

No. 117

**PUBLIC EDUCATION TO COMBAT XENOPHOBIA:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF THE PRINT MEDIA**

Vicki Igglesden

April 2002

Working Paper No. 117
ISSN 1474-3280

**PUBLIC EDUCATION TO COMBAT XENOPHOBIA:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF THE PRINT MEDIA**

Vicki Igglesden

April 2002

Development Planning Unit
University College London
9 Endsleigh Gardens
London, WC1H 0ED
dpu@ucl.ac.uk

ABBREVIATIONS

CEC	Commission of the European Communities
CoE	Council of Europe
ECRI	The European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
EUMC	European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
IMRAX	The International Media Working Group Against Racism & Xenophobia
OECD	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

**EDUCATION TO COMBAT XENOPHOBIA:
AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF THE PRINT MEDIA**

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: Understanding the Basis of Xenophobia	2
1.1 Identify Politics And The Nexus Of 'Race' And Nation	2
1.2 The Cognitive And Affective Bases Of Xenophobia	4
1.2.1. Cognition: Categorisation And Stereotypes	7
1.2.2. Affect	8
1.3 Conclusion	10
CHAPTER 2: Institutional Factors In The Generation Of Xenophobia And Policy Responses	10
2.1 Institutions of the state: legislation, immigration policy and political culture	10
2.1.1. Immigration Legislation And Citizenship Policy	11
2.1.2. Immigration Policies and Integration	11
2.1.3. Political Institutions and Political Culture	14
2.2. Strategies For Effective Public Education Policies To Counter Xenophobia	15
2.3. Conclusion	17
CHAPTER 3: Possibilities For And Constraints On The Newspaper Media's Role In Public Education To Combat Xenophobia	18
3.1. Objectives For A Newspaper Media Based Public Education Policy	19
3.2. Constraints	19
3.3. Possibilities For A Future Orientation Of The Newspaper Media In Public Education	21
CONCLUSION	22
BIBILOGRAPHY	24
ENDNOTES	32

EDUCATION TO COMBAT XENOPHOBIA: AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF THE PRINT MEDIA

INTRODUCTION

Although the contemporary levels of xenophobia¹ may be alarming, the phenomenon is certainly far from new, being a central theme in twentieth-century world history (Thomas 2000:48). Muller (1998:33) declares that immigration 'is likely to be a major concern in OECD countries for decades to come' and that the increase of nativism² signals the need for greater understanding of how immigrants can be integrated into host societies. The contexts in which xenophobia arises represent particular conjunctions of socio-economic and political conditions, necessitating the comprehension of the specifics of individual contexts of contemporary prejudice. Such knowledge is crucial for the formulation of effective policies for the reduction of xenophobia.

Public education³ is an essential component of policies aimed at facilitating social justice for immigrant minorities. As much as it is widely recognised to be essential, there is little discussion as to what exactly public education should set out to achieve and how this might be approached. There is, however, wide acknowledgement of the role of politicians and the media in influencing public opinion.

Broadly, an examination of the nature of xenophobia as a basis for public education policy formulation needs to take a holistic and integrated approach. Analysis of the politics of 'race' needs to deal with the complex intertwining of national, local and everyday processes of racialisation and broader processes of political and social change (Solomos & Back: 1995), along with psychosocial concerns. Sniderman et al (2000) argue for an integrated approach that takes account of both instrumental and expressive aspects of xenophobic ideologies. The components of 'a properly rounded account of prejudice' include three main areas of consideration: the group basis of bias, co-operation and conflict over interests, and psychological make-up and prejudice (*ibid*:61), all of which will be considered, to varying depths, in this report.

In this report I will argue that public education to combat xenophobia needs to take account of both the institutional framework and the cognitive and affective aspects of xenophobia in order to build understanding of the range of factors contributing to xenophobic ideologies. In Chapter 1 I will begin by briefly considering the role of identity politics and the nexus of 'race' and nation. This will highlight the ways processes of identity formation and

exclusion through 'othering' in the context of the nation-state promote discriminatory ideologies and practices. I will then discuss what role cognition and affect play in the creation and support of discriminatory ideologies. Cognitive and affective understandings of the basis of xenophobia are important as they provide some insight into the 'irrational' fears and anxieties that accompany prejudice. Schul and Zukier (1999) argue that the contemporary tenacity of stereotypes is indicative of the need to re-examine their impact and origin in order to understand how to combat them.

In Chapter 2, I will consider aspects of the role of institutional factors in the generation of xenophobia and, in the light of this, will propose what policy responses should be with regard to public education to combat xenophobia. The institutional framework is important in so far as it plays a central role in defining attitudes to those understood as 'other' within a polity. The first aspect of the institutional framework that I will discuss is legislation, both that designed to control the flow of immigrants and that designed to combat discrimination. I will then consider a selection of immigrant integration policies and how these influence beliefs about criteria for belonging⁴. Finally, I will briefly discuss the role of political culture in both generating and supporting xenophobic ideologies. In my review of institutional frameworks I will indicate how ambiguity and incoherence have generated conditions that not only encourage the racialization of social relations but also make the formulation of a coherent public education policy difficult.

In Chapter 3, I will propose a set of objectives for media participation in public education initiatives to combat xenophobia. I will argue that the role of media in countering xenophobia is to promote and provide a forum for national debate regarding national identity, the nature of pluralism, a revised vocabulary for discussing 'race' and ethnic minority issues, and a human rights language that takes a moral and ethical stance to both rights and obligations of inclusivity. An important component of the media's role is to generate understanding of the too often disregarded psychological aspects of prejudice and vulnerability. Focussing on the British newspaper media, I will argue that despite considerable constraints, the press has a role to play in the promotion of a democratic public sphere through the fulfilment of what Sparks (1999) terms its 'public enlightenment function'. Despite scope for resistant interpretations, it is indisputable that media

does influence audiences and there is therefore a moral imperative for this capacity to influence to be directed in the pursuit of a broader consensus on the scope and limits of social justice. The creation of greater understanding of the dynamics of immigration and xenophobia can only contribute to such an objective.

As a final point, any discussion that encompasses issues of 'race', ethnicity and identity is fraught with difficulty with regard to terminology. Much as I would like to contribute to the 'policing and refurbishment' that Carter et al (1996:135) advocate for the political constructs of 'race', nation and national identity - plus several other concepts they do not mention - I do not have space to expand on the many understandings of such volatile and differently understood concepts. In addition to the contextual valence of such terms, the available vocabulary for discussing immigration issues has severe shortcomings. Not only is 'host population' or 'indigenous society' poorly suited to its usage (McGown 1999), but 'minority' increasingly is no longer an apt description of many immigrant communities, means very different things in different contexts (Dummett 1998) and carries its own negative connotations (Brah 1996:186-190). Moreover, lack of clarity seems inevitable as muddle regarding terminology, Dresch (1995:81) proclaims, is essential in official public language.

A further complication lies in the fact that US scholarship has dominated studies of ethnicity and 'race', leading to the incorporation of unstated assumptions that are misleading when the terminology is transferred to non-US contexts (Banton 1999)⁵. I therefore leave most of these terms undefined, but acknowledge implicitly or overtly (as, for example, in the use of 'race' in scare quotes) the contested and socially constructed nature of many of the terms used⁶.

CHAPTER 1

Understanding The Basis Of Xenophobia

Theories attempting to explain the genesis of xenophobia and racism tend to draw on one or both of two principal groups of contributory factors - those described as instrumental and those described as psychosocial. In so far as instrumental factors (being those pertaining to economic, political and social conditions) result from and are shaped by prevailing institutional conditions, these will be considered in Chapter 2. However, in this chapter I will consider aspects of the psychosocial genesis of prejudice by considering, firstly, the question of identity politics and the nexus of 'race' and nation as these issues provide the context in

which perceptions of belonging are held. I will then examine the role of cognition and affect in the formation and support of xenophobic ideologies.

1.1 Identity Politics And The Nexus Of 'Race' And Nation:

Contemporary concerns in Europe over what are perceived as high levels of immigration have generated debate regarding entitlement to the collective goods of nation-states, provoking for some a preoccupation with maintaining a distinction between 'them', who should be excluded from entitlement to collective goods, and 'us', who are perceived as having a primordial right to share in such goods. The exclusionary discourses frequently degenerate into xenophobia.

The complexity of the debate over various understandings of 'race' and racism precludes a review of the various positions here⁷. Suffice it to say that it is generally understood that the heterophobia manifest in contemporary racism assumes the existence of distinct 'race's with essential characteristics and a hierarchy of difference embodying higher and lower values (Wistrich 1999). Despite the fact that racism is often expressed in terms of biology, it represents 'a discourse of naturalized social relations that deems certain people to be degraded' Schirmer (1998:xx). Wimmer (1997) indicates that for xenophobia, the 'them' and 'us' distinctions draw on fears of inundation, phobias of interbreeding and creolization and the 'perception of a zero-sum game between foreigners and 'ourselves''.

In recent times, cultural racism has added to the dimensions of inequality that were once assumed to rest on skin colour (Alibhai Brown 2000). Whilst religious racism of the early nineteenth century generally preceded biological racism, cultural racism emerged as the preferred racist ideology in the mid-twentieth century as imperial nations sought to integrate the demands for equality from national liberation and civil rights movements into a framework that would allow the continued domination of (predominantly) Europeans (Blaut 1992)⁸. 'Modernisation' was envisaged as the vehicle for tutelage of nations of the 'Third World' which were considered to be potentially equal once their cultural development 'progressed' to European levels (*ibid*). In many parts of the world, the elision of 'race' and culture and of group and individual are responsible for the discursive functioning of ethnicity much as 'race' once functioned in those contexts (Dresch 1995). Beyond cultural racism, there have recently emerged a number of racist attitudes that deny the continued salience of racism - phenomena variously called 'modern racism' and 'laissez-

faire racism' (Goering 2000) or 'new racism' (Alibhai Brown 2000)⁹.

The outcome of racist ideologies is racialization, wherein social relations are 'structured by the signification of cultural and biological attributes in such a way as to define and construct differentiated social collectivities as 'race' collectivities' (Carter et al 1996:136-7). Although such socially constructed categories are largely illusory, they have 'undeniable potency', particularly in times of crisis (Penrose & Jackson 1993:203)¹⁰. The dynamism and plurality of identities generates a politics of identity in which 'difference' is politicised 'as groups and individuals become aware of their differences, attach significance to certain dimensions and contest the relevance of other designations' (*ibid*:207).

Whilst there is agreement that racism and xenophobia have shown a marked increase in the last two decades, there is disagreement as to the basis for this. There is no doubt that structural factors related to population movements, increasing social inequalities, structural unemployment, top-level corruption and political changes play a large part in generating the fear and instability that foster ideologies of xenophobia. Competition for jobs, housing and state resources produce insecurity, most particularly amongst those who perceive themselves to be in danger of being marginalised through competition from foreigners. However, in order to understand these ideologies sufficiently well to generate initiatives to combat them, a more complex analysis of their genesis is necessary.

Wimmer (1997) cites the principal explanatory theories for xenophobia and racism as being those derived from rational choice, functionalism, discourse theory and phenomenological approaches. Very briefly, the rational choice model posits that under conditions of competition people form collectivities to maximise their potential for access to scarce resources; functionalist approaches make the claim that cultural differences between groups are so large as to create a barrier to integration; and discourse theory argues that discourses of exclusion and self-empowerment are institutionalized by official and semi-official power holders, such as politicians and the media, in the process of which immigrants are rendered responsible for their own exclusion and impoverishment. As Wimmer points out, neither rational choice nor functionalism as explanatory models of racism and xenophobia reveal what conditions lead to perceptions of, in this instance, scarcity or difference, nor, in the case of discourse theory, is an explanation forthcoming as to why the relevant discursive practices are successful in generating xenophobia.

Rejecting rational choice, functionalism and discourse theory, Wimmer (1997) argues that the phenomenological approach offers a more productive explanatory model, in combination with analysis of power strategies and interest policy. The phenomenological approach posits that xenophobia and racism occur in situations of society wide crisis of identity. There are indications that people with little formal education are particularly prone to adopt xenophobic nationalism as a strategy for making the distinction between 'us' and 'them' in their quest to reduce complexity and anxiety¹¹. Where group prestige is more vulnerable as an effect of social and economic changes, dependence of that group on the resources of the nation-state is greater and thus the greater is their reliance on national solidarity. In such cases the presence of immigrants engenders perceptions of 'invasion, inundation and existential rivalry' over limited future resources (*ibid*). Thus, xenophobic discourse is to be understood as 'appealing to the pact of solidarity into which the ethnicized bureaucracy and a national community have entered and which at times of intensified social conflict seem fragile, especially from the viewpoint of those threatened by loss of their social standing...[to whom] the foreigner appears as an illegitimate competitor ...[It is] a political struggle about who deserves the right to be cared for by the state and society: a fight for the collective goods of the state' (*ibid*:32).

The salience of collective identity is particularly marked in time of crisis. At such times, the social compact implicit in the nation-state disintegrates, leaving room for the formation of social movements seeking to re-establish their own particular vision of the desired order (Wimmer 1997). Revitalization of national solidarity is one of the principal objectives of such movements, often in the face of a moral panic generated by perceptions of imminent chaos. In such contexts, the presence of immigrants and asylum seekers spawns xenophobic hatred and their advocates are seen as traitors to national solidarity. 'Popular' direct action is then regarded as justified as 'last stand' defence of national integrity.

Wimmer's assertion is that the politics of identity and the politics of interests meet in the politicization of cultural affiliations that go into the making of the nation-state¹². Schirmer (1998) regards racism as both integral to modernity and a function of collective identity¹³, both of which are predicated on the existence of 'the nation'. However, being an abstract category, 'nation' is empirically empty from an individual perspective, which gives rise to the need for what Benedict Anderson has described as 'imagined communities'. Thus the nation is, at the same time, both

contingent and 'a source of a sense of belonging' (Schirmer 1998:xix). Moreover, the symbolic repertoire on which nationalism draws in the process of its 'imagining' invests the concept of nation with strong affective resonances, the violation of which (whether perceived or actual) equate with violation of the integrity of its individual members (*ibid*). Clearly, ascribed 'race' becomes a basis for exclusion where the notion of an equation between territory and a particular group of people underlies the vision of the nation. This may leave those excluded in this process with little alternative but to resort to 'strategic essentialism' by drawing on the ascribed differences as a basis for resistance, thereby effectively endorsing the racist ideology (Penrose & Jackson 1993).

Racism shares several important characteristics with nationalism, including reliance on primordial factors, a taxonomy based on the rationale of homogeneity-heterogeneity, and provision of 'a cure for the coldness of the disembedded existence of modern human beings' (Schirmer 1998:xxi). Nationalism often becomes racialized via the naturalization of culture in an effort to 'strengthen its own homogeneity-heterogeneity rationale and to legitimate claims of superiority' (*ibid*:xxii). There may be little apparent coherence in this transformation, but its logic is in the orientation it provides (*ibid*).

The relationship between a nation and how it deals with difference over time have direct bearings on the development of national identity and conditions of tolerance (Degler 1998). The way in which national identity is construed is also reflected in the way in which immigration policies are formulated. Parekh (1994) posits a three-fold typology of how modern states view themselves. In the liberal view 'the state exists to create conditions in which its autonomous and self-determining citizens can freely pursue their self-chosen activities' (*ibid*:93). The communitarian view, on the other hand, assumes that members have shared understandings and a common ethical life through which their lives are regulated and individual and collective identity are defined. Similar to but distinct from the communitarian view, the ethnic or nationalist views the state as a hereditary group of people who, over time, have established kinship 'ties of blood' through notions of common 'forefathers'. Each has a different basis for qualification for state membership¹⁴.

Triandafyllidou (1998) extends the discussion of national identity and its relationship to outsiders by the introduction of the concept of 'significant others'. She argues that national identity has two aspects – an inward looking self-consciousness and an external focus that conditions national identity according to the perceived characteristics and/or claims of those defined as *not* national.

This latter aspect is founded on her assertion that, firstly, identity is constituted in interaction, and that, secondly, the notion of 'the other' is inherent in national identity and nationalism and that therefore national identity is only meaningful in contrast to other nations. 'Significant others' are those other nations or ethnic groups 'that are perceived to threaten the nation, its distinctiveness, authenticity and/or independence' (*ibid*:594). They may be internal or external and may be viewed as a minority or a majority group¹⁵. It is in periods of instability and crisis, where either territorial and symbolic boundaries are threatened or social, political and economic upheavals question the basis of national identity, that 'significant others' become a focus for overcoming the crisis and for possible transformation to be in a better position to respond to emotive and material concerns of members of the nation (*ibid*:603).

1.2 The Cognitive And Affective Bases Of Xenophobia:

As I have indicated above, notions of identity and belonging rely on perceptions of shared characteristics generated through processes of categorisation and response to sentiment. At a basic level, the interactive nature of identity presumes communication, which itself is founded in psychosocial processes of cognition and, as I will argue, of affect - without which cognitive processes are unsuccessful. Speculation as to the psychological basis of prejudice was popular in the 1950s and 1960s, but was then superseded by explanations based on more instrumental theories of group conflict and resource competition. However, the current prevalence of xenophobia and the inability to satisfactorily account for it within the confines of such instrumental theories has led to a reconsideration of psychological theories.

The CoE (Kaltenbach 2000:3), has recently highlighted the need to 'get a better understanding of the phenomenon of racism, its philosophical and psychological bases'. Writing on anti-semitism, Wistrich (1999:6) observes that the psychological dimension has often been overlooked in preference to 'the supposedly more "objective" economic, social and political factors on the surface' and warns that 'we cannot afford to ignore unconscious factors and more hidden sources' if we are to build a better understanding of prejudice. Sniderman et al (2000:5) argue for a synthesis of psychological and 'objective' approaches as relying only on the latter seems 'to miss the distinctively irrational, emotional, and expressive character of prejudice'. The advantage of the study of prejudice and personality is that it broadens the focus from relations between racial groups to the examination of ideological work carried out by

racializing groups (Wieviorka 1995) and the institutions they are able to hold sway over.

Before proceeding further, it is helpful to give a brief account of aspects of psychological approaches to human functioning in order to clarify the terms of this discussion. A key development in the concern of the Western philosophical tradition with the nature of human mental activity was the idea that it consisted of three distinct and complementary faculties – those of affect (feeling), cognition (knowing) and conation (willing) (Forgas 2000c)¹⁶. Our concern here is with affect and cognition. Cognition encompasses the so-called 'rational' thinking that depends on what are regarded as logical inferences. Affect, however, is somewhat harder to define – and therefore requires greater explanation - not least in view of the traditional bias towards 'rationality' as a 'proper' basis for knowledge. Franks & Gecas (1992:8) make the distinction between cognition as being concerned with 'distanced thoughts' that are hypothetical and transcend actual events whereas emotion involves thoughts that are 'embedded in very personal concrete happenings'. For Wentworth & Ryan (1992:29) cognitive knowing is characterized by being literal and 'attuned to detail and sequences' in an effort to 'grasp the "thingness" of the world'. In contrast, emotional knowing is 'the quick... "seizing" of the object of consciousness with fixity, certainty and without detail' in order to 'rapidly assess, modulate and signal (in a felt emotion) the strength and qualities of one's attachments to the environment'. Frijda (1994:61) defines affect as simply 'pleasant or unpleasant feeling'.

Popular understandings of emotion tend to equate it with 'feeling' and to oppose it to thinking – thus the relation of cognition to affect is equated with that of thinking to feeling. However, in psychological terms, affect is much more than emotion. It encompasses a range of psychological states that include emotions, emotion episodes, mood, sentiment, and, some would argue, temperament and personality dispositions (Davidson & Ekman 1994). These phenomena differ along a number of dimensions, such as duration (that is, an acute process such as an emotion or an enduring disposition such as a mood), intensity and diffusion (Forgas 2000c), origin and whether they refer 'to a particular object or to a more general or undefined class of objects' (Frijda 1994:59). Forgas (2000b) argues that although mood and emotion both affect social cognition, the way that they do so is different. Moreover, in the domain of psychology, emotions are more than feelings. Beyond subjective experience, the scope of emotion includes expressive reactions (such as smiles, frowns), physiological reactions (such as tears,

increases in heart rate), behaviour aimed at coping with the event that gives rise to the emotion, and the cognition (or thinking) that has gone into the evaluation of the event (Cornelius 1996:10).

Although Oatley & Jenkins (1996) claim that a consensus about the definition of emotion¹⁷ is developing, it has proved an inordinately difficult concept to define, giving rise to much controversy. Whilst some have made the claim that emotion is not a substantive psychological category and therefore does not warrant separate consideration, many others strive to develop greater understanding of its characteristics. Most students of emotion would, however, concur with Cornelius (1996:9) when he states that emotions are 'complex, multifaceted phenomena' giving rise to a range of definitions that reflect not only the interests and methodological and theoretical preferences of the psychologist concerned but also the prevailing 'movement' dominating psychology and the aspect of emotion under analysis.

Far from dismissing emotions as impossible to quantify or study objectively, the psychologist Nico Frijda has argued that they display 'empirical regularities' that allow precise description (Frijda 1988 in Cornelius 1996).¹⁸ Parkinson (1995:19) defines an emotion as 'a relatively short-term, evaluative state focused on a particular intentional object (a person, an event, or a state of affairs). ... Emotional reactions typically include many of the following four components: appraisal of the situation, bodily response, facial expression, and changes in action readiness. None of these factors is completely necessary for emotional experience, but it would be implausible to describe as emotional any state that included none of them'.

Emotion is thus conceived of as a process, as a set of stages with particular consequences (Oatley & Jenkins 1996). Frijda (1986) understands emotion as a set of mechanisms that evaluate stimuli in relation to the organism's preferred endstates or outcomes and that dictate and control appropriate actions according to these preferences. Similarly, Oatley & Jenkins (1996) regard emotion as the effect of a conscious or unconscious evaluation of an event as relevant to a desired goal and as a device that controls readiness to act. The experience of emotion is 'as a distinctive type of mental state, sometimes accompanied or followed by bodily changes, expressions, [and/or] actions' (*ibid*:96). Thus, evaluation and interpretation of the personal significance of events are the principal determinants of emotion (Parkinson 1995:16). Expressive and physiological reactions, along with motivated behaviour, indicate readiness for action, and

consciousness of these responses to the appraisal process contribute to the subjective feeling (*ibid*:17). In fact it is the change in readiness for action that is regarded by some as the necessary condition of an emotion (Oatley & Jenkins 1996). For Frijda (1986:474) the central features of emotional behaviour is the conversion of 'fixed action patterns' into 'multifaceted, flexible programs that can be inhibited and held in abeyance'. Emotional behaviour is, therefore, distinctive from 'instinctive' behaviour, over which there is not the range of control possible of emotional responses. Another feature of emotion is 'the preponderance of short-term over long-term gain' (Frijda 1986:476). Ultimately, the function of emotion is 'concern satisfaction' (Frijda 1986) through the monitoring of events and the control of requisite action. This may or may not entail the influencing of cognition (Ekman & Davidson 1994). Some emotion (such as infatuation, bitterness and nostalgia) are apparently non-functional. However, their value lies in the fact that they, like all emotions, 'reflect and "express" what the individual is concerned with' (Frijda 1986:478).

A cautionary reminder is in order here regarding the cultural specificity of evaluations of emotion functionality. Franks & Gecas (1992:5) draw attention to 'the conceptual baggage embedded in a peculiarly Western notion of emotion' that is built upon a particular view of the nature of individual experience and on a set of dichotomies of suspect intellectual pedigree. In particular, as White (1993:31) contends, tacit assumptions about emotions in the Western canon work to naturalize and universalize emotions through a bifurcation of human experience (into bodily affect and 'higher' mental processes), elaborated by 'networks of dualistic propositions that frame experience in dichotomous terms'¹⁹.

In this respect, it is important to bear in mind that the expression of all but 'basic' emotions are learned and patterned according to socially defined norms²⁰. As Denzin (1990:90) puts it, the expression of emotion is a 'relational phenomenon' in that it 'is shaped by the ensemble of social relationships that bind human beings to one another'. Gordon (1990) attributes to 'emotional culture' specific emotion vocabularies, the norms that regulate expression and feeling and the beliefs about emotions. These features of emotional culture articulate with the macro-level of social structure through microsocial interpersonal ties – it is therefore evident that the relationship of emotions to social structure is one of bidirectional influence (*ibid*). The prototypes (or typical examples) that are culturally established as the norms for emotional behaviour become scripts which guide the acceptable expression of emotion (Oatley & Jenkins 1996). Gordon (1990:155-6) argues

that these prototypes are 'a micro-concept of social structure, describing relational and interactional patterns that are typical and stable'. Thus, situated identities (such as those of 'physician' or 'femaleness') are ascribed 'an interactionally appropriate emotional character...as part of the overall distribution of knowledge by differentiated social structure' (Wentworth & Ryan 1992:35). However, it is a mistake to assume that individuals have no agency in the way in which emotions are expressed. Whilst society may provide the public moralities that define appropriate expression of emotion, the individual's biographical self plays a role in deciding the degree to which personal agency will be exercised in deviating from the normative prototypes of emotion behaviour (*ibid*).

Speculation on the relationship between cognition and affect is divided between the view that affect is disruptive to effective thinking and behaviour and the view that 'openness to feelings is a useful, and even necessary, adjunct to rationality and to effective social thinking' (Forgas 2000c:1). Despite the fact that the popular 'common sense' view opposes emotion to rational considered thought²¹, much of contemporary psychological theory holds that emotional feelings about a particular object or event are crucially dependent upon the cognitive processes of evaluation and interpretation (Parkinson 1995:18). There is thus considerable debate as to how, if at all, a distinction can be made between cognition and affect. Franks & Gecas (1992:8) note that affect and cognition, as inherently social processes, are increasingly recognised as 'inextricably bound together [as a]ll emotion is involved with thought and all thought has some affect'. In fact, it is argued that thought without affect amounts to a pathological condition (Seeburger 1992). The relationship between affect and cognition is understood as 'fundamentally an interactive one'- it is complex, context sensitive and 'clearly bidirectional' (Forgas 2000b:389,400). Though an abstract distinction can be made between them, neither can be purified of the other (Seeburger 1992).

Given that emotions 'serve important functions having to do with how we get along in the world' (Cornelius 1996:10) they need to be taken seriously by those aiming to build understanding of inter-group relations. The 'process of being emotional' states Denzin (1984:3) 'locates the person in the world of social interaction...for emotions are felt in relation to other interactants', to the extent that '[a] person cannot experience an emotion without the implicit or imagined presence of others'. Clark (1990) cogently illustrates the important role of emotions in the micropolitics

of hierarchy creation and negotiation. A range of micropolitical strategies rely on emotions, she claims, to both mark and claim place in status hierarchies. These strategies may draw on the use of the actor's own emotions or they may be designed to elicit particular emotions from others.

Contemporary sociology of emotions tends to be dominated by the social constructionist perspective. As Wentorth and Ryan (1992) explain, this position holds that 'emotions function as social definitions'. Norms of emotion expression define morality in terms of the sentiments attaching to notions such as obligation, respect and conscience. It is in society's interest to maintain social control through the regulation of emotions and it is in the interests of individuals to practise emotion-management to negotiate social reality. It is thus that emotion becomes inextricably bound up with power²². As the authors point out, actors, situations and organizations 'that can evoke, manage and coordinate emotion can, by controlling the content of reality, create the propensity for certain actions and the inhibition of others' (*ibid*:39-40). It is in the course of communicating that emotions become validated and emotional meaning is externalized to become evocative and socially persuasive (White 1993:36). The view of emotions as a resource and as a source of social power in intersubjectivity provides potentially useful insight into the nature and practice of xenophobia and racism. Crucially, affect 'is intimately involved in how social information is cognitively represented, and plays a key role in the way attitudes, stereotypes, and self-concept are organized' (Forgas 2000a:xv).

This discussion of cognition and affect and their role in human functioning provides a basis for the consideration of cognitive and affective bases of xenophobia. Despite the fact that there is little evidence to support making a rigid distinction between cognition and affect, I will for convenience now call on the possibility of making an abstract distinction between them in order to consider, in turn, what role cognition and affect play in the genesis and maintenance of xenophobic and racist beliefs.

1.2.1. Cognition: Categorisation And Stereotypes:

Categorisation, taxonomic systems and binary oppositions are natural cognitive processes of organization and discrimination aimed at reducing chaos, misunderstanding and unpredictability (van den Berghe 1997). Category definition stipulates the minimum qualities for membership and often establishes a hierarchy of differences (Zukier 1999). In

fact, to transcend the pernicious binary oppositions such as those that arise in racist categorisation would mean abolishing thinking altogether for 'categorization is to the mind what breathing is to the body' (*ibid*:122).

Although categorisation is a fundamental basis of human action, the problem arises when categorisations become rigidified into stereotypes²³. Stereotypes are a form of social control that justify oppressive patterns of prejudice, often inflicting psychic devastation on the communities of which the stereotype is a caricature (Shohat & Stam 1994:198)²⁴. Stereotyping relies on an essentialism that generates ahistoricism. It fundamentally conflicts with the notion that identities are 'multiple, unstable, historically situated, [and] the products of ongoing differentiation' (*ibid*:49). Stereotypes sustain the perception of invariable characteristics of a particular group membership, such beliefs being 'accompanied and sustained by negative affect', even in those cases where the stereotype is positive (Schul & Zukier 1999:33). In situations of imperfect information, stereotypes act as discriminatory guidelines, particularly in the pragmatic discriminatory practices aimed at human survival that naturally draw on categories of 'race' and ethnicity as an extension of nepotistic concerns (van den Berghe 1997). Most importantly, stereotypic beliefs, as causal theories, are particularly resistant to change (Schul & Zukier 1999:34)²⁵.

Although a potential consequence of stereotypical beliefs is prejudicial action, this relationship is not unidirectional as it may also be that prejudicial action is subsequently justified on the basis stereotypical beliefs. Evidence is manufactured to create a 'reality' that supports stereotypic thinking to the point where 'almost any behaviour can be interpreted in line with a stereotype', particularly where restricted observation contexts produce biased samples of behaviour patterns (Schul & Zukier 1999:35)²⁶. Moreover, groups who are the targets of stereotypic beliefs may internalise the characteristics and behaviour expectations attributed to them, thus imposing 'a sense of order and coherence on the world at the expense of accuracy' (*ibid*:34).

It is not always, however, difference that motivates stereotypes. Lack of otherness attributable to a group identified as different may threaten group integrity through its potential to blur boundaries between the groups (Schirmer 1998). Research has indicated that 'the strongest competition between two groups may be expected to occur where in reality there is the least reason to distinguish one group from the other' (Triandafyllidou 1998:600). In such a situation, heterogeneity may be created in order to restore a threatened identity (*ibid*). Sniderman

et al (2000) observe that the classic understanding of Eurocentrism as being a relationship between ingroup affiliation and outgroup hostility does not necessarily hold as their findings suggest that outgroup hostility is accompanied by ingroup hostility, particularly where there is a generalised high intolerance of diversity.

What is important to understand about the nature of stereotypic beliefs is that they are motivated by the need for justification, whereas other less pernicious forms of categorisation are most likely to be motivated by the need for accuracy and truth (Schul & Zukier 1999). The scapegoating that goes into stereotypic beliefs exonerates wrongdoing on the part of the holder of such beliefs (Befu 1999). Scapegoating is both a means of exorcising guilt and of defining social, religious and national identity. through the construction of a moral order 'against the dangerous disruptive, defiling Other' (Wistrich 1999:8). Although the spatial scale of that which is considered 'inside' is frequently the nation, it is contextually flexible such that it may also, for example, be confined to a single village or ethnic group (Befu 1999).

1.2.2. Affect:

Whilst cognitive approaches that theorise the process of stereotyping provide important insights into xenophobic belief systems, they are not sufficient in the explanation of psychological processes. Cognitive categorization, after all, is significantly derived from affect (Forgas 2000b), through which it is energized (Schul & Zukier 1999). Sniderman et al (2000) argue that though useful, the concentration on prejudice as a cognitive process is constraining with respect to understanding of both causes and consequences of prejudice. It is the persistence of negative affect in stereotyping, rather than the cognitive content of stereotypes, that is the key to understanding prejudice. Categorization is 'a pivotal process for prejudice' but not a necessary condition. They argue that there are two crucial mediators that affect prejudice by increasing categorization. These are the assessment of instrumental calculations and an expressive element that manifests as 'a readiness to suspect and dislike other people in general' (*ibid*:80, 81). The expressive element reflects a personality-oriented approach that holds that a cluster of fundamental core values, labelled 'authority values'²⁷, predispose the holder to particular concerns. The result is that such a person displays both a lack of sympathy with the values of compassion and empathy and an 'insistence on strictness, sacrifice and authority' (*ibid*:115). The value of this kind of approach is that it places the origin of racism

outside the context of its expression and looks rather to socialization as origin (Wieviorka 1995). It is useful to note, in passing, that it has been suggested that a generalised distrust of other people is correlated with distrust in the political institutions and organizations of pluralist democracies (Dogan 1997).

There are a number of obstacles to accepting emotion as a factor in the genesis of xenophobic beliefs. In the first place, as I have already discussed in section 1.2, it is difficult to define the concept 'emotion' beyond the somewhat nebulous statement that it is 'feeling' (as opposed to 'thinking'). Beyond this, there is debate as to whether it can be held that there are certain universal emotional states common to all humankind or whether all affective states are culturally conditioned (Wierzbicka 1995) and whether the concerns about 'emotion' represent a peculiarly Western way of understanding – to the extent that emotion now stands as 'a master concept of Western culture' (Franks & Gecas 1992). Additionally, theories of the self fall into two principal categories: either social organisation is based on the notion that the self is independent from others, or it is seen as based on interdependence among group members (Kitayama et al 1995). A further difficulty arises in the 'Janus-faced character of emotions', wherein they can be viewed both negatively as a biasing source of error in instrumental contexts and positively as essential to the maintenance of social systems (Franks & Gecas 1992). Finally, there remains a series of dichotomies that place emotion as an inferior knowledge system by drawing on Manichean mind:body distinctions, such as that of objective:subjective, rational:irrational, and so on.

Despite these objections, I have argued elsewhere that emotive-aesthetic reasoning should be understood as a legitimate basis of knowledge (Igglesden 2000). Feelings are a primary frame of reference for cognition, such that aspects of emotion are 'indispensable for rationality' (Damasio 1996:xv). Forgas (2000) reports that there is a 'growing consensus that affective responses are a useful and even essential means of dealing with the social environment'. There is also evidence that underlying emotional capacities give rise to fundamental ethical stances.

Emotional experience is a complex phenomenon that results from a 'reciprocal interplay of individual agency, biology, biography and society' (Franks & Gecas 1992:13). The anthropological approach to emotion as culturally constituted understands emotion as 'a kind of language of the self – a code for statements about intentions, actions, and social relations' and as the 'primary idiom for defining and negotiating social relations of

the self in a moral order' (Lutz & White 1986:417)²⁸. Emotion talk is a discursive practice concerned with issues of sociability and power. As an interactional discourse, emotion language is intimately involved in the politics of everyday life through its deployment to 'establish, assert, challenge, or reinforce power or status differences' and to negotiate solidarity (Abu-Lughod & Lutz 1990:14). Ultimately, emotion talk is commentary and judgement on 'the practices essential to social relations' in the form of 'socially contested evaluations of the world' (*ibid*:19, 11). Moreover, culture and social organization are dialectically related to emotional experience, each playing a part in shaping the other (Franks & Gecas 1992). Discourses on emotion are embedded in culturally defined understandings of identities (White 1990:47).

The importance of including emotion in an explanation of xenophobia rests on the general observation that people's feelings are important for their effect on social interaction, particularly where oppression takes place (Sibley 1995). Affect is especially pertinent, Forgas (2000) argues, in the process of anticipation of future events where judgement is necessary to cope with uncertainty and unpredictability. Rather than the emphasis on the social construction of emotions, which tends to assume a 'passivity in the guise of non-dialectical emotion-as-consequence', Wentworth & Ryan (1992) point out that felt emotions are self-constructed, arising in the biological self 'and from the tension between self and circumstances'. They thus signal the relation of the self to the world, placed on a continuum between identification and alienation. Xenophobia, from a psychoanalytic perspective that focuses on the emotions, reflects an incapacity to manage difference as well as, as already noted, incapacity 'to cope with the resemblance with the Other' (Wieviorka 1995:23).

Central to the question of feelings about others is the construction of the self (Sibley 1995). Feelings about others are intimately bound up with concern about the moral order and it is the morality of the self that is used in judgement of the 'Other' deemed not to be partisan to the same moral order (Befu 1999). In effect, the self is reflected in the Other in so far as selected 'bad' aspects of the self, with their 'repressed sadistic impulses', become embodied in the 'bad' Other, thus displacing evil from the inside to the outside (*ibid*:27). Where the Self is the nation, demonizing the Other 'appeals to group narcissism while reinforcing nationalist sentiments' (*ibid*:28)

Whilst there is not space to attempt a comprehensive review of theories of emotion and xenophobia, there are a number of

potentially productive frameworks that rely on the notion of abjection and the transfer of negative emotions about the 'I'/us' onto a 'you'/them', thereby creating a vehicle of absolution for the 'I'/us'. Drawing on Kleinian object relations theory, notions of the development of a sense of personal border and vulnerability to external threat suggest possible outcomes that range from the ability to embrace difference as a pleasurable experience of merging to, at the other extreme, the rejection of difference as a threat to the integrity of the self. The development and the nature of the sense of personal border is, of course, an ongoing process that is a consequence 'of relating to others and becoming a part of a culture' (Sibley 1995:7).

Kristeva suggests that the permanent presence of the abject – some 'thing' that is both beyond and yet part of the subject – poses a threat to apparent unities and gives rise to an anxiety 'to expel or distance from the abject other as a condition of existence', whether that abject other be other cultures or matter out of place (Sibley 1995)²⁹. In Kristeva's (1991:20) concern with the predicament of 'the foreigner'³⁰, she declares that the habit of suspicion 'provokes regressive and protectionist rage' that seeks to expel the intruder or, at least, to oppress. She considers that 'an invader reveals a buried passion within those who are entrenched: the passion to kill the *other*, who had first been feared or despised, then promoted from the ranks of dregs to the status of powerful persecutor against whom a 'we' solidifies in order to take revenge' (*ibid*).

A Jungian perspective uses the concept of 'the shadow', representing that part of the psyche wherein dwell unrecognised desires and repressed aspects of the personality (Gross 2000). Individuals or collectives seek to free themselves from the undesirable, unpalatable aspects of the self which have yet to be integrated into the individual or group consciousness by projecting them into the 'not-I' or 'not-us' (*ibid*). Shadow projections are made onto a scapegoat in times of crisis. Gross states that '[w]hen one's sense of identity either as an individual or as part of a collective is seriously challenged, then a certain psychic dynamic becomes constellated whereby the conscious mind, threatened as it feels itself to be from without, but really unable to tolerate the powerfully activated internal shadow content, must now urgently find a way of ejecting these unwelcome and unmanageable affects, and so expels them, into a suitable other' (*ibid*:80).

Stevenson (1999:138) argues that psychoanalytic frames can generate understanding of the 'irrational fears and anxieties that inevitably accompany racist

thinking' by the 'introduction of concepts of psychic splitting, lack and projection' and that Klienian psychoanalytic theories (amongst others) have 'much to offer a contemporary understanding of racist discourse in the context of modern popular culture'. However, Hauke (2000:62-4) maintains that for all its attractions, object relations theory is incomplete and, as others have pointed out, has a number of important biases built into it. Nonetheless, it seems to offer some promise as a starting point for further enquiry into the affective basis of xenophobic beliefs. It provides some insight into the tendency, in Western societies at least, to a 'robust and pervasive tendency to maintain and enhance self-esteem'³¹ (Kitayama et al 1995:523), whether as an individual or a collective effort.

Individual emotional responses become particularly powerful when they are manipulated by actors and organizations who have the social power to evoke, manage and co-ordinate emotions. Given that emotional experience and the expression of affect are aspects of identity, particularly in relation to a sense of belonging (Rew & Campbell 1999)³², there is enormous scope for powerful actors to 'create the propensity for certain actions and the inhibition of others' through the control of the content of reality (Wentworth & Ryan 1992:40). Rew & Campbell (*ibid*:13) state that '[b]ecause of the subjective, experiential dimension of identity, effective identity narratives such as those deployed by (ethnic) nationalism are exercises in the mobilisation of emotion through a selective drawing upon affective elements, for example a contextually defined sense of exclusion, fear and anxiety vis-à-vis significant Others'.

1.3 Conclusion:

The complexity of the relation between notions of national belonging and 'race' are clearly important in building understanding of xenophobia. In this Chapter I have argued that both cognition and affect play a crucial role in the creation of distinctions between those who 'belong' and those who do not. The implication, therefore, for effective policies to combat xenophobia is that they must take account of the cognitive and affective bases of prejudice and seek, moreover, to generate greater understanding of these complex and potent bases of knowledge construction.

CHAPTER 2

Institutional Factors In The Generation Of Xenophobia And Policy Responses

Table 1.1: New World Order: Alternative Scenarios

In this chapter I will argue that, in practice, the relationship between xenophobia and institutional factors (in the form of legislation, immigration policy and political culture) is a circular one. As much as policy and political rhetoric may intend to reduce the grounds for development of discriminatory ideologies, it is frequently the case that the assumptions within which these are framed serve rather to increase prejudice. In effect, state interventions with regard to immigration and anti-immigration sentiment are more often than not, particularly in the case of Britain, reactive rather than proactive. The result is incoherence and contradiction, which not only allows the evolution of a range of conflicting discourses regarding the presence of foreigners but also makes the formulation of an effective public education policy to counter xenophobia and racism particularly difficult. Policy has, on the whole, taken little account of the nature of xenophobia, and not infrequently simply ignores its existence. In the light of these difficulties I will propose a number of objectives for policy responses.

2.1 Institutions Of The State: Legislation, Immigration Policy And Political Culture

Richmond (1994:220) observes three contradictory and incompatible trends in the 'new world order' that have 'significant implications for international migration and ethnic relations within a rapidly changing world system'. Firstly, in the pragmatic scenario majority groups seek to maintain the existing distribution of political and economic power, which leads to a 'fortress mentality' preoccupation with issues of security and border controls. Secondly, in the nostalgic view, the goal is to protect a real or imagined tradition of cultural values from perceived threat from globalization through separation and exclusion of 'Others'. Finally, the utopian view has an ecological slant that seeks to ensure the survival of human (and other) species through emancipation and empowerment, expressed in a concern with the full implementation of existing human rights conventions in migration policies. However, despite the apparent promise of this latter approach, Richmond sees little positive outcome for any of these scenarios (see Table 1.1). In effect, immigration policies often draw on aspects of each of these three different outlooks, as is the case, for example, of legislation and immigration policy in Britain, thereby contributing to their characteristic incoherence and contradiction.

	Nostalgic	Pragmatic	Utopian
Orientation	Past	Present	Future
Goal	Ethnic survival	State survival	Species survival
Means	Separation/exclusion	Border control surveillance	Emancipation/ empowerment
Migration Selective criteria	Restricted (reactive) Cultural	Restricted (reactive) Economic	Restricted (proactive) Ecological
Possible outcome	Global Apartheid (monologic)	Global domination/ subordination	Global equality participation (dialogic)
Risks	Racism, fundamentalism genocide	Conventional/nuclear wars, Armageddon	Fragmentation/ anarchy chaos (after Richmond 1994:220)

2.1.1. Immigration Legislation And Citizenship Policy:

Immigration and citizenship policy, the legislation that enforces these policies and the way debates over that policy are conducted play a key role in the “race’ making’ process and the construction of national identities and sentiments towards immigrants (Carter et al 1996, Spencer 1998, 1994a). Immigration and nationality controls effected by the state, together with immigrant labor market structures, valorize notions of ‘race’ difference (Carter et al 1996). Government use of ‘race’ categories as principles of membership of ‘the nation’ serve to racialize social relations between ‘native’ and ‘alien Other’ and give implicit authorisation of discriminatory practices (Thomas 2000). Policies, as several analysts have argued, both precede and create public sentiment (Spencer 1998).

Reflection on the racializing effects of omissions and contradictions in British immigration control legislation is instructive. Post-war legislation has been aimed at regulating flows of non-white immigrants but does not encompass the long-established white Irish immigration (Layton-Henry 1992)³³ nor the movement of white people from Europe and North America (Day 2000). Additionally, British legislation designed to promote racial harmony and, later, equality has persistently displayed a lack of concern for spatial distribution of the population, betraying ‘the deep-rooted racialization of white popular and political opinion’ (Thomas 2000:51).

Lester (2000:27) points out that contemporary British legislation embodies and reinforces racial inequality with its unfair and discriminatory immigration and asylum law and yet urges racial equality through its ‘race’ equality laws. In addition, the incoherence of constitutional arrangements in Britain produces glaring inconsistencies in anti-discrimination provisions, particularly in respect of omissions regarding discrimination on religious grounds (Lester 1998). More

recently, the contradiction between various pieces of national legislation and international conventions have resulted in confusion as to who is to be categorised as ‘refugee’ or ‘asylum seeker’. In addition, designation as ‘illegal immigrant’ is far from clear in many countries (Freeman 1997). The situation is exacerbated by the fact that racist rhetoric of politicians and the media rarely contribute to greater understanding of the issues involved.

It is important that a critical stance be maintained towards legislation as ‘its scope (and its intervention) instantiate particular moral and political values’ (Thomas 2000:19). Without a clear and holistic consideration of the aims and likely outcomes of legislation the effects are likely to be the encouragement of xenophobia as a body of disparate legislation ultimately provides the basis for discrimination through its incoherence. Legislation has, undoubtedly, the potential to significantly improve ‘race’ relations when carefully formulated but equally it appears that legislation alone is not sufficient to combat xenophobia. The UK experience of legislative measures to combat ‘race’ inequality indicates a failure ‘to shift in a significant way the beliefs and values underpinning the actions of people who discriminate and of society in general’ (Alibhai-Brown 2000:178).

2.1.2 Immigration Policies And Integration³⁴:

A number of theoretical approaches to the integration of minorities have been favoured over the years. I will briefly review here assimilationism, multiculturalism, integrationism and pluralism. The process of assimilation involves the gradual loss of distinctive boundary markers of an immigrant population, such as distinctive language or religious practices, to the point where the immigrant group merge into the majority population (Eriksen 1993)³⁵. The assumption is that the achievement of stability and cohesion inherent in ‘a common sense of

belonging' in society relies on all its members having a shared common national culture, to include such aspects as common values, ideals of excellence, moral beliefs and social practices (Parekh 1998). The assimilationist vision is based on a 'homogenised and highly abridged and distorted version of the national culture' where unity is privileged over diversity, the latter being 'a largely residual, contingent and parasitic category confined to areas in which unity is not a central concern' (*ibid*: 4,7). The State is 'deeply embedded in the culture of the community and acts as its protector' and the conception of citizenship is grounded in the national culture, which is to be shared as a precondition of full membership of the political community (*ibid*:5).

In effect, rather than facilitation of minority group access to equal rights and improved social standing, assimilationist policies often cause alienation and loss of dignity as immigrants' traditions increasingly appear to be considered to be of negligible value in comparison to those of the wider society (Eriksen 1993). As McGown (1999) points out, assimilationism assumes that immigrants are present by choice and that they have made an implicit declaration of desire to adopt the value system of their new country. There is thus little understanding of the predicament of refugees and asylum seekers traumatised by their detachment from their home culture and native lands. Assimilationist policies often amount to a rigid insistence that indigenous culture remains dominant, on the assumption that it need be little changed if immigrant populations adopt a cooperative attitude to participation and acceptance of the values and beliefs of the dominant culture. However, it is important to bear in mind that barriers to assimilation can be both internally constructed by immigrant groups and externally constructed through host population discrimination (Eriksen 1993:138). Assimilationism lays all the onus for integration on the immigrant and takes no account of structural barriers to integration nor of prejudice. It certainly does not give recognition to the importance of the cognitive and affective aspects of identity formation in respect of either the 'host' population or the immigrant population.

As assimilationism became discredited, multiculturalism was adopted as the preferred integration policy. Multiculturalism took its original impetus from the anti-racism of the 1960s Civil Rights movements in America and later gained impetus in institutional contexts (Gordon & Newfield 1996). In its later manifestations it is increasingly identified with the official cultural policies of Western democracies. The meaning of the term 'multiculturalism'³⁶ has become less clear as its use has proliferated (Gordon &

Newfield 1996). Bharucha (1999:13) considers multiculturalism to be 'over-theorised in a plethora of conflicting narratives that suffer from an overkill of ideology'. Understandings of multiculturalism range from it being a manifesto for assimilation, to a rejection of 'Western culture', or merely a descriptive fact about contemporary society (*ibid*).

Multiculturalism is uncritically defined as a public philosophy that 'acknowledges racial and cultural differences in a society and encourages their sustenance and expression as constituent elements of a national social order' (Qadeer 1997:482). Its defining principles are 'the right to practice and preserve heritage, collectively as well as individually' and the 'equality of rights and freedoms under the law for all individuals and communities' (*ibid*:482). In essence, the objective of multiculturalist interventions is to achieve social justice (Dickson-Carr 1996), although this overt goal is often perverted by less progressive underlying assumptions.

Gordon and Newfield (1996:3-7) identify the internal conflicts within the various understandings of multiculturalism as a fourfold dilemma. In the first place, multiculturalism rejects racial subordination and yet, in many of its manifestations, seems to support it through its avoidance of 'race' and implication that concern with cultural diversity will 'render racism insignificant'. Secondly, multiculturalism has its anti-Eurocentric models (as, for example, in the politics of equal respect proposed by Charles Taylor) as well as its neo-Eurocentric models that seek to establish agreement on what constitutes common 'core culture'. Thirdly, whilst some manifestations of multiculturalism sponsor grassroots alliances, sensitive (at their best) to internal as well as external difference, that challenge the (white) status quo, others become submerged in the regulatory constraints of an institutional management of diversity that dehistoricizes culture, 'race' and gender. Thus, multiculturalism 'alternatively encouraged and suppressed the use of cultural difference to expand political democracy'. Finally, whilst, on the one hand, multiculturalism links politics and culture through the promise of 'clarifying the broad sociopolitical relations that are woven into the ties among different cultures', it also separates politics and culture through ignoring their relationship in the production of racism (*ibid.*)³⁷. What multiculturalism does through its exaltation and hypostatization of minority group identities is to create a paradox where 'the minority consciousness gains renewed awareness of itself as *otherness* in relation to the dominant cultural model', thus impeding its accession to 'non-otherness' status (Camara 1997:131)³⁸.

Despite Newfield and Gordon's (1996:77) assertion that multiculturalism has

'limited but positive potential to describe one of the baseline conditions necessary for the establishment of multiracial democracy', other authors in the same volume dismiss multiculturalism as obstructive or irrelevant to the progressive project of genuine and multiracial democracy. The criticism is made that, in the service of capitalism, multiculturalism often perpetuates the racist stereotypes of Euro-American white supremacy³⁹. As Zizek observes, 'the multiculturalist respect for the Other's specificity is the very form of asserting one's own superiority' (quoted in Bharucha 1999:14). Where multiculturalism takes on a dogmatic zeal there is potential for the creation of spheres of oppression amongst the very people it sets out to empower (Alibhai-Brown 2000).

Clearly, both the concept and practice of multiculturalism are under intense scrutiny for evidence of their coherence and value in the light of a confusing and often conflicting range of interpretations and political influences. This situation leads Shohat and Stam (1994:47) to declare multiculturalism an 'empty signifier on to which diverse groups project their hopes and fears'. By avoiding concern with institutional and structural determinants of inequality, multiculturalism can generate a cultural racism which 'allows political and economic factors to seem irrelevant, since they merely reflect the relative strength of different cultures' (Bharucha 1999:89). The fixation of some forms of multiculturalism on the margins as providing a racial threat to the centre neatly sidesteps recognition of the centre's implication in the generation of racism (Gordon & Newfield 1996). Multiculturalism makes a far more laudable attempt than assimilationism does to provide the conditions for effective integration. However, attempts to give recognition to diversity become swamped in the fetishisation of culture and a persistent Eurocentrism, resulting in a failure to incorporate understanding of both the structural obstacles to integration and the affective ones. The cognitive aspects of identity and prejudice are, however, accommodated within multiculturalism's framework in so far as acceptance of diversity allows for categories of difference.

Following from the critique of multiculturalism, immigration policies have looked to integrationism. The process of integration of immigrants in cities is often described as 'community relations', which the CoE view as inclusive of all relationships between groups of migrant origin and the indigenous population (Neymarc 1998:22). Community relations encompasses both the economic and social functioning of immigrant groups and the response of host populations in

terms of, for example, their adaptation to and perceptions of immigrant communities. Crucially, this process is not one of assimilation but requires that 'both the local majority society and the (immigrant) minority groups of various types must be prepared to move towards one another and be ready to change' (Babel 1998:162). Further, it is acknowledged that the process of integration naturally involves controversy, over both economic and cultural issues, and that public debate regarding these issues is not well served by 'the spirit of obsolete nationalism' (*ibid*:172). National level policies aimed at immigrant integration tend to focus on issues such as housing, education, employment and the much debated question of access to host-country nationality. There is little agreement as to the key to successful integration – whilst some advocates employment (Brox 1998), others favor housing (Neymarc 1998) and good city governance (Palidda 1998).

What some analysts call integration/ism, Parekh calls 'partial assimilation' or the 'bifurcationist' mode of integration. His view is that in this model unity is based on a shared political culture, 'including a common body of political values, practices and institutions, collective self-understanding and a broad view of national identity' (Parekh 1998:2). The assimilation of minorities into the political culture of the community is seen as essential to the proper performance of public debate, resolution of political disagreements and successful collective action. The distinction between the public and private realms is crucial, unity being properly located in the former and diversity in the latter (*ibid*:2). In this model the State is both embedded in and transcendent of society and the citizen is required to be committed to sharing only the political culture of the community.

Bifurcationists seek to gain ethnic minority loyalty to the values, practices and institutions seen as integral to the nation, but do not seek to instil such loyalty specifically to the nation itself (Parekh 1998). In this scenario, methods of integration included schooling, public policy 'and the power of public opinion to cultivate these values in minorities' (Parekh 1998:17). Otherwise, minorities are free to practice their own cultures and religions as long as they did not compromise national values, practices and institutions.

Parekh's (1998:8) criticisms of the bifurcationist model are twofold. In the first place, there is in the bifurcationist approach again the assumption of a monolithic and unalterable shared political culture rather than the acknowledgement of a range of identities and related political symbols, images, myths and views of history that change over time. In

the second place, the attempt to combine a monocultural public realm with a multicultural private realm has the effect of assigning diversity – that is, non-dominant cultures – to a marginal or possibly even deviant status.

There is some concern that integrationist policies targeted at particular groups of immigrants have the potential to produce a negative reaction (often against those very immigrant groups) from the non-immigrant population where the latter perceive that the policies serve only to benefit one group of the population (OECD 1998)⁴⁰. Recent research indicates that some countries, including Britain, now favor more generally oriented social integration policies. This, it is surmised, satisfies both the need for budgetary reduction and political pragmatism in the light of the strength of right-wing objection to positive discrimination for foreigners (*ibid*).

In its intention, integrationism seeks to create a far better understanding of the dynamics of immigration and the structural, cognitive *and* emotive aspects of identity and prejudice through its recognition of the need for change to take place in the majority community as well as amongst minorities. However, as Parekh's analysis indicates, in practice the complexity of the holistic approach often means that integration efforts are confined to the creation of a homogenous public sphere that denies individuals full expression of their diverse experiences. Lack of political will results in right wing nationalist groups curtailing the scope of integrationist efforts, with the result that they fall back on concentrating on structural factors, such as housing and employment. In this way the cognitive and, more particularly, the emotive aspects of prejudice of the majority population are largely overlooked.

Despite the differences in the models of integration discussed, assimilation still seems frequently to be the basis for understandings of how integration works (McGown 1999). It is necessary, therefore, to reconsider the basis of the framework within which equitable integration of ethnic minorities is pursued. Parekh favors the pluralist model that guides the immigration policies of Canada and Australia. This 'affirms and encourages multiculturalism in both the public and private realms...[and] cherishes both unity and diversity and privileges neither...[and] appreciates their interplay and does not assign them to separate and unrelated realms' (Parekh 1998:9). There is public recognition of the value and legitimacy of minority cultures as part of the community and, through this, an expectation of loyalty and support from minorities. Rather than the coercion of assimilationist pressures, ethnic minorities

should be free to negotiate their relations with the dominant culture.

Pluralism is a discourse into which minorities have a significant and legitimate input and as a practice that involves a two-way process of change that includes both minority and majority cultures. In Britain the debates also recognise that, along with the necessity to reconceptualise national identity, new language has to be devised to speak of the contemporary realities of racism and a new consensus has to be developed over a minority collective view in order to facilitate an effective national debate on integration (Parekh 1998). Parekh's is a utopian vision of 'effortless flows' between diversity and unity, which, as he readily admits, has its own difficulties. However, it does, as he suggests, provide a basis for working towards a broad consensus on the value and limits of diversity.

Pluralism recognizes immigrants as legitimate participants in a dialogic process of change with the majority population. It has the promise of recognition for the full range of structural, cognitive and affective factors that shape identity and belonging for both minority and majority populations. However, it may well be that this promise cannot live up to its potential in contexts where the underlying framework for notions of national belonging is not conducive. Canada and Australia, as fundamentally immigrant nations, have a particular understanding of citizenship and national identity that differs markedly from that of a country like Britain. The success of pluralism as a framework for integration in Britain is heavily reliant, therefore, on major changes in how the nation and national belonging is conceptualized.

2.1.3. Political Institutions And Political Culture:

As legislation and immigration policy clearly play a significant role in shaping notions of belonging and otherness, it follows that the political climate from which these institutions arise is an important factor in the generation of xenophobia. Governments and politicians play a key role in the reproduction of 'race'-thinking (Carter et al 1996). McGown (1999) argues that, though little understood, a country's political culture is a critical determinant of the harmonious integration of immigrants and minorities. Political culture frames the debate concerning the legitimacy of immigrants and minorities in wider society. It is pervasive and is apparent in the public pronouncements of public figures, in all institutions of the state, as well as market institutions. Political culture is in constant flux and is created by all actors participating in the political process, including the citizenry (*ibid.*).

Sniderman et al (2000) state that the level of public debate regarding immigration is as much a consequence of the skills of political elites as it is a reflection of the economic situation. In their study of prejudice and politics in Italy, they conclude that a crucial factor in the production of xenophobic prejudice is the authority values⁴¹ that, typically, attain to the ideological right. They state that 'it has long been recognised that authority values are tied to intolerance', generating 'charges of contamination of the purity of national traditions and values and the exploitation of public resources' (*ibid*:130).

A political culture that lacks the will to promote an informed public debate on immigration will use its influence to divert attention from the issues at hand. The anger directed at immigrant minorities by nationals is not so much a question of the burden of economic change that foreigners impose but a reflection of the fact that it is the nationals who do carry that burden (Freeman 1997). This expression of discontent is often orchestrated by political actors who are keen to deflect criticism of government performance onto immigrants. Anti-immigrant feelings may, for example, be deliberately stirred up by a political party experiencing falling poll ratings to improve electoral chances (*ibid*). Political culture may, therefore, be significantly out of step with the more inclusive leanings of large sectors of the electorate⁴². Rather than the deployment of political rhetoric that confuses and plays into popular prejudices, it is the duty of politicians to educate public opinion and to publicise the positive contributions of immigrants and refugees (Lester 2000, 1998).

The orchestration of xenophobic sentiments and fears that passes for political analysis is indicative of a view of immigrants as somehow so limited in their ability to grasp public discourses that they will not 'hear' the prejudice spoken against them. Such discriminatory discourses perpetuate a profound lack of respect for the shared humanity of 'Others' and merely legitimise popular xenophobia and prejudice. A political culture that takes such a monodimensional view of immigration has little scope for generating understanding of the structural deterrents to integration, let alone anything so complex as the cognitive and affective bases of prejudice. It does, however, play on the affective 'irrational' fears of non-immigrants for effect.

2.2. Strategies For Effective Public Education Policies To Counter Xenophobia.

As I have argued in the previous section, implicit in the form that legislation, immigration policy and political culture takes is a particular view of immigrants and their place in the

national social order. The incoherence and contradictions that often exists in and between legislation, policy and political discourse generates a generalised confusion over how foreigners are to be regarded and thus makes it very difficult to formulate a coherent public education policy. Not only is it unclear what message such awareness raising efforts should convey about immigrants but the desired public engagement is ill-defined. Despite the fact that contemporary understandings of effective integration policies call for the active participation of the host or majority community in adaptation and change there is little policy focus on the role of the host population in facilitating integration, except possibly in some cultural exchange projects⁴³.

For policy, an important aspect of integration is public education to change attitudes through addressing misunderstandings and misperceptions and through motivating informed public debate over issues of identity, difference and justice. Public information campaigns in respect of the threat that intolerance poses to peace and democracy lie at the root of coherent strategies to combat xenophobia (CEC 1998, CoE 2000). The CoE (Kaltenbach 2000:2) stress the importance of the training and education of adults, particularly 'decision-makers, public authorities, police, judges and immigration officials'

The CoE note that legal standards 'have little effect if they are not complemented by activities which seek to bring about new attitudes and behaviour on the part of all members of society' (CoE n.d.). Alibhai-Brown (2000:193) states that whilst legislation may help to reduce prejudice in Britain 'the education which is needed in order to arrest the growth of this is not being discussed at any level'. As I have been unable to locate any comprehensive statement of what should be the objectives of such public education projects, I draw on some contemporary writing on anti-racism policy to outline some of the possible features of such an undertaking. There is, of course, a vast literature on formal education and the merits or otherwise of various anti-racism policies and initiatives. This will not be considered here as my focus is on public education targeting the xenophobic attitudes of adults who do not constitute the captive audience of schools and colleges.

The approach to be taken in public education to counter racism and xenophobia should be framed in the terms of the CoE member states' recent pledge to welcome 'ethnic, religious and linguistic diversity in Europe as a source of social vitality which should be embraced, valued and enjoyed by all Europeans because it enriches and enhances our lives, our ideas, our creativity and our politics. It is also essential for

Europe's economic prosperity as well as social success, through drawing on all available talents' (2000:3)

Such an approach calls for an equitable incorporation of difference into community relations. In order to avoid the divisive force of the current attention to difference, 'difference must be incorporated into the quest for social justice' through the development of an 'epistemology of multiplicity' (Sandercock 1998:182). Appiah (1997:19) holds that 'we can treat others decently, humanely, through our differences' and that, in addition to what we share, 'sometimes it is the differences we bring to the table that make it rewarding to interact at all'.

To generate wider understanding of diversity as a fact of life, progressive education should be encouraged in all spheres of public life. Whilst it may well be true that 'the lessons in children's formative years regarding racial, ethnic, and other social matters are probably the most thoroughly entrenched' (Dickson-Carr 1996:446) it has to be borne in mind that those lessons are mediated by a range of social contexts outside schooling⁴⁴. The essential role of education to change attitudes and mindsets has, the CoE (Kaltenbach 2000:7) argues, to begin with what parents teach their children. Despite the widespread emphasis on 'youth' as the target for 'race' education programs, comprehensive and sustainable changes in attitude will not be achieved without extending the dialogue to all sectors of society. For this to be achieved, education initiatives against xenophobia and racism must be taken on by the media and must extend to public practice, including that of politics.

Whilst the acceptance of diversity must remain one of the central objectives of public education, it has to be understood that 'difference is not total otherness' at the same time as appreciating that there are limitations to the depth of the comprehension of the perspective of differently located others' (Young 1997:67). Respect has to be built for imperfection - of others and of knowledge - and for the tensions, blockages, ruptures and breakdowns in the contemporary and historical flow of cultural exchanges (Bharucha 1999). The recognition of difference must discern 'the forces which generate the borders' across which it aims to speak and, in doing so, must recognize that there exist irreconcilable differences which, nonetheless, do not exclude the possibility of 'alliances, dialogical coalitions, intercommunal identifications and affinities' (Shohat & Stam 1994:359).

This accords with the communicative democracy espoused by Young (1997), where speaking across differences engenders 'successful expression of experience and perspective' to create understanding that recognises that such understanding is limited

by subjectivity. The benefits that result from such transformation include the raising of consciousness of an individual's own experience as perspectival; the increase of social knowledge; and the process forces transformation of 'expressions of self-interest and desire into appeals to justice' (*ibid*:68-9).

Responding to ethnic diversity is, as Newsam (1998:242) has argued, 'first of all a matter of deciding what kind of society or system we are trying to create or, it may be, avoid'. This entails the uncomfortable process of jettisoning outdated symbols and myths (Day 2000) and divisive concepts such as those of minority and majority groups (Faulkner 2000), together with a broad adoption of the language of human rights (Spencer 2000). The notion of 'tolerance' should be rejected once and for all and in its place government should promote an ethos of welcome and appreciation (Spencer 1998).

In order to achieve this radical shift in thinking, there needs to be informed public debate. In guidelines issued to national governments in respect of xenophobia, intolerance and racism, ECRI recommends the support of voluntary dialogue at the local and national levels to raise awareness, as well as the encouragement of debate within the media and advertising professions on the images which they convey and their responsibility to avoid perpetuating prejudice and biased information (Head 2000). For public consultation to be inclusive and to reveal where conflicts of interests lie a broad spectrum of the population should be canvassed, including ethnic minorities as well as people who view foreigners and ethnic minorities in negative terms (Storey 1994). Spencer (1994a:320) maintains that, despite the political risk involved, 'government should seek to change attitudes through its public presentation of policy, drawing attention to the rationale for immigration and asylum policy, and to the economic and social contribution with immigrants and refugees make'.

An informed public debate would focus on two principal areas. The first would be the destabilisation of 'the false homogeneity of the "nation"', publicly highlighting 'the fact that the political community is a complex cultural and ethnic aggregation of indigenous groups and immigrant settlers' (Werbner & Yuval-Davis 1999:18). The second would aim to build cross-border dialogues with the aim of fostering recognition of the inevitability and ordinariness of encounter with difference, thereby laying the grounds for greater prospects of successful alliances and community transformations. This does not, however, infer that mutual respect or curiosity are dampened for these are integral to the dialogic conversations of alliance building.

Taking into account the cognitive and emotive aspects of xenophobia already discussed, it is important that people's sense of injustice is acknowledged, whether they be the victims or perpetrators of xenophobia. This requires a delicate balancing act for the danger in such an approach is that policies end up pandering, or being interpreted as pandering, to the very prejudices they seek to reduce. What is needed is a 'moral vision of emotion' (Nussbaum 1995) where the recognition of vulnerability as a pan-human condition dictates that compassion and empathy be applied in reaching an understanding of people's experiences – host population and immigrants - and their needs in order to achieve social justice. Dealing with 'imagined and felt human lives' requires acknowledgement of human interdependence at the same time as recognition of 'the person as a separate centre of experience' (*ibid*:382). It requires an acceptance of the limitations of understanding so that the reality of vulnerability is accepted without the need for it to be explained, articulated and understood (Bhatt 1998). Of particular importance is the development of the capacity to listen 'not just for the expression of material interest, but for what people feel and care about, including the rage felt by many who have grown up in a world of prejudice and exclusion' (Healey 1997:119). As Nussbaum (1995:386) asserts, the existence of just social institutions depends on an acceptance of emotion as a valid component of 'reason'.

To advance social justice, government must exhibit decisive leadership in promoting education and presentation of the facts about immigration (Spencer 1994a). There needs to be a sense that the criteria that justify immigration reflect broad agreement achieved through public discussion, and fora for business, trade unions and the general public need to be developed so that effective public consultation can be accomplished (*ibid*). The need for 'an understanding of the structural basis for racism in each society that will permit a clearer view of how much of the problem is a matter of perceptions and beliefs and how much is more deeply rooted' (Goering 2000:153) can, in good measure, be met

through the performance of effective public debate.

Finally, one additional requirement for effective public debate is research. There is a dire shortage of relevant data on which informed discussion can take place in order that legitimate concerns can be separated from unfounded prejudice (Spencer 1994b, 1998, Dummett 1998). As well as data on the socio-economic impact of immigration, there needs to be more information on the attitudes of both white and black people on exclusion

and racism and on the changing nature of discrimination (Alibhai-Brown 2000). The publication and wide dissemination of relevant data is not only necessary for policy and decision-making, but it is also conducive to encouraging public confidence in the validity of the data (CoE 2000). However, although there is no doubt that an informed debate needs up-to-date information, there is some disagreement as to how effective 'facts' are in changing attitudes. Racist rhetoric and nationalist propaganda are often impervious to 'objective figures' on immigrants and racial minorities (Stone & Lasus 1998).

2.3. Conclusion:

I have argued in this chapter that institutions of the state – specifically legislation, immigration policy and political culture - are integral to the process of defining how foreigners are viewed in the national order. They thus have an important role in shaping the form that xenophobia takes but, at the same time, these institutional contexts are shaped in response to xenophobia. In countries such as Britain they suffer from persistent incoherence and contradictions due, in a large measure, to the reactive nature of policy formulation and legislation. The resulting confusion makes it difficult to formulate an effective public education policy to combat xenophobia.

In the light of this situation, I have argued that the prime objective of a public education policy should be to promote informed public debate over issues of identity, difference and justice. Such a debate should acknowledge the sense of injustice of all sectors of the population, and would naturally encompass both the instrumental and the psychosocial aspects of prejudice and vulnerability. It would also acknowledge that there are, and should be, limitations to the depth of comprehension. In Chapter 3 I will consider what the objectives of a media based public education program should be and will discuss the possibilities for and constraints on the newspaper media performing an effective role in public education initiatives to combat xenophobia.

CHAPTER 3

Possibilities For And Constraints On The Newspaper Media's Role In Public Education To Combat Xenophobia

Possibilities for and constraints on the newspaper media's role in public education to combat xenophobia in the light of the preceding discussions of instrumental, institutional and psychosocial bases of xenophobia and of the objectives for an education program to combat such prejudice, I

will now propose a set of objectives for a media based public education policy that seeks to combat xenophobia, and I will then consider the possibilities for and constraints on the media being able to meet these objectives.

In discussing the media, I have chosen to focus on the newspaper press which has its own political and social consequences that derive from, amongst other factors, the structure of the press⁴⁵. As the characteristics of the media vary from country to country, my proposals are aimed specifically at the press media in Britain⁴⁶.

The value of a focus on the media lies in that there is a direct relationship between mass media and political democracy (Sparks 1999) which, in turn, revolves around concerns of access to and conflict over state resources. The media has an important public enlightenment function but exactly how this is interpreted varies between different sectors of the newspaper media. News production is, after all, widely understood as ideologically defined (see Allan 1999). There is therefore a need for a policy framework to set guidelines within which newspapers should operate in order to fulfil their obligation to uphold the aims of a political democracy and the just society that is implied in political democracy. Implicit in this position is acceptance of the view that the newspaper media has the power to influence public opinion and the development of new ideas and forms of behaviour (see Miller & Philo 1999, Philo 1999) – although obviously such influence may be in directions that work against social justice rather than promote it (van Dijk 1991). Media discourses are, as Ferguson (1998:132) points out, ‘one contributory element in the ideological formation and/or sustenance of an audience or society’.

Reporting of the issue of migration in the contemporary British newspaper media is one in which xenophobic and racist overtones are particularly prominent. The widespread representation of migration as a problem is testimony to ‘a basic misunderstanding of migration and the issues that underpin it’ (Philo & Beattie 1999:172). Not only does such a perspective fail to acknowledge the economic contribution of migration to the British economy but it also overstates the potential ‘burden’ on welfare services and other state resources (Harris 1995)⁴⁷. Neither does it communicate the fact that many immigrants are transient and that for much of the last twenty years there has been a net outflow of migrants from Britain. Moreover, migration understood as a black/Third World phenomenon fails to acknowledge the magnitude of white immigration (both skilled and unskilled). There is rarely a contextual analysis that views the issues from the perspective of the migrant, illegal or legal, and the structural conditions

that give rise to the phenomenon of migration. Whilst in the quality press a more balanced ‘alternative’ view may sometimes be found, ‘the dominant perspective on migrants and migration in popular media is much more likely to present them in the context of threats and fearful warnings’ (Philo & Beattie 1999:180). Sections of the British media have indulged in persistent exploitation of xenophobic fears in relation to mainland Europe by orchestrating the fear of overwhelming immigration through ‘recurring stories of illegal immigrants, bogus asylum seekers,[and] preferential treatment in housing services’ (Day 2000:97). In addition to racialization and criminalization of migrants, these narratives, through selective representation, securitize migration ‘in terms of a “dialectic of trust and fear”’, creating a pervasive hermeneutics of suspicion (Tsfahune 1998:508)⁴⁸.

As regards the newspaper media’s interface with political culture, Spencer (1998) expresses concern that the political discourses used in presentation of immigration policy by politicians and the government and the derogative terminology employed by these elites in debates on immigration policy are, inevitably, adopted by the press and, in turn, by the public⁴⁹. The newspaper media thus plays a critical role in the circulation of prejudicial and discriminatory constructions of immigrants.

With regard to the British newspaper press, ways in which ‘race’ is represented result (in part) from the commercial logic of the newspaper media industry, as well as the history of the professionalisation of journalism. It is also the case that mechanisms operate within the British newspaper media to normalize elite values and thus maintain relations of power and subordination through the media, which affects the generation and maintenance of prejudice. It is thus clear that the structure and operation of the newspaper press has social and political consequences. Newspaper media is able to influence audience attitudes and the relationship the media has with political elites is crucial to the direction that this influence takes.

The newspaper media, as one of the institutions of civil society, provides an encounter between members of a society and the state institutions of that society – not only in the sense of the audience to which it addresses itself but also in the sense of the content of its news coverage. It is thus a forum where the cognitive and affective responses of individuals and the identity groups to which they subscribe (discussed in Chapter 1) interface with the concerns of policy and legislation on immigration and citizenship issues and with the prevailing political culture (discussed in Chapter 2).

It remains now to consider what the objectives for a newspaper media based public education policy in Britain should be and then to explore what the constraints on and possibilities for achieving this are for the British newspaper media

3.1. Objectives For A Newspaper Media Based Public Education Policy:

The fundamental aim of any media based public education policy aimed to combat xenophobia is the promotion of an informed public debate. In the context of the British media and race relations, this should consist of three principal objectives:

1. Deconstruction of the notion of the homogeneity of the nation, to include: consideration of the nature of national identity and of pluralism the development of a revised vocabulary for discussing race and ethnic minority issues
2. Generation of understanding of contemporary conditions, to include: structural conditions that give rise to immigration and the role that Britain plays in generating these conditions an informed evaluation of the net effects of immigration the bases and dangers of xenophobia, including both institutional determinants and psychological aspects of prejudice recognition of the limits of comprehension and the imperfection of others and of knowledge
3. Consideration of the basis of social justice, and the morality and ethics of both rights and obligations of inclusivity.

Limitation on space does not permit a detailed inventory of recommendations designed to facilitate the achievement of these objectives but guidelines to generate 'best practice' and to encourage the media to take a responsible role in combating xenophobia are numerous⁵⁰. At a basic level the role of the press media needs to be critically transformed to promote democratic debate and provide information rather than racist rhetoric, particularly in the popular tabloid press. The objectives I have identified serve to promote understanding of individual and group dynamics in the generation and persistence of identity and of prejudice as well as generate a debate on policy and legislation and the role of public institutions in creating the conditions for social justice. However, as the reproductive and symbolic role of the press is connected to the political, economic and power institutions of the elites in society (van Dijk 1991) the challenge is enormous. There are therefore considerable constraints on the extent to which the objectives I have outlined above can be achieved.

3.2 Constraints:

One of the most far-reaching constraints on the effective use of the newspaper media for public education against xenophobia is the structure of the media industry and the commercial logic that pertains. Sparks (1999) maintains that the structure of the British newspaper press reflects a strident capitalist commercial logic that dictates that newspapers are principally businesses whose primary purpose is to make money in a free market economy. Lacking formal political backing, British newspapers compete for readership and advertising, principally by means of product differentiation (rather than by price-cutting). This encourages the distinctive preoccupation with the competitive advantage of the 'scoop', more often than not fabricated through construction or distortion of events (*ibid*), and party political bias.

The market stratification that results from the competitive environment has important consequences for newspaper content (*ibid*)⁵¹. The market imperative caters for the middle ground of the majority white opinion and interests, marginalising those of minorities (Cottle 1999). As Sparks (1999:53) points out, '[t]his difference in content affects the ways in which the press actually inform their readers about important public issues', a role that is vital to the public debate necessary for an effective democracy. Additionally, the fact that ownership of media is increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy individuals or corporations limits both competition and demand (Curran 2000)⁵², and therefore the diversity of viewpoints that are likely to be represented.

Curran (2000) argues that the market orientation of the British media is inimical to the creation of an informed citizenry able to participate in a democratic state. The free market system in the UK allows the media to be dominated by right-wing leadership and intelligent and rational public debate is undermined, participation is restricted and consumer influence is weakened. Moreover, the claim that the press 'speaks for the people' to government idealizes a view of market competition⁵³. Whilst ownership moves towards multimedia concentration, the media is simultaneously increasingly fragmented as the proliferation of communication technologies has reduced the reach of the newspaper press, leading to the claim that the role of 'traditional' media as a vehicle for dissemination of information is diminishing (Puhar 2000). A further constraint is the gatekeeping effect of the phenomenally high market entry costs of any newspaper publishing enterprise. This is effectively an 'invisible form of censorship that excludes social groups with limited financial resources from competing in the main media sectors' (Curran 2000:131)⁵⁴.

The question of investment funds is clearly another constraint on the development of an effective role for the newspaper media in combating xenophobia. IMRAX state that 'enormous investment is needed to assist media in developing internal structures which will promote higher standards' in relation to coverage of minority group issues (White 1999:181). To some extent, the availability of investment funds to develop the newspaper media is a question of political will, which, as I have indicated, is often lacking in Britain. Lack of political leadership on the question of combating xenophobia is also reflected in the fact that there is remarkably little (if any) public response on this issue from the newspaper media corporations in Britain⁵⁵ and that there is no state instituted corrective action to address the lack of minority access to the media.

The lack of minority access to the media and to employment and training in the newspaper industry are major limitations on the effective representation of minority issues and thus on the scope of newspapers to change public attitudes. Alibhai-Brown (1998:118) reports that of all media it is the print sector that 'has been the most resistant to change both in terms of employment and coverage' of ethnic minorities⁵⁶. The 'recruitment and presence of journalists from targeted groups in mainstream media' are important in the fight against racism (CoE 2000:18) and improved media access for 'migrants and ethnic minorities' is one of the primary means of achieving 'an objective image' of minorities in the media (CoE 1995). To avoid ghettoisation of minorities, it is essential they are encouraged to enter the media industry at all levels of news production (Puhar 2000).

However, some caution is necessary as increasing minority recruitment is not a catch-all panacea. As Allan (1999) (and others) point out, an increase in minority employees in news producing industries does not necessarily generate the transformation expected through diverse coverage. Majority viewpoints may nonetheless continue to override those of minorities as minority journalists absorb 'the underlying values of the white media to prove their worth' (Alibhai-Brown 1998:120)⁵⁷. It may ultimately be journalist socialization to conform to news policy and news organization goals that plays as important a role as lack of minority recruitment (Cottle 1999).

Concerns regarding ownership, structure and minority access give rise to calls for greater regulation of the press to enable more informed and diverse news production. Sparks (1999:59) argues that a truly informative press that presents a range of informed opinions about desirable policy

options and provides audiences with a forum for the articulation of their own views 'is an impossibility in a free market'. For this reason, some argue for greater legislative control of the press. Alibhai-Brown (1998:125) argues that the more measured messages of radio and television, which are themselves more regulated than the press, indicate that '[m]eaningful regulation of the press is essential so that racist stories and comments are not allowed to go out without any redress'. Stevenson (1999:38) argues that 'publicly regulated and accountable media institutions and structures' are essential to ensure social justice within the media. Curran (2000) advocates an increase of legislative curbs to sustain minority media so as to benefit democratic process.

An obvious difficulty here is establishing what amounts to 'meaningful regulation'. There are many who argue that further regulation of the press amounts to a fundamental threat to the jealously guarded 'freedom of the press' to report 'objectively'. In this vein, White (1999) asserts that legislative initiatives impose responsibilities on journalists beyond those which pertain to citizens in general, resulting in resentment and cynicism amongst journalists rather than the intended improved standards. There is obviously considerable tension between those that call for greater regulation and those that advocate self-regulation, and the resulting impasse has implications for progress (or lack thereof) in creating an effective role for the media in combating xenophobia.

As has already been noted, an informed debate about the net effects of immigration is severely hampered by the lack of up-to-date and relevant data. This again is, to some extent, a reflection of lack of political will as it is surely the responsibility of a concerned government to initiate relevant research. As Spencer's (1994c:xx) volume on the German experience of immigration indicates, there is ample evidence to uphold a general consensus that 'the contribution which immigrants have made to the economy has been positive – at times crucial'⁵⁸. Similar analysis for Britain is currently impossible as there is little empirical research on either historical or contemporary conditions. However, it is a mistake to take too simplistic a view of the benefits of 'facts'. Khan (1999:20) observes that '[i]t is not facts themselves that are decisive, but rather the way in which people perceive those facts'.

As Sassen (1999:136) argues, it is critically important to establish 'whether labor migration is an integral part of how an economic and social system operates and evolves' to clarify whether the economic, political and social conditions in the receiving country 'set the parameters for immigration

flows'. Similarly, clarification is needed on the extent to which migration is contingent and circular rather than permanent (*ibid*). In addition, in view of the fluctuations in migration flows, a long term perspective is necessary in order to make an adequate assessment of the significance of migration to a country (Zlotnik 1998). There is, therefore, an urgent need for extensive research into both contemporary and historical aspects of immigration in Britain.

There is a complex attitudinal impediment to the effective use of the media in public education in so far as disinterest and resistance to moralising renders particular sections of the potential audience impervious to any change in attitude. Martiniello (1997:635) draws attention to the 'gap between academic liberalism and the illiberalism of the general public', expressed in extreme right-wing and conservative politics. It seems that as xenophobia increases in Europe, there is a corresponding 'dramatic fall in the level of interest shown by politicians and society' (Kahn 1999:19). Dogan (1997:19) notes that public corruption 'touches the sensitivity of citizens much more than social injustice'. But it is not only the audience that is disinterested. 'Social issues', under which 'minority stories' are categorized, lack journalistic prestige in comparison to the 'harder news' of political and war reporting (Solanki & Frachon 1999). Furthermore, a combination of the market imperative of media and the political alienation of the citizenship increases the diversionary entertainment content of media, resulting in what Curran (2000:132) observes as a weakening of 'the link that used to exist between media and public opinion'.

Finally, and crucially, there will be limitations on the efficacy of any media efforts to change public attitudes to the presence of foreigners as long as structural conditions continue to generate inequality and socio-economic polarisation for the host population. Those who feel that their standard of living is threatened are predisposed to scapegoating foreigners for what they perceive as their contribution to the state of affairs. It is questionable whether social unity and diversity can be reconciled 'without reaching a fair balance of economic and political power between the various individuals and groups living in the society' (Martiniello 1997:640). Spencer (1994a:320) warns that government efforts to change public attitudes will only be successful if 'sections of the public whose standard of living is genuinely affected feel that their concerns have been addressed by the revised policy which is adopted and they are convinced that immigrants and asylum seekers who are allowed to enter either make a positive economic contribution or have the right to the public resources they use'.

Having argued that the newspaper media has a role to play in public education to combat xenophobia and racism, I have also had to acknowledge that there are considerable obstacles to achieving such an outcome. In Britain the market orientation and structure of the media has constricting effects, as does the lack of minority access, political will, development funds, and research data and, at some levels, excessive concern for 'objectivity'. The lack of recognition of the 'subjective' dimensions of racist and xenophobic ideologies and acts can entrench resistance to attitude change. Many of these factors contribute to an ongoing debate over whether legislative measures should be put in place to enforce better practices.

3.3. Possibilities For And Future Orientation Of The Newspaper Media In Public Education:

Despite these not inconsiderable obstacles, there is still significant scope for the newspaper media to contribute to public dialogue aimed at raising awareness and, ultimately, changing attitudes in respect of xenophobic beliefs. At a fundamental level, the media are the 'chief vehicle' for ensuring the informed citizenry necessary for democracy (Dahlgren 2000) and thus for promoting integration in society (Groebel 1999). EUMC suggest that the media is an institution which can 'do more than any other to shape our perception of reality and reality itself' (Winkler 1999:11). The media are 'essential partners in the fight against racism' (CEC1998:9) and provide a means for reflection on and creation of attitudes, emotions and prejudices (Puhar 2000). Through equipping audiences to interpret xenophobic constructions, the media can assist in the creation of an atmosphere in which xenophobia can be successfully challenged (Hilversummary 1996:3).

The media certainly has the capacity to influence audience attitudes. There is a widely held assumption that the media exerts a discernible influence on the nature and direction of social life (Corner 2000:379). The media is seen as effective for shaping understanding of what is legitimate or desirable (Philo 1999) and for the development of new ideas and potential behavior as well as influencing perceptions about causation and blame (Miller & Philo 1999). Media discourses contribute to 'the ideological formation and/or sustenance of an audience or society' (Ferguson 1998:132)⁵⁹. Kitzinger (1999) contends that media representations are, under certain circumstances, very influential but that this does not negate the fact that audiences also have agency in making

diverse and sometimes 'resistant' interpretations⁶⁰.

Increasingly, journalists themselves recognise the need for a framework for building a counter-culture in the media to challenge xenophobia and the incitement of intolerance (White 1999). To this end, IMRAX⁶¹ organised the first worldwide journalists' conference on racism and the media in 1997. The Bilbao Declaration that resulted concluded that legal, social and professional conditions must be improved in the media industries in order to facilitate the media's support of tolerance and democracy. A central feature of the declared objectives is the raising of awareness within the media industry of practices that seek to promote 'tolerance'⁶². Alibhai-Brown (1998:125) advocates that dialogue between 'liberal journalists and ethnic minority thinkers who are concerned about the future of [Britain] and the values that would bind society' and that 'concerned journalists and editors' should be reflexive about coverage of ethnic minorities and consider alternative ways of looking at such issues.

In addition to journalists concern, there is scope for change to be brought about through public pressure, drawing on the strong tradition in Britain of campaigns to change the media (Reading 1999). The development of an increasingly active global communications civil society gives further encouragement to the idea that newspaper media can be held to responsible news reporting (Raboy 1999).

Drawing on Amartya Sen's capabilities approach, Garnham (1999:121) suggests that rather than thinking of newspapers as 'providers of a stream of content to be consumed' they should be thought of as enablers and enhancers of a range of functions, such as that of political participation, which should be equitably distributed. This will involve media professionals in 'a search for new repertoires to stimulate reflection rather than adhering to well-worn stereotypes' (Stevenson 1999:178). Viewing media as public space that constitutes part of the global commons is arguably the basis for such a socially responsible approach⁶³.

Stevenson (1999:178) emphasises the importance of the moral and ethical dimensions of media politics for the production of a genuinely communicative society. A socially just media should embrace an ethic of responsibility and participation that creates space for 'alternative' voices at the same time as acknowledging that representations are always incomplete (ibid). The re-imagining of relations of solidarity requires that we loosen the grip 'that the nation continues to have upon popularly constructed horizons' and seek to enlarge the view of communication as a process of understanding rather than of

domination (Stevenson 1999). To redress oppression the focus of media news production should be on a sense of common membership based on 'our very real and substantive relationships and interactions rather than our shifting and imagined differences' (Nagel 1999:143). It has been argued that the capacity to take the role of the other is a prerequisite for the moral and ethical universality that devolves from the understanding of the interconnectedness of humanity (Stevenson 1999). Taking the role of the other requires empathy and recognition both of vulnerability and, as Smith (2000) argues, of the place of good fortune. It is shared emotional resources rather than rational discourse alone upon which the ability to empathise relies (Stevenson 1999).

In conclusion, despite considerable obstacles, the newspaper media as an institution has the scope to play an effective role in public education to combat xenophobia. In order to do this the press needs to promote a public debate that questions contemporary assumptions about national identity and immigration, as well as interrogating the basis of social justice. To enable informed debate, the media must seek to generate understanding of the complexity of xenophobia through explanation of the cognitive and affective aspects of prejudice, as well as the institutional factors that create or support xenophobic ideologies.

CONCLUSION:

Public (post-formal) education to combat xenophobia needs to be broadly framed in an ethos of welcome and appreciation of diversity and calls for a multifaceted approach that is fully cognisant of the range of instrumental and psychosocial factors that affect different sectors of the target audience. I have argued that there needs to be an informed public debate as to what kind of society is desirable and that decisive political leadership and broad dissemination of up to date information and research data are necessary for such debate to be effective.

Fundamentally, a strong political commitment is crucial, not only to improve representation of minorities in the media but also to ensuring that the public enlightenment function of the press is fulfilled. Whether this is achieved through formal regulation of the newspaper media or through self-regulation needs to be further debated. However, if it is to be the latter it will be necessary for government to ensure that there are effective ways of monitoring the performance of the press. A strong political commitment should provide the necessary funds to support measures to ensure broad spectrum

participation in public debates⁶⁴, thus promoting social justice in the media. The media has an important role to play in the conduct of public debate by providing a forum for the debate about the nature of national identity and respect for imperfection in national life. In so doing it should strive to provide access for minorities and for the accurate representation of their perspectives, thereby promoting willing incorporation of difference.

I have argued that the institutional factors, such as legislation, immigration and integration policies and the political culture, affect the form that xenophobia takes in any particular society. Wimmer's preference for the phenomenological approach is insufficient to account for the complexity and range of xenophobic ideologies and responses. From my discussion of institutional factors it is clear that discourse theory has much to offer as an explanatory basis for xenophobia. However, I feel that we need to go beyond this. Integral to understanding how xenophobic ideologies arise and their effects is an appreciation of the cognitive and affective bases of xenophobia with the aim of promoting an understanding of human vulnerability, across *all* sectors of the population. The cognitive and affective processes that underwrite prejudice are, in a sense, normal social phenomenon in conditions of socio-economic change but recognition of this does not erase the fact that such ideologies are ethically and morally unacceptable where they mobilise discriminatory practices.

There are two important aspects to generating understanding of the cognitive and affective bases of xenophobia. In the first place, generating such understanding in the public domain should have positive impact on the persistence of these beliefs. This will be particularly so if knowledge of the psychosocial basis of prejudice is used in the design of public education programs that otherwise fail to have any impression on the 'irrational' nature of prejudice. Rather than simplistic condemnation and moralising, an explanation of the underlying forces of xenophobic actions and beliefs is likely to be more effective (Hilversummary 1996:p4). Hondrich (1999:124) maintains that '[m]oral sermons are counterproductive if they try to make listeners believe that fear, jealousy and feelings of competition are taboo'. Precision in journalistic insight needs to acknowledge that there are aspects of foreign culture that cause annoyance, as well as describing the prejudices and fears of media audiences *and* journalists themselves (*ibid*). In short, Hondrich's argument is that the 'subjective' element of news items must be reported along with the 'objective' elements. The effect is to generate a greater understanding of feelings of insecurity and vulnerability and the negative

feelings that arise in such a context – in effect, Nussbaum's 'moral vision of emotion' referred to in Chapter 2.

Secondly, it is important that journalists and other news producers appreciate how their own emotional convictions and subconscious fantasies inform how they produce news (Bohleber 1999). They need also to develop a reflexive awareness of the corpus of symbols and symbolic terms used in representing issues of identity and non-belonging (*ibid*).

I have acknowledged that there are considerable obstacles to achieving an effective public education role for the newspaper media in Britain – not least of which is the lack of political will. However, that is no justification for not striving to get closer to the ideal. As Stevenson argues, in support of utopian thinking, 'a world without any idealism ultimately ends up underestimating the continued political importance of fresh ideas and embodies a form of cynicism that ultimately always knows in advance what it thinks about a particular problem, without opening itself to the complexity of questions that are available' (1999:170).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Lughod, Lila and Lutz, Catherine A., 1990, "Introduction: emotion, discourse and the politics of everyday life", in Lila Abu-Lughod and Catherine A. Lutz, (eds), *Language and the politics of emotion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Allan, Stuart, 1999, *News Culture*, Buckingham, Open University Press
- Alibhai-Brown, Yasmin, 2000, "Race Relations in New Britain", in Muhammad Anwar, Patrick Roach & Ranjit Sondhi (eds), *From Legislation to Integration? Race Relations in Britain*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd
- Alibhai-Brown, Yasmin, 1998, "The media and race relations", in Tessa Blackstone, Bhikhu Parekh and Peter Sanders (eds), *Race Relations in Britain*, London/NY, Routledge
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony, 1997, *Cosmopolitan Patriots*, Unpublished paper given at Africa Seminar, University of Cape Town, 24 March
- Babel, Herbert, 1998, "The City of Stuttgart and Immigration: Policies and Experiences", in OECD, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*, Paris, OECD
- Banton, Michael, 1999, "Racism today: a perspective from international politics", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v22, n2, May, pp606-615
- Befu, Harumi, 1999, "Demonizing the 'Other'", in Robert S. Wistrich (ed), *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism, and Xenophobia*, Amsterdam, Harwood Academic Publishers
- Bharucha, Rustom, 1999, "Interculturalism and its Discriminations: Shifting the Agendas of the National, the Multicultural and the Global", *Third Text*, 46, Spring
- Bhatt, Mihir, 1998, "Can Vulnerability be Understood?" In John Twigg and Mihir R. Bhatt (eds), *Understanding Vulnerability*, London, Intermediate Technology Publications
- Blaut, J.M., 1992, "The Theory of Cultural Racism", *Antipode*, pp289-299
- Bohleber, Werner, 1999, "A psychoanalytic view of the reporting of race hatred and racism in the media", in *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference Documentation*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Body-Gendrot, Sophie, 1998, 'Now you see, now you don't': comments on Paul Gilroy's article, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v21, n5, pp848-858
- Bonnett, Alastair, 1998, "Who was white? The disappearance of non-European white identities and the formation of European racial whiteness", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v21, n6, pp1029-1055
-, 1997, Geography, 'race' and Whiteness: invisible traditions and current challenges, *Area*, v29, n3, pp193-199
- Brah, Avtar, 1996, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting identities*, London/NY, Routledge
- Brox, Ottar, 1998, "Policy implications of the settlement patterns of immigrants: some Norwegian experiences and viewpoints", in OECD, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*, Paris, OECD Publications
- Bulmer, Martin & Solomos, John, 1998, "Introduction: Re-thinking Ethnic and Racial Studies", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v21, no5, pp819-837
- Camara, Evandro, 1997, *The Cultural One or the Racial Many: Religion, culture and the interethnic experience*, Aldershot, Ashgate
- Carter, Bob, Green, Marci & Halpern, Rick, 1996, "Immigration policy and the racialization of migrant labour: the construction of national identities in the USA and Britain", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v19, n1, January, pp135-157

- CEC, 1998, *An Action Plan Against Racism*, Brussels, 25 March, ref COM (1998) 183 final
- Clark, Candace, 1990, "Emotions and Micropolitics in Everyday Life: Some Patterns and Paradoxes of 'Place'" in Theodore D. Kemper (ed), *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions*, Albany, State University of New York Press
- Cornelius, Randolph R., 1996, *The Science of Emotion: Research and tradition in the psychology of emotion*, Upper Saddle River NJ, Prentice-Hall
- Corner, John, 2000 (1991), "'Influence': The Contested Core of Media Research", in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society*, London, Arnold (3rd edition)
- Cottle, Simon, 1999, "Ethnic Minorities and the British News Media: Explaining (Mis)Representation", in Janet Stokes and Anna Reading (eds), *The Media in Britain: Current debates and developments*, London, Macmillan Press
- CoE, 2000, *All different, all equal: from principle to practice - General Conclusions of the European Conference Against Racism*, 16 October, www.ecri.int/on/sommaire.htm (accessed November 2000)
- CoE, 1995, Recommendation 1277 on migrants, ethnic minorities and media, <http://stars.coe.fr/ta/ta95/erec1277.htm> (accessed November 2000)
- CoE, n.d., *Activities concerning racism and intolerance: Education*, www.coe.int (accessed November 2000)
- Curran, James, 2000 (1991), "Rethinking Media and Democracy", in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society*, London, Arnold (3rd edition)
- Dahlgren, Peter, 2000 (1991), "Media, Citizenship and Civic Culture", in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society*, London, Arnold (3rd edition)
- Damasio, Antonio R., 1996 (1994), *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain*, London, Papermac (Macmillan Books)
- Davidson, Richard J & Paul Ekman, 1994a, "Afterword: How are Emotions Distinguished from Moods, Temperament, and Other Related Affective Constructs?" in Paul Ekman & Richard Davidson (eds), *The Nature of Emotion*, New York, Oxford University Press
- Day, Michael, 2000, "Reflections from the Chair", in Muhammad Anwar, Patrick Roach & Ranjit Sondhi (eds), *From Legislation to Integration? Race Relations in Britain*, London, Macmillan Press
- Degler, Carl N., 1998, "National Identity and the Conditions of Tolerance", in Norbert Finzsch & Dietmar Schirmer (eds), *Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism Racism and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Denzin, Norman K, 1990. "On Understanding Emotion: The Interpretive-Cultural Agenda", in Theodore D. Kemper (ed), *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions*, Albany, State University of New York Press
-, 1984, *On understanding emotion*, San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Publishers
- Dickson-Carr, Darryl B., 1996, "Annotated Bibliography", in Avery F. Gordon and Christopher Newfield (eds), *Mapping Multiculturalism*, Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press
- Dogan, Mattei, 1997, "Erosion of Confidence in Advanced Democracies", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Fall, v32, n3, 3-29
- Dresch, Paul, 1995, "Race, culture and – what? Pluralist certainties in the United States", in Wendy James (ed), *The Pursuit of Certainty: Religious and Cultural Formulations*, London/NY, Routledge,
- Dummett, Ann, 1998, "British race relations in a European context", in Tessa Blackstone, Bhikhu Parekh and Peter Sanders (eds), *Race Relations in Britain*, London/NY, Routledge

- Ekman, Paul, 1984, "Expression and the Nature of Emotion", in Klaus Rainer Scherer & Paul Ekman, (eds), *Approaches to emotion*, Hillsdale NJ, Lawrence Erlbaum Assocs
- Ekman, Paul & Davidson, Richard J., 1994, "Afterword: What is the Function of Emotions?" in Paul Ekman & Richard Davidson (eds), *The Nature of Emotion*, New York, Oxford University Press
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland, 1993, *Ethnicity & Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives*, London, Pluto Press
- European Institute for the Media, 1998, More Colour in the Media – Research, www.eim.org (accessed November 2000)
- EUMC, 1999, *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference Documentation*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Ferguson, Robert, 1998, *Representing 'race': ideology, identity, and the media*, London, Arnold
- Faulkner, David, 2000, New problems, new solutions, *The Runnymede Bulletin*, no. 323, October
- Forgas, Joseph P, 2000a, "Preface", in Joseph P Forgas (ed), *Feeling and thinking: The role of affect in social cognition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
-, 2000b, "Feeling and Thinking", in Joseph P. Forgas (ed), *Feeling & Thinking: The Role of Affect in Social Cognition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
-, 2000c, "The Role of Affect in Social Cognition", in Joseph P. Forgas (ed), *Feeling and thinking: the role of affect in social cognition*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Franks, David D & Gecas, Viktor, 1992, "Current Issues in Emotion Studies", in David D. Franks & Viktor Gecas (eds), *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, vol 1, pp3-24, London, Jai Press Inc
- Freeman, Gary P., 1997, "Immigration as a Source of Political Discontent and Frustration in Western Democracies", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Fall, v32, n3, 42-64
- Frijda, Nico H., 1994, "Varieties of Affect: Emotions and Episodes, Moods and Sentiments", in Paul Ekman & Richard Davidson (eds), *The Nature of Emotion*, New York, Oxford University Press
-, 1986, *The Emotions*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Gandy, Oscar H, Jr., 2000 (1991), "Race, Ethnicity and the Segmentation of Media Markets", in James Curran and Michael Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society*, London, Arnold (3rd edition)
-, 1998, *Communication and Race: A Structural Perspective*, London, Arnold
- Garnham, Nicholas, 1999, "Amartya Sen's "Capabilities" Approach to the Evaluation of Welfare: Its Application to Communications", in Andrew Calabrese and Jean-Claude Burgelman (eds), *Communication, Citizenship and Social Policy: rethinking the limits of the welfare state*, Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc
- Gilroy, Paul, 1998, "Race ends here", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v21, n5, pp838-847
- Goering, John, 2000, "Lessons from the US Civil Rights Experience", in Muhammad Anwar, Patrick Roach & Ranjit Sondhi (eds), *From Legislation to Integration? Race Relations in Britain*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd
- Goldberg, David Theo, 1993, *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the politics of meaning*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Gordon, Avery F. & Newfield, Christopher, 1996, "Introduction", in Avery F. Gordon and Christopher Newfield (eds), *Mapping Multiculturalism*, Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press
- Gordon, Steven L, 1990, "Social Structural Effects on Emotions", in Theodore D. Kemper (ed), *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions*, Albany, State University of New York Press

- Groebel, Jo, 1999, "On aspects and issues relating to cultural diversity in European television", in proceedings of *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Gross, Stephen, 2000, "Racism in the Shadow of Jung – The Myth of White Supremacy", in Elphis Christopher and Hester McFarland Solomon (eds), *Jungian Thought in the Modern World*, Free Association Books
- Hall, Stuart, 1991, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities", in Anthony D. King (ed), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System: Contemporary conditions for the representation of identity*, Binghampton, State University of New York
- Harris, Nigel, 1995, *The New Untouchables: Immigration and the New World Worker*, London, Penguin
- Hauke, Christopher, 2000, *Jung and the Postmodern: The Interpretation of Realities*, London/Philadelphia, Routledge
- Head, Michael, 2000, "Council of Europe policy recommendation no. 5: Combating intolerance and discrimination against Muslims", *The Runnymede Bulletin*, no. 323, October
- Healey, Patsy, 1997, *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd
- Hickman, Mary J., 1998, "Reconstructing deconstructing 'race': British political discourses about the Irish in Britain", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v21, n2, pp288-307
- Hilversummary, 1996, Recommendations for broadcasters on fair portrayal of ethnic minorities, (Publication of the Netherlands Broadcasting Corporation (NOS))
<http://www.omroep.nl/nos/rtv/voorlichting/hsumm/hs3.html> (accessed 30 November 2000)
- Hondrich, Kurt, 1999, "Speed becomes fate", in proceedings of *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Igglesden, Vicki, 2000, *Stories Graze the Mind: The Challenge of Emotive-Aesthetic Reasoning in Collaborative Planning*, Term Essay for UCL MSc in Development and Planning, September
- International Federation of Journalists, 1997, *Prime Time for Tolerance: Journalism and the challenge of racism – Bilbao Declaration*
- Kaltenbach, Jenö, 2000, *All different, all equal: Education and awareness-raising to combat racism, related discrimination and extremism at sub-national, national, regional and international levels* (Report of Working Group III of the European Conference against Racism), 16 October
www.ecri.coe.int/en/sommaire.htm (accessed November 2000)
- Khan, Jean, 1999, "Kosovo could happen anywhere", in proceedings of *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Kitayama, Shinobu, Markus, Hazel Rose & Lieberman, Cary, 1995, "The Collective Construction of Self-Esteem", in James A. Russell, *Everyday Conceptions of Emotion*, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers
- Kitzinger, Jenny, 1999, "A sociology of media power: key issues in audience reception research", in Greg Philo (ed), *Message Received: Glasgow Media Group Research 1993-1998*, Harlow, Longman
- Klusmeyer, Douglas B., 1993, "Aliens, Immigrants and Citizens: The politics of inclusion in the Federal Republic of Germany", *Daedalus*, Summer
- Kristeva, Julia, 1991, *Strangers to Ourselves*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester Wheatsheaf (trans. Leon S. Roudiez)

- Layton-Henry, Zig, 1992, *The Politics of Immigration: Immigration, 'Race' and 'Race' Relations in Post-war Britain*, Oxford, Blackwell
- Lester, Anthony, 2000, "The Politics of the Race Relations Act 1976", in Muhammad Anwar, Patrick Roach & Ranjit Sondhi (eds), *From Legislation to Integration? Race Relations in Britain*, London, Macmillan Press Ltd
-, 1998, "From Legislation to Integration: Twenty years of the Race Relations Act", in Tessa Blackstone, Bhikhu Parekh and Peter Sanders (eds), *Race Relations in Britain*, London/NY, Routledge
- Lutz, Catherine A. & White, Geoffrey M., 1986, "The Anthropology of Emotions", *Ann. Rev. Anthropol*, 15:405-36
- Martiniello, Marco, 1997, "Citizenship, ethnicity and multiculturalism: post-national membership between Utopia and reality", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v20, n3, July pp635-641
- McGown, Rima Berns, 1999, *Muslims in the Diaspora: The Somali Communities of London & Toronto*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press
- McKenzie, Fiona & Williams, Lynne, 1998, "The integration of immigrants in cities: a case study of Sydney", in OECD, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*, Paris, OECD Publications
- McLaren, Peter, 1997, "Unthinking Whiteness, Rethinking Democracy: Critical Citizenship in Gringolandia", in his *Revolutionary Multiculturalism: Pedagogies of Dissent for the New Millenium*, Westview Press
- Miller, David & Philo, Greg, 1999, "The effective media", in Greg Philo (ed), *Message Received,: Glasgow Media Group Research 1993-1998*, Harlow, Longman
- Muller, Thomas, 1998, "Immigration and urban areas: the United States experience", in OECD, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*, Paris, OECD Publications
- Modood, Tariq, 1996, "If Races Do Not Exist, Then What Does? Racial Categorisation and Ethnic Realities", in Rohit Barot (ed), *The Racism Problematic: Contemporary Sociological Debates on Race and Ethnicity*, New York, Edwin Mellen Press
- Nagel, Caroline Rose, 1999, "Social justice, self-interest and Salman Rushdie: Reassessing identity politics in multicultural Britain", in James D. Procter & David M. Smith (eds), *Geography and ethics: journeys in a moral terrain*, London/NY, Routledge
- Newfield, Christopher and Gordon, Avery F., 1996, "Multiculturalism's Unfinished Business", in Avery F. Gordon and Christopher Newfield (eds), *Mapping Multiculturalism*, Minneapolis/London, University of Minnesota Press
- Newsam, Peter, 1998, "Conclusion", in Tessa Blackstone, Bhikhu Parekh and Peter Sanders (eds), *Race Relations in Britain*, London/NY, Routledge
- Neymarc, Kristen, 1998, "Immigrants, integration and cities: a brief review of the recent literature", in OECD, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*, Paris, OECD Publications
- Nussbaum, Martha C., 1995, "Emotions and Women's Capabilities", in Martha C. Nussbaum & Jonathan Glover (eds), *Women, Culture, and Development: A Study in Human Capabilities*, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Oatley, Keith & Jenkins, Jennifer M., 1996, *Understanding Emotions*, Oxford, Blackwell
- OECD, 1998, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*, Paris, OECD
- Oujaj, Jamil, 1998, "More Colour in the Media", *The Bulletin* (The European Institute for the Media), v15, n3, September www.multicultural.net/index1.htm (accessed November 2000)
- Palidda, Salvatore, 1998, "The integration of immigrants in changing urban environments: the example of Italy", in OECD, *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*, Paris, OECD

- Parekh, Bhikhu, 1998, "Integrating minorities", in Tessa Blackstone, Bhikhu Parekh and Peter Sanders (eds), *Race Relations in Britain*, London/NY, Routledge
-, 1994, "Three Theories of Immigration", in Sarah Spencer (ed), *Strangers & Citizens, A positive approach to migrants and refugees*, London, Rivers Oram Press
- Parkinson, Brian, 1995, "Emotion", in Brian Parkinson & Andrew M. Coleman (eds), *Emotion and Motivation*, London/NY, Longman
- Penrose, Jan & Jackson, Peter, 1993, "Conclusion: Identity and the politics of difference", in Peter Jackson & Jan Penrose (eds), *Constructions of Race, Place and Nation*, London, UCL Press
- Philo, Greg, 1999, Conclusions on media audiences and message reception, in Greg Philo (ed), *Message Received: Glasgow Media Group Research 1993-1998*, Harlow, Longman
- Philo, Greg & Beattie, Liza, 1999, "Race, migration and media", in Greg Philo (ed), *Message Received: Glasgow Media Group Research 1993-1998*, Harlow, Longman
- Phoneix, Ann, 1998, "Dealing with difference: the recursive and the new", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v21, n5, pp859-880
- Puhar, Alenka, 2000, "Information, communication and media: Report of Working Group IV", *European contribution to the world conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, Strasbourg, 11-13 October –www.ecri.int/en/sommaire.htm* (accessed 29 November 2000)
- Qadeer, Mohammad A., 1997, "Pluralistic Planning for Multicultural Cities: The Canadian Practice", *APA Journal*, Autumn
- Raboy, Marc, "Communication Policy & Globalization as a Social Project", in Andrew Calabrese and Jean-Claude Burgelman (eds), *Communication, Citizenship and Social Policy: rethinking the limits of the welfare state*, Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc
- Reading, Anna, 1999, "Campaigns to Change the Media", in Janet Stokes and Anna Reading (eds), *The Media in Britain: Current debates and developments*, London, Macmillan Press
- Rew, Alan & Campbell, John R., 1999, "The Political Economy of Identity and Affect", in John R. Campbell & Alan Rew (eds), *Identity & Affect: Experiences of identity in a globalising world*, London, Pluto Press
- Richmond, Anthony H., 1994, *Global Apartheid: Refugees, Racism and the New World Order*, Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Sandercock, Leonie, 1998a, "The Death of Modernist Planning: Radical Praxis for a Postmodern Age", in Mike Douglass & John Friedmann (eds), *Cities for Citizens: Planning and the Rise of Civil Society in a Global Age*, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons
- Sassen, Saskia, 1999, *Guests and aliens*, New York, The New Press
- Schirmer, Dietmar, 1998, "Introduction", in Norbert Finzsch & Dietmar Schirmer (eds), *Identity & Intolerance: Nationalism, Racism and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Schul, Yaacov & Zukier, Henri, 1999, "Why Do Stereotypes Stick?" in Robert S. Wistrich (ed), *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism, and Xenophobia*, Amsterdam, Harwood Academic Publishers
- Seeburger, Francis F., 1992, "Blind Sight and Brute Feeling: The divorce of cognition from emotion", in David D. Franks & Viktor Gecas (eds), *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, vol 1, pp3-24, London, Jai Press Inc
- Shohat, Ella & Stam, Robert, 1994, *Unthinking Eurocentrism*, London/NY, Routledge

- Sibley, David, 1995, *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*, London/NY, Routledge
- Simon, Julian L., 1996, "Expenditure on Immigrants to the United States", *Population and Development Review*, v22, n1, March
- Smith, David M., 2000, "Moral progress in human geography: transcending the place of good fortune", *Progress in Human Geography*, v24, n1, pp1-18
- Sniderman, Paul M., Peri, Pierangelo, de Figueiredo, Jr., Rui J.P., and Piazza, Thomas, 2000, *The Outsider: Prejudice and Politics in Italy*, Princeton/Oxford, Princeton University Press
- Solanki, Paresh & Frachon, Claire, 1999, "Results and recommendations", in proceedings of *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Solomos, John & Back, Les, 1995, *Race, Politics and Social Change*, London/NY, Routledge
- Sparks, Colin, 1999, "The Press", in Janet Stokes & Anna Reading (eds), *The Media in Britain: Current Debates and Developments*, London, Macmillan Press
- Spencer, Sarah, 2000, "Race recognised as a human rights issue", *The Runnymede Bulletin*, no.323, October
- Spencer, Sarah, 1998, "The impact of immigration policy on race relations", in Tessa Blackstone, Bhikhu Parekh and Peter Sanders (eds), *Race Relations in Britain*, London/NY, Routledge
-, 1994a, "The Implications of Race Relations Policy for Race Relations", in Sarah Spencer (ed), *Strangers & Citizens, A positive approach to migrants and refugees*, London, Rivers Oram Press
-, 1994b, "Conclusions and Recommendations", in Sarah Spencer (ed), *Strangers & Citizens, A positive approach to migrants and refugees*, London, Rivers Oram Press
-, 1994c, *Immigration as an economic asset: The German experience*, Stoke on Trent, Trentham Books
- Stevenson, Nick, 1999, *The Transformation of the Media: globalisation, morality and ethics*, London /NY, Longman
- Stokes, Janet & Reading, Anna (eds), 1999, *The Media in Britain: Current debates and developments*, London, Macmillan Press
- Storey, Hugo, 1994, "International Law and Human Rights Obligations", in Sarah Spencer (ed), *Strangers & Citizens, A positive approach to migrants and refugees*, London, Rivers Oram Press
- Taylor, Charles, 1994, "The Politics of Recognition", in Amy Gutman (ed), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, Princeton University Press
- Thomas, Huw, 2000, *Race & Planning: The UK Experience*, London, UCL Press
- Triandafyllidou, Anna, 1998, "National identity and the 'other'", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v21, n4, July, pp593-612
- van den Berghe, Pierre, 1997, "Rehabilitating stereotypes", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v20, n1, January
- van Dijk, Teun A., 1991, "Racism and the Press", London/NY, Routledge
- Vella, Corinne, 1997, "Who is the Other?", *The Sunday Times*, December 7
- Wentworth, William M., & Ryan, John, 1992, "Balancing Body, Mind and Culture: The Place of Emotion in Social Life", in David D. Franks & Viktor Gecas (eds), *Social Perspectives on Emotion*, vol 1, pp3-24, London, Jai Press Inc

- Werbner, Pnina & Yuval-Davis, Nira, 1999, "Women and the New Discourse of Citizenship", in Nira Yuval-Davis and Pnina Werbner (eds), *Women, Citizenship and Difference*, London/NY, Zed Books
- White, Aidan, 1999, "Working together to challenge racism in the media: Role of the International Media Working Group Against Racism and Xenophobia (IMRAX)", proceedings of *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- White, Geoffrey M., 1993, "Emotions Inside Out: The Anthropology of Affect", in Michael Lewis & Jeannette M. Haviland (eds), *Handbook of Emotions*, New York, Guilford Press
-, 1990, "Moral discourse and the rhetoric of emotions", in Lila Abu-Lughod & Catherine A. Lutz, (eds), *Language and the politics of emotion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press
- Wierzbicka, Anna, 1995, "Everyday Conceptions of Emotion: A semantic perspective", in James A. Russell (ed), *Everyday Conceptions of Emotion*, Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers
- Wieviorka, Michel, 1995, *The Arena of Racism*, London, Sage Publications
- Wimmer, Andreas, 1997, "Explaining xenophobia and racism: a critical review of current research approaches", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, v20, n1, January
- Winkler, Beate, 1999, "European Media Conference – Why?", in proceedings of *Cultural Diversity – Against Racism, European Media Conference*, 20-21 May, Cologne/Vienna, WDR/European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
- Wistrich, Robert, 1999, "The Devil, the Jews, and Hatred of the 'Other'", in Robert S. Wistrich (ed), *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism, and Xenophobia*, Amsterdam, Harwood Academic Publishers
- Young, Iris Marion, 1997, *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy*, Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press
- Zlotnik, Hania, 1998, "International Migration 1965-96: An overview", *Population and Development Review*, v24, n3, September
- Zukier, Henri, 1999, "The Transformation of Hatred: Antisemitism as a Struggle for Group Identity", in Robert S. Wistrich (ed), *Demonizing the Other: Antisemitism, Racism, and Xenophobia*, Amsterdam, Harwood Academic Publishers

ENDNOTES

¹ The focus throughout this paper is on xenophobia in recognition of the fact that antagonism between collectivities often relates along lines of division between citizens and foreigners, rather than perceived racial categories. However, racial discrimination is taken, for the purposes of this discussion, to be included within the range of possible xenophobic ideologies.

² Muller (1998:33) describes nativism, as 'a policy favouring native inhabitants as opposed to immigrants'.

³ By public education, I am referring to post-formal education that has as its objective the dissemination of information that seeks to change attitudes amongst the general public who are not captive to formal education initiatives.

⁴ With regard to institutional factors it is, of course, important to take account of developments over time as, at any point in time, consciousness of identity and 'race' bear the traces of previous, sometimes contradictory, discourses. However, due to limitations on space, I will merely restrict my discussion here to general issues rather than contextualize them by discussing the experience of specific countries. It is, in any event, an abstraction to consider policy and attitude formation in a particular country in isolation from contemporaneous conditions in those countries connected to it through immigration flows.

⁵ Sniderman et al's (2000:128) research leads them to suggest that intolerance in Europe may have different characteristics to that of the United States, from which context '[o]ur ideas about prejudice have been principally formed'.

⁶ For some of the contemporary debates on 'race' terminology, see Modood (1996), Gilroy (1998) and Body-Gendrot (1998) on the continued validity (or not) of the analytic category of 'race'; Bonnett (1997, 1998) on the ontology of 'whiteness'; Phoenix (1998) on conflicting ways of viewing difference; and Bulmer and Solomos (1998) on the social and political impact of the ways understandings of 'race', racism and ethnicity are constructed.

⁷ Paul Gilroy considers that it is not possible to conceive of a general theory of 'race' relations as racisms are historically specific and thus widely varied (Goldberg 1993). At an international level, the dissolution of apartheid rule in South Africa and the instability arising from the post-Cold War weakening of the global framework have prolonged indecision as to how to reach a consensus on defining racism (Banton 1999).

⁸ Cultural racism assumes a relationship between core (understood as 'greater Europe') and periphery (the non-European world and non-European minorities within European countries) where the core is 'naturally inventive, innovative and progressive' as opposed to the periphery's traditional sluggishness and stagnation (Blaut 1992:295). 'Progress' is understood as a natural diffusion of knowledge from core to periphery (*ibid*).

⁹ 'New racism' refers to racist discourses that claim a political common sense. Seen as emerging as official orthodoxy in Britain in the early 1970s, these discourses advocate racial separation on pseudo-biological grounds of cultural difference (Brown 1999)

¹⁰ As Schirmer (1998) points out, collective identities remain part of the doxa as long as there is an absence of crisis but when a crisis in the reproduction of existing collectivities emerges discursive struggle between orthodoxy and heterodoxy results. However, they remain 'an indispensable part of the formation of individual identities, insofar as they locate an individual's place in the social space' (*ibid*:xxiv).

¹¹ However, it is not clear that it can be assumed that the less educated are automatically more prone to holding xenophobic beliefs. Dogan (1997) reports that the absence of confidence in political institutions in plural democracies is most evident in the 'middle strata' where a good education level provides the basis for critical evaluation of the insufficiencies and faults of institutions. Absence of confidence in the ability of political institutions to deal with immigration concerns may therefore account for significant levels of xenophobia amongst the better educated where they perceive that the state is not able to control immigration.

¹² The institutionalization of the nation-state provided for the gradual inclusion of the subordinate classes, formerly the target of racist constructions. Non-nationals then took the place of peasant and proletarian society as the 'others' of the nation-state (Wimmer 1997). The contemporary nation-state is

'to be interpreted as the outcome of a successful compromise of interests between different social groups: an exchange of the guarantee of political loyalty for the promise of participation and security. In a similar way, the institutional arrangements of the nation-state...are negotiated between different interest groups and thus reflect the balance of power between them and their varying capacities to enforce their vision of society' (*ibid*:29).

¹³ Collective identity operates on an often unconscious shared sense of mutual communality that is not necessarily amenable to logical explanation or exposition of its goals. Socialization and acculturation generate a store of common fates, experiences and histories that operate as 'an indisputable and quasi-natural frame of experiencing and perceiving one's social world' (Schirmer 1998:xxiii)

¹⁴ In the liberal view, qualifications for state membership fall to any outsider capable of satisfying the minimum requirements of its membership, the definition of such requirements changing over time. However, the communitarian view takes a stronger orientation towards the process of inclusion and exclusion, through which it seeks to exclude those who do not share its members values and sentiments unless they are deemed able and willing to adopt those values and sentiments. The ethnic or nationalist view necessarily restricts membership of the state to those connected to it by ties of kinship (Parekh 1994).

¹⁵ Triandafyllidou (1998:602-3) notes that 'internal significant others (are perceived to) erode the unity and/or authenticity of the nation from 'within', while external significant others (are deemed to) challenge the territorial and/or cultural integrity of the nation from without.' The disruption of cultural and political order by 'contaminating' internal significant others contrasts with the threat of being 'wiped out' by external significant other (*ibid*).

¹⁶ This explanation, informs Forgas (2000b:3), first emerged in concrete form in 18th century Enlightenment philosophy.

¹⁷ The difficulty in writing about affective states is that the term 'emotion' encompasses, in popular vocabulary, instances of all the affective states whereas in the formal vocabulary of psychologists 'emotion' is but one type of a number of possible manifestations of affective states. However, that does not stop psychologists writing about 'emotion' as a generalised expression of affect.

¹⁸ See also Ekman 1984 for a discussion of patterned changes in expression and physiology characteristic of emotion.

¹⁹ As Gordon (1990) points out, anthropologists have been particularly damning of the uncritical use of Western paradigms of the psychology of emotion in analysis of non-Western societies and have accused Western psychology of being merely another folk belief system. For example, rather than the Western view of emotions as reflective of a presumed inner state, some non-Western societies view emotion as primarily a matter of public performance in the service of statements about situations and/or social relationships. See also White (1993).

²⁰ The argument that there are certain emotions that are common to all humans and that they are biologically determined underlies the account of 'basic' emotions. Psychologists have argued over whether it is possible to establish a set of universal innate emotion responses (invariably based on Western categories of emotion as the core set) or whether it is only possible to understand emotions as culturally-specific (this latter position being that of ethnopsychologists). Gordon (1990:152) avers that although 'some basic emotions...may be environmentally adaptive [they] do not seem very important for social structures and relationships'. Similarly, anthropologists disagree as to how emotions should be theorised. Some, for example, consider the nature of emotive experience to be panhuman rather than socially shaped in temporal and geographical contexts. (Lutz & White 1986).

²¹ There are also, of course, some psychologists that argue that cognition and emotion are fundamentally separate systems, although such perspectives exhibit important failures in their accounting for emotional reactions (Parkinson 1995:18).

²² As Gordon (1990) mentions, the mere naming of an emotion is in itself a form of control, signalling both the importance and potential for regulation of the emotion concerned.

²³ Stereotypes, avers Dr. Saad Eddin Ibrahim, 'are categorical beliefs about groups, peoples, nations and whole civilisations. They are over-generalised, inaccurate and resistant to new information' (Vella 1997).

²⁴ Stereotypes need not necessarily be pernicious, however. In so far as they are simplifications of information, they are 'a necessary condition of getting judgements right, certainly as a first approximation' (Sniderman et al 2000:20)

²⁵ Stereotypical beliefs are particularly difficult to falsify as, typically, they attribute particular personality characteristics, often hidden and potentially harmful, to their victims (Schul & Zukier 1999)

²⁶ There is some disagreement as to whether stereotypic beliefs contain within them a kernel of truth. van den Berghe (1997:12) claims that 'race' and ethnicity categorisations are based on 'an external and pre-existing test of validity, a grain of truth'. Rather than totally accept the social constructionist view of stereotypes, he argues that greater understanding is possible when the social construction that goes into stereotypes is understood as having its origins in pre-existing social and biological realities. Thus '[s]ocial constructions can only be effective determinants of behaviour if they bear some relationship to an objective reality which is at least *partially* autonomous of them' (*ibid*:3).

²⁷ By authority values, the authors are referring to a range of concerns, including 'the indispensability of respect for authority; the exigency...of strictness and discipline and of sacrifice and self-denial; and the necessity for aggressive enforcement of order and assurance of social stability' (2000:129-130).

²⁸ Emotion talk' encompasses both 'discourses on emotion (local theories about emotions) and emotional discourses (situated deployments of emotional linguistic forms)' (Abu-Lughod & Lutz 1990:13). Emotion understood as discursive practice highlights the complexity of the multiple, shifting, and contested meanings possible in emotional utterances and helps to focus on the culturally and socially defined nature of emotion utterances (*ibid.*) .

²⁹ Sibley (1995:8) argues that the urge to make separations, such as between 'us' and 'them', so expelling the abject, 'is encouraged in western cultures, creating feelings of anxiety because such separations can never be finally achieved'. Hauke (2000:61) cites Frosh's (1991:77) observation that racism is a specific effect of modernity, arising in a world where the 'continued existence of the self can only be supported through constant buttressing involving denigration of the other – that is, by way of a fantasised expulsion of one's despair into the object... projecting one's weakness into the other and then denying the link.

³⁰ In answer to the question 'Who is a foreigner' Kristeva (1991:96-98) contends that s/he is defined in the negative mode of not-belonging, specifically to 'a social group structured about a given kind of political power' which may be perceived to be harmed or benefited by the presence of the foreigner. That presence has 'the fearsome privilege of causing a State to confront an other (other State, but also out-State, non-State...), and, even more so, political reason to confront moral reason'. The foreigner is thus 'the scar' that exists between 'the man' (sic) and the citizen.

³¹ Self-esteem, as Kitayama et al (1995:524) indicate, hinges on 'a cluster of what may be called "self-conscious emotions," particularly pride'

³² Rew & Campbell (1999:11) consider affect as a central feature of identity formation, stating that it is 'the powerful charge of emotions that lies at the centre of the process of identification involving one's sense of self'. National identity, the essence of which is 'the essentially irrational, psychological bond that binds fellow nationals together' (Traindafyllidou 1998:595), contributes to a sense of belonging and solidarity and highlights the close affective link between individual and collective identity.

³³ Taking a somewhat different view, Hickman (1998) argues that Irish exclusion from immigration control does not rest on shared 'whiteness' but rather on pragmatic concerns regarding border control. Moreover, she reports that being 'white' did not exclude Irish immigrants from being problematized as 'a source of social contamination, a drain on the public purse and a political threat' (ibid:303).

³⁴ There is potential here for confusion over terminology. I use 'integration' as a general term to allude to the process of obtaining satisfactory community relations, however that process is envisaged. This is distinct from 'integrationism' which is, as will be discussed, one of a number of models of integration.

³⁵ This kind of thinking derives, in part at least, from liberal notions of the unity of mankind and the assumption that ethnicity would, ultimately, become an obsolete mechanism of identification on exposure to and immersion in modernity (McGown 1999)

³⁶ Multiculturalism is distinguished from cultural pluralism by the fact that the former is largely geared to a celebration of difference whilst the latter is more on the level simply of an acceptance of difference (see below).

³⁷ Multicultural narrative is, according to Bharucha (1999), in danger of implosion from the unresolved tensions that arise from its inner contradictions. Whilst neoconservatives seek to encourage ethical universals and standards that foster purity, liberals invoke diversity under the ideal of 'color-blindness' but reject any anti-Eurocentrism. (Liberalism, as Taylor (1994) points out, is itself a 'fighting creed' that is not culturally neutral). Others have an ambivalent attitude to multiculturalism, which they see as 'cooptable by officialdom' and yet also 'as a strategic instrument for change and national regeneration' (Shohat & Stam 1994:46).

³⁸ Multiculturalism's potential for the depoliticization of 'race' arises, as Newfield and Gordon (1996:79) point out, where '[t]he culturalism of multiculturalism threatens to shift attention from racialization to culture and in so doing to treat racialized groups as one of many diverse and interesting cultures'. Hall (1991:55) reports that the cultural politics of black identity in 1970s Britain regarded multiculturalism as its enemy through its celebration of 'the exotica of difference' at the expense of a more radical understanding of 'race'. As Bissoondath (1994) has commented in respect of Canada, official multiculturalism, amounts to a superficial valuation of exotic cultural expression that forces immigrants to conform to the image that the dominant society imposes on them and therefore estranges them from ever being understood as Canadian (reported in Martiniello 1997:638) Camara (1997:132) argues that '[t]he glorification of its foreignness by a social system[multiculturalism] that is, concomitantly, the context of its genesis, development, and current existence, only serves to harden the biracial lines of ethnic division, and to reinforce ideas in the public mind about the presumed inherent difference and inferiority of minority ethnic-racial groups. As such, an outcome that was once guaranteed through formal mechanisms is now being facilitated through cultural ones'.

³⁶ The antagonism towards multiculturalism's association with the cultural logic of transglobal capitalism is reflected in the radical view that the eradication of racism is dependent upon abolishing global capitalism. The argument is made that the 'ideology of the plantocracy' and its acceptance of the slavery of those considered 'naturally inferior' accounts for the emergence of racism (see McLaren 1997). As an extension of this view, Bharucha (1999) argues that State policy in Britain links the narratives of multiculturalism with the influx of overseas wage labour in the 1950s and is accordingly constructed to make 'compliant citizens' of immigrants.

⁴⁰ Cross et al (1991) report that increased social and economic segregation and discrimination against the native population were the perceived results of policies targeted at disadvantaged immigrants in respect of housing, employment, education and social services (reported in Neymarc 1998:22)

³⁸ See note 21.

⁴² For example, Klusmeyer (1993:109) observes how 'large segments of the German public are well ahead of their government in seeking to build a more inclusive and just society'.

⁴³ Just how difficult it is to identify the public education component, if any, of policies being implemented to promote the integration of immigrants is illustrated by reference to the OECD's *Immigrants, Integration and Cities: Exploring the Links*(1998). Several of the individual reports note the necessity of changing the attitudes of the majority population, but none indicate how it is envisaged that this should be done.

⁴⁴ Harris (1995), writing about citizen perceptions and the presence of foreigners in Britain, reports that '[t]he population is drilled from an early age in xenophobia, socialised in a culture of hating foreigners and blaming them for whatever goes wrong'.

⁴⁵ See Sparks (1999) and Cottle (1999) for discussion of the particular characteristics of the structure of the British newspaper press.

⁴⁶ For useful discussion of the specific characteristics of the British press media see Alibhai-Brown (1998), Allan (1999), Ferguson (1998), Gandy (1998, 2000), Philo and Beattie (1999), Sparks (1999), Stokes & Reading (1999), and van Dijk (1991).

⁴⁷ The linking of images of 'boat people' and migrants to understandings of other political messages about the scarcity of state resources, principally health and education, by audiences have been shown to produce very negative attitudes to continued immigration (Philo 1999:282)

⁴⁸ It is instructive to bear in mind that one of the central bodies responsible for migration in the European Union was originally established to advise on the threat of drug smuggling and terrorism (Papastergiadis 1998:119)

⁴⁹ Brown (1999:48) argues that anecdotal racism has been a tradition of Parliamentary debates in Britain since the 1950s and the popular resonance of 'the 'ripe' anecdote' – characteristically linking 'race' and residence - derives both from its selective exposure to mass audiences and the over-concentration on such a form of communication.

⁵⁰ See, for example, Hilversumsummary 1996 and various of the contributions to EUMC (1999), Puhar (2000), CoE (1995, 2000).

⁵¹ The quality press attracts significant advertising revenue due to the predominantly middle and upper class readership profile and is thus able to orient the content to the interests of the readership profile as it is not reliant on increasing circulation. The popular press, however, with its predominantly working class readership, attracts little advertising revenue and thus relies heavily on content that appeals to a wide readership as large circulation is essential for survival (Sparks 1999).

⁵² Curran (2000:133) reports that 90 per cent of British newspaper circulation is controlled by just five corporate groups and that 'the ideological range of this press has contracted over the last 30 years, while remaining much more right-wing than its public'.

⁵³ Similarly, Garnham (1999:122) argues that the failure to attend to the 'inhibitors' that constrain newspaper users' opportunities allows the 'cop out' claim that 'the media are the way they are because they are giving people what they want'.

⁵⁴ To counter this effect minority media are supported by state funds in some European countries in order to promote competition and consumer choice (Curran 2000).

⁵⁵ This is in stark contrast to the audiovisual media in Britain. The BBC, for example, has a highly lauded department of equal opportunities that promotes equitable access and representation of minorities (The European Institute for the Media 1998)

⁵⁶ The level of employment of ethnic minority journalists in the British newspaper industry is extremely low (Allan 1999) – far below the level necessary to reflect demographics. As with the increase of women in the media, it is argued that the increase of ethnic minority employment 'proves itself to be an effective means of breaking down cliches and prejudice in representation' (Ouaj 1998:1).

⁵⁷ Journalistic practices may in fact work against the goal of a more differentiated and accurate portrayal of ethnic minority communities and their conditions of existence. The concern for 'objectivity' can mitigate against news producers 'acting as advocates for those minority groups and interests they might otherwise seek to serve' (Groebel 1999:35).

⁵⁸ Similarly, Simon (1996) reports that for the 1970s 'immigrants to the United States contributed more to the public coffers than they received in public services' and that more recent date, though not as thorough, supports a similar conclusion. The OECD (1998) argues that immigrants are both beneficial and necessary for the creation of a vibrant and well-functioning society. In general, debates over the dependency burden of immigrants need to be broadened to give recognition of the complexity of interrelated factors (McKenzie & Williams 1998) and an increase in relevant research data would help to generate a better informed debate in this respect.

⁵⁹ This may, of course, have an undesirable outcome. Media contribute to the acquisition of prejudicial and stereotypical beliefs (Van Dijk 1991). Allan (1999:165) argues that attitudes of the public and of government policy makers to racial discrimination can be profoundly affected by 'the intricate, often subtle ways in which white perspectives shape the framing of news reports concerning race-related issues'. Racism is, as van Dijk (1991:22) puts it, 'a structural and ideological property of white group dominance and therefore characterizes the Press as a whole'.

⁶⁰ Mistakes are often made, Kitzinger (1999) argues, in failing to distinguish between interpretation and reaction – audiences may well share a common interpretation of a media text though differ in their reaction to it. This confusion has, she contends, tended to exaggerate the perceived polysemy of texts.

⁶¹ IMRAX also coordinates dialogue and exchanges of experience on ways of addressing tolerance and racism in the media between publishers, broadcasters and journalists who are members of the European Broadcasting Union, the European Federation of Journalists and the European Publishers Association.

⁶² International Federation of Journalists (1997)

⁶³ The World Commission on Culture and Development, in support of their proposal for enhancing access, diversity and competition in the international media system, suggested that 'airwaves and space are "part of the global commons, a collective asset that belongs to all humankind"' (Raboy 1999:303). It was proposed that regulation of this public space would include access and redistribution of financial benefits to encourage a more pluralistic media system (ibid).

⁶⁴ Richmond (1994) points out that for policies concerned with migration to achieve maximum benefit there needs to be participation in the planning process at all levels by those directly affected by the policies, along with researchers and policy makers, rather than the imposition of top-down bureaucratic solutions.