

**THE EUROPEAN
NETWORK
AGAINST RACISM
1998 -2018, A SHORT HISTORY**



european network against racism aisbl

Booklet prepared on the occasion of ENAR's 17th General Assembly in June 2018,
marking the 20th anniversary of the network.

This booklet has been drafted by Sarah Gane on the basis of interviews with important stakeholders
and past and current members and staff members. The booklet was edited by Georgina Siklossy
and the project managed by Ojeaku Nwabuzo.

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and documents to support the process. We have taken every effort to try to identify
and seek permission to use the images included in this booklet.

The booklet is one vision of ENAR history and does not reflect
the vision or opinion of the persons interviewed or the ENAR Board.



SIGRID RAUSING TRUST

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INTRODUCTION

On the occasion of ENAR's 20th anniversary, we would like to trace the organisation's journey since its creation in 1998, within the context of Europe's anti-racism movement more broadly. This booklet attempts to gather memories, experiences and activist stories from the last twenty years. It is a piece of history for the organisation's members but also for people who worked with us, who were or will be inspired by our work.

Our 20th anniversary is an opportunity to look back on our victories and challenges. This publication is just a short introduction to ENAR's activities and only begins to document ENAR's role in the European fight against racism and racial discrimination. There are many more stories to be told.

The content used here is multiple (photos, testimonies from ENAR staff, members and partners, policy papers...). Our aim is to provide some useful information to anyone wishing to learn about ENAR and more broadly about the history of anti-racism in Europe. We want the reader to have a sense of the diversity of issues that ENAR has embraced, and how our approach towards these issues has evolved over the years.

ENAR General Assembly, Brussels, 2017



1994-2004: AN EXCITING TIME – THE NETWORK ERA

ENAR was founded in 1998 at a particular moment in the history of the European Union, when partnerships between civil society organisations were created through network building. The ground work for the creation of ENAR started long before the network's launch with the Starting Line Group¹ in 1993. As a development of the Starting Line Group campaign, the Migration Policy Group was commissioned by the European Commission to scope out the possibility of developing an EU anti-racism network. The Starting Line Group met more than 600 NGOs in ten EU Member States, and at a time when sharing information and strategies across Europe was difficult, when travelling was expensive, the European Commission played an important role, providing political, practical and financial support. The NGOs involved in the consultation² recognised the necessity of sharing information, exchanging experiences, developing strategies.

“It was clear in many Member States that governments were not willing to take action against racial discrimination and part of the strategy was having legal means to outlaw racial discrimination. It was necessary to work at EU level.”

JAN NIESSEN, FOUNDER OF THE MIGRATION POLICY GROUP

- 1 The Starting Line Group was initially composed of: Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe (CCME), the British Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), the French Human Rights Commission, the Commission for Integration and Migration of the Berlin Senate, the Dutch National Bureau against Racism (IBR), and the Belgian High Commissioner for Migration Policy. The leadership role was eventually taken up by the Migration Policy Group. The group was convened to develop proposals for EU equality and anti-discrimination legislation and was active until 2000.
- 2 The Starting Line Group launched a Europe-wide consultation of national NGOs, involving among others several national branches of SOS Racism.

Following the consultation throughout the EU Member States, communicating their ambition to push for concrete European institutional action on race issues, the Starting Line Group hit a major obstacle:

“The legal advisor went through the competences of the European Commission and realised that the Commission had no power to make law in the area of immigration. So we were back to square one and then we drafted a petition called Starting Point... I think the history shows how difficult it was to change...”

PATRICK YU, FORMER CHAIR OF THE STARTING LINE GROUP AND ENAR MEMBER

The Starting Point petition requested an amendment to the Maastricht Treaty so that racial discrimination could be included. Many of the original ENAR members took part in significant lobbying and gathered over 400 signatories for the 'Starting Line' proposal for a Directive on racial and religious discrimination in 1998.³

“We were visiting country officials; some of them like Finland and Austria were just about to join the EU. We did basic training about what was the EU, what would be the aim of having such a directive, why there should be an Act on race and ethnicity, what existed already. Most of the principles were already endorsed in the gender legislation. It was all done by fax and regular post and we had 460 signatories. It was sufficient because we had a lot of support in the Commission and in the European Parliament.”

ISABELLE CHOPIN, DIRECTOR OF THE MIGRATION POLICY GROUP

The impressive number of signatories brought the issue to the European Commission's attention. In policy debates governmental and European institutions often referred to the Starting Line Group and took its proposals into consideration. The Starting Line Group's first victory was the inclusion of Article 13 (Article 19 of the Treaty on the Function-

- 3 More information: <http://www.migpolgroup.com/anti-discrimination-equality/starting-line/>.



ENAR constitutive conference, Brussels, 1998

“The European action plan against racism [1998] was prior to the European migration agenda included in the [Area of Freedom, Security and Justice] launched at the end of 1999 in Tampere. ENAR was born just between these two moments: the impetus of ‘97 [European Year Against Racism] and the Tampere Council which, at the end of 1999, institutionalised cooperation in justice and home affairs in a Union with open borders.”

ANNA TERRON, MEMBER OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT,
MEMBER OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT’S
CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE AT THE CREATION OF ENAR

ing of the European Union today) in the Amsterdam Treaty in 1997.⁴ The Irish Presidency of the European Union at this time was supportive of the campaign.

“A number of initiatives were going on at the same time, which led to the European year against racism. [...] We were very concerned to see a European civil society initiative emerging: the European Women’s Lobby, the European Anti-Poverty Network... We thought that an equivalent that focused on anti-racism was necessary.”

ANASTASIA CRICKLEY, ANTI-RACIST ACTIVIST, MEMBER OF THE IRISH DELEGATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN 1997

One of the main outcomes of the Starting Line campaign was also that 1997 was declared as the European Year Against Racism by the European Commission. It was the starting point to the construction of an institutional anti-racist system in the European Union. The European institutions had finally acknowledged the efforts of anti-racist activists. This first step, together with the legal basis for anti-discrimination provided by Article 13 of the EU Treaty, enabled the European anti-racism movement to advocate for stronger legal protection against discrimination, and eventually led to the adoption of Directive 2000/43/EC on race equality and Directive 2000/78/EC on equal treatment in employment in 2000.

⁴ This amendment of the Treaty establishing the European Community established a legal base for the European Institutions to take action against discrimination “based on sex, racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation” within the limits of their power.

CONSTITUTIVE CONFERENCE OF OCTOBER 1998

The constitutive conference of the European Network Against Racism took place in October 1998. With the support of the European Commission, more than 200 representatives of ENAR’s future member organisations gathered for two days in Brussels, agreeing on a common strategy on anti-racism at European level. The main challenge for this conference, as well as for building a solid European network, was to highlight common grounds within several different national contexts and histories of discrimination.

“This was about strategy. The big difficulty was to fully understand racial discrimination in each country, meaning different strategies, different vocabulary, theories... We managed to reach a common strategy despite that.”

JAN NIESSEN, FOUNDER OF THE MIGRATION POLICY GROUP,
MEMBER OF THE STARTING LINE GROUP

Information and skills exchange were key to addressing this challenge: as of 2001, the ENAR staff gave trainings, and organised conferences and hearings on different issues (media relations, institutional relations, advocacy and financial management...). The ENAR secretariat also relied on different methods for communicating with their membership, among which the creation of ENARgy, ENAR’s quarterly magazine, in 2003.



Vera Egenberger, Sukhvinder Kaur Stubbs, ENAR official opening reception, Brussels, 1999



Jan Niessen, Sukhvinder Kaur Stubbs, ENAR official opening reception, Brussels, 1999



From left to right: Jose Falcao, Ammar Bounaira, Luciano Scagliotti, Udo Enwereuzor, Anastasia Crickley, ENAR 1st Board meeting, Brussels, 1999

The people involved with UKREN were absolutely key in setting up ENAR. At the time, it was a real drive for structural legislation at European level... it was felt that there was a need for that kind of European level intervention."

SARAH ISAL, ENAR CHAIR FROM 2013 TO 2015 AND CHAIR OF UKREN, THE UK RACE AND EUROPE NETWORK

EU EQUALITY DIRECTIVES AND FOLLOW-UP

“Once you develop these policies, it is about how to make sure that civil servants understand them. That’s why educating and training is so vital. When we are talking about the bigger issue, about racism, communication is crucial. Not just within the government’s structure but also externally, with all the key stakeholders and civil society.”

PATRICK YU, FORMER CHAIR OF THE
STARTING LINE GROUP AND MEMBER OF ENAR BOARD

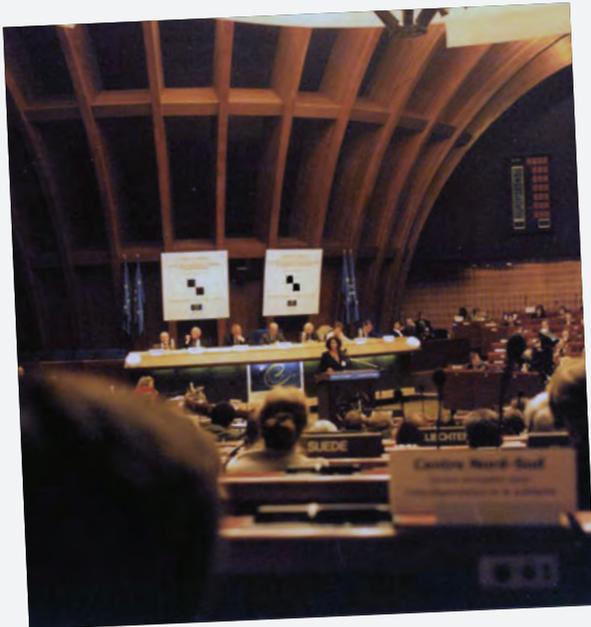
In 2000, the Austrian elections led to the far-right party Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) entering into the governing coalition. This resulted in political isolation of the Member State as it became clear that the EU did not have the political tools to deal with Member States that breached its main principles and values. This had a pos-

itive and decisive impact on the discussions on the Race Equality Directive that started in February 2000, the same month as the coalition government was formed. This was an opportunity for the Starting Line Group to exert pressure on the European Commission and the Race Equality Directive was adopted in response to the developments in Austria.

Within three years of existence, ENAR had achieved the very first demands it was created for. The next step was therefore to push for further migrant integration policies at European level and rely on ENAR members to push for the directives’ implementation at national level. With the support of the Migration Policy Group and the European Commission, ENAR organised trainings and conferences for its network and other civil society organisations in several EU Member States, encouraging advocacy towards national governments for effective implementation of the Directives.

From left to right: Nabil Azouz, Anastasia Crickley, Helen Barnsley, Bushra Razzak, Esther Maria Kurmayr, Simone Wiegatz, Vera Egenberger, Michael Williams, Toon Machiels, Andriana Mardaki, Ammar Bounaira, Udo Enwereuzor, Bashy Quraishy, Sukhvinder Kaur Stubbs, Brussels, 2000





*European conference against racism,
Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2000*



*European conference against
racism, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 2000*

“The topic of the conference was most timely, since the deadline for the [Race Equality Directive] transposition was fast approaching. The meeting aimed to draw the attention of NGOs in Europe to the deadline for the Race Equality Directive and to encourage NGOs working in this field to communicate with their respective governments concerning the transposition. A part of the debates focused on possible advocacy strategies for national NGOs.”

DURBAN WORLD CONFERENCE AGAINST RACISM, 2001

“It was not the conference, it was the process [...] It was the first time that ENAR was acknowledged as a global actor at both UN and European level [...]. We were invited to work with the Council of Europe, as a member of the NGO Resource Group, to organise and prepare the NGOs’ participation at the world conference.”

LUCIANO SCAGLIOTTI, BOARD MEMBER OF ENAR FROM 2001 TO 2010

In the early years of ENAR, the network had the opportunity to take part in a watershed event in the international history of the fight against racism. The United Nations World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) took place in 2001 in Durban, South Africa, gathering more than 4,000 representatives of NGOs, 2,300 representatives from 163 countries, including 16 Heads of State, 58 foreign ministers and 44 ministers, over 1,100 media representatives. ENAR took an active part in the preparation of the World Conference Against Racism. It was the first international experience of the network. The ENAR delegation participated in three preparation meetings (“PrepComs”), establishing guidelines and outlining the outcomes that were expected from the WCAR.⁵



Durban conference, 2001



Durban conference, 2001

⁵ In order to prepare the UN World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, ENAR sent a delegation of experts to the European caucus in Geneva, and another delegation, gathering national representatives of the network, to the conference from 31 August to 7 September 2001. More information: <http://www.un.org/WCAR/dh/>.

"In this pre 9/11 period, you could feel a tension [at the conference]."

ANDREAS HIERONYMUS, ENAR BOARD MEMBER FROM 2007 TO 2016

As an international conference with a wide range of civil society and government representatives, defending diverse political views and causes in the spectrum of anti-racism, the conference was not a smooth process. The experience of this conference has been particularly formative for ENAR as it had to adapt to diverging positions and find common ground.

"We had done, in Geneva, a lot of advocacy work to include a reference in the governmental paper, that national action plans [against racism] should be developed. [...] It is something that we can state as ENAR's achievement."

VERA EGENBERGER, ENAR DIRECTOR FROM 2000 TO 2004

ENAR pushed for the UN Declaration to include a position on National Action Plans Against Racism (NAPAR) and was successful. NAPARs continue to be an important advocacy focus for ENAR to this day. Unfortunately, the immediate success of WCAR was short lived as the 9/11 terrorist attacks, which took place just a few days after the conference managed to divert the moment away from anti-racism.



*Bashy Quraishy, Claude Moraes,
Brussels, 2004*



*From left to right: Vera Egenberger, Bashy Quraishy,
Toon Machiels, Jose Falcao, Mamadou Baila Ba,
ENAR conference on citizenship, Madrid, 2002*

MIGRATION AND CITIZENSHIP

Migration and citizenship, together with religious discrimination, were also important areas of ENAR's work. In partnership with Citizens For Europe and other organisations, ENAR was particularly involved in ensuring better integration of and living conditions for third country nationals residing in Europe. ENAR also participated in a collective civil society campaign for a more inclusive European citizenship. One of ENAR's main activities was the 2002 Madrid conference on multicultural citizenship, following up on the 1999 EU Tampere Conference.⁶ It enabled the network to build the capacity of the network on this issue and engage in a common reflection.

The EU Convention on the Future of Europe in 2002⁷ was another opportunity to push for concerns on racism and citizenship at institutional level, in cooperation with Citizens For Europe.

ENAR also closely followed the drafting of the 2002 Communication on Migration and Integration, jointly written by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Employment and Directorate-General for Justice and Home Affairs.

"I have always been in the position to be a partner but it's not everyone's position in the Commission [...] I guess it's the kind of balance that is not that easy to find. But it's feasible and now I think you are quite experienced in that."

LUCA PIROZZI, DG EMPLOYMENT AND
SOCIAL AFFAIRS FROM 1998 TO 2002

⁶ The European Council held a special meeting on 15 and 16 October 1999 in Tampere on the creation of an area of freedom, security and justice in the European Union. Asylum and migration therefore became key issues at EU level.

⁷ In accordance with Declaration No 23 annexed to the Treaty of Nice, the Laeken European Council of 14 and 15 December 2001 decided to organise a Convention bringing together key stakeholders for a debate on the future of the European Union. The objectives were to prepare for the next Intergovernmental Conferences as transparently as possible.

2004-2012: ENAR - THE PLATFORM ERA

In 2005-2006, at a critical financial time, the board was undertaking structural reforms like setting limits to board member terms. It was also an occasion to redefine the functioning of the network, as well as its goals and strategies.

THE ENAR FOUNDATION

"Just before I became chair, the European Commission decided that it wouldn't guarantee our funding, that the funding was [...] project-based only, which meant that it made our lives extremely complicated in terms of getting funding for all the work that we were doing... we were trying to find alternative sources of funding. And the foundation was one of the solutions we tried to come up with."

SARAH ISAL, ENAR CHAIR FROM 2013 TO 2015

The financial dependence of ENAR was a major priority which led to the creation of the ENAR Foundation in 2010. It was an attempt to achieve better financial autonomy but also adapt to the activity of the membership by making the budget more flexible. It was part of a broader reflection on how to develop a sustainable network.

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT'S ANTI- RACISM AND DIVERSITY INTERGROUP

In the context of EU enlargement and the development of the European Constitution,⁸ ENAR continued to bring race-related issues forward in the European institutions. During this period, ENAR started developing better relations with the European Parliament through the Anti-racism and Diversity Intergroup (ARDI).

Even though the parliamentary intergroup existed since 2002, it was only launched as such in 2005. The intergroup's activity really developed with the involvement of British MEP Claude Moraes (Socialists & Democrats Group) as the Chair of ARDI. The intergroup became very active in the Parliament's political activity, thanks to a group of young politicians from several EU Member States like Harlem Désir in France, who came from civil society, with a strong activist background.

“Everybody was very vocal [...]. We were determined to make anti-racism a big thing here. The first thing we worked on was ethnic monitoring.”

CLAUDE MORAES, MEMBER OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT,
FORMER CHAIR OF THE ARDI INTERGROUP

As a group, we all went to the German world cup because we got this written declaration against racism [...]. Basically, [...] we did all these activities but what was remarkable is that there had never been any written declaration, it never passed the number of signatures on actual race issues or immigration until we did that. We did it because we knew that [...] it would never pass unless we add something to it like the world cup.”

CLAUDE MORAES

⁸ The Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe was an attempt to replace both European treaties with a single text, give legal force to the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and expand Qualified Majority Voting to new policy areas. It was rejected in referenda in France and the Netherlands in 2005. A modified version of this document became the Lisbon Treaty, which entered into force on 1 December 2009.

ENAR acted as the secretariat of the Intergroup. A better access to the European Parliament was the beginning of a more integrated advocacy strategy towards the European Institutions. Thanks to this close cooperation, ENAR's work has over the years become more visible and effective.

In 2015, the visibility and effectiveness of the ARDI Intergroup's work also significantly improved with the appointment of a dedicated coordinator in 2015.⁹ This also strengthened the cooperation between ENAR and the European Parliament.

EU ENLARGEMENT

“[EU enlargement] changed the organisation because it became a bigger forum. 15 was quite manageable but when you expand it to 27, that became quite unruly. Subsequently, there have been efforts to streamline the organisation - how to select the board and those kind of issues. I think that streamlining is very good but the streamlining gave more power to the secretariat and less to governance. I'm not saying that's a bad thing but it did make the organisation perhaps less democratic. But perhaps at the same time it made it more professional.”

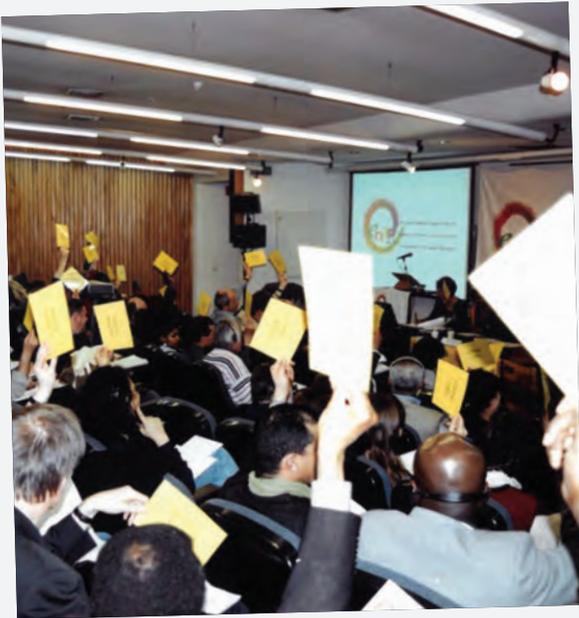
MOHAMED AZIZ, ENAR CHAIR FROM 2007 TO 2010

ENAR's first steps in preparing for the enlargement was meeting the potential future members of the network. This European tour enabled us to get to know the national and local NGOs, share the network's activities, but also have more insight on the particular context in which these organisations were working. Opening to new countries was therefore an opportunity to address a wider range of forms of racism in Europe.

“There were a lot of new issues, new communities, new points of view. This changed the way ENAR approached anti-discrimination issues.”

LUCIANO SCAGLIOTTI, BOARD MEMBER FROM 2001 TO 2010

⁹ The current co-Presidents of the ARDI Intergroup are MEPs Cecile Kyenge, Soraya Post, Gérard Deprez, Cornelia Ernst and Jean Lambert.



ENAR General Assembly, Lisbon, 2004



ENAR General Assembly, Lisbon, 2004

Between 2004 and 2006, ENAR enlarged its membership and trained more than 400 members from 24 Member States.¹⁰ The anti-racist NGOs from Eastern Europe took part in ENAR's 2005 conference in Budapest, where the network reflected on the challenges of anti-racism in the context of enlargement: the different forms of racism, historical contexts, level of transposition of the European acquis,...

"I was very surprised that the first time I came to ENAR, they already knew about the situation and they were actively looking for possible connections in Estonia to be involved."

JULIA KOVALENKO, BOARD MEMBER FROM 2005 TO 2013

¹⁰ France, Germany, Belgium, Luxemburg, The Netherlands, Italy, Ireland, United Kingdom, Denmark, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria.

With the enlargement of the European Union, ENAR's relation to the European Institutions shifted. The enlargement marked the beginning of a closer attention to Roma issues, following a request from the European Commission and pressure from Roma-led organisations. Later on, ENAR became a key member of the European Roma Policy Coalition, pushing for an EU Framework for Roma inclusion.

"2004 was not an easy year for anti-racism work at the European level. With the major changes that happened in 2004 - the enlargement of the European Union and discussions on the EU Constitution - anti-racism policies were not very high on the European agenda and member states did not live up to obligations taken in the years before. [...] For ENAR, 2004 was therefore an uphill battle in the quest to advance anti-racism policy and to lay the foundations for the years to come."

2004 ANNUAL REPORT

ORGANISATION REFORM – A PROCESS 2006-2012

“After 10 years, ENAR was Europe’s largest network with 700 anti-racist NGOs at that time. It had branches in all 27 EU countries, as well as Croatia, Turkey and Iceland.”

BASHY QURAI SHY, ENAR CHAIR FROM 1998 TO 2006

In the first half of 2006 ENAR conducted a membership survey. The survey identified a range of issues and challenges. There was a general feeling that ENAR’s ‘representativity’ was high. Members clearly identified the value they place on their membership, in particular the information they receive. Following the consultation ENAR moved to a more sophisticated and comprehensive operational model. In its first years of operation many of ENAR’s activities responded directly to urgent needs and priorities. But by this time ENAR had reached a point where it had the capacity to operate in a more complex and strategic manner; mov-

ing from an approach which focused on specific outputs, to one which identifies outputs as tools in a broader campaigning agenda.

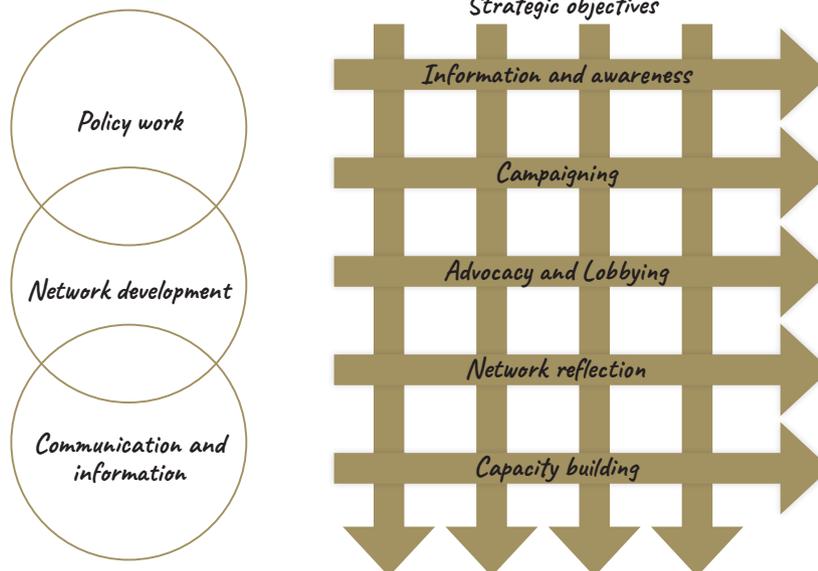
“The membership survey clearly demonstrates that the three key policy priorities are: (1) anti-discrimination (including employment); (2) migration (including integration); and (3) racism as a crime. The results demonstrate that ENAR members identify an added value of adopting a European approach to specific issues.”

2007-2010 STRATEGIC PLAN

“I think the opportunity to sit here as NGOs and do some thinking on a more theoretical level is both positive and necessary. Yes we have huge, imperative, urgent work to do on a daily basis. But we need to stop and listen too, refresh our thinking, regroup and move forward.”

MICHAEL PRIVOT, CURRENT ENAR DIRECTOR

A CHANGING OPERATIONAL MODEL FOR ENAR



With the membership survey, ENAR redefined its objectives and work plan through a common reflection on the new challenges ahead.

“When you’re focused and you know where you’re trying to go, you make a change”

MICHAEL PRIVOT

“The membership reform was a benefit both for ENAR and its members: now they can feel like they belong [...] and bring topics onto the agenda”

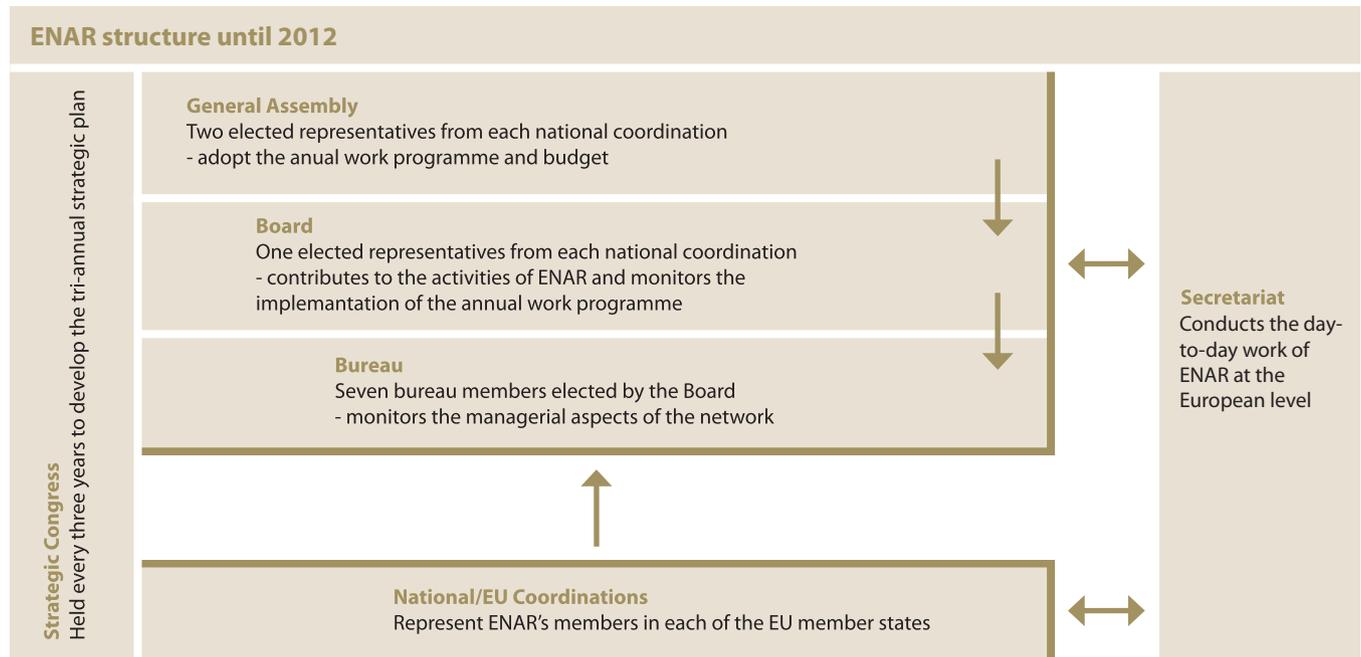
JULIA KOVALENKO, BOARD MEMBER FROM 2005 TO 2013

A few years later, the network came to the realisation that a further reform was needed in order to adapt to a changing context, both internally and externally. First, the membership had a decision-making body of 56 people, due to the European enlargement. This heavy bureaucracy resulted both in

difficult inclusivity and slow decision making. The latter would give the ENAR secretariat a very important but unrecognised position, as they would end up making decisions due to lack of time and efficient coordination. In addition, the national representation structure also resulted in unequal influence and executive power of members within the network.

In parallel, in 2010, anti-discrimination was moved from the European Commission’s DG Employment to DG Justice, and ENAR’s funding programme was also subsequently moved. This was an opportunity to focus more on fundamental rights. While employment is still a central part of ENAR’s work, social inclusion and poverty have been addressed differently since then.

The new membership structure was adopted in 2012, following visits to all ENAR national coordinations in 2010-11 to explain the reform. ENAR asked all its members to reapply following the new membership and governance model, so as to start from scratch, on a new basis, and a membership fee was intro-



duced. The visibility of the network was improved by removing national coordinations and ensuring a direct membership.

The membership reform was therefore a fundamental move in ENAR's history and a major communication challenge: ENAR had to manage its membership during the restructuring, and make sure they would understand the changes and stay in the network.

“There was a transformation, the board and the membership became slimmer [...] you had to pay a membership fee and now we have a fairly credible base [...] and for me after 20 years of involvement it was time to move on and give it to the next generation. I don't know if we did an excellent or a good job but we did a fairly good job in maintaining the network.”

ANDREAS HIERONYMUS, ENAR BOARD MEMBER FROM 2007 TO 2016



*From left to right: Brice Monnou, Leyla Hamidi, Jesse Jackson,
Najatte Kaaouss, Felicien Kazadi,
ENAR Strategic Congress, Brussels, 2010*

ADVOCACY CAMPAIGNS: VICTORIES AND CHALLENGES

One of ENAR's major advocacy victories in this period was the adoption of the 2008 Framework Decision on combating certain forms and expressions of racism and xenophobia by means of criminal law. It happened in a favourable political context, after several years of campaigning. The Decision criminalises hate crime and some illegal hate speech and was a means to harmonise legislation throughout the EU. The decision was a watered-down version of what the network was advocating for. It also failed to include other forms of hate crime, especially relating to gender and sexual orientation.¹¹

The legislation was followed-up by trainings and monitoring led by ENAR and helped, during the 2014 European elections, to build the ENAR/ILGA campaign to push European political parties to pledge not to engage in hate speech.

Although the draft Horizontal Directive¹² has still not been adopted, ENAR's campaign on this legal framework can be considered as a success through the mobilisation and advocacy of ENAR members at a national level. ENAR also established successful ad-hoc partnerships with the European Trade Union Confederation, other EU equality networks including the International Lesbian, Gay Trans and Bisexual Association (ILGA) Europe and Amnesty International, both on the Horizontal Directive and viola-

11 Amnesty International submission to the European Commission and the Council of the European Union on the Framework Decision on racism and xenophobia (Council Framework Decision 2008/913/JHA), October 2013

12 The Horizontal Directive proposed “a single comprehensive legislation [as] the most effective way to ensure legal clarity and coherence in relation to levels of protection against discrimination”. The draft Directive extended equal treatment outside the labour market and gathered the discrimination grounds included in the EU Treaty in one legislative text.

tions of Roma rights throughout Europe in this period. The Horizontal Directive campaign was also a key moment in ENAR's partnership with the ARDI intergroup, bringing the campaign into the European Parliament.

“We had distinct work in the area of discrimination and distinct work in the area of migration. I remember working on: the equality directive, [...] the framework decision on xenophobia and hate crime and the campaign to extend the equality directive to goods and services, go beyond employment discrimination.”

MOHAMED AZIZ, ENAR CHAIR FROM 2007 TO 2010

The adoption of the EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies in 2011 can also be considered as one of ENAR's victories. Along with Roma organisations, ENAR and its members took part in demonstrations, demanding rights for Roma people, including in France, Hungary and Belgium. The mobilisation, for instance to denounce Roma evictions and institutional discrimination towards Roma communities in France and other countries, was a success, both in terms of using the network and in terms of civil society mobilisation.

“We were in a coalition with Amnesty, the ERGO network... And we were more and more active. We managed to have some kind of momentum: We tried to have an inclusive process with the members [of the European Roma Policy Coalition] and set a rotating chairmanship of the coalition. We were trying to reach out to other members of umbrella organisations to build a strategy. We ended up with a framework for national strategies.”

SOPHIE KAMMERER, ENAR POLICY OFFICER FROM 2009 TO 2013

In 2006, ENAR started to work on annual Shadow Reports, which provided a unique insight into the manifestations of racism in Europe from a civil society perspective, including in areas such as employment, housing, health, education and media but also ethnic profiling and racist violence.



Demonstration against Roma evictions in France, Brussels, 2010

From 2009, the Equal@work¹³ seminars and toolkits became key parts of ENAR's work. The strategic plan of 2007-2010 maintained social inclusion and employment as priorities: the European social inclusion agenda was seen as an opportunity to achieve change in this area. It was in this context that the first Equal@work seminar took place in Brussels with several private employers such as L'Oreal, IBM, Sodexo and Adecco.

13 The Equal@work Platform brings together businesses, social partners, NGOs, public authorities and academics committed to diversity and inclusion, to find solutions so that ethnic and religious minorities can fully participate in the labour market.



Sarah Isal, inauguration of the Mixtus exhibition in the European Parliament, Brussels, 2013

2012-2018: ENAR - THE COALITION ERA

“Coalitions do fade away but other forms come back when they’re needed.”

CLAIRE FERNANDEZ, CURRENT DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF ENAR

The adoption of the Roma Framework marked the beginning of the coalition era. This period also saw the adoption of a new communication strategy with the use of social media tools, giving another dimension to the way the network communicates, both internally and externally. As part of the coalition era, there was:

- Cooperation and exchange between specific structures and minority groups. Through steering groups, roundtables and symposiums, ENAR became the centre of inter-community dialogue.

“That’s when we kick-started everything. [...] The objective was to bring people with the necessary expertise to be part of the steering group.”

MOMODOU JALLOW, BOARD MEMBER FROM 2013 TO 2016.

- Participation in wider European coalitions. ENAR has joined numerous NGOs and reflection groups on transversal issues in the European Union, making sure race issues were taken into consideration. ENAR is a member of the Social Platform, a network of networks at EU level. ENAR has also participated in coalitions such as the Human Rights and Democracy Network (Internal EU affairs working group), the European Platform on Asylum and Migration or broader coalitions such as the “Europe we want” or the Sustainable Development Goals Watch, bringing together social, human rights and environment groups.

SUCCESSFULLY COMBINING
A UNIVERSALIST AND A
SPECIFIC APPROACH OF
ANTI-RACISM

“The fact that we prioritised much more, that we had this understanding of specific forms of racism, also choosing in which area we would be working [...] this really helped us to become much more professional when it comes to advocacy.”

JULIE PASCOET, CURRENT ENAR SENIOR POLICY OFFICER

As an EU network of anti-racism organisations that vary significantly in structure and focus, ENAR has had to manage different political priorities and approaches to racial discrimination throughout its history.



Lanna Hollo, Robin Sclafani, Claire Fernandez, Mike Whine, Sarah Isal and Joël Le Deroff, ENAR Steering group on Antisemitism, Brussels, 2014



Mee Moua, Julie Pascoet, Mirjam Karoly, OSCE-ODIHR conference on Roma rights, 2017

“After the legislative victories, there were intense debates in the network to decide the next steps and how to take action: targeting groups vs overall approach.”

SARAH ISAL, ENAR CHAIR FROM 2013 TO 2015

The debates were intense and some members left the network. ENAR had to adapt its narrative and political approach to take forward the activities of the network and the fight against racism.

“There was this new impetus to develop a new narrative, looking more globally at well-being, solidarity, equality... but in a much broader sense than just racial equality. It had an impact on refocusing our work.”

GEORGINA SIKLOSSY, CURRENT ENAR SENIOR COMMUNICATIONS OFFICER

Afrophobia became a major advocacy issue for ENAR as a result of both the advocacy experience on Roma inclusion and a demand to recognise the specificities of racism and discrimination faced by different groups. The international year for people of African descent, declared by the United Nations in 2011, also played a role in bringing this issue to the fore. The first steering group on the issue was in 2013, with the support of Open Society Foundations, and resulted in the publication

of the “invisible visible minority” book in 2014, which is a collection of essays and articles of experts and activists on the experiences of people of African descent in Europe.¹⁴

“We are a very visible minority but when it comes to racism, nobody talks specifically about black people. For ENAR, I saw that as an opportunity to push for European recognition. [...] ENAR has had an important role: both through the book and the shadow report. And we have to recognize that Chibo, as chair of ENAR, also pushed for the recognition of black people. He was there all the time.”

MOMODOU JALLOW, BOARD MEMBER FROM 2013 TO 2016.

ENAR played a key role in encouraging the Roma Framework experience to be shared and adapted to the cause of European people of African descent. When ENAR’s 2014-2015 Shadow Report on Afrophobia was published, it was an issue that was hardly discussed, both in European institutions and in anti-racist NGOs. Since then, it has become more recognised, as was illustrated by the European Week of People of African Descent which took place in the Euro-

¹⁴ Available at ENAR – “Invisible visible minority – confronting afro-phobia and advancing Equality for People of African descent and Black Europeans in Europe” ENAR Anti-Racism in Focus 2, 2014



pean Parliament in May 2018, and was jointly organised by ENAR, the Anti-Racism and Diversity Inter-group, Each One Teach One (EOTO) and other stakeholders.

ENAR has also been at the forefront of the work to recognise Islamophobia at EU and national levels. Our approach focuses on manifestations of racism against Muslim commu-

nities, be it in employment, by police, and in the current counter-terrorism context.

Following the 2014 attacks on mosques, and the 2015 violent antisemitic attacks across Europe, ENAR was a key actor in pushing for the EU institutions to specifically combat Antisemitism and Islamophobia. This advocacy work resulted in a high-level hearing in the European Parliament Civil Liberties Committee and the 2015 European Commission Colloquium on Antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred. This Colloquium paved the way for the nomination of two EU coordinators on Antisemitism and anti-Muslim hatred and for dedicated attention to these forms of racism in the European Commission's work with Member States.

In addition, ENAR undertook an intersectional analysis of Islamophobia in Europe through its "Forgotten Women" project.

"We were thinking about it for some time [...] to have one project on the disproportionate impact of islamophobia on women, and how to build alliances with the mainstream feminist movements - because it became issues when it comes to these alliances, they were really difficult and sometimes they would even strongly support the exclusion of Muslim women, some of them."

JULIE PASCOËT, CURRENT ENAR SENIOR ADVOCACY OFFICER

It resulted among other victories, in the first symposium on Muslim women in the EU, organised in May 2016. It



From left to right: William Ejalu, Wouter Van Bellingen, Rob Berkeley, Salome Mbugua, Mitchell Esajas, Folashade Ajayi, Alexis Neuberg, Anna Defour, Julie Pascoet, Eyachew Tefera, Ojeaku Nwabuzo, Omar Ba, Claire Fernandez, Michael Privat, ENAR Afrophobia steering group, Brussels, 2013



Chibo Onyeji, ENAR Symposium on Varieties of European Racism(s), Brussels, 2012



From left to right: Sarah Isal, Rokhaya Diallo, Jean-Jacob Bicep, Franco Lollia, Louis-Georges Tin, Sihame Assbague, European Parliament hearing on Afrophobia, Brussels, 2014



From left to right: Momodou Jallow, Malin Bjork, Jeff Johnson, Maurice Owens, Tracy Tansia, European Week for People of African Descent, Brussels, 2018

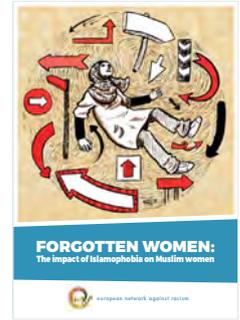
allowed ENAR to fulfil its role of dialogue facilitator between Muslim women and European institutions, but also between Muslim women and other segments of the broader feminist movement.

ENAR continues to keep the fight against Antisemitism in the anti-racism movement and ensure a Jewish perspective on equality and inclusion is given space in the network, for instance through its member CEJI – A Jewish Contribution to an Inclusive Europe.

The network also started to work on broader issues such as intersectionality, and its action is now guided by a well-defined theory of change. Since 2013, ENAR has indeed made an effort to clarify its objectives and its vision of change, based on an improved method of impact assessment.

“You have to clarify your goal, objectives, outcomes, and activities. A theory of change really says what is the change we want to see and how we can get there.”

CLAIRE FERNANDEZ, CURRENT ENAR DEPUTY DIRECTOR



Mila Kisic, Brian Adeleye, Myriam De Feyter, Julie Pascoot, Kahina Rabahi, Marcel Lorincz, Robin Sclafani, Claire Fernandez, Sarah Isal, Amel Yacof, Nicoletta Charalambidou, Melissa Sonino, Juliana Wahlgren, ENAR training on antisemitism, Brussels, 2016



France Roundtable Forgotten Women, Paris, 2015



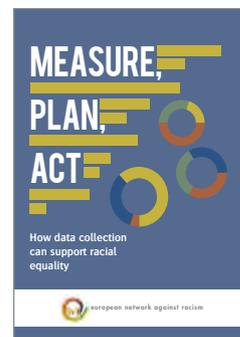
Julie Pascoet, leading the Forgotten Women steering group, Brussels, 2015

EQUALITY DATA COLLECTION CAMPAIGN

“When we were having the discussion on equality for all and how we were going to get there, we had discussions saying “we need to work on positive action”, on employment policies, on data collection. Obviously you can’t ask for any positive action if you don’t have data collection. So data collection is the stumbling block for us to move to the next level. We decided that no matter what, we would advocate for equality data collection until we get it.”

MICHAEL PRIVOT, CURRENT ENAR DIRECTOR

Through the project Equality Data Initiative (with Open Society Foundations and the Migration Policy Group), ENAR travelled to Sweden, France, Germany, Hungary and Ireland to map the state of play and different contexts in these Member States. Two major symposiums were organised in Brussels. As a result, a few victories have been achieved within the European Commission and at national level, where several steering groups and think tanks in France, Germany and Sweden are reflecting on the issue.



PARTING WORDS

When looking back at our history as a network, there are so many trail blazers, people who paved the way forward, a collective that charged ahead. There has been so much to react to, so much urgency that even when exhausted we keep charging ahead, no chance to stop, breathe and take stock. ENAR encapsulates the fight against racism in Europe: its very identity is deeply related to the history of the European Union and its construction but also to the anti-racist movement's history. The organisation therefore symbolises the acknowledgement of race equality as part of the European legal framework by institutional decision makers. The network was shaped by the political history of the European Union during the past 20 years but also by the demands and concerns of civil society movements, which have been evolving through time. The way in which ENAR will address the challenges ahead and shape the future of anti-racism in Europe is going to depend both on its capacity to learn from its past and understand the present situation of civil society throughout the Member States. By engaging its membership, partnerships, communication, research and advocacy it has forged many developments and continues to address the challenges Europe is currently facing.

ENAR CHAIRS 2008-2018



*Sukhvinder Kaur-Stubbs:
1998-2001*



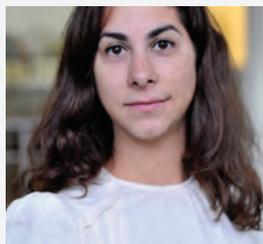
*Bashy Quraishy:
2001-2006*



*Mohammed Aziz:
2007-2010*



*Chibo Onyeji:
2011-2013*



*Sarah Isal:
2013-2015*



*Amel Yacef:
2016-present*

We would also like to thank all those who served on ENAR's governance board, in various guises, which we estimate at around 100 individuals. Due to lack of space and capacity we are unable to list all those individuals who helped to shape and develop ENAR over the years.

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