophobia and its binary classification into "closed views" and "open views". Allen (2016a) argues that this binary framework hinders constructive discussions on the topic, forcing them into either being labelled as "Islamophobic" or "Islamophilic", neglecting the complexity in between.

This creation of a Muslim adversary, rooted in centuries past, persists in our present as a vivid image. After the post-9/11 events, the emergence of the ISIL, the subsequent "war on terror", and other terror attacks in Europe and United States by Islamists, Muslims have found themselves increasingly subjected to prejudice and scrutiny in Western societies. In response to these challenges, numerous social movements within Muslim communities have emerged, dedicated to safeguarding the rights of Muslims in Europe and the USA. These movements exhibit a tapestry of diversity, evolving in accordance with the times and contexts in which they operate. They have adopted a range of forms and expressions, reflecting the Muslim world's multifariousness, from the Arabian Peninsula to Equatorial Africa and East Asia.

## Definition of Islamophobia

Findings from a 2017 study by the Pew Research Center (Wike, Stokes & Simmons, 2016) highlight widespread negative perceptions of the Muslim population across various European countries, irrespective of the weight of Muslim people in the population. Notably, Hungary registers a substantial 72% negative view, closely followed by Italy at 69%, Spain at 50%, and France at 29%. This

widespread attitude fuels the phenomenon known as Islamophobia, a term referring to the expression of a *phobia*—fear, marked by hostility, antipathy, or prejudicial attitudes—held by an individual towards Islam and/or Muslims. Nevertheless, the debate about the precise definition of this concept is still ongoing. While some perceive it as an expression of xenophobia or racism, arguing that Islamophobia and racism are closely linked or overlap to some extent, others vehemently dispute any connection between the two (ECPS, 2024). The crux of the matter centres on the notion that religion should not be equated with race.

Certainly, examining the discrimination experienced by Muslims, particularly in the Western contexts, reveals parallels to racism, construed as an ideology. However, can Islamophobia be simplified merely as a form of racism? Shouldn't we instead contemplate the fundamental characteristics that delineate it? Modern discussions on the issue increasingly categorise Islamophobia as a form of racism, often side-lining the possibility that it can also manifest as *religious bigotry* (Lauwers, 2019). As Anna S. Lauwers (2019) aptly observes, although *anti-Islamic sentiment* is closely entwined with *anti-Muslim racism*, these two notions maintain distinct conceptual foundations.

In contemporary discussions on Islamophobia, a significant emphasis is placed on the *racialization* process that Muslims undergo. As Lauwers asserts, Islamophobia can be dichotomised into two forms, with one falling into the category of racism. This form of Islamophobia attributes innate religious and/or cultural characteristics to Muslims delineating them as a distinct group identifiable by specific markers – e.g. non-somatic, like the dressing, somatic, like the dark skin tone; or both at the same time. This results in the racialization of the religious group; despite Islam not constituting an actual "race". In fact, the essence of racism hinges primarily on how individuals with racist views perceive and treat a particular group, one that has been racialised. Racism, in this context, targets a fictional, racially categorised group of "Muslims" existing solely within the imagination of those who harbour racist sentiments (Lauwers, 2019). A second manifestation of Islamophobia, also known as bigotry,[1] revolves around a prejudiced sentiment directed towards Islam as a religion and its adherents – a sentiment that seemingly allows for a potential shift in the status of being Muslims (e.g. conversion). Consequently, drawing a clear distinction between these forms is crucial, as discourses that may appear as mere bigotry can often conceal underlying *anti-Muslim sentiments*. Lauwers illustrates this point with the example of the statement "We are not against Muslims, merely against Islam" (Lauwers, 2019, p.22). This dynamic is particularly evident in political discourse in Europe and the USA. This form of religious bigotry ostensibly targets not individuals but their religious or cultural affiliations, creating a misleading perception of being morally less problematic. Nevertheless, this rationale is fallacious, as religious bigotry inevitably results in the marginalisation of individuals who identify with a specific religion. (Lauwers, 2019)

This nuanced perspective between these two notions also allows us to delve into the layers of populist political narratives within the EU, where the rising tide of Islamophobia often hides behind a facade of seemingly anti-Islam bigotry. Therefore, in alignment with the previously discussed points, the current landscape of Islamophobic rhetoric in Europe not only reflects anti-Islam sentiments but, at its core, is rooted in a broader issue of racial bias (Lauwers, 2019).

## Gendered Islamophobia

Nevertheless, constraining the understanding of Islamophobia exclusively to a form of "racism", while neglecting its gender-specific dimensions, diminishes the role of gender as a continuous and co-constitutive element in shaping Islamophobia. Most analyses on the topic often prioritise the issue of race over gender, extending our comprehension of the structure and impact of Islamophobia, indistinctively on all

**1** I refer to the definition of bigotry present in the Cambridge Dictionary: "the fact of having and expressing strong, unreasonable beliefs and disliking other people who have different beliefs or a different way of life" (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.).

Muslims. Recognising the interplay between race and gender is crucial for a complete understanding of the phenomenon (Alimahomed-Wilson, 2020). Gendered Islamophobia represents a distinct facet of this discrimination, where Muslim women face intersectional challenges shaped by both religious and gender biases. Misconceptions surrounding clothing choices, notably the hijab – a powerful visual symbol of Muslim identity (Allen & Nielsen, 2002) – often contribute to the perpetuation of hate speeches directed towards Muslim women. Within the Muslim community, various modes of attire exist to align with the religious emphasis on modesty. Nonetheless, the veil, among numerous choices, is frequently recognised in the Western world as the emblematic representation of the Muslim faith. This choice is not arbitrary. In fact, the image of the Muslim woman often contradicts the Western patriarchal notion of a liberated woman, projecting onto the hijab not only religious bias and racist stereotypes, but also the implementation of patriarchal mechanisms of gender oppression against women (Mutman, 2019).

These dynamics further fuel the racialisation of Muslim women, exposing them to a double form of discrimination and violence. In line with Alia Al-Saji's perspective (2010), who views clothing not solely as an external object but as an integral part of one's persona, the hijab is conceptualised as "a surface of racialisation". This conceptualisation emphasises how the act of veiling transcends the mere physical appearance, but it intricately intertwines with one's identity, which better explicates the impact that societal perceptions, stereotypes, and gendered and religious biases can have on the racialised experiences of Muslim women who choose to wear the hijab in Western contexts. In fact, women and girls find themselves disproportionately exposed to Islamophobia, primarily due to their visible identity as Muslims (Perry, 2014). Hence, it is important to underline that the challenges faced by Muslim women extend beyond mere perceptions and prejudices. The reinforcement of prejudices not only affects the personal freedoms of women but also gives rise to systemic barriers in areas such as education, employment, and social inclusion.

To elucidate these dynamics, particularly within the context of adult education, an account will be provided by a French Muslim woman, referred to as M., during various training sessions. In these situations, she has played the role of both a facilitator and a participant. The intersectionality between ethnicity, religious attire, and race, will be examined in the context of four distinct instances of conflict stemming from Islamophobic biases. The first two examples concern M.'s experiences as an educator. In the initial scenario, M finds herself at the conclusion of a training session during the check-out and evaluation phase, where a participant, with perhaps good intentions, disproportionately highlights the fact that the facilitator is a veiled Black woman in a French context, portraying it as a positive aspect. Despite the likely well-meaning nature of this comment, it is perceived as inappropriate and misplaced by the facilitator. This type of remark stems from the multitude of preconceptions surrounding veiled women. For the participant, the shift from a position perceived as submissive to one of authority that is not typically attributed to Muslim women in the Western context, is seen as extraordinary, garnering unintended attention that is both undesired and inappropriate. In the second episode, M. engages in a reading animation alongside a white woman, during which the majority of participants refer almost exclusively to the white woman, overlooking M.'s role as an educator. Lastly, we will explore the remaining two examples related to M., this time in the role of a participant rather than an educator. M. recalls an incident during a training session where her mere presence profoundly unsettled another female participant. This person decided to withdraw from the training, contending that, in her opinion, M.'s hijab starkly contradicted the notion of freedom. Conversely, in the last example, the situation involves a male educator. During the training he

operates under the assumption that, as M. wears a veil, she must inherently face difficulties in expressing herself. Consequently, he directly victimises her, basing his communication on internalised prejudices projected onto the veil.

## Muslim social movements

Amidst the rising of Islamophobia, the media often capitalise on the stereotypes and preconceptions about Muslims, further contributing to a distorted perception of Islam in the Western world. Against this trend, various social movements led by Muslims have emerged to challenge prevailing stereotypes and combat discrimination internationally. Organisations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), and the European Forum of Muslim Women (EFOMW) have emerged in response to the escalating Islamophobia. **CAIR**, founded partly in reaction to the stereotyping of Arab and Muslim characters in popular media, has been at the forefront of combatting discrimination against Muslims in the United States. (Biondo, 2022). The post-9/11 surge in reports of discrimination, profiling, and physical assaults against individuals perceived as Arab or Muslim underscores the direct correlation between Islamophobia and the mistreatment of Muslims. Additionally, CAIR's Library Project aimed to provide accurate information about Islam to U.S. libraries, countering misperceptions through educational initiatives (Biondo, 2022). Similarly, the French organization *Collectif contre l'islamophobie en France* (CCIF), now operating as ***Collectif contre l'islamophobie en Europe*** (CCIE) and relocating its headquarters to Belgium, actively fights against Islamophobia in France and beyond. By providing legal assistance to victims and raising awareness about discrimination, CCIE addresses the root causes of Islamophobic incidents. The organisation's legal battles against Islamophobia extend to international platforms, emphasising the global nature of the issue (*Le collectif – CCIE, n.d.*).

In the United States, **Muslim Advocates** (2023) engages in litigation, education, and policy advocacy to challenge bigotry and discrimination against Muslims, addressing the systemic nature of Islamophobia. Meanwhile, **Muslims for Progressive Values** (MPV) and the **Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative** (MuslimARC) focus on inclusivity, dismantling stereotypes, and addressing anti-Black racism within the Muslim community, highlighting the intersectionality of discrimination faced by Muslims. MPV (*About MPV — Muslims for Progressive Values, n.d.*) advocates for progressive interpretations of Islam, emphasising the voices and concerns of Black Muslims, while MuslimARC (n.d.) addresses anti-Black racism through resources, workshops, and advocacy. **Musawah** (2023), with its global focus on equality and justice in the Muslim family, challenges discriminatory practices that are often fuelled by Islamophobia. By advocating for women's rights within an Islamic framework, Musawah confronts not only gender-based biases but also contributes to the broader effort to dispel stereotypes and foster a more accurate understanding of Islam.

In essence, these Muslim social movements and advocacy groups serve as crucial counterforces against Islamophobia, working to dismantle stereotypes, challenging discriminatory practices, and promoting a more accurate and inclusive representation of Muslims in the West. Their endeavours are essential in fostering dialogue, breaking down cultural barriers, and addressing the root causes of Islamophobia to create a more tolerant and harmonious society.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, this exploration of Islamophobia underscores its historical roots, contemporary manifestations, and the imperative role of educators in addressing this issue. Islamophobia, stemming from centuries-old conflicts, has evolved into a complex socio-political phenomenon with distinct racial and religious dimensions. The intersectionality of Islamophobia is further highlighted through gendered dimensions. Understanding these complexities is crucial for educators, as evidenced by real-life scenarios where Islamophobia manifested in educational settings. The commitment to creating safe spaces for dialogue becomes paramount in dismantling misconceptions and fostering a climate where diverse perspectives are valued. The role of Muslim social movements and advocacy groups is fundamental in countering Islamophobia. They work to counter stereotypes, to challenge discriminatory practices, and to promote an accurate and inclusive representation of Muslims in the West. These efforts contribute to fostering dialogue, breaking down cultural barriers, and addressing the root causes of this phenomenon.

In light of this, recommendations for trainers addressing Islamophobia include fostering an inclusive and diverse learning environment. Educators should be equipped to navigate and address incidents of Islamophobia, promoting understanding. While international organisations recognise the need to combat Islamophobia through initiatives like the designation of an International Day to Combat Islamophobia on March 15th by the United Nations General Assembly in 2022. The decision to opt for March 15th as the date is significant, as it marks the anniversary of the tragic Christchurch Mosque shootings, during which 51 people lost their lives (UNGA, 2022). One must also ask the question whether these symbolic gestures are sufficient in addressing the rising tensions.

## Bibliography

*About MPV — Muslims for Progressive Values*. (n.d.). Muslims for Progressive Values. https://www.mpvusa.org/about.

*About us - Muslim advocates*. (2023, August 28). Muslim Advocates. https://muslimadvocates.org/about/

*About us* - Musawah. (2023, April 7). Musawah. https://www.musawah.org/about/

*About us*. (n.d.). MuslimARC. https://www.muslimarc.org/about_us.

Al-Saji, A. (2010). The racialization of Muslim veils: A philosophical analysis. *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, 36, no. 8. pp. 875-902.

Alimahomed-Wilson, S. (2020). The matrix of gendered Islamophobia: Muslim women's repression and resistance. *Gender & Society*, 34, no. 4. pp. 648-678.

Allen, C. (2016a). 10 Still a challenge for us all? The Runnymede Trust, Islamophobia and policy. *Religion, Equalities, and Inequalities* 113.

Allen, C. (2016b). *Islamophobia*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Allen, C. & Nielsen, J. S. (2002). *Summary Report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001*. Vienna, Austria: EUMC.

Awan, I. & Zempi, I. (2018). *A working definition of Islamophobia: written evidence submission prepared for the United Nations Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance*. Nottingham Trent University. Retrieved from https://irep.ntu.ac.uk/id/eprint/45215

Biondo, V. (2022, August 15). Council on American-Islamic Relations. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion*. Retrieved from https://oxfordre.com/religion/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199340378.001.0001/acrefore-9780199340378-e-836.

Bleich, E. (2011). What is Islamophobia and how much is there? Theorizing and measuring an emerging comparative concept. *American behavioral scientist* 55, no. 12. pp. 1581-1600.

Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.) Bigotry. In *Cambridge Dictionary*. Retrieved February 13, 2024, from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/bigotry

Conway, G. (1997). Islamophobia: A challenge for us all. *Runnymede Trust*, 41. pp. 3.

ECPS. (2024). *Islamophobic Populism*. Retrieved from European Center for Populism Studies: https://www.populismstudies.org/Vocabulary/islamophobic-populism/

Geisser, V. (2004). Islamophobia in Europe: from the Christian anti-Muslim prejudice to a modern form of racism. *Islamophobia and its consequences on Young People*. Budapest, Hungary: European Youth Centre Budapest. pp. 1-6.

Housee, S. (2014). What's the point? Anti-racism and students' voices against Islamophobia. In N. Chakrabarty, L. Roberts & J. Preston (eds.). *Critical race theory in England* (ed.). pp. 101-120. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

Lauwers, A. S. (2019). Is Islamophobia (always) racism?. *Critical Philosophy of Race 7*, no. 2. pp. 306-332.

*Le collectif* – CCIE. (n.d.). https://ccieurope.org/le-collectif/

Mutman, M. (2019). From Orientalism to Islamophobia. *Orientalism and Literature*. pp. 255-268.

Perry, B. (2014). Gendered Islamophobia: hate crime against Muslim women. *Social Identities, 20*, no. 1. pp. 74-89.

Saïd, E. W. (1981). *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How We See the Rest of the World*. New York, NY: Pantheon Books.

UNGA. (2022, March 15). International Day to Combat Islamophobia. *United Nations International Observances*. Retrieved from https://www.internationaldays.org/march/international-day-to-combat-islamophobia

Wike, R., Stokes, B. & Simmons, K. (2016, July 11). Europeans fear wave of refugees will mean more terrorism, fewer jobs. P*ew Research Center*. Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2016/07/11/europeans-fear-wave-of-refugees-will-mean-more-terrorism-fewer-jobs/

# Power Conflicts at the Core of Adult Education: Final Remarks and Conclusions

***Joana Cruz, Beatriz Villas-Bôas, Eunice Macedo, and José Pedro Amorim (Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, University of Porto, and Paulo Freire Institute of Portugal)***

## So… In order to access different visions, what can we do?

"*How to see? Where to see from? What limits to vision? What to see for? Whom to see with? Who gets to have more than one point of view? Who gets blinded? Who wears blinders? Who interprets the visual field? What other sensory powers do we wish to cultivate besides vision?*"
(Donna Haraway, 1988:.587)[1]

It is worth mentioning that Clarissa Hayward (1998:3) defined power "as a network of boundaries that delimit, for all, the field of what is socially possible". She declared the need to "de-face" the concept of power as it would deflect attention from central and critical questions. In this sense, this book can reveal a variety of exclusions and resistances that can help us sharpen our vision, identify borders and, in doing so, claim spaces that accept plural views of the world. This is an ongoing process through the possible changes implicit in the empty areas, the borders of the rigid frontiers of each power group. In line with the socio-critical view of Paulo Freire (1970[2005]) on popular education, the feminist author Korol proposes to see "popular education as a pedagogy of everyday life" (2016:79, our translation). This kind of education would value "knowledge(s) that generally are not written in books, but rather that we can develop in the dialogue with our immediate experiences in the world" (idem:80, our translation). The pedagogy of everyday life should bring to the centre of learning the context and the person. In other words, if someone in a learning process is a carpenter or a painter, the words and the elements that make sense to them should be the starting point of the learning process. In this manner, learners are stimulated to build knowledge by moving from what they know (from their own experience, history and culture) to what they learn. Valuing other perspectives of learning and knowledge besides the US/Western European traditions is a way of questioning coloniality and modernity[2].

This also implies understanding participatory processes as spaces of contradictions and disputes, imbued with dynamics of power, conflict, and tension, which include rational and affective dimensions, horizontal and vertical relations, movements of demarcation and growth, within and outside social groups (Cruz, 2020). It is relevant here to bring Freire's concept of praxis to the front, which refers to the dialectics between theory and practice that are present and feed each other in all human interactions; in the intentional educational processes in particular (Freire, 1996).

## And how can we do it?

While reading the chapters, one can realise that wider power structures create situations of oppression, exclusion and domination that do not act separately. They create and support each other in an extensive and sometimes invisible web that underlies our social relationships. Social class, "race" and gender (e.g., Freire, 1997) are these interconnected structures - the modern colonial apparatus (in Carla Akotirene's words, 2019) or the structural locations of power (Young, 2000). Hence, it makes sense to refer to intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) as the concept that resumes precisely this crossing, which "aims to give theoretical-methodological instrumentality to the structural

**1** power as a question of vision: of the power to see and the violence implicit in our visualising practices.

**2** See more in chapter 5: decolonisation.

inseparability of racism, capitalism and cisheteropatriarchy as producers of identity avenues" (Akotirene, 2019:14, our translation). At the origin of intersectional thinking, Crenshaw emphasised the fact that intersectionality

"*is not being offered here as some new, totalizing theory of identity [... but rather] focus on the intersections of race and gender only highlights the need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed*" (1991:1244-1245).

Then, one may say that to address structural conflicts one must address the combined and unequal articulation of these three dominant modes of structural inequality in our society. The sustained and long-term articulation of these modes of domination throughout the last five centuries makes it difficult to resist it, especially when the – feminist, anti-capitalist or anti-racist – resistance has worked in a somehow fragmented and isolated way[3] to overcome specific forms of their own oppressions (Freire, 2000). Freire's concept "unity in diversity" (Freire, 1992) stresses the importance of recognising what we have in common, while respecting our differences. This also implies questioning the idea of "minority". According to Freire, the real minority is the dominant elite. All the other so-called "minorities" share at least - and this is what should unite them - the condition of being oppressed, discriminated against, subalternised. One cannot envision the resistance of the social movements unless an intersectional vision is put forward to struggle against the asymmetry between the articulated domination and oppression of these structural forces and the fragmented resistance of social movements. Moreover, this is also an essential step towards asserting other possibilities to construct and live in the world with a horizon of solidarity and humanisation at the core (Freire, 1970 [2005]).

In this vein, it makes sense to resort to a decolonial epistemology as it allows questioning dominant structures and fosters the awareness of where we are talking from and whom we are talking to. Coloniality, which provides the modern colonial apparatus, as explained by Akotirene (2019), may be the great common denominator between the mentioned oppressive structures. It defines power relations; perpetuates ideas about who can dominate who, what is relevant to be learned and what is not, and whiose knowledge is more important.

## And yet... The work in the world is not concluded.

This selection does not pretend to cover all the topics that deserve discussion in adult education. On the one hand, there are critical topics that we have not been able to address. Our choices were based on the problems that were identified in the collection of critical incidents - a total of 40 incidents related to power and hierarchy in adult education - by PODER Project members. When writing this conclusion, and after working on this theme for several months, we realised, for example, that ageism is not addressed. However, it is a widespread and highly insidious form of discrimination, which is very pertinent to adult education. On the other hand, the exploration that we were able to make of the themes aims to constitute an invitation to discussion and not an attempt to end the debate on topics which are extremely sensitive and generate divergent perspectives, very often contradictory.

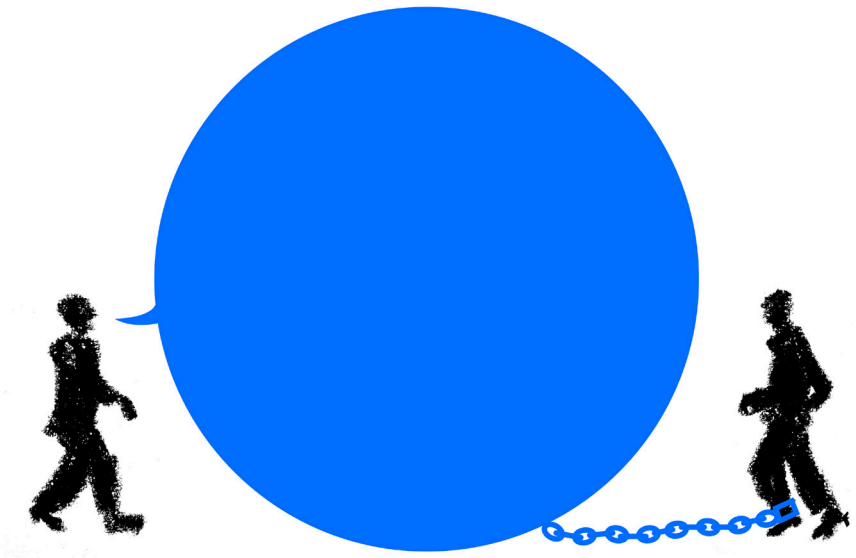
In line with the work of Freire that asserts our incompleteness and the limits of each of our cultures (Freire, 1970 [2005]), Janeway (1980) sees power as a dynamic process based on human interaction, where the so-called weak must also be accountable for the power relations created within society. The weak (that we would call the resistant people who struggle in and for their lives) can use, at least, dissent and mistrust to face oppression and to keep their judgmental capacity to see the world according to their interests: or, as Freire puts it, "to read the history that is made and not read the stories that are told" (Idem:19). The idea is to transform fatality into hope in real possibilities

**3** Of course, there is an understanding and useful fragmentation of social groups that allows visibility to the intra-group plurality and heterogeneity.

of social transformation: to view resistance and protagonism as a possible engine to construct people's own history. In other words, this invites tor a decolonial view, which recognises that power constitutes a social process, that is, it is changeable. Thinking about adult education, it is important for us as facilitators that we are prepared for the unexpected and this book tries to help in that preparation. We never fully know who the people and groups we meet in a training room would be. We might have ideas about which target audience we expect to find in a certain workshop, but we can never be 100% sure which person is going to join us. As facilitators, we need to be aware of (and be prepared for) various possibilities and realise that each person participates in interrelated social contexts which both constrain and foster their ways of life and how they place themselves in the world and in the collaborative learning processes they engage with. Hence, it is important to emphasise that

"[T]to educate as the practice of freedom is a way of teaching that anyone can learn [...] our work is not merely to share information but to share in the intellectual and spiritual growth of our students" (hooks, 1994:13).

This makes us prone to ask ourselves whether our institutional settings are transmitting and legitimising the inequalities that dominant groups of society form. The question remains how to change institutional settings – namely educational settings – to contribute to producing a non-oppressive society. This change presupposes paying attention to the different layers and contours of power in our educational settings, such as the power to command, the power to constrain and the power to profit from. The "presence of several of these types of power in combination can be detected" (Murphy, 1982:182). Some are more visible but naturalised in the structures we are in; others - as the power to profit from - are less visible "without having to resort to the power to command the content, structure, processes or form [of schooling]" (Idem:200). We must then make a conscious decision as if we want to reproduce and reinforce the existing dominant structural forces or to enter a counter-hegemonic route towards radical change. As educators, are we aware of our role as authors and actors in the educational processes? Are we aware of with whom and against whom we engage in education (Freire, 2005 [1970)]?



Hence, one may say that to make visible the barriers, the structures, and the limits of the institutions, it is to hold the hope that making visible the liminal situations that constrain these will make us able to scrutinise our common sense, demystify our beliefs, and, in the end, act as total beings, authors and actors of our own lives in the relationship with others, mediated by the world, and so provoke social change guided by this critical consciousness (Freire, 2005 [1970]). Isn't this unveiling - of the structural and relational limits and possibilities to overcome them - part of our work as educators?

## References


Akotirene, C. (2019). Interseccionalidade. In D. Ribeiro (Coord), Feminismos Plurais. São Paulo: Pólen Livros. Available at: https://files.cercomp.ufg.br/weby/up/1154/o/Interseccionalidade_(Feminismos_Plurais)_-_Carla_Akotirene.pdf?1599239359.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. University of Chicago Legal Forum, 1(8), 139-167. Available at: http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8.

Cruz, J. (2020). Educação, Arte e Política: Espaços de Cidadania onde o Corpo, a Mente e o Afeto se encontram [Phd Thesis, University of Porto].

Ferreira, V. e Tavares, T. (1998). Women and Mobility: Shifting Bonds and Bounds in Europe. Em Virgínia Ferreira; Teresa Tavares Sílvia Portugal (eds). Shifting Bonds, Shifting Bounds: Women; Mobility and Citizenship in Europe. Oeiras: Celta.

Freire, P. (1992). Pedagogia da Esperança. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Freire, P. (1996). Pedagogia da Autonomia. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.

Freire, P. (1997). Política e educação. 3.ª ed. São Paulo: Cortez.

Freire, P. (2000). À sombra desta mangueira. São Paulo: Olho d'Água.

Freire, P. (2005 [1970]). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: The Continuum International Publishing.

Freire, P. & Militantes da Base F.U.T. (19__). Alfabetização e conscientialização. Coimbra: Edições Base.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. Feminist Studies, 14(3), 575-599. Available at: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3178066

Harris, A. (2011). Heteropatriarchy kills: challenging gender violence in a prison nation. Washington University Journal of Law and Policy, 37, 13–66.

Hayward, C. (1998). De-Facing Power. Polity. 31(1), 1-22.

Janeway, E. (1975). On the Power of the Weak. Signs. 1(1), 103-109.

Korol, C., & Castro, G. (2016). Feminismos populares. Pedagogías y políticas: Aprendizajes compartidos y voces desobedientes de Colombia, Argentina, Brasil, Venezuela, Paraguay, Palestina y Cuba. Buenos Aires: América Libre. Available at: https://www.bibliotecafragmentada.org/feminismos-populares-pedagogias-y-politicas/

Young, I. (2000). Inclusion and democracy. New York: Oxford University Press.

# Glossary

## *Introduction of the Glossary*

Why this glossary - explain that we chose keywords that touches one or multiple articles that are important for understanding power dynamics in education

How to use this glossary - explain that we present not only definitions, but also the issues and discussions around these words

Remarks about this glossary - the words here selected do not have only one definition, it is not about restriction, but about opening the discussions

Talk about “exclusion” definition

### Why this glossary

“(...) A glossary usually offers an implicit map of key terms to navigate in the environment of a text. In this respect, this glossary is no different: the orienting function of the glossary helps to build a certain systematicity by fixing notions for each of the terms and consolidating cross-references between words. We intend to take this function of the glossary to heart by explicitly presenting this function as a practice of production and fixation of meanings. A glossary, far from providing the reader with “true definitions”, produces a map of meanings that give coherence to a text.

The objective of this glossary, then, is to give an account of how the use and meaning of a word is part of and expresses a set of social conditions under which those words are comprehensible. This effect of signification occurs within the framework of rules of coherence and organisation of statements that determine what can be said and understood about these words. These structures of signification that give rise to these words mean that, from an approach that we could call “archeological”, we can try to understand how these terms do not refer to something natural and eternal, but refer to social structures and discursive practices. None of these terms pre-exist the specific social practices in which they emerge. There is, for example, no natural and eternal concept of race that can be taught, but rather the creation of the idea of race in a social context in which it makes sense and is thought and used in a certain way.

### How to use this glossary

he project of our glossary is critical because it goes beyond stating fixed meanings, and seeks to render explicit a relationship between words and social structures. It seeks to show how the use of words and their semantic universes is integrated into the practices of a specific society and is inseparable from the ways in which this society acts, exploits, produces, reproduces, exercises power and domination, and gives everyone their place. We try, for several of these terms, to express the social conditions under which they “make sense”, or have “made sense” historically. It is a power-focused glossary, for it explores the relation between words themselves and power: it tries to understand how a single piece of meaning, a term, comprises a whole universe of power practices. Further, it tries both to show how the forms of knowledge that give meaning (and meaningfulness) to these terms seek to make them objective and natural, as well as how these meanings are formed within material conflicts inside society. The effort to simply offer the “correct meaning” of a term effectively naturalizes these words and thus contributes to the practices and power structures that give them validity. On the contrary, our interest is to bring out that struggle as well as the conflicts and polemics between social actors that these terms name, giving our readers the tools to dig beyond apparently simple and clear-cut meanings, turning themselves into true archaeologists of the structures that shape the ways we think and speak, and, consequently, the ways we teach. (...)”

### Abolitionism

The concept that prison could and should be abolished and replaced by other methods to contain deviance.

Source: Vitale, A. S. (2017). *The end of policing*. London, United Kingdom: Verso Books.

### Accessibility

Accessibility is an important claim of the disability movement. It supposes transforming the collective living space in a way that it does not constitute obstacles for people living with disabilities. Physical accessibility involves rendering movement with a wheelchair possible. This is the most common expression of accessibility, but public messages written in braille, sign language interpreters, adaptable computer screens and apps also belong to the domain of accessibility. Universal design aims at rendering spaces and services accessible for people with a wide range of disabilities.

See also: *Disabled people / people with disability, International disability movement*

### Biological racism

Also known as scientific racism, it is the pseudoscientific belief that the human species can be subdivided into biologically distinct taxa called "races".

See also: *Race / racism*

Source: Garros, J. Z. (2006). A brave old world: an analysis of scientific racism and BiDil. McGill Journal of Medicine, 9(1). pp. 54–60.

### Colonialism

The establishment of a political, economic, and social control over groups of people and territories by a foreign power, usually associated with the period of European expansion and imperialism.

See also: *Coloniality*

Source: Quijano, A. (2000). *Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Clasco.

### Coloniality

The ongoing legacy of colonialism in the present. It is a set of social, economic, and cultural structures that were established during the colonial period and that continue to shape the lives of people in formerly colonized societies. These structures include racism, inequality, and cultural domination, and they are often perpetuated by institutions and practices that were put in place during the colonial era.

See also: *Colonialism, Racism / race*

Source: Quijano, A. (2000). *Colonialidad del poder, eurocentrismo y América Latina*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Clasco.

### Conscientização

This expression (in Portuguese of Spanish) comes from the Latin American tradition of the theatre of the oppressed. Paolo Freire uses it to describe the process when a person is becoming progressively able to critically analyse the social context and his/her place in it. Conscientização also suggests that from the critical analysis which renders political and economic contradictions visible emerges the possibility of action.

See also: *Theatre of the Oppressed*

Source: Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Greenwich, NY: Owl Pen Books.

### Disabled people / people with disability

The expression 'people with disability' has usually been associated with what is called the 'medical model' of disability, while the formula 'disabled people' was preferred by proponents of the 'social model'. However, the UN terminology has always preferred 'people with disability'. The original connotations have been lost or at least have become blurred. Preferences of people and groups today tend to depend on choices that are partly political, partly conventional. This uncertainty notwithstanding, using the wrong expression in the wrong context may hurt sensitivities.

See also: *Medical model of disability, Social model of disability, Accessibility, DPO / OPD, UNCRPD, Independent Living Movement, Institutionalisation / deinstitutionalisation, International disability movement*

### Discrimination

Discrimination occurs when a person is unable to enjoy his or her human rights or other legal rights on an equal basis with others because of an unjustified distinction made in policy, law, or treatment. It is a form of discrimination based on several factors that simultaneously contribute to defining a person's social and political identity.

See also: *Positive discrimination, Equality, Segregation, Race / racism, Stigmatisation, Intersectionality*

Source: Amnesty International. (2023, September 18). *Discrimination - Amnesty International*. https://www.amnesty.org/en/what-we-do/discrimination/.

### DPO / OPD

DPO stands for Disabled People's Organisation. OPD stands for Organisation of people with disabilities. The meaning is the same, i.e. an organisation managed by and for disabled people. The choice of the wording is context dependent. Grass-roots organisations figh-

ting for disability rights have been active in some Northern countries since the 19th century. It can be argued that organisations run by disabled people also existed in the Global South very early, however these were not organised around the concept of rights. DPOs have been multiplying everywhere since the consolidation of the international disability movement, especially since the 70s of the last century, inspired largely by the American civil rights movement.

See also: *Disabled people / people with disability, Global South, International disability movement*

## Economic, social, and cultural capital

Bourdieu (1998) differentiates 3 types of capital: economic, cultural and social. The total of these capitals adds up to the symbolic capital of the person, i.e. their social status that puts him or her above or under others. There is a connection between the three forms of capital, as they tend to reinforce each other. If we have more economic capital, we can, for example, buy books, which we can learn from and gain new skills, and thus strengthen our cultural capital and lead to higher positions in the class structure.

Source:
Bourdieu, P. (1998). Gazdasági tőke, kulturális tőke, társadalmi tőke. [Economic capital, cultural capital, social capital] In Gy. Lengyel, Z. Szántó. (eds.). *A társadalmi és kulturális erőforrások szociológiája*. [Sociology of social and cultural resources] (ed.). pp. 11-43. Budapest, Hungary: AULA Kiadó.

## Episteme / epistemic / epistemology

From greek ἐπιστήμη (episteme); it originally meant universally valid and true knowledge, as opposed to mere opinion or belief (doxa-δόξα) or technique or craft (techne - τέχνη). Epistemology, then, would be the study of the conditions, possibilities, limitations, and ultimate meaning of true knowledge. One would call epistemic all things pertaining the activity of validly knowing something (in its diverse forms), whether in an individual or collective framework. More recently, Michel Foucault has called an épistémè the conditions of possibility (assumptions, rules) within a particular society in a given moment according to which it organises its practices and discourses of knowledge production, as well as their criteria of truthfulness and validity. Épistémès constitute the implicit and unconscious rules of how knowledge is historically conceived and exercised, and of the ways we make sense of the world and of ourselves. This concept serves for Foucault as a way of understanding the relationship between the forms of knowledge in our societies and the structure of power that supports and constitutes society itself.

Source: Foucault, M. (1970). The Order of Things. London, United Kingdom: Tavistock

## Equality

Equality means that there is no difference between people or groups in resources. Full equality is an ideal, difficult to achieve in a world naturally marked by difference, but it might be approached by targeted politics of redistribution which curb inequality. Where inequality of resources and opportunities is given, equal treatment might be even oppressive. It would mean for example that a student with visual impairment has to write the same test as his/her non-disabled peers.

See also: *Discrimination*

## Equity

Equity is the principle and the politics of fairness in a world where people have widely different opportunities, because of their social status, ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation, or disability. In such a world relative equality can only be achieved by targeted compensation, which does not annul the original difference but mitigate its consequences.

See also: *Positive discrimination*

## Exclusion

The act of not allowing someone or something to take part in an activity or to enter a place.

See also: *Discrimination, Segregation*

Source:
Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). *Exclusion*. In Cambridge Dictionary. Retrieved from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/exclusion

## Extractivist

A term of growing use in Latin America academia and social movements to describe economic activities that remove of large amounts of a nation's natural commons for sale on the world market with little or no processing. Extractivism has increasingly formed the base of Latin American economies under neoliberalism.

Source:
Doughman, R. C. (2016). Might the Keys to Peace Open the Doors to Extractivism?: Reflections on Colombia's Post-Conflict Extractive Economy. In F. Cante & H. Quehl (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Transitional Justice and Peace Building in Turbulent Regions* (pp. 444-470). IGI Global. https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-4666-9675-4.ch022

## Gender

Gender refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialisation processes. They are context- / time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities. Gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context. Other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis include class, race, poverty level, ethnic group and age.

See also: *Sex, Gender expression, Gender identity*

Source:
*Gender mainstreaming glossary*. (2024, February 9). European Institute for Gender Equality. https://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/glossary

## Genderfluid

Genderfluid is a gender identity which refers to a gender that varies over time. This can be occasionally, every month, every week, everyday, to even every few moments a day depending upon the person. Sometimes it is consistent and sometimes it is not. A genderfluid person's gender may change dramatically, delicately, rapidly, or slowly also depending on the person. The gender may stay the same for several months or change within hours. Sometimes the gender changes in response to different circumstances.

See also: *Gender, Sex, Gender expression, Gender identity*

Source:
Gender Wiki. (n.d.). *Genderfluid*. Gender Wiki. https://gender.fandom.com/wiki/Genderfluid

## Gender expression

Gender expression, or gender presentation, is a person's behaviour, mannerisms, interests, and appearance that are associated with gender, specifically with the categories of femininity or masculinity. This also includes gender roles. These categories rely on stereotypes about gender.

See also: *Gender, Sex, Gender identity*

Source:
Horn, S. S. (2007). Adolescents' Acceptance of Same-Sex Peers Based on Sexual Orientation and Gender Expression. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*. 36(3). pp. 373.

## Gender identity

Gender identity refers to a person's deeply felt, internal and individual experience of gender, which may or may not correspond to the person's physiology or designated sex at birth.

See also:
*Gender, Sex, Gender expression*

Source:
Word Health Organization (2019, June 19). *Gender and health* - Overview. WHO. https://www.who.int/health-topics/gender#tab=tab_1

## Gender ideology

Usually, a pejoratively used term that refers to the LGBTQI+ movement and to the belief that gender is not a biological, but a socially constructed attribute, therefore, people can have gender identities that differ from their sex assigned at birth. The term 'gender ideology' may also refer to actions of the LGBTQI+ movement and may imply that people who fight for LGBTQI+ rights, or just openly exist as LGBTQI+ individuals, are carrying out a mission based on their ideology in order to weaken traditional social norms based around heterosexuality and traditional Western gender norms.

See also: *Gender, Sex, Gender identity, Sexual orientation*

## Global South

Almost everyone has a pretty intuitive idea of what is an underdeveloped country and which are the poorest regions of the globe. The term "Global South" names not quite a definite region of the world or a concrete list of countries, but rather a method of categorisation of the world's regions according to their socio-economic situation and their place in the global economy. The definitions are changing, and take sometimes radically different stances on the way we conceptualise the global economy and the relationship between the "richest" and "poorest" regions of the world. According to some of these stances or paradigms, there is a pretty straight-forward criteria of classification of rich and poor countries considered as individual agents, according to one or several indicators and statistics. Others seem to take a stance that goes beyond empirical indicators and rather seeks to describe developed or underdeveloped individual countries according to the form of their productive organisation, the characteristics of their social stratification, and their public institutions. Others think in a more global perspective, presenting how countries from the Global South cannot be per se underdeveloped, but rather suffer a disadvantageous position in global markets where they are subjected either to an "unequal exchange" of prices or to a position of exporters of raw materials, which results in the

productive and social underdevelopment of their regions and the over-exploitation of their workers.

Source:
Starosta, G. & Charnock, G. (Eds.). (2016). *The New International Division of Labour: Global Transformation and Uneven Development*. (ed.). Buenos Aires, Argentina: Palgrave Macmillan

## Hierarchy

An archaeology of the concept of hierarchy shows us the first use of the word came from early Christian theology. "Hierarchy" (ιεραρχία: "the governance of things sacred") offered a description of the relation of subordination between the different choruses and orders of angels. This celestial governance constituted an echo of Greek rational cosmology in Christian thought, for it expressed as well the relations of subordination and subsumption between the different orders of the universe embedded one within another from least to most perfect, as we can find in Aristotle. This model was then extrapolated to the governance of the Church, where this form of "embeddedness" or subordination, as well as its divine and immutable character remained crucial. In these, order and subordination constitute a necessary attribute either of divinity or the universe, and was not man-made but rather revealed. According to Nicolas Verdier, the 18th century was a turning point for the concept, where it branched out both to governance of the city and to the order of natural beings. According to their size (cities) or their degree of perfection (natural beings), different kinds of things are subordinated to the next, to ultimately express the whole they belong to. It is until Montesquieu (1689-1755) that hierarchy is understood as the differentiation and dominance among men that necessarily characterises Society and its activity. Thus, social hierarchy is essentially produced. The term is largely absent in Political Economy and in Marxism, but crucial for positivist Sociology. There, Hierarchy is understood as a methodological concept to depict the whole of a social system purely in terms of the relations of domination (importance, obedience, primacy, difference of outcomes, etc.) between its elements, within a general notion of functional unity between them. Here, hierarchy is not only understood as socially produced, but produced by a scientific observer as a category to summarise and understand a manifold of social phenomena as a functional whole where every element plays its part and exists within a set of relations of dominance or rank. But hierarchy itself, however, cannot be found in the intrinsic nature of its object.

Sources:
Levine, C. (2015). Forms: *Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network (STU-Student edition)*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt7zvk8s

Pumain, D. (Ed.). (2006). *Hierarchy in Natural and Social Sciences*. (ed.). Dodrecht, Netherlands: Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-4127-6

Lane, D. (2006). Hierarchy, Complexity, Society. In D. Pumain (ed.). *Hierarchy in Natural and Social Sciences*. (ed.). New York, NY: Springer.

## Human rights-based approach

The human rights-based approach (HRBA) is a conceptual framework for the process of human development that is normatively based on international human rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights. It seeks to analyse inequalities which lie at the heart of development problems and redress discriminatory practices and unjust distributions of power that impede development progress and often result in groups of people being left behind.

See also: *Rights-based approach*

Source:
United Nations. (n.d.-b). *Human Rights-Based approach*. UNSDG. https://unsdg.un.org/2030-agenda/universal-values/human-rights-based-approach

## Habitus

There is a set of abilities, characteristics and behaviours that make us likeable and valuable members of society or specific groups that we are part of in the eyes of others, and we learn these abilities and set of behaviours – in other words, our habitus – during our socialisation in our families, schools and broader communities.

Source:
Bourdieu, P. (2000). A Mezők Logikája [La logique des champs]. In. P. Somlai, G. Felkai & D. Némedi (eds.). *Olvasókönyv a Szociológia történetéhez II.: Szociológiai irányzatok a XX. század elejéig*. [Reader for the history of Sociology II. Sociological trends until the early 20th century]. (ed.). Budapest, Hungary: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó.

## Heteronormativity

Heteronormativity is a worldview that promotes heterosexuality as the normal and/or preferred sexual orientation and is reinforced in society through the institutions of marriage, taxes (in some countries, married heterosexual couples can present joint tax returns and same-sex couples cannot if they are not legally married), employment, and adoption rights, among many others. Heteronormativity is a form of power and control that applies pressure to both straight and gay individuals, through institutional arrangements and accepted social norms.

See also: *Sexual orientation, Discrimination, Power*

Source:
Jagose, Annamarie. (2005). Queer Theory. In M. C. Horowitz (ed.). *New Dictionary of the History of Ideas*. (ed.). Vol. 5. Detroit, MI: Scribner's.

### Inclusive education

An educational principle by which disabled children learn in mainstream schools, rather than in specialised schools. The opposite of inclusive education is segregated education.

See also: *Disabled people / people with disability, Segregation*

### Indigenous

Indigenous is a conflicting term that expresses a conflicting reality. There is no clear-cut, all-encompassing term for indigenous peoples because the naming of indigenous groups as such addresses immediately historical and contemporary antagonisms in the political and economic sphere. There is certain anxiety regarding both the "who" and the "how" of being indigenous; who can rightfully be considered as such? what is the proper name for such a people? This confusion is inherent to the very conflict inscribed within the Indigenous as such. Truth is, when we say "indigenous", we name a social-historical process rather than a group.

Etymologically speaking, Indigenous comes from vulgar Latin and its use precedes the conquest of the Indies by centuries. It means something is vernacular or naturally born to a particular region. Even at first glance it makes immediate reference to a territory. However, the "born in" aspect has been and remains problematic: it would mean "everybody is indigenous to some place", and as such, everyone would be indigenous and have a claim to a form of appropriation to the land they were born into. This ambiguous definition has been instrumentalised by agents of capitalistic territorial expansion in the United States and other lands, under the pretext that anyone born in America has the same claim to "indigeneity" as any native group.

Truth is, the need to discern and distinguish indigenous from non-indigenous, by some proof of authenticity is not spontaneous: it is always related to disputing rights over the occupation and usufruct of land. Public institutions, sciences, and public discourse – since the colonisation of the Indies to our days – have incessantly tried to fixate the standards of authenticity according to which someone might be called indigenous to a certain territory. These standards, however, have been historically mediated by colonialism itself; they have been grounded on ideas of cultural, racial, or even genetic purity that do not correspond to the ways native peoples perceive and gather themselves. These authenticity standards have produced, with the same land-appropriating interest in mind, the apparently contradicting claim that no one is really indigenous anymore, given the history of cultural and racial hybridation between these minorised groups and globalised society.

Self-determination is the best definition: Indigenous peoples are those that, in relation to a colonial or imperialist power, consider themselves distinct from the other social sectors and groups that exercise hegemony over a territory.

Claims to indigeneity necessarily relate to struggle in the presence of a colonial power that disputes the self-determined right to occupy, work, and usufruct a land; it makes reference as well to the institutional mechanisms of recognition of this right. The Indigenous, then, designates this antagonistic process of colonialism and struggle that incites self-recognition and striving towards recognition in this economic, historical, and cultural sense.

Consequently, as the logics and structures of colonialism and imperialism are historically diverse, the claims of indigeneity that arise from these conditions are just as particular. They cannot be homogenised: the struggles, institutions, and mechanisms of every act of self-determination as "indigenous people" have an aspect of irreducible singularity, relating to the particular characteristics of their space, their disputes, and their colonial history.

See also: *Colonialism, Coloniality*

### Independent Living Movement

The Independent Living Movement started as a grassroots moblisation in the 1960s in North America, followed by some West European countries (Germany, Sweden, the UK), in the 70s. Activists of the movement advocate for the autonomy and self-determination of people with disabilities and support deinstitutionalisation. The wave of deinstitionalisation coincided with the worldwide normalisation of neoliberal policies, leading to the downscaling to state sponsored health and welfare services. The impact of this double process on the life of disabled people is ambiguous. While abuse and inhuman treatment has largely been curbed by the closing of mass institutions, unmet needs tend to be absorbed by unpaid care provided by family members or remain unattended.

See also: *Disabled people / people with disability, Institutionalisation / deinstitutionalisation*

### Institutionalisation / deinstitutionalisation

Until the 19th century people with disabilities were often locked down in poor houses and jails. From the beginning of the 20th century, specialised facilities were created in Europe and the US where people who were considered disabled were housed together. Goffman called these institutions "total" because they tended to regulate all the aspects of life of the inmates who were physically segregated from their families and communities. Many disabled people experienced abuse in these facilities. The disability rights movement started as a movement for independent living, triggering a wave of deinstitutionalisation. i.e. the elimination of large hospitals and segregated places for the disabled. By the end of the 80s deinstitutionalisation became the norm in the West, although a lot of disabled people continue to be institutionalised. In Eastern Europe deinstitutionalisation started only after the end of the cold war and went on sometimes hastily, more emphasis having been put on closing specialised institutions than on the creation of the conditions of independent living.

See also: *Disabled people / people with disability, Independent Living Movement, Total institution*

### Interculturality

For a long time, interculturality had been a word used in the sense of crops and farming. From the 70s, research started to talk about the term from a social perspective. In the early studies, interculturality was linked to a static concept that would explore interactions between cultures taking into account patterns and models. Nowadays, the dynamic notion of culture gives space for a concept that will focus on contextual and precise interactions, exploring individual perceptions and external ones during the process. According to UNESCO, interculturality can be defined as follows: "*[...] the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect*".

It is important to notice that the increasing use of the term brought also, simplifying and, appropriation of it from rigid systems in order to justify power structures from neoliberal institutions. To illustrate this concept, Collin unveils "the paradoxical relationship between neoliberal discourses and the institutionalisation of the intercultural" which he calls 'interculturality from above' and classifies as 'illusionary' since 'it only scratches at the surface of a more complex environment'. On the other hand, 'interculturality from below', represented in Collin's study by university teachers and students, implies 'the recognition that competing discourses are not equal in terms of power and status'. The "old concept" referred to as functional interculturalism, or superficial neo-colonial interculturality, does not respond to social or political struggles of communities that have indeed remained segregated or suffered violent mestizaje in any kind of colonialism or post-colonialism. The concept in recent studies (Walsh, Sousa Santos) invites us predispositions for critical inter-epistemic and decolonial dialogue, recognition of on-going struggles for social and cognitive justice, cosmopolitan insurgency, etc.

Sources:
Collins, H. (2018). Interculturality from above and below: navigating uneven discourses in a neoliberaluniversity system. *Language and Intercultural Communication 18*(2). pp. 167–83.

Dietz, G. (2018). Interculturality. *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*. pp. 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1629

de Sousa Santos, B. (2014). *Epistemologies of the South*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm

Walsh, C. (2003). Interculturalidad y colonialidad del poder: Un pensamiento y posicionamiento "otro" desde la diferencia colonial [Interculturality and Coloniality of Power: Thinking and Positioning Otherwise from Colonial Difference].

### International disability movement

Although the disability movement as we know it today has started in the West, in many parts of the world, from time immemorial, people with disabilities have proved that they are not only able to control their own lives, but they are also capable of coming together to help their peers. In West Africa, for example, many people with physical impairments have traditionally been blacksmiths, they have taught each other the skills of the job and have created self-help groups. The difference between these associations and later organisations is a change in perspective. We can speak about the disability movement from the moment that disabled people realised that they deserve the same rights as everybody else and started to fight collectively for these rights. This realisation coincided with and was inspired by the international Human Rights movement, growing from the end of the second World War and by the civil rights movement of the 1960s in the US. The pioneers of the nascent disability movement were grass-roots organisations like the American Independent Living movement and the British Movement against Segregation (UPIAS). The UN had a major role in making the disability movement truly international. In 1976, it proclaimed 1981 to be the International Year of Disabled Persons. In 1992 it declared the date of the 3rd December the International Day of Persons with Disabilities. In 2006 it adopted the Convention on the Rights of Persons with

Disabilities (UNCRPD), that has been signed to date by the majority of the member states. Since the 70s countless organisations of persons with disabilities (DPOs or OPDs) have been formed in the Global South as well as in the Global North and some of them have joined larger, regional or international alliances. Along with the globalisation of the movement, there have been some attempts to define regional specificities. The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, for example, was adopted in 2018 by 15 member states of the African Union.

See also: *Disabled people / people with disability, Independent Living Movement, DPO / OPD, Segregation, UNCRPD*

Source:
African Union. (2018, January 29). *Protocol to the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Persons of Disabilities in Africa*. https://au.int/en/treaties/protocol-african-charter-hman-and-peoples-rights-rights-persons-disabilities-africa

## Intersex

Intersex is a general term used for a variety of conditions in which a person is born with a reproductive or sexual anatomy that doesn't seem to fit the typical definitions of female or male. For example, a person might be born appearing to be female on the outside, but having mostly male-typical anatomy on the inside. Or a person may be born with mosaic genetics, so that some of her cells have XX chromosomes and some of them have XY.

See also: *Sex, Gender, Gender identity*

Source:
Intersex Society of North America (n.d.). *What is intersex?*. https://isna.org/faq/what_is_intersex/

## Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality describes the ways in which systems of inequality based on gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability, class and other forms of discrimination "intersect" to create unique dynamics and effects. For example, when a Muslim woman wearing the Hijab is being discriminated, it would be impossible to dissociate her female identity from her Muslim identity and to isolate the dimension(s) causing her discrimination.

See also: *Discrimination*

Source:
Center for Intersectional Justice. (n.d.). *What is intersectionality*. https://www.intersectionaljustice.org/what-is-intersectionality

## Islamophobia

Unreasonable dislike or fear of, and prejudice against, Muslims or Islam.

Source:
Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). Islamophobia. In Cambridge Dictionary. Retrieved from https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/islamophobia

## Medical model of disability

It was the disability movement that realised that mainstream society's perception of disability laid on a number of clichés. People and institutions tended to regard disabled people as passive victims of their conditions. Disability was seen as the result of a personal tragedy related to the impairment of the person. The societal answer to disability was often rejection, segregation, or condescending pity. The medicalised view on impairment made persons with disability the subjects of the medical expertise without the possibility to express their opinion of what they needed. The result was the formation of mass institutions where disabled people were subjected to degrading treatment, disciplinary rules, and medicalisation. Nobody called the combination of these views "the medical model" until an alternative was not presented. This was the "social model", which negated one by one all the above premises and created the conditions for the better inclusion of persons with disabilities in society.

See also: *Social model of disability, Disabled people / people with disability*

## Migration

An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons.

Source:
International Organization for Migration (n.d.). *Who is a migrant?*. International Organization for Migration. https://www.iom.int/who-migrant-0

## Minority

Minorities are often characterised as any group that comprises "less than half" of the population. This definition, however, poses several weaknesses. Sociological studies have proposed minorities not to be defined in contrast to majorities in a numerical sense, but minorities to be understood as a feature of the incorporation of a specific social collectivity in the whole of society. This process is called, as well, minorisation. A social minority is defined as such by the conditions of its existence within the society they are part of. A collectivity in a material or juridical disadvantaged position that conditions and constraints its life-situations and

life-chances, and is unequally incorporated in society and thus subordinate, is a minority even if it outnumbers dominant groups. This means understanding what a minority is asks for a look upon the whole of society and the way advantages and disadvantages are distributed within it. Size-related definitions of minorities cannot account for asymmetry and disparity that cause for a social collective to be "marked" by their vulnerable condition. As a result, a minorised group cannot be defined merely by its traits (religion, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation), but by the way the society it belongs to incorporates people with said traits in a disadvantageous and subordinated (minorised) position.

See also: *Discrimination, Hierarchy, Power, Economic, social, and cultural capital*

## Misgender

Misgendering occurs when you intentionally or unintentionally refer to a person, relate to a person, or use language to describe a person that doesn't align with their affirmed gender. For example, referring to a woman as "he" or calling her a "guy" is an act of misgendering.

See also: *Gender, Gender identity, Gender expression*

Source:
Clements, K. C. (2018.09.18.) *What Does It Mean to Misgender Someone?* Healthline. https://www.healthline.com/health/transgender/misgendering

## Non-binary

Someone who is non-binary does not identify as exclusively male or female. They may identify as both, neither, or some combination of the two.

See also: *Gender, Gender identity*

## Oppressed / Oppressor

This diad is in the words of Boal and Freire. It is a power relationship, it has nothinig to do with good and bad people, but with the structure of power where they are living in. Oppressed is the group silenced by the dominant groups, the group that has no voice to dialogue but must only listen the Oppressor's monologue. The group who has less power in determining its conditons of life.

See also: *Power, Hierarchy, Minority*

Source:
Boal, A. (2019). Theatre of the Oppressed. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

## Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a social system in which positions of dominance and privilege are primarily held by men. It is used, both as a technical anthropological term for families or clans controlled by the father or eldest male or group of males and in feminist theory where it is used to describe broad social structures in which men dominate over women and children. In these theories it is often extended to a variety of manifestations in which men have social privileges over others causing exploitation or oppression, such as through male dominance of moral authority and control of property. Patriarchal societies can be patrilineal or matrilineal, meaning that property and title are inherited by the male or female lineage respectively.

Patriarchy is associated with a set of ideas, a patriarchal ideology that acts to explain and justify this dominance and attributes it to inherent natural differences between men and women. Historically, patriarchy has manifested itself in the social, legal, political, religious, and economic organisation of a range of different cultures. Most contemporary societies are, in practice, patriarchal.

See also: *Hierarchy, Power*

## Positive discrimination

Although discrimination has a negative connotation, it only means "different treatment". Somebody may be treated differently, i.e. in better or worse way than people in similar situation. Negative discrimination is often, although not always, linked to negative perception: prejudice or stigma. Some social justice movements esteem it necessary to compensate stigma and negative discrimination with positive measures. In this case, people belonging to the discriminated group may have certain advantages in some competitive situations, for example applying for a job or for an academic position. In the United States affirmative action has been the official policy of many universities, offering reserved places to students of colour and members of other minorities. This policy has come under attack recently by the US Supreme Court, reversing a trend that has become mainstream during the past decades and which has been quite successful in assuring social mobility for students with fewer opportunities. Quota systems reserving seats for a certain percentage of women in Parliament is another example of positive discrimination. There is a debate even in feminist circles if quotas are real or only superficial measures to assure equality, but most agree that as long as inequality is so glaring, it is better to have reserved seats than no seats at all.

See also:
*Discrimination, Equality, Equity*

## Power

It is a very common terms used in different ways and context. Power in social and political context can be seen as the ability to influence people or events.

Another distinction can be 'power on' and 'power to' or 'power with', referring to different relationship between the person who uses power and the context. There are different sources of power at individual and group levels, like economic goods, skills, relational assets, etc.

In a non-violent approach, power is seen as a potential (power within or with instead of on someone), the possibility to do something. Usually, the term is associated with negative feelings, instead of being seen as a feature of ruling people. In non-violent framework, each person and group, even if socially, economically, etc. weak, has some power; the challenge of non-violence is to unify people with less power to question the existing and non-democratic structures of power like authoritarian governments but also hierarchical institutions where (and by which) people are oppressed.

See also: *Hierarchy, Discrimination, Privilege, Patriarchy, Oppressed / Oppressor*

Source:
Speck, A. (n.d.). *Nonviolence and power*. Empowering Nonviolence. https://www.nonviolence.wri-irg.org/en/resources/2017/nonviolence-and-power

## Privilege

Max Weber's theory of social stratification undertakes an exhaustive classification of social positions and interests in a society through the concept of privilege. Despite differing greatly from the most extended and contemporary use of the word within activist circles, its Weberian use and its methodological assumptions remain the underlying matrix of the concept. In Weber's account, individual social actors can be negatively or positively privileged with a distinctive attribute inside a social situation. As a principle of social stratification, being positively or negatively privileged by a specific attribute inside a social situation has, in Weber's conception, a general tendency to make a determinate outcome (benefits, damages, etc.) more likely for any given individual (the likeliness to be harassed by the police, likeliness to be paid more for any given job, likeliness to be considered dangerous or threatening; likeliness to obtain and maintain a stable job). Thus, people sharing a positive privilege constitute a social group in a position of relative advantage compared to its negatively privileged counterpart(s). The conceptual structure of privilege, then, comes from a methodological choice that focuses on individual empirical phenomena. The concept of privilege stems from an individual-actor-approach that takes as its main object the empirical attribute that characterises the individual (X is rich, X is male, X is white) in multiple spheres of social differentiation, and not the historical and social process of differentiation as such. Rather than explaining social structure, privilege requires a structural backbone that explains empirical differences and heterogeneity of outcomes between individual actors. Therefore, social scientists have been rather inclined to speak of "systems of privilege": not individual possessions but features of social structure that manifest themselves as particular traits in actors of society that make them prone to different outcomes.

See also: *Privilege, Power, Economic, social, and cultural capital, Hierarchy, Discrimination*

Source:
Barbalet, J. M. (1980). Principles of Stratification in Max Weber: An Interpretation and Critique. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 31(3), pp. 401–418. https://doi.org/10.2307/589373 /

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. C. (1990). *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, 2nd Edition (R. Nice, Trad.).

Johnson, A. G. (2005). *Privilege, Power, and Difference*.

## Public work scheme

Public works are a broad category of infrastructure projects, financed and procured by a government body for recreational, employment, and health and safety uses in the greater community. They include public buildings (municipal buildings, schools, and hospitals), transport infrastructure (roads, railroads, bridges, pipelines, canals, ports, and airports), public spaces (public squares, parks, and beaches), public services (water supply and treatment, sewage treatment, electrical grid, and dams), and other, usually long-term, physical assets and facilities.

Source:
Wikipedia contributors. (2023, December 13). *Public works*. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_works

## Queer

A term people often use to express a spectrum of identities and orientations that are counter to the mainstream. Queer is often used as a catch-all to include many people, including those who do not identify as exclusively straight and/or folks who have non-binary or gender-expansive identities. This term was previously used as a slur, but has been reclaimed by many parts of the LGBTQ+ movement.

See also: *Gender, Gender identity, Transgender, Non-binary, Genderfluid*

Source:
HRC Foundation (n.d.). *Glossary of terms*. https://www.hrc.org/resources/glossary-of-terms

## Race / racism

Racism is understood as "prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism by an individual, community, or institution against a person or people on the basis of their membership of a particular racial or ethnic group, typically one that is a minority or marginalised." (Oxford, 2020). Our intention here is to present race as a distinctively modern phenomenon, explaining how race as a series of epistemic paradigms and political practices cannot be separated from racism.

Race is the concept that shapes the way we think about human diversity in modern societies: it synthesises the genetic (i.e. related to origin) traits that, usually in an immediate physical way, are shared homogeneously in humans within groups and at the same time distinguish them from others. This process of conceptual synthesis cast over empirical ethnic diversification is so intertwined with the history and structure of modern globalised society it seems self-evident: race seems to be a characteristic that belongs naturally to every single human being, and constitutes its most immediate and natural identity. It even projects itself back to pre-modern times, making seem obvious some events and conflicts were race-related. However, race is surprisingly recent as a concept: it does not stem out from ancient tribal affinities and conflicts, but it developed in the course of the last 400 years and flourished in the 19th and 20th centuries alongside several scientific paradigms that accompanied the imperialistic and colonial organisation of worldwide wealth production and appropriation. Thus, it would be impossible to offer "a correct" concept of race: concepts of race have been adequate and effective within particular historical frames to encompass and epistemically articulate practices of exploitation and expropriation, and they cannot be simply dismissed as scientifically or morally untrue, but rather need to be understood as necessary features of the broad social framework of domination they belong to.

Race, then, can be thought of as the articulation of a complex and global system of power and domination with a set of epistemic and gnoseological practices that offer support and justification. This articulation between forms of exploitation and scientific practices constitutes a true regime of power. Charles Hirschman cites three closely related events for the emergency of the modern concept of race; namely a) the process of enslavement of Africans in the transatlantic trade; b) the explicit articulation of ethnic difference within a modern global economic system of labour exploitation, trade, and accumulation in early mercantilist colonialism and later in 18th century imperialism; c) the emergence of a natural-scientific discourse to conceptualise human diversity.

Regarding c), the various stages of historical development of colonial practices were accompanied by various epistemes, where racial discourse was articulated first by theology and theological disputes (universal and particular attributes of human subgroups regarding their ability to think and be evangelised, 15th-17th centuries); then by biological taxonomy (classification of species and subspecies according to their degree of perfection, 18th century); then by physiognomy, phrenology, and social Darwinism (explanation of differences between human subspecies according to their natural physical and cognitive capabilities, 19th-20th centuries). These discourses (now scientifically void and discredited) all aimed for a universal and objective discourse to prove the rational or biological superiority of white Europeans, and consequently a justification for their military, economic and political dominance, both in their eyes and in those of dominated groups. These radically defer from pre-modern conflicts between people from different ethnic groups, for they lacked a universal epistemic framework to think about ethnic difference.

The articulation of epistemic and material practices of domination expressed by race make racism inseparable from race, as racism is the overt and extreme manifestation of racial discourse, but not all of it. Not all forms of racialism are conflictive; sometimes they work smoothly or are even held by individuals coming from racially oppressed groups. It is not enough to confront blatant racism without criticising race itself, for it is has been crucial for these systems of political, military, and economic domination. However, it is insufficient as well to reject race as a pseudo-scientific concept while overlooking the real material effects of racial domination, that make race a historical and social reality that cannot be denied.

See also: *Biological racism, Discrimination, Minority, Episteme / epistemic / epistemology*

Sources:
Chorover, S. L. L. (1980). *From Genesis to Genocide: The Meaning of Human Nature and the Power of Behavior Control.*

Hirschman, C. (2004). The Origins and Demise of the Concept of Race. *Population and Development Review*, 30(3). pp. 385–415. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3401408

## Restorative Justice

Any process in which victim and offender and, where appropriate, any other member of the community who feels aggrieved by the offence, if they freely consent to it, participate together actively in resolving the issues arising from the criminal offence, with the help of an impartial third party.

### Rights-based approach

RBA is a vision that social, humanitarian, development- or health related interventions are expected to follow if they mean to align with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such a vision involves an acute attention to possible discrimination in order to avoid or challenge it as well as priority given to the most marginalised groups. The conceptual framework treats people and institutions as duty bearers or right holders, these positions being regarded as implicitly mutually exclusive and a lot of emphasis is put on capacity building to reinforce both sides in their respective roles.

See also: Human rights-based approach

### Sex

Sex refers to the biological and physiological characteristics that define humans as female or male. These sets of biological characteristics are not mutually exclusive, as there are individuals who possess both, but these characteristics tend to differentiate humans as females or males.

Source:
European Institute for Gender Equality (n.d.). *Sex*. https://eige.europa.eu/publications-resources/thesaurus/terms/1048?language_content_entity=en

### Sexual orientation

An inherent or immutable enduring of emotional, romantic or sexual attraction to other people. Note: an individual's sexual orientation is independent of their gender identity.

See also: Sex, Gender, Gender identity, Gender expression

Source:
HRC Foundation (n.d.). *Glossary of terms*. https://www.hrc.org/resources/glossary-of-terms

### Segregation

Segregation is one form of negative discrimination, when members of a minority group are not only treated differently, but their co-existence and communication with the mainstream society is also hampered by physical, geographical and/or institutional barriers. Although, illegal in practice, cases of segregation of Roma children in Hungarian schools have been reported regularly since the end of the cold war. In some instances, segregation is not the direct result of a wilful policy but that of social processes. For example, non-Roma Hungarian parents may take their children out of schools that are perceived as underperforming because of the presence of Roma children, creating an artificial demographic composition making Roma the majority. Whole geographic areas might also become segregated by the same token, when villagers move out of settlements affected by extreme poverty and lack of working opportunities, leaving the poorest behind, who tend to be Roma. School segregation is a problem that concerns disabled children too. The opposite of segregation is inclusion.

See also: *Discrimination, Inclusive education*

### Stigmatisation

According to sociologist Erving Goffman "stigma" is a projected image of an individual disqualifying him/her from full social acceptance. Not only individuals but whole groups may be stigmatised and, in this way, considered as somewhat less acceptable humans. Societies tend to produce social hierarchies that predestine certain categories for stigmatisation. Goffman described the process of stigmatisation in relation to people with disabilities but the cognitive mechanism creating stigma is certainly not exclusive to this group. It can be argued that the status of "migrant" is legally and institutionally stigmatised in contemporary Europe. Racism stigmatises people of colour, homophobia stigmatises gay and lesbian people and transphobia stigmatises trans people, etc. In each of these cases, members of a group are systematically dehumanised because of their perceived group membership.

See also: *Discrimination, Hierarchy, Disabled people / people with disability, Race / racism, Migration*

### Social justice

Social justice is a moral value and a conviction, according to which everybody deserves equal economic and social rights. However, there is significant difference between social justice movements in the interpretation of what exactly equal rights mean. On the radical left side, activists emphasise questions of distribution and insist on making rights substantial. Substantial rights suppose that social rights, like right to housing, right to food, to medical services, fair wages, the right to decent life, etc. are effectively protected and their enjoyment is guaranteed. Liberal social justice activists do not necessarily campaign for effective equality, instead they emphasise equality of opportunities. This means that everybody should have the opportunity to make himself/herself equal, in the name of fairness. In practice, the principle of fairness often translates into anti-discrimination laws and positive discrimination.

See also: *Discrimination, Positive discrimination, Equality, Equity*

### Social model of disability

The social model of disability was constructed in opposition to the medical model that disability activists realised defined the perception and treatment of persons of disabilities in the 1970s. The social model offered a radically different vision where disability was not seen anymore as the consequence of the impairment, but rather as that of the inability of society to respond to it, i.e. to take into consideration disabled persons' special needs. This new vision was and continues to be extremely liberating, however it has also its limitations as it makes conceptually impossible to apprehend disability without discrimination.

See also: *Medical model of disability, Disabled people / people with disability*

### Straight

An informal synonym for heterosexual.

See also: Sexual orientation

### Theatre of the Oppressed

It is the method created by the Brazilian director Augusto Boal, based on the Paulo Freire's approach. Boal says Theatre of the Oppressed (TO) is a rehearsal for revolution, or a method given to oppressed as they can liberate themselves with no need to be liberated by experts/leaders/scientists. It is based on the human skill to be able to see oneself while acting, that is to be spectator of oneself and an actor in our own life. It encopasses several techniques, all using theatre as a language to explore the world and its oppressions, with the collective eyes.

See also: *Conscientização, Oppressed / oppressor*

Source: Boal, A. (2019). *Theatre of the Oppressed*. London, United Kingdom: Routledge.

### Total institution

A total institution is a place of work and residence where a great number of similarly situated people, cut off from the wider community for a considerable time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life. Privacy is limited in total institutions, as all aspects of life including sleep, play, and work, are conducted in the same place. The concept is mostly associated with the work of sociologist Erving Goffman.

See also: *Institutionalisation / deinstitutionalisation*

Source:
Wikipedia contributors. (2024, January 12). *Total institution*. Wikipedia. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Total_institution

### Transgender

Transgender is an umbrella term to describe people whose gender is not the same as, or does not sit comfortably with, the sex they were assigned at birth. Trans people may describe themselves using one or more of a wide variety of terms, including (but not limited to) transgender, non-binary, or genderqueer.

See also: *Gender, Gender identity, Queer, Non-binary, Genderfluid*

### UNCRPD

The "United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities" is an international treaty, adopted by the General Assembly of the UN on the 13 December 2006, and came into force on 3 May 2008. Its goal is to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity. To date (February 2024), the Convention has 164 signatories, 190 parties and 20 ratifications. The USA is a notable exception.

See also: *Disabled people / people with disability, Accessibility, DPO / OPD, Independent Living Movement, Institutionalisation / deinstitutionalisation, International disability movement*

United Nations General Assembly. (2006, December 13). *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*. United Nations. https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities-2.html

Power dynamics
in education
revisited