Master's Thesis in Human Rights
30 ECTS

Racialized but invisible;
Experiences of Afro-Swedes

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Abstract

This thesis explores the life experiences of Afro-Swedes as a minority community in Sweden. Historically, this community has been portrayed within a negative light that dates to the times when racial hierarchy justified racial discrimination.

By utilizing theories of racism, this thesis seeks to understand and explain how Afro-Swedes positionality and visibility both play roles in the enjoyment of their fundamental freedoms and human rights. The essay is a qualitative library study that infuses established theories of discrimination, empirical data and given central concepts in order to arrive at an analytical conclusion.

The study concludes that Afro-Swedes experiences are characterized by stereotypical assumptions which lends them invisible within society as rights bearers on equal standing. The study also suggests that the prevailing dehumanization, which results from race biology that came to define people of African descent, still affects them negatively within the Swedish society. The study finally concludes that the Swedish color-blindness approach has done more harm than good concerning recognition and inclusion of Afro-Swedes as fully integrated members of society.

Keywords: Afro-Swedes, Afro-phobia, Color-blindness, Human rights, Race relations, Racial discrimination, Race-fiction, Social-apartheid, Social-capital

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List of Abbreviations

ASR: Afro Svenskarnas Riksförbund
CDC: Civil Rights Defenders
CERD: Convention for the Elimination of all Racial Discrimination
CRC: Convention for the Rights of the Child
ECRI: European Commission against Racism and Intolerance
ENAR: European Network Against Racism
EU: European Union
EU-MIDIS: European Union Minorities & Discrimination Survey
FRA: European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights
H&M: Hennez & Mauritz
NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations
Reva: Rättssäkert och effektivt verkställighetsarbete
SOU: Statens Offentliga Utredningar
Säpo: Swedish Security Service (Säkerhetspolisen)
UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN: United Nations
UNA: United Nations Association of Sweden
WGEPAD: Working Group of Experts ON People of African Descent
1 Introduction

On one hand, Sweden has earned a reputation as a prosperous Nordic welfare state, which has given a helping hand and listening ear to the masses who have been victims of oppression like South Africa’s apartheid struggle. On the other hand, the same welfare state that has championed human rights abroad, has witnessed a rising fascist extreme right-wing politics into the midst of its parliament.¹ These political and social paradigm shift command scholars, opinion builders, media, civil society, researchers and other representatives from various schools of thought to try and grasp those processes that may explain this particular paradox.

In reflection to the domestic politics in Sweden is the dilemma of race relations, which indicates irregularities across different spheres in society. For instance, United Nations recommendations to Sweden has summarized and pointed out those inconsistencies within the Swedish power structures. They are reflected within public and privatized spaces like employment, housing, and education to mention but a few.² Even though Sweden claims to be a color-blind society, there are racialized instances that minorities have to deal with on a regular basis. According to CERD, Minorities in Sweden encounter issues of social segregation, economic marginalization, Afro-phobia, Islamophobia among other violent discriminatory instances.³

Scholars as well as monitoring institutes have claimed that, even though Sweden claims to be a feminist welfare state with a great human rights record, minority exclusion can be reflected through unequal economic and resource distribution. It is also claimed that, the dominant Swedish majority enjoys most of the benefits that come with a welfare state. However, the same cannot be termed shared experiences with the minorities.⁴ For instance, minority communities are ghettoized like Rinkeby in Stockholm and other segregated Swedish cities. High unemployment figures, over representation in low-skilled jobs despite higher educational attainments, under representation within higher learning institutions, poor health,

³ See footnote 2, Concluding observation for Sweden, 2013, para: 12.
harassment on grounds of religion and skin color as summarized by the 2014 Afrophobia report.\(^5\)

Despite the above-mentioned issues, which as claimed revolve around racialism, Sweden discarded the term “race” from anti-discrimination law as officially irrelevant since in Sweden, there are no different races but one human race.\(^6\) However, what is mostly appalling to this gesture of color blindness among other incidents is the 2012 racially offensive derogatory video and image. In the video, a highly profiled Swedish government official was seen joyfully scooping a piece of cake caricature image of a distressed African woman in relation to female genital mutilation.\(^7\) Inter alia, the police register of people of Romani origin, Afro-phobic attacks as the highest hate crime incidents et cetera. With such instances, one is to wonder if it is the lack of understanding that such instances entail, or is it the ignorance brought about by being uninformed of cultural racial constructivism and its implications due to color-blindness?

The paradox accompanying such incidents is the historical fact that, Sweden is one of the pioneers of eugenics whereby, biological race laboratories existed to categorize human races and justify white supremacy.\(^8\) Maybe such cultural insensitivity may explain the claim that, Sweden has not owned to its colonial past and racial atrocities brought about by race biology. More so the acknowledgement of Sweden’s participation in the oppression and enslaving of the African people no matter how small a role Sweden played.\(^9\)

1.1 Research Puzzle and Aim

Consequently, such levels of insensitivity are among the reasons that may have contributed to the pursuit of this research. The research departs from the notion that, as long as there is no visible problem (color-blindness), there will not be any effort to fix a nonexistent problem. For a problem to be fixed it must be visible, seen and acknowledged. It is problematic when the racialized and the racializing

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\(^{9}\) See footnote 8, McEachcrane, 2018.
are engaged within a discourse that lacks the substance, “race”. Even though Sweden might have moved on from its race biology politics, the problems created by race hierarchization persist within Swedish social infrastructure.\textsuperscript{10}

It is also problematic, to falsify or discard a piece of history that is contextual and may have played a big role in shaping the Sweden we know today. For the past atrocities not to be repeated, their very history must be faced, addressed, acknowledged and rectified no matter how heinous. By engaging on “never again”, campaigns aimed at awareness raising frameworks on past atrocities and violation of human rights. For example, the living history forum in Sweden towards measures of raising awareness to schools and the public on the holocaust and antisemitism.\textsuperscript{11}

The paradox entailed to the case is that, Sweden is a country that is not entangled into color politics as all human beings belong to one human race.\textsuperscript{12} However, such an approach needs first, to be systematically deconstructed by addressing the established social norms brought about by racial hierarchization from top-down. Moreover, race categorization was the determinant of the life chances given or denied to certain groups. Accordingly, how do you deal with racism, when there is no substantive point of departure? Consequently, this is the paradox and puzzle, which this research seeks to highlight and put into perspective through trying to understand the life experiences of the Afro-sведes as a minority. To highlight their lived experiences as racialized subjects within a society that does not acknowledge race, it is inevitable to wonder, how Sweden transformed from racial hierarchy to color blindness.

\subsection*{1.2 Research Question}

Departing from the above given notions and claims, the main research question guiding this essay is:


How can we explain race relations as experienced by Afro-Swedes in Sweden?

1.3 Key Concepts and Definitions

In order to have a broader understanding of the Afro-Swedish community, their social context with historical background and some key definitions are presented below:

1.3.1 Afro-Swedes

Afro-Swedes consist of members within the Swedish society whose ancestry originates from Africa. The Afro-Swedes community includes first or second-generation swedes of African descent, Swedish adoptees of African descent, and even people of African descent born in the Americas or Caribbean. According to statistics, there is a population of about 200,000 Afro-Swedes in Sweden and they represent almost 2% of the Swedish population. This is the definition given on Afro-Swedes official website and this study will maintain this definition as it is how the subject group identifies.

1.3.2 Historical Background and migration within a Swedish-African context

Even though Sweden has been in contact with Africa from as early as the 17th century as part of the transatlantic slave trade and later colonization, this part of Swedish heritage is highly controversial, as Sweden has not yet fully owned to its participation. According to scholars, Sweden as well as other European nations were involved in the capture and enslavement of the African people. Sweden owned slavery castles in present Ghana from 1638-1664 when Sweden lost it to Denmark. The island, St. Barthelemy that served as a port for selling and receiving enslaved Africans was acquired by Sweden from France in 1784. In exchange,

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15 See footnote 13 Afro svenskarnas Riksförbund, Att vara Afrosvensk, 2014.
France could use Gothenburg as a port for transporting slaves and other enslavement tools like iron.\textsuperscript{19} Sweden owned the island and the slaves until 1878 even though slave trade had been legally abolished from 1847.\textsuperscript{20}

It has been observed that migration to and from Sweden is a trend that has been in existent since time immemorial. In the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, the Southern Europeans (Walloon) started arriving in Sweden. Ola Larsmo observes that due to poverty and religious persecution more than one million Swedes migrated to the Americas during the great migration.\textsuperscript{21} However, during the same period 16 000 Swedes left Sweden to settle in Africa in search of better lives and adventure according to Peter Johansson.\textsuperscript{22}

The first known Africans in Sweden in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century were enslaved Africans who came back to Sweden with Swedish merchants and priests. King Gustav III received an African boy named Badin as “a present”. Badin’s official names were, Adolph Ludvig Gustaf Albrecht Couschi and he was rewarded to the Swedish King from St. Croix, a Danish colony and he lived with the royal family, dying in Sweden in 1822 at the age of seventy-five.\textsuperscript{23}

Like Badin, there are many unspoken cases of slaves who were brought to Sweden. One practical exceptional, is the slave woman chef, Sara Makatemele (1846-1903) who was brought to Sweden from South Africa in 1862.\textsuperscript{24} Sara came with her slave Master, Oscar Wilhelm Forssmann.\textsuperscript{25} In 1863 Sara had a daughter named Millan who also grew up at a new home where she worked as a piano

\textsuperscript{19} See footnote 17, Slaveri då och nu, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{20} See footnote 17, Slaveri då och nu, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{21} O. Larsmo, Sweden and migration; The great migration, 1850-1938, Available from, \url{https://sweden.se/migration/}, (Accessed 8 April 2018).
\textsuperscript{22} P. Johansson, Handelsfursten av Damaraland, Kristianstad: Kristianstads Boktryckeri, 2001, p. 64.
\textsuperscript{23} A. Pred, The past is not dead; Facts, fictions, and enduring Racial stereotypes, Minnesota: The University of Minnesota, 2004, pp.7-11.
\textsuperscript{24} Afrikafararna, Den Forssmanska Expeditionen, forts; Kolonial Expeditionen, Kalmar, 2004 \url{http://www.afrikafararna.nu/}, (Accessed 8 April 2018).
\textsuperscript{25} See footnote 24, Afrikafararna, 2004.
teacher (enslaved) owned by a priest called, Cecilia Fryxel. Sara died in 1903 and at Sara Makatemele’s gravestone in Kalmar, it is only written kaffekvinna.

There are many cases of Swedish settlers and their contribution within the so-called ‘civilization of Africa’ that is untold or rather censored from the public eye. Johansson has also given a glimpse in images and text on the Swedish legacy of colonization and domination of the African people and thus the connection to the presence of Africans in Sweden. Even though not the objective of this research, one would wonder, what the fate of, “the others” like Sara Makatemele’s descendants became? Could they have been victims of Swedish eugenics?

Notwithstanding, today’s Afro-Swedes population mostly consists of the 90s immigration due to political persecution and civil wars. The highest number of Afro-Swedes are of Somali ethnic group.

1.3.3 Swedish Stereotypy of Africans in arts, culture, and the n-word

Evidence indicates that Sweden has had a tendency of fetishizing, romanticizing, demonizing or stereotyping Africans. For instance, the children’s Sunday school song ‘lilla svarta Sara’ (1908) by Lina Sandell, was inspired by Sara Makatemele (introduced above) the slave in Kalmar with outstanding culinary skills.

Cultural artists like Astrid Lindgren have repeatedly used the n-word in children’s literature. Moreover, the n-word was officially applied in text until 2006. The 2012 painful cake, the racist image by Swedish artist Dan Park depicting Momodou Jallow in chains et cetera.
The n-word is a derogatory racial slur that was ascribed as a racial identity to enslaved Africans and their descendants by white supremacists.\textsuperscript{34} This offensive racial slur was used as an identity to display the dehumanization and sub-human positions inflicted on Africans until recently. The word was legally practiced globally, and black people had to fight in order to formally delete the n-word from public discourse in Sweden.\textsuperscript{35} Today it is perceived as culturally insensitive to use the n-word,\textsuperscript{36} however, it is still used informally. To avoid the racial implications this derogatory name entails and hence reproducing racism, this study will apply the code \textit{n-word} to rename the original racial slur.

### 1.3.4 Whiteness as Swedishness through the lenses of race-biology

Carl von Linnaeus, a natural scientist, is one of the pioneers who highly contributed and engineered race-biology that became a tool to justify racial hierarchy and the oppression of black and nonwhite people for centuries.\textsuperscript{37} The race biology was a complex intellectual campaign where current cultural racism is deeply rooted. This scientific race thinking justified eugenics and racial purity, which would come to justify forced sterilizations of those perceived less than the white race; the Sami, the mixed-races, the Roma, the disabled, the transgendered and others perceived to possess genetic inferiority.\textsuperscript{38} This were legal policies in Sweden until their abolition in 1975.\textsuperscript{39} For Von Linnaeus and other race-thinking supremacists, to qualify as Swedish, meant being “pure” and ethnically white.

### 1.3.5 De facto social-apartheid (n-word villages) and social capital

De facto social apartheid maybe termed as the ghettoization of immigrant communities, which rises because of unbalanced social relations and power structures between the minorities and the larger majority.\textsuperscript{40} Minorities being concentrated

\textsuperscript{34} N. Sabuni, Bli kallade N-Word är Kränkande, Aftonbladet, August 2005, \url{https://www.aftonbladet.se/debatt/article10654572.ab} (Accessed 1 April 2018).
\textsuperscript{36} See footnote 35, Hübniette, \textit{Ethnicity and race in a changing world}, 2013.
\textsuperscript{38} See Hübniette, \textit{Ethnicity and race in a changing world}, 2013, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{39} See footnote 38.
within poor neighborhoods with inadequate physical and social infrastructure.\(^41\) Creating social-distance between the larger majority and the minorities.\(^42\) In this context, neighborhoods such as Rinkeby, Rosengård, and Gottsunda etcetera.

Social capital is the links, bonds and bridges in society, which are deeply ingrained within shared values of interacting communities or groups, with deep understandings and connection to one another that allows mutual trust as a guide to work and develop together.\(^43\) It promotes integration and the informal “\textit{us vs. them}” binary structure is broken and thus allows for minorities and the larger majority to unite as rights bearers and shareholders.

1.3.6 **Stereotypes, Mythicization and experiences**

In this essay, Thomas Eriksen’s definition of stereotypes as the notions about virtues and vices of cultural distinctiveness of a given group is employed.\(^44\) Dominant groups use stereotypes to oppress and suppress the dominated groups.\(^45\) This essay will presume the larger majority (dominant group) and Afro-Swedes as the dominated group.

Experiences as defined by the oxford English dictionary is; “\textit{the knowledge or practical wisdom gained from what one has observed encountered or undergone}”.\(^46\)

1.4 **Methodological Approach**

This research employs a qualitative library or desk study. Meaning that, documents (text) will be the empirical material to be analyzed. Bryman has argued that qualitative investigation involves epistemological social inquiry in order to derive meaning to explain a social setting. To derive this meaning a researcher might study a community’s behavior, culture, history, identity, experiences and even art to understand their social realities.\(^47\) Thus, with this research’s objective to unveil

\(^{41}\) See footnote 40, p. 275.
\(^{42}\) See footnote 40, PP. 97-100.
the experienced realities of Afro-Swedes, the qualitative method analysis is more likely to answer the research question.

The desk study will look at documents from different entities as primary materials that will be purposefully sampled. Purposive or strategic data collection involves searching for materials that are relevant to the field of study and are likely to answer the research question.\textsuperscript{48} However, previous research, academic articles, books and other relevant media will be employed as secondary data. The primary and main data of this research has been limited to different texts from different actors that are relevant to the study. These primary materials will be presented later within this section.

These strategically sampled documents extend to, Statens, Offentliga Utredningar (SOU) at the duty bearing capacity. International and regional legal instruments that monitor human rights. Documents from, NGOs, civil society, and the organizations that represents Afro-Swedes (Afrosvenskarnas Riksförbund). An advantage with employing documents is that documents are concrete data that can be easily accessed and retraced\textsuperscript{49}.

This study will systematically interpret the analytical data by use of established theories of racism, which will be detailed in the theory section. Hannah Arendt and Etienne Balibar’s thoughts on equality, race and human rights are among the disciplines that were initially explored. However, while situating the theories on race, the study realized how distant and uninteresting black Africans were to Arendt. Even though Arendt’s “the right to have rights” has received enormous attention, she reflected the suffering of black people in a negative light.\textsuperscript{50}

However, this study does not disregard the entire theory that Arendt employs within her human rights arguments, but it will skip Arendt and mainly employ Balibar, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva and Joe Feagin. Their theories are the interpretive tools analytically applied to shade light on experiences that shape Afro-Swedes lives in relation to race relations in Sweden.

\textsuperscript{49} See footnote 48, Bryman, p. 419.
Bryman further observes that since documents may be authored for different purposes and audiences, researchers must be aware of the contextual social reality where the documents originate. Therefore, there is a necessity to interpret these documents by use of independent theories relevant to the study. The ambition to explain the experiences of Afro-Swedes is achievable by analytically infusing the Key concepts, the empirical data, and the theoretical framework.

The term *experiences will be* applied in accordance to the definition given earlier within the key concepts.

Historians and anthropologists argue that apart from geographical, cultural and political belonging, identity and belonging may also relate to principles of a shared common history as Nancy Fraser tries to argue. For instance, addressing the all-affected principle by acknowledging historical predation where the current global elite have formally exploited the global South can serve as a point of departure in extending cultural inclusion. In this case, addressing the historical connection or contact between Africans and Swedes and looking at how Afro-Swedes came into being is an important part of this study.

The scope of this research is limited to a Master Thesis and therefore it is reasonable to study Afro-Swedes and not the entire minority community. Firstly, they have been singled out, as the minority that is mostly discriminated from different sources. The sources also reflect that Afro-Swedes are marginalized in almost all spheres of society.

**1.4.1 Material and Sources**

The primary material analysed in this study are documents from official reports of regional and international human rights entities that Sweden is a member. Other texts are documents from the official government investigations targeting racism.

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In addition to that, there are reports from civil society and human rights organisations. These organisations work independently as well as with the Swedish government. Their documents are reports objectively monitoring human rights performance in Sweden.

Since subjective sources only with inside information on the subject might influence the results of the study and source credibility, objective actors for instance, state documents, have been included in order to avoid one-sidedness (influence) of subjectivity. The empirical data in eleven documents ranging from 2012 to 2018 is presented below:

- The (SOU)’s comprehensive Approach to Combat Racism and Hate Crime: National plan to combat racism, similar forms of hostility and hate crime, 2017,
- The report on Afro-phobia, 2014 by Mångkulturellt Centrum
- Alternative Report by the United Nations Association of Sweden (UNA, Sweden), following Sweden’s 22nd and 23rd periodical Reports to the Committee of the Convention on the Elimination of all Racial Discrimination (UNA) 2018
- The Swedish state’s 22nd and 23rd Periodic Reports of States Parties due in 2016, submitted by Sweden in January 2017
- Concluding observations on the combined 19th to 21st periodic reports of Sweden, adopted by the CERD, Committee at its eighty-third session (12–30 August 2013)
- The Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), Concluding observations on the fifth periodic report of Sweden in January 2015
- Randomly selected; Racial/ethnical profiling in Sweden (Slumpvis utvald; Ras/etnisk profilering i Sverige 2017 by Civil Rights Defenders (CRD).
- Alternative Report to Sweden’s 19th, 20th and 21st Periodic Reports to the CERD Committee, on the Elimination of all Racial Discrimination by Afro-Swedes (ASR), 2013
• Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey by EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA, MIDIS II, 2017
• European Network against Racism (ENAR); Shadow report on Afro-phobia in Europe key Findings, 2014-2015

1.4.2 Previous Research

While Leandro Mulinari has recently conducted research on police racial profiling in Sweden, this is only a small part depicting how police authorities monitor minorities especially Roma, Muslims and Africans movements.\textsuperscript{56} However, Mulinari’s research does not cover a broader picture in highlighting these minorities’ day-to-day lived experiences from a broader dimension.

When it comes to academic research on Afro-Swedes, there seems to be an orientation gap as most researchers have either studied a small sample consisting of Afro-Swedes from a given region or as part of other minorities in Sweden. Jonathan Ngéh has conducted his PhD dissertation by interviewing Somalis and Cameroonians living in Malmö.\textsuperscript{57} In his dissertation, he concludes that during transformation by these communities, they experience racism and as a result, internal conflicts and exploitation are reproduced.\textsuperscript{58} Allan Pred has also studied immigrants in Sweden in 2000 and 2004. Despite putting into perspectives, the racial relations and economic inequality, which affected emigrants, fourteen years later, their situation seems to be the same.\textsuperscript{59}

This research departs from this gap seeking to explain how the entire Afro-Swedish community experiences life. This research also takes a different perspective as it aims to study text from different realms within public and private spheres instead of interviewing individuals.

\textsuperscript{56} L. S. Mulinari, Slumpvis utvald; Ras/etnisk profilering i Sverige, Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet, 2017.
\textsuperscript{57} J. Ngéh, Conflicts, marginalization and transformation; African migrants in Sweden, PHD Thesis, Umeå University, 2011, p. 188.
\textsuperscript{58} See footnote 57, Ngéh, 2011, p. 95.
1.4.3 Delimitations, Positionality, and Reflexibility

To avoid the internal bias of the researcher, the methodological and theoretical part of this study has been applied exhaustively. Booth et al. has shown that, to avoid generalizability, valid and credible sources determine the reliability of the research. To the best knowledge of this study, valid and reliable sources have been used. However, the work of the researcher in this case will be to adhere to scientific ways of conducting research and avoid bias as much as possible. Arguably, as a study based on interpretation, how different audiences choose to interpret and understand the outcome is beyond the control of the researcher.

Another point to note is that, I, the researcher identity as an insider, in the sense that I am of African descent living and studying in Sweden. As much as this is a fact to reckon, I am aware of the bias and subjectivity that might come with my identity and position. Owing to that, I am indebted to acknowledge this by being aware of my position but at the same time estranging my position. Therefore, in terms of objectivity and distance, I intend to maintain transparency and scientific principles of conducting social research. Brian Bourke has argued that our own lived experiences as either researcher or participant may have an influence on the research process. Therefore, self-awareness and scrutiny of self as a data-collecting tool (researcher) should be applied during the research process.

The research’s empirical data was sampled from diverse sources, so that it may give a holistic picture of Afro-Swedes, so there is a slight chance of sources influencing the results. However, different organizations may have different motives which are likely to influence the results. Another point to consider is this study not choosing a certain location or a sub-community of Afro-Swedes. This is also due to claims that, people of African descent regardless of how they are situated in society share the same fate. The narrative of an adopted Afro-Swede having Swedish parents (ethnically white), an emigrant Afro-Swede from Somali or an

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60 W. C. Booth, et al., The Craft of research, 4th edn., Chicago: University of Chicago, 2016, p. 76
Afro-Swede of mixed-race who has one parent who is white and ethnically Swede is the same.62

On ethical considerations, this study is not dealing directly with private individuals but has taken a point not to employ derogatory terms that are offensive to Afro-Swedes even if they appear on the data. This has been accounted for within key concepts and definitions section.

1.5 Disposition

This thesis consists of five chapters outlined within subtitles. The introductory part contains the research puzzle, central concepts, methodological approach and previous research. The second chapter presents the theoretical framework, which presents three main scholars’ theories of discrimination. The third chapter takes on the analytical framework whereby the first part will be more descriptive, followed by a further section where the theoretical framework, the key concepts and the empirical data will be analytically infused at length in the fourth chapter. Finally, the fifth part presents concluding remarks with a proposal for possible future research.

2. Theoretical Framework

With an intention to develop an understanding of race relations and inequalities, it is of great ambition for this essay to consult different schools of thought that have contributed to the theories on equality and racism. Some of such Scholars are Du Bois, Franz Fanon, Allan Pred, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, and Joe Feagin and inter alia Eduardo Bonilla-Silva. It should be borne in mind that American Scholars have developed most race theories and civil rights studies and that is why Feagin and Bonilla-Silva’s theories are relevant to this study. Thus, with the help

of their theories the study seeks to apply a theoretically interpreted analysis to see if these theories may somehow answer the questions being investigated.

Racism as argued, tends to find its way into spaces where identities and communities differ, this could be religion, for example Muslims and Christians. These different identities may come into conflict especially when the rather does not approve the former.  

To achieve this study’s main objective, Balibar, Feagin and Bonilla-Silva’s theoretical models, which shift towards equality, class and racism, will be mainly applied. Franz Fanon as a scholar who is highly quoted when it comes to studies on race, colonialism and post colonialism is also a relevant participant whose thoughts are consulted, however, not entirely. Since, this essay is oriented around Afro-Swedes as a minority Allan Pred’s book “even in Sweden; racism, racialized spaces and the popular geographical imagination” is secondarily included due to its relevance to the study. Finally, yet importantly, the theory slightly highlights on thoughts from Sarah Ahmed, Kwame Appiah and Amy Gutmann who are also renowned scholars of race theory.

Accordingly, this thesis seeks to explain the experiences of Afro-Swedes as a minority in Sweden in relation to race and power relations. Therefore, the main theme of these theories is to assist in interpreting the empirical data. This study departs from racism as a socially constructed phenomenon. Consequently, the theories of racism allow for an analytical platform, which seeks to explain and provide a theoretical foundation in accordance with this research as both a theoretically and empirically oriented academic investigation.

2.1 Situating the theories; word from the critics

Those who criticize Balibar seem to disagree with his stance on nationalism and ethnicity as fixated inferences within processes of racial division as a mechanism to legitimize “othering” as a task to justify internal exclusion. A different as-

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sumption towards Feagin however similar to Balibar is that, Feagin’s Marxist approach is stuck in the 70s and therefore not contextual on present racial hierarchies and their structures.\textsuperscript{65}

This research differs with Feagin and Balibar’s critics due to a different notion that links xenophobia and right-wing politics as a result of social and economic crises. For instance, the great depression of 1930 has been linked to the rise of Hitler and hence the holocaust.\textsuperscript{66} Arguably, 2008 economic recession can be linked to the ongoing European fascism and the popularity of right wing politics support especially in Sweden, France, Austria and even Germany.\textsuperscript{67} The three main scholars employed within the theoretical framework seem to relate more than to differ. They all demonstrate the \textit{past in present} concept where the current racial discriminations are deeply rooted. Their theoretical approach is also similar when it comes to \textit{cultural racism} as the new racism where race and power structures are designed in a manner that reproduces racial-discrimination especially within the private-public binary sphere. However, while Marxism originally influences them, Bonilla-Silva and Feagin seem to have shifted more into systemic racism than Balibar.

\subsection*{2.1.1 Racism and the Presence of the Past - Balibar’s Framework}

Etienne Balibar argues that, racism emanates from nationalist rhetorical ideologies rather than differently categorized biological races, in other words race is a social construct.\textsuperscript{68} Racism may start as a psychological assumption, which produces racist movements that can be traced to conservative nationalist movements.\textsuperscript{69} In the context of Sweden, Balibar’s thoughts can be related to the rise of nationalist movements, which are anti-migration deeply rooted within ethnic homogeneity like the Sweden democrats.\textsuperscript{70} Within the Sweden Democrats (SD) manifesto, they tend to maintain that, Sweden should be maintained culturally

\begin{footnotes}
\item[65] C. K. William, \textit{Critical strategies for social research; rediscovering critical edge in social analysis}, Ontario: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2004, p. 44.
\item[69] See footnote 68, p. 38.
\item[70] See A. Pred, \textit{Even in Sweden; Racisms}, 2000, p. 66.
\end{footnotes}
white and therefore disregarding the different ethnic minorities that form the Swedish nation. It is argued that the SD’s racist political rhetoric tends to promote white supremacy.\textsuperscript{71}

Balibar further elaborates that, racism is a conditional product whose characteristics highly reflect, “past in present”, which is exemplified by discrimination of blacks which can be traced back to slavery, colonialism, xenophobia, genocide, economic exploitation and racial domination.\textsuperscript{72}

Balibar, further observes the race myth as a projection of \textit{auto-referential racialism}, which he defines as a process whereby those who have access to power designate their position as that which is racially superior. On the other hand, \textit{hetero-referential racialism} is the inevitable position ascribed to those who racial inferiority is imposed.\textsuperscript{73} Balibar exemplifies the above subcategories of racism with Apartheid in South Africa, which employed a mix of colonization, Nazism and slavery.\textsuperscript{74} How does this relate to the Swedish context? To develop Balibar’s theoretical toolbox in relation to this essay, “\textit{auto-referential}” and “\textit{hetero-referential racialism}” can be identified through the social dynamics of minorities’ behavior and how they interact with majority groups. Arguably, in this context, the Afro-Swedes may identify and passively relate to the foisted inferiority complex acquired from being labelled inferior. This has been highlighted especially within the Swedish discrimination Ombudsman where Afro-Swedes have been unable to report discrimination cases due to de facto assumption that, ‘\textit{nothing will be done}’.\textsuperscript{75} Balibar further stresses that, once such racial mythologies have been institutionally normalized and established, they sink deeply into the conscience of the masses (dominant majority & the dominated minority), and thus shaping the social norms.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{71} See footnote 70, p. 208.
\textsuperscript{72} See Balibar & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{73} See Balibar, E, & Wallerstein, I, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 39.
\textsuperscript{74} See Balibar, E, & Wallerstein, I, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{75} See Mångkulturell Centrum, \textit{Afrofobi}, 2014, P. 35.
\textsuperscript{76} See Balibar, E, & Wallerstein, I, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 53.
2.1.2 Racism and social power

Balibar also argues that, there is power within the condition of dichotomy, for instance, workers and owners, males and females, slaves and masters, majority and minority, us and them. He emphasizes that for social power to be exercised and dominated by a majority, there need to be a minority that is excluded and dominated.\(^77\) He further stresses that, with this conditional duality of majority versus minority, us versus them, where the former enjoys social power and human rights more than the latter, a socially divided identity is inevitably created which may define a cultural difference between the two groups.

For instance, Balibar notes that, schools and other public spaces within a nation are designed to socialize those within their jurisdiction according to the nation’s social norms. However, within the private sphere of families, they seem to be pressured to socialize their children according to the social milieu to which they belong. Sensibly, this may explain why ghetto-centric culture as a product of de facto social-apartheid becomes a defining social identity to those who are deemed its milieu subjects.\(^78\) Despite, having been born and bred within the same nation, children from the so-called dominantly migrant neighborhoods (ghettos) are socialized differently compared to the children of the dominant majority.\(^79\) Consequently, with a rising ghetto-centric culture a linguistic ethnicity is born out of racism and discrimination by the majority towards the minority. For example, one finds that, within the ghetto community, a new dialect has evolved which automatically turns out to a criterion of identification for those who belong to that social setting (Rinkebysvenska).\(^80\) Consequently, this early socialization frames one’s future and influences the kind of life chances one acquires.

2.1.3 Class racism, human capital and social heredity

Class has been referred to as a social rank in society in terms of wealth, opportunities and economic status while human capital is an essential tool to be included within society’s means of creating economic value. This is in terms of having the

\(^{78}\) See Balibar & Wallerstein, *Race, nation, class*, 1991, p. 84.
ability to be employed, creative or entrepreneurial as the theory further emphasizes.\textsuperscript{81}

Social heredity is also stated to be, inheritable conditions that breed success or failure based on a social mechanism that may affect or influence several generations of descendants.\textsuperscript{82} So those who fall under the social ladder of failure are disqualified from providing human capital (excluded minorities). On the other hand, those who are highly situated within the social hierarchy (larger majority) enjoy the privilege of human capital inclusion. Crises like unemployment, high rates of crime, insecurity and terrorism come with a label on immigration, as the working class within the dominant majority label the victims of distasteful social-heredity (immigrants) as the culprits that cause such societal grievances.\textsuperscript{83}

Balibar further notes that, with the above social grievances, the state supported by private-public binary sphere designs a disciplinary aspect, which is patriarchal in nature in order to curb prevailing faults. With no clear official mechanisms to civilize the displaced masses of those who are excluded (immigrants), the disciplinary design becomes racial-targeting; police racial profiling (state), housing segregation (ghettoization) and employers clandestinely not eager to employ immigrants (private sector) because of the predetermined bias of social-heredity.\textsuperscript{84}

Consequently, the actions of the private-public binary sphere which excludes the minority assists in maintaining a social-heredity of a displaced and declassed intergenerational cycle of immigrants who become ascribed victims of class racism. This ascribed identity follows this group throughout their lives (racial-stigma) as Balibar notes below:

\begin{quote}
The problem is to keep ‘in their place’ from generation to generation, those who have no fixed place; and for this it is necessary that they have a genealogy.\textsuperscript{85}
\end{quote}

This genealogical label influences their identity and belonging, social relations, integrational processes and many other social aspects. Due to the ascribed racial

\textsuperscript{81} See Balibar, & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{82} See Balibar, & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 206.
\textsuperscript{83} See above, Balibar, & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p.207.
\textsuperscript{84} See above, Balibar, & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, pp. 212-213.
\textsuperscript{85} See above, Balibar, & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 213.
stigma as they try to seek a profound common ground to belong, they fail to assimilate to the given dominant culture where they are misrepresented. Out of the consciousness that is born of discrimination (negative different treatment), those that are difficult to assimilate become social rebels, in reaction to the rejection applied to them by the public-private binary, which Balibar also refers to as, “the domestication of generations and the disqualification of resistances”.\(^{86}\) Within the context of this essay, such notions may relate to the tensions between the police and locals in Stockholm Husby riots\(^ {87}\) and recent Malmö Rosengård, being named as high-risk locations for insecurity.\(^ {88}\)

Another example of state sanctioned racism towards minorities in Sweden is the 2014 police illegal register of Roma ethnic families. The racially motivated genealogical mechanism of profiling minorities who are assumed to be involved in crime explains this action. The fact that, there were names of young family members, even toddlers being in the register.\(^ {89}\) This can also explain social-heredity cycle that Balibar explains and its negative connotations of intergenerational racial discrimination that targets marginalized labelled groups.

Another way of breaking down class racism is how it manifests and interplays between racial stigmas versus racial privilege. The larger majority generations enjoy the benefits of racial-privilege by belonging to the dominant majority. In addition, with racial privilege as Balibar and Wallerstein puts it, those within that privilege are awarded the best protection in terms of security, family values, education and career, cultural recognition and political inclusion. At the other side of the ghetto, the racially stigmatized are engaged in struggles between the state trying to assimilate their conscious minds by regular encounter with law enforcement (police).\(^ {90}\) Consequently, those targeted (minority) fight back and lack of trust is bred within this dual encounter of response and counter-response regardless of belonging to

\(^{86}\) See above footnote 85.  
\(^{88}\) Nationella operativa avdelning, Utsatta områden; Social ordning, kriminell struktur och utmaningar för polisen, Stockholm: Underrättelseenheten, Juni 2017.  
the same state jurisdiction and laws. Such ambivalent encounters promote, ‘us versus them’ binary within two segregated communities of citizens (racially stigmatized versus racially privileged).

It is argued that, the term race as a concept is international and multifaceted. In black Africa racism is equivalent to tribalism, in India it surfaces within the caste system while in America and Europe it is inclined between whites and blacks, Asians, Mexicans, Arabs and so on. Therefore, race can be termed as an international status group category, which depends on time, space and context. For the Swedish context race as a categorical indicator of group status can be applied to categorize Arabs, Muslims, Afro-Swedes, Jews, Whites, Roma, ethnical Swedes, and Sami among others. While race in some instances can imply skin color, in other instances it implies cultural and class status. One example of race as a group status in Sweden, which has been a result of investigation from different spheres is the notion that, a white German emigrant has the same chances of getting employment as a white- ethnical- Swede compared to a Roma, Muslim or afro-sweede.

2.2 New racism (structural racism) - Eduardo Bonilla-Silva

According to Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, racism is a structured network of social relations at cultural, political, ideological and economic level that influences the life chances of given communities within a given society. These racial structures reward those who are constructively white while subjecting those who become nonwhite. He further claims those racial structures to be, “the totality of the social relations and practices that reinforce white privilege”. He further emphasizes that the new racism, which proceeds from the above definition, takes a form

91 See Balibar & Wallerstein, Race, nation, class, 1991, p. 199.
94See footnote 93, Bonilla-Silva, P.9.
95 See above footnote 94.
of indirect racial inequalities hidden within romanticized anti-racial political rhetoric but practically symbolic pronounced reflections of exclusion and marginalization are evident.\footnote{See footnote 93, Bonilla-Silva, 2013, p. 33.}

While racism during slavery and colonial times oppressed Africans by virtue of being sub-human, the transition from slavery and colonialism was characterized by racist legal structures like the Jim Crow laws in the United States.\footnote{See footnote 93, Bonilla-Silva, 2013, p.34.} In Sweden, it was Eugenics and state institute for racial biology and other policies like sterilization that targeted “the misfits”.\footnote{See footnote 37 above Broberg, & Nils, 2005, pp. 84-87.}

In relation to this study, Bonilla-Silva’s structural racism theory can be traced within the following spheres in Sweden; residential segregation and economic inequality. Harassment of blacks and Muslims in public spaces, continued cases of afro phobia and islamophobia, inequities within public higher learning institutions, police racial profiling (Reva Project to identify and deport illegal emigrants).\footnote{See Mulinari, Slumpvis utvald, 2017, p. 7.} Underrepresentation of minorities among political leaders, and Skåne police register of the Roma people. The extra control by the children’s social welfare of emigrant families.\footnote{K. Pringle, Swedish welfare responses to ethnicity: the case of children and their families, European journal of social work, vol.13, no.1, 2010, p.28.} Racial discrimination in the labor market, and unequal resource distribution, \footnote{See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 45.} et cetera.

Bonilla-Silva warns people of color to beware of, “\textit{men in suits and their smiling discrimination}”.\footnote{See Bonilla-Silva, Racism without racists, 2013, P. 60.} In other words, racism does not advertise itself; it is mostly incomprehensible to the victims due to systematized legal projections with inclusive rhetoric. Moreover, hard to detect if the power structures, which, are incorporated within the wider framework, meant to protect human rights are also systematically discriminatory. I interpret the former that, being a victim to racialized structures requires one to understand the manner of the racialism that is being projected. Thus, with the hidden mechanisms and the uninformed subjects (victims), there is no resistance and hence the maintenance of the status quo.
Bonilla-Silva further elaborates that, the on-purpose political rhetoric by politicians to eschew racial terms references is, not only counterproductive to combating racism, but also promotes the invisibility of mechanisms that reproduce racial inequality.\textsuperscript{103} For instance, the 2009 act of Sweden discarding the term ‘race’ from the discrimination act has been argued to be counterproductive in dealing with issues of racism.\textsuperscript{104}

On cultural racism and blaming the victim, Bonilla-Silva stresses further that, white majorities no longer believe that minorities of color are biologically inferior. However, a new subordination assumption where the minorities are viewed by the majority "to be lazy, lacking in morals, unhygienic and hard to live in an organized society".\textsuperscript{105} This cultural racism is the justification behind de-facto social-apartheid, racialized residential segregation and other frames that maintain the status quo of subordination and marginalization of minorities. For the context of this essay, highlighting on Bonilla-Silva’s thoughts, it is reasonable to say that ghettoization occurs through liberal individual choice, whereby members of the advantaged group (dominant majority) have the power to choose to live and associate with those who they identify with. Thus, such choices as Bonilla-Silva puts it, “helps to reproduce a form of white supremacy in neighborhoods, schools and society in general”.\textsuperscript{106} It could also be claimed that, this de facto segregation involves chains of patterns, influenced by powerful actors at the public-private binary realm, which also shape the reproduction of these racialized structures.

These may include spheres dealing with bankers, realtors, sellers inter alia policy makers, all unconsciously producing and maintaining white and nonwhite social segregation. Consequently, with segregated neighborhoods, comes class segregation, segregated schools’ occurrence, segregated recreational amenities, and other segregated public and private spaces, which inevitably breeds a cycle that maintains segregated social-patterns.\textsuperscript{107}

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{103}] See Bonilla-Silva, Racism without racists, 2013, p. 32.
\item[\textsuperscript{104}] See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 84.
\item[\textsuperscript{105}] See Bonilla-Silva, Racism without racists, 2013, p. 79.
\item[\textsuperscript{107}] See footnote 106, Bonilla-Silva, 2010, p. 78.
\end{itemize}
Bonilla-Silva has further elaborated how minorities are blamed of pulling the racism card whenever faced with circumstances where discrimination by the larger majority may occur.\textsuperscript{108} For instance, discarding the term \textit{race} as a discourse relevant within the discrimination act in Sweden as a framework in minimizing racism.\textsuperscript{109} Rejecting affirmative action policies that benefit minorities, is also related to the assumptions that, ‘\textit{there is no racism}’ or rather giving preferential treatment to the disadvantaged groups is reverse racism to the larger majority.\textsuperscript{110}

In relation to this thesis, there is lack of affirmative action policies to benefit historically racialized minorities in Sweden. The policy makers and the larger majority has not involved the voices of the minorities when making policies that affect them. For example, Afro-Swedes argument that discarding the term race as an irrelevant discourse in Swedish public sphere negatively affects them relates to this frame of racism.\textsuperscript{111}

To further elaborate on this, Bonilla-Silva argues that even though there could be multicultural policies and plans to combat racism by states, in practice, there are de facto structures that seem to support racism, and this is most likely to be experienced by the affected communities. If the white majority’s experiences and interactions revolves only around white majority, they are most likely to claim that racism is not relevant, as they do not get to experience it. Therefore, it is those who are affected and their lived experiences that can determine if they are racialized. Such attitudes of the larger majority narrating narratives that do not belong to them, breeds color-blindness racism as Bonilla-Silva observes.\textsuperscript{112} The white majority and decision makers or power holders should thus consider the perspectives of the pained voices.

\textsuperscript{109} See footnote 106, Bonilla-Silva, 2010, p. 82.
\textsuperscript{110} See footnote 106, Bonilla-Silva, 2010, p. 84.
\textsuperscript{111} See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{112} See above footnote 111.
2.3 Joe Feagin’s systematic Racism Dimensional Framework; Intergenerational transmission of white wealth, power and privilege

So, how does power and resource allocation inequalities persist through generations long after the abolition of slavery and colonialism? According to Feagin, as indicated in the table below, the dominant majority has access to essential social-capital resources compared to the minority communities.\textsuperscript{113} Feagin’s table demonstrates how “the inegalitarian transfer”\textsuperscript{114} of economic and social capital is censored and therefore invisible in public discourses. The inheritance of resources as shown in figure one appears to be fair as it proceeds from intergenerational inheritance within the family tree. However, in reality it obscures long-term masked mechanisms of power and privilege attached to generations of the oppressed and the oppressors.\textsuperscript{115}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Context</th>
<th>Generation 1, 2, 3 &amp; 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family circle</td>
<td>Transmission of Monetary, cultural/educational, social networking capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community circle</td>
<td>Creates/supports segregated family and friendship networks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional circle</td>
<td>Provides supportive economic, political, legal, educational and religious institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal Circle</td>
<td>Envelopes and protects major institutions with white/dominant majority-oriented culture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{ |l|l| }
\hline
Social Context & Generation 1, 2, 3 & 4 \\
\hline
Family circle & Transmission of Monetary, cultural/educational, social networking capital \\
Community circle & Creates/supports segregated family and friendship networks \\
Institutional circle & Provides supportive economic, political, legal, educational and religious institutions \\
Societal Circle & Envelopes and protects major institutions with white/dominant majority-oriented culture \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table, 1.\textsuperscript{116}}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{116} See above footnote 115.
Feagin’s framework envisions how racial privilege continues to favor and benefit those included within the inner circles of those privileged mechanisms. For instance, unjust wealth and enrichment acquired during slavery or colonial days is only beneficial to those who inherit directly from those legacies.\textsuperscript{117} This significantly reflects how social environment and relations together with community socializations pave way to the success ladder of individuals for many generations later after history. Therefore, it is of great importance to bear in mind how the past influences the present and the present influences the future. Feagin’s model confirms Balibar’s \textit{past in present} dimension and \textit{social-hereditary} described earlier above.\textsuperscript{118} Being aware of how historical trajectories influence present and future human rights, power, social and race relations enable societies to implement informed frameworks that can promote equality and human rights.

Feagin’s model highlights Balibar’s social hereditary of racial privilege and racial stigma within a broader dimension. Social context plays a fundamental role on how future generations are shaped. To break the cycles of racial privilege or racial stigma and poverty, multicultural programs based on human rights and historical experiences awareness are essential.

It may be reasonable to imply that, when the discriminatory historical racial structures of power and social relations are not addressed and changed effectively, the same disadvantageous structures are transmitted to the affected communities’ future generations.

Another way of interpreting Feagin’s framework could be that, for every generation throughout economic and resource transmission within white family trees, there are also intergenerational minority family trees that were exploited and oppressed. One example is wealth generated through free slave labor or stolen human resources from the colonized masses. Exclusion from resource transmission, oppression, exploitation and injustices encountered within a family tree of a minority also follows its descendants through generations. This can be equalized to

\textsuperscript{118} See Balibar, & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 39.
contemporary poverty from historical injustices of resource allocation discrimination or exploitation, which can be reflected within communities from the global south.

2.3.1 Feagin’s model of racial discriminatory practices

According to Feagin,

Discrimination refers to actions or practices carried out by members of dominant groups or their representatives, which have a differential and adverse impact on members of subordinate groups.\(^ {119}\)

Representatives may be in this case members belonging to the discriminated subordinate group working under the directives and instructions of institutions run and controlled by the dominant group. Accordingly, discrimination can be (1) mechanized collectively or at individual level within (2) formal or informal norms or settings.\(^ {120}\)

Sporadic group discrimination involves evil actions carried out by racist groups belonging to the dominant group, however acting against prevailing laws and norms aiming at injuring members of a subordinate minority group.\(^ {121}\) An example within this essay is the legal operation of racist political organizations and spread of hate speech in Sweden.

Direct institutionalized discrimination entails actions by larger groups performing at a formal capacity within the private-public binary sphere in systematically keeping non-white or subordinated minorities in segregated spaces.\(^ {122}\)

Indirect institutionalized discrimination involves instances by which discrimination from one sphere indirectly affects another sphere, and it is sub-categorized into, (1) side effect discrimination, (2) past-in-present discrimination.\(^ {123}\) Past in present is whereby certain spheres were historically legally restricted to minority groups. Another example is historical injustices or social norms, which, were in


\(^ {122}\) See Feagin *Indirect institutionalized discrimination*, 1977, p.186.

violation of minority rights de jure as argued earlier by both, Bonilla-Silva and Balibar.\textsuperscript{124}

In relation to this essay, examples may be Swedish cultural literature with derogatory n-word characters stereotyping Afro-Swedes.\textsuperscript{125} Which, a discard may conflict with the Swedish constitution’s freedom of expression but at the same time derogatory to Afro-Swedes and therefore in violation of the discrimination act.\textsuperscript{126} Another example is the “N-word” town in Karlstad that had been known by the name since 1866. When, Afro-Swedes demanded its change in 2009, the public opinion was that, the name of the town has not been controversial before and so it cannot be controversial now.\textsuperscript{127}

3 Setting the analytical scene; phases of racism

In this section, I will now descriptively demonstrate what the material has presented within an analytical framework. Departing from the evidence that the data has presented, the material seem to imply that Afro-Swedes experiences hinder and exclude them from enjoying their human rights and fundamental freedoms in Sweden. It can also be claimed that even though Sweden has outlined a multicultural policy to promote the rights of emigrants and minorities, it has not benefited the communities affected as race relations are ignored.\textsuperscript{128}

What is however interesting according to the material analyzed, is the replicability of certain points within most of the empirical data. All the material examined in this research seem to suggest that Afro-sведes experiences consist of continuous renegotiation for acknowledgement by the state and institutions for recognition as

\textsuperscript{124} See Feagin, \textit{Indirect institutionalized discrimination}, 1977, p. 188. See also in the theory section, Balibar footnote 72 & Bonilla-Silva footnote 106.

\textsuperscript{125} V. Kawesa, \textit{Han har missat det som kallas tolkningsföreträde}, Gefle Dagbladet, October, 2015


human rights bearers. They also have to renegotiate their visibility within the racially structured power structures and obstacles that hinder them from participating fully in society and being recognized by the larger majority.\footnote{See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 27.}

Below, the evidence that the empirical data has presented in terms of experiences will be presented and analyzed according to sphere descriptively. Since all the spheres presenting the results are recurrent within most of the empirical text, they will be presented and analyzed in an overlapping manner.

### 3.1 Racially motivated xenophobic and Afro phobic attacks

According to the Afro-phobia report, Afro-Swedes are over-represented when it comes to victimization by hate crime, xenophobia and Afro-phobia. The report demonstrates that, while hate crimes targeting sexual orientation have recently decreased, hate crimes because of skin color have increased and Afro-Swedes are the main victims of these crimes.\footnote{See footnote 129.} The Swedish National Council for crime prevention (Brå) also indicate that, out of the 4765 hate crimes reported in 2015, 1074 were Afro-phobia related. This made Afro-phobia to be the highest of all reported hate crimes by 24%.\footnote{Brå, Number and proportion of police reports with identified hate crime motives, years, \textit{Hate crime 2015, 2012-2016}, p. 18. https://www.bra.se/download/18.3c6dfe1e15691e1603ec4714/1475237613705/2016_Hate_Crime_2015.pdf (Accessed 2 March 2018).}

Contrary to the above statistics, it is claimed that, there is lack of knowledge and awareness of issues like Afro-phobia among the larger majority.\footnote{See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 41.} However, the report shows that Afro-Swedes attacks occur in public places as quoted below in Swedish:

De vanligaste platserna där afrofobiska hatbrott begicks under detta år var det som i rapporten kallades ”övriga platser” med 20 %, skolor med 16 % och ”allmän plats” med 15 %. Vid hälften av alla afrofobiska hatbrott var gärningspersonen obekant för den utsatta.\footnote{See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 30.}

Even though there are claims of lack of awareness on issues such as Afro-phobia by most of Swedish society, considering the above quote, it can be concluded that
Afro-phobic incidents are not invisible since they occur within public spaces. Furthermore, the perpetrators of the Afro-phobia crimes are usually strangers who have no connection or relation to their victims. Leaving little room to draw further conclusions of reasons behind the attacks unless those of racial hatred. The WGEPAD also describes Afro-phobia as:

Afrophobia seeks to dehumanize and deny the dignity of a large group of people defined by visible characteristics of difference, in this case, their skin color, imagined psychological or behavioural[sic] traits and also by invisible ones, in particular their relation with Africa as a continent (understood as primitive). It is based on socially constructed ideas of “race” and the idea that there is a hierarchy between “races”. Afrophobia manifests itself through acts of racial discrimination — direct, indirect, institutional and structural — and physical violence, including hate speech and other forms of harassment targeting black people.\(^{134}\)

The paradox within such a claim of lack of awareness by the public about issues of Afro-phobia may be explained through highlighting underlying issues that may trigger Afro-phobia. According to the evidence presented above by the material, the hatred subjected to Afro-Swedes can be traced back to the history of racial hierarchy and the imposition of racial inferiority to Africans, their enslavement and dehumanization which, classified them as uncivilized and primitive or unable to live in an organized society.\(^{135}\) To elaborate more on the above observation, it can be argued that, the legal abolition of slavery and other kinds of domination endured by black people did not automatically disappear or earn their bodies a legitimate claim as rights bearers.

Afro phobic attacks may therefore be explained as Balibar has observed to be a threat to the alleged “true nationals” whose purity and existence depends on the invisibility of those they have ascribed to be “false nationals”. The visibility of “the Jews, Wogs, Immigrants, Natives, Pakis, Blacks […]”\(^{136}\) as Balibar further puts it, “the visibility of the latter (Afro-Swedes) challenges the privilege of the

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\(^{135}\) See Pred, Even in Sweden, 2000, p.19.

\(^{136}\) See Balibar, & Wallerstein, Race, nation, class, 1991, p.60.
former (true nationals)". To resonate further with Balibar and the above evidence afro-phobia, may be explained to be a counteraction by those whose legitimacy (true nationals) may be put to question and therefore they use afro-phobia as a weapon to maintain their alleged true nationalism (privilege) and silence the “false nationals”. Why? Because once those bodies that were formally restricted from occupying certain spaces, appear within those spaces by virtue of their humanity and thus rights claimants, the dialogical narrative changes. Historically, freedom, human rights and civil rights were not given on a silver plate; they were fought for, because when the oppressed claimed recognition as rights bearers those who benefited from their oppression (white privilege) met them with violence.

3.2 Law enforcement and intersectional racial profiling

Despite the high number of hate crimes to which Afro-Swedes are victims, the empirical material suggests that racial profiling by the police especially among male Afro-Swedes is a reality experienced on a regular basis. In his survey, (Slumpvis Utvald), Leandro Mulinari interviewed minority communities and the Swedish police. In these two perspectives, he concluded that, there was police racial profiling motivated by skin color, social class and religious affiliation experienced by Afro-Swedes. Mulinari relates his Afro-Swedes interviewees’ experiences to the American terminology, “driving while black or driving while brown” within a Swedish context of “walking, flying, traveling while black, brown or Muslim”.

These incidents and experiences can be categorized as intersectional in relation to discrimination. According to Kimberle´ Crenshaw, “intersectionality is a framework, which attempts to identify how interlocking systems of power affects those who are most marginalized in society in multiple ways”. Intersectional discrimination according to Mulinari’s report affects Afro-Swedes within multiple dimensions of race, class, gender and religion. With recent cases of insecurity and

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137 See footnote 136.
138 The researcher’s own interpretation developed through the theoretical process.
139 Mulinari, L, 2017, Slumpvis utvald; ras/etnisk profilering i Sverige, p. 11.
140 See footnote 139, Mulinari, 2017, p. 17.
terrorism, Mulinari claims that the Swedish Security Service (Säpo) has also singled out Muslim Afro-Swedes as terror suspects. This is done through *stop, search at airports, random interrogation or unannounced home visits by Säpo*, and etcetera.\(^{142}\)

According to other sources, the politics of police racial profiling is a well-known scandal in Sweden. In 2015, the civil rights defenders filed a lawsuit against the Swedish state over the 2013, Roma ethnic register of 4,673 individuals by the Skåne police. Apparently, 1000 of the victims were minors while 200 hundred of them were deceased; the youngest victims were two-year-old toddlers. The lawsuit included discrimination and racial profiling. The victims won the lawsuit against the state; however, the state argued that the register was part of the police force working strategy.\(^{143}\) This research is not focused on the Roma; however, the Roma register is an evidential example of the life experiences of marginalized communities in Sweden, and Afro-Swedes are categorized as part of these communities.

It may be argued that, denial of any wrongdoing by the Swedish state, despite the justice system convicting the state, displays the hierarchical race and power relations where impunity outweighs human rights. With such a scenario according to Balibar, trust between the state/police and the victims becomes a compromised affair.\(^{144}\) This may affect the racialized minorities, who may not have confidence in the state as the duty bearers to protect them as rights bearers. The Afro-phobia report also indicates that, fear of being treated as a suspect when in reality you are a victim seeking protection, creates skepticism among the victims and therefore failure to cooperate within efforts to combat crime. Balibar’s observation may explain impunity of the state as quoted below:

> a disciplinary aspect of social warfare against the savage masses […] this dual nature we can see perfectly illustrated today in the combined social and police approach to the 'suburbs and ghettos'.\(^{145}\)

\(^{142}\) See footnote 139, Mulinari, 2017, p. 25.

\(^{143}\) See footnote 139, Mulinari, 2017, p. 7.

\(^{144}\) See Balibar, & Wallerstein, *Race, nation, class; Ambiguous identities*, 1991, p. 213.

\(^{145}\) See above footnote 144.
3.3 Poverty, ghettoization and social capital

The material also highlights poverty as a challenge that is experienced by Afro-Swedes in Sweden. The CERD Committee points out on the de facto social and racial segregation whereby residential areas and other spaces are divided along socio-economic capabilities. Afro-Swedes are over-represented along the poor residential areas while the majority white Swedes occupy well to do residential places. The CERD document further shows that Sweden has been recommended to review causes of de facto segregation that have been pointed out according to CERD’s concluding observations:

The Committee is concerned by reports that several metropolitan areas show a stark division in the type and areas of residence along ethnic and socioeconomic lines, which division impacts mostly on foreign-born persons, and in particular Afro-Swedes and Muslims. It is also concerned by similarly stark discrepancies along ethnic and socioeconomic lines in access to employment between native Swedes and foreign-born persons, which prevails even after a long stay by the latter in Sweden and disproportionately affects the next generation. The Committee is particularly concerned by the increased likelihood that foreign born-persons will be unemployed, occupy unskilled, low-paying jobs, or live in a de facto segregated area, the consequences of which surfaced during the May 2013 riots which started in the Stockholm suburb of Husby (arts. 3 and 5 (e) (i) and (iii)).

The committee relates the 2013 Husby riots to racial segregation trajectories that may not be controlled once they have taken root. Since segregation hinders social capital between the poor and the affluent, incidents like the Husby riots become inevitable. It could be interpreted that these riots are inevitable in the sense that, those who race, and power structures have excluded become aware of their situation through experiences like, lacking social-capital to exploit their full potential. Since their potential and capacity has been limited to only what the ghetto can offer, to renegotiate their civil rights, they seek whichever means possible that can

146 See CERD, Concluding observations on the combined nineteenth to twenty-first periodic reports of Sweden, adopted by the Committee at its eighty-third session, 2013, para: 14.
make their voices and grievances heard. As Balibar notes, they resist being de-classed by demanding their social, cultural, economic and political rights. Consequently, situations like ‘Husby 2013’ may be born from such antagonisms.

Ghettoization is also born of “white flight” as Ulrika Schmauch points out in her doctoral dissertation, where she explains how segregated communities like Husby are a product of white ethnic communities taking off whenever they realise that non-white or immigrant neighbours have joined their neighbourhood. Schmauch’s observation can also be related to what Bonilla-Silva has also observed to be white habitus. Bonilla-Silva observes this to be the attitudes, tastes, views and cognition that nurtures racial-solidarity, which shapes the advantaged group (whites) way of thinking, “values, and norms to account for and rationalize their differences”, justifying social segregation to be a connotation of nature and not racially motivated.

3.4 Multiculturalism Family life and privacy

The material also highlights that multiculturalism in Sweden has not really been implemented even though there are good multicultural policies on paper. There have been cases whereby, Afro-Swedish families have been torn apart by the state’s children’s welfare. Affected families have complained that they are targeted due to their different culture and religion, which is, misunderstood in relation to the larger majority’s family life structures.

Such claims as the CRC Committee has observed, have resulted to recommendations to the Swedish state to review the criteria applied in decisions that allow Afro-Swedes children to be removed from their family settings. Below is one of the observations by CRC to the state:

The Committee is concerned at reported instances of arbitrary interference in the family life of Afro-Swedes and Africans and at the removal of children by social

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147 See above footnote 144.
149 See Bonilla-Silva, Racism without racists, 2013, pp. 123-125.
150 See above footnote 149, P. 124.
welfare authorities, as previously pointed out by the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent after its visit to the State party. The above observation was done before the WGEPAD’s visit to the state in 2014, but the problem persisted according to the material. The state did not address such discriminatory gestures even though experts, who may have more knowledge and understanding of the group in question, had pointed them out. Furthermore, Afro-Swedes children have been pointed out to experience discrimination even when they interact with actors who are supposed to work for the best interest of all children as the committee has also noted:

Certain groups of children continue to face discrimination, in particular children from disadvantaged and marginalized families and children of migrant families, including African and Afro-Swedish children.

Yet again, the evidence contradicts the earlier claim that there is lack of knowledge of Afro-Swedes by society regarding the societal issues to which they are subjected. This is a paradox as it is claimed that, it is the larger majority that distant themselves from groups that are categorized as immigrants. Civil servants serving within state agencies and institutions have also been deemed to lack competence when dealing with groups from diverse cultures. Social workers, teachers, the police force, and even the private sector all seem to lack frameworks that are inclusive of diversity. For example, the image of an Afro-Swedish child model, displaying a jumper with “the coolest monkey in the jungle” text on it is one of those scenarios of cultural insensitivity projected to the given community by the private sector. An international corporate of H&M’s magnitude is expected to represent diversity and inclusion. If they are going to use black models, it is important that they are aware of historical stereotypical implications that justified the dehumanization and domination of black Africans. Such past stereotypes

153 See above CRC Committee, fifth periodic report of Sweden, 2015, para: 15.
continue to affect black people across the World today. Stereotypes are among the many issues that contribute to the reproduction of racism and thus eliminating Africans as rights claimants.

This claim can be further interpreted by employing the stereotypical factor that was raised within the key-concepts. It could be argued that, Afro-Swedes have not been fully embraced as humanely mature on equal standing within society. Moreover, due to these persisting stereotypes they are assumed not able to make sound decisions concerning their family life. Patriarchy and paternalism guided by the stereotypes that Africans were defined by during the days of legal racial domination, may explain such stereotypes and views that relate Africans to barbarism and primitivism. As the WGEPAD report suggested, such stereotypes are still present in society.\textsuperscript{159} The views and myths that “they” Afro-Swedes can only function through domination and civilization by the superior races seem to have a link to why their human integrity and autonomy must be reclaimed.

3.5 Labor market, human capital and mobility

Within most of the data analyzed, there were several similar cases of discrimination towards Afro-Swedes in various spheres in society. Even at EU level, studies indicated that Afro-Swedes experienced the most discrimination in society. ENAR shadow report on Afro-phobia in Europe found that, Afro-Swedes were the most discriminated minority when it came to access to employment:

In Sweden, 1 in 4 people of African descent with a university degree are in low-skilled jobs as they were unable to get a job, which matched their qualifications.\textsuperscript{160}

The above report like most of the data presented in this study reflect related or similar studies. For instance a later study conducted at EU level on minorities and discrimination in 2017, also shows that the situation of Afro-Swedes is as bad as it

\textsuperscript{159} See WGEPAD Report, \textit{Mission to Sweden}, 2015, para: 49.

was in 2014. The study also shows that not only were Afro-swarths discriminated in accessing jobs but also at work, access to restaurants and other public spaces et cetera.

### 3.6 Education and Health Care

The material also indicated repeatedly that, Afro-Swarths were also discriminated within learning institutions. Either by other students in schools, personnel and teachers. Moreover, parents to Afro-Swarths children experienced discrimination from the teachers in terms of approach and reception.

Other areas where Afro-Swarths experienced discrimination during interaction were general healthcare places especially hospitals. Female Afro-swarths who practice Islamic faith experienced discrimination during visits to gynaecological visits or maternity clinics. The results indicated that they experienced cultural conflicts during interaction with medical personnel.

The Swedish state has also acknowledged how such experiences as Afro-phobia contribute to the exclusion of Afro-Swarths in enjoying their human rights and participating in society. The state noted within its report to CERD on issues of Afro-phobia as quoted below:

The Equality Ombudsman has been tasked with carrying out awareness-raising initiatives on Afro-phobia in 2015 and 2016. Within the remit of this, the Equality Ombudsman has expanded knowledge in the form of quantitative and qualitative information on how Afro-phobia affects the access of Afro-Swarths to equal rights and opportunities.

### 3.7 Human rights; race fiction and the connection to the past

In December 1948 when the free world sat in Paris and documented the adoption of the UDHR, almost the entire black community and Africa whence Afro-

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164 See footnote,161, EU-MIDIS II, 2017, P. 34.
Swedes descend were still under servitude to imperial powers. One way of looking at the exclusive nature of this document where the human rights movement sits raises the question of “who was really human and how far did human rights protection extend? One may wonder and contemplate had not racism and genocide arrived within the midst of Europe, what could have been the fate of human rights today?

The ratification of the UDHR as an entitled universal instrument to protect human rights complicates the future of the victims of race biology (Afro-Swedes). In the sense that, psychological socialization that revolves around intergenerational established social norms were never psychologically deconstructed. Human beings have a tendency of adapting to their social climates and conditions, and so adapting or changing a social norm demands practice and commitment and may not be achieved by just signing a legally binding document. This can be related to the cases presented earlier of Badin and Sarah, that their great skills in culinary and art are not celebrated as part of the Swedish heritage due to their subhuman invisible socio-political position “slave”. According to the social context at the time, they were not fully human and therefore could not be afforded even a dignified burial. It is reasonable to say that the sub-humanity imposed on Makatemele and Badin is still a curse that characterizes those who share their ancestry (Afro-Swedes) despite reclaiming space within the human community.

4. Further Theoretical Analysis and Discussion:

This essay will now be further analysed broadly in relation to the theories employed within the study and interaction with the key concepts. The aim is to further develop what the empirical text has presented in connection with the theoreti-
cal framework as an interpretive tool while also consulting the other related scholars as mentioned earlier. It is through linking the empirical results and the theoretical framework that the study’s hypothesis may be reached.

4.1 Controversies around the term “race”

Ethnicity is one of the grounds for discrimination in the Discrimination Act (2008:567) and refers to a person’s national or ethnic origin, skin color or other similar circumstance. If discrimination occurs with reference to someone’s “race” or any other derogatory term referring to people with a foreign or Swedish background, this falls within the remit of what is meant by “other similar circumstance”. The Discrimination Act assumes that all people belong to the same race: the human race. The legislator judged that use of the word “race” might legitimize racist assumptions and confirm race as an existing category. The actual protection against discrimination has not been watered down by the fact that the Discrimination Act does not use the word “race”. This particularly applies in the light of the fact that the definition of the ground for discrimination of ethnicity not only include “national or ethnic origin” and “skin color”, but also “other similar circumstance”. It should be understood that this includes matters such as unfounded assumptions on “race”, attitudes based on sweeping references to perceptions of the characteristics, appearance or background of “immigrants” being used to justify an approach, […].

According to the above text, the Swedish state’s colour-blind approach towards racial/ethnical discrimination and xenophobia is rather controversial. It is controversial in the sense that on one hand, the government rejects the ideology “race” as a substance which is problematic, while on the other hand, the state recognizes that “racism” is a big issue in almost all spheres of society and needs to be dealt with accordingly. White supremacist or Neo-Nazi organizations like the Nordic Resistance Movement whose ideologies are based on racist white supremacist beliefs are legally active in Sweden. In addition, these organizations are active in public demonstrations and spread of racist propaganda against (immigrants) like

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Afro-Swedes.\textsuperscript{171} If it is constitutionally legal for such parties to co-exist in a democratic society, spreading propaganda through hate speech, how can we delete the very substance “race” as the root of their ideologies? With such a paradox with no clear motive or alternative mechanism to deal with race relations, it becomes a complex and problematic situation for the racialized. This controversy exemplifies how human rights come into conflict as the supremacists defend their freedom of expression while simultaneously the Afro-Swedes right to life and right to be protected from racial hate is violated.

The communities affected especially the Afro-swedes who experience racial discrimination have argued that, discarding the term “race” is more problematic, as it also complicates and undermines efforts to seek grants for projects whose focus is to deal with the very issue, “race”.\textsuperscript{172}

4.2 Afro-phobia as conditioned by the presence of the past; legacy of dehumanization

As shown earlier within the empirical data, Afro-phobia is one of the experiences that was identified in almost all the documents studied. To elaborate, the Baribarian 	extit{past in present} approach was applied. Balibar’s observation that, the present racialism is a legacy of the historical past of domination,\textsuperscript{173} characterized by dehumanization, slavery, oppression and subordination of black/African people seems to hold.

To support the causal effect of Balibar’s 	extit{the present in the past} in relation to Afro-phobia, the legacy of dehumanization will be elaborated. Accordingly, Afro-phobia as experienced by Afro-Swedes brings back the history of race biology highlighted within key concepts section. Race biology was a legally established scientific ideology\textsuperscript{174} that paved way for the creation of racial hierarchies and hence racism. However, with time research and activism, scientific racism was later renounced and adjusted to a notion of social construction even though the latter is

\textsuperscript{171} \textit{FN-förbundet, (UNA Sweden)}, founded in Stockholm, 1957, Alternative report to Sweden’s 22\textsuperscript{nd} & 23\textsuperscript{rd} periodical reports to the \textit{Committee on CERD}, 2018, p. 36.

\textsuperscript{172} \textit{Afrosvenskarna}, Alternative report to Sweden’s 19\textsuperscript{th}, 20\textsuperscript{th} & 21\textsuperscript{st} periodical reports to the \textit{Committee on CERD}, 2013, P. 5.

\textsuperscript{173} See Balibar, & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation, class}, 1991, p. 38.

\textsuperscript{174} See Pred, \textit{The past is not dead}, 2004, pp. 9-13.
built upon the former.\textsuperscript{175} With the renunciation of scientific racism, came the abolishment of slavery, colonialism and later the Universal declaration of Human rights (UDHR).\textsuperscript{176} Consequently, the declaration inspired the recognition of equality and integrity among the human race and inevitably the right to have rights as Arendt puts it.\textsuperscript{177} All these reforms took place in a relatively short period compared to the establishment of scientific racism that took centuries. It should be acknowledged that, the fabrication of racial hierarchies, justified by scientific racism was a universal movement, which governed race relations for generations through intellectual apparatus. Arguably, the deep roots that scientific racism spread universally targeting the oppression of African people, becomes a complex phenomenon to undo, as it demands resources and time, education and advocacy. Primarily, the prevailing discourses on race therefore demand reform in order to deconstruct the well-established social norms that had come to characterize race and the subordination of those conditioned to racial inferiority (Afro-Swedes).

Secondly, there is need for the presence of those bodies that were formally dehumanized onto the equality and human rights bargaining table. As the data observed, the presence of African bodies in spaces from which they were formally restricted creates identity conflicts bred by the repertoire of “othering”. It can be argued that, as the Afro-Swedes renegotiate their membership and right to have rights, the larger majority’s spaces, which have always been characterized by privilege becomes threatened by the reclaimed humanity of the formerly racially dehumanized, and hence, the reproduction of racism through Afro-phobic attacks.

It can also be explained through the concept “white privilege”\textsuperscript{178} as Bonilla-Silva has argued. In his effort to explain power and race relations, he has simplified racialized social systems to be, social structures that accommodate and eliminate bodies according to structural ethos. Within these structures, bodies that become white (European) are awarded privileges contained within those structures regardless of time space and location, while bodies that do not pass are excluded from

\begin{enumerate}
\item See Balibar & Wallerstein, \textit{Race, nation race.} 1991. P. 100.
\item Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.
\item See Bonilla-Silva, \textit{Racism without racists}, 2013, p.16.
\end{enumerate}
enjoying those privileges. Sarah Ahmed has emphasized on this claim as follows:

When a category allows us to pass into the world, we might not notice that we inhabit that category. When we are stopped or held up by how we inhabit what we inhabit, then the terms of habitation are revealed to us.

Ahmed seems to say that those who pass may not be aware of their privilege or the role of their bodies in relation to the bodies that do not qualify. Bonilla adds that, white privilege is global and does not depend on majority membership. White privilege therefore depends on the demographic presence of white bodies. This can explain how minority European powers managed to dominate native majority masses across the globe. In this context, Afro-Swedes visibility poses a threat to white privilege and those whose bodies are privileged, thus, employing afro-phobia as a counter-reaction.

4.3 Social-capital, stereotypes and othering

The material also indicated that the life experiences of Afro-Swedes are characterized by stereotypes. The dichotomous binary power of ‘us vs them’, and ‘othering’ as a significant social concomitant which shapes social relations and consequently affecting the ‘othered’ minority’s chances to access social-capital. Balibar has also observed the power of dualities and its effects on dividing and deconstructing social and cultural identities. The racial slurs and stereotypes associated to Africanness/blackness mentioned in this essay may also explain Afro-Swedes experiences of being stereotyped and racialized from the majority as ‘the other’.

To develop these assumptions, it can be argued that in order to access and build social-capital, inclusive potential capacity-building networks are essential. For Afro-Swedes as supposed emigrants, it is beneficial to integrate with the larger majority. This can be achieved by interactive efforts through schools, social

amenities and other affiliations. However, the empirical data demonstrates that, *de facto-social apartheid*¹⁸³ is the norm between Afro-svedes and the larger majority. Inevitably, this social distance of segregation confines Afro-Swedes (them) and the larger majority (us) within their respective socialization spheres. In other words, the ability for contact to build networks and gain social capital is blocked. With social distance the wall, which maintains the existing stereotypes cannot be deconstructed, and as a result prevailing stereotypes continue being the defining factor in the eyes of those who regard Afro-Swedes as ‘the other’.

Franz Fanon has argued that, constructing ‘the other’ is based on lack of opportunity for the racialized to define themselves or own their own narratives.¹⁸⁴ Fanon’s claim maybe true within the context of this essay. Afro-Swedes’ own voices have not been heard from their own authentic perspectives. There has always been a greater external power that has assumed their narratives and hence misplaced and deconstructed those narratives. Having been the ‘slave’, the ‘colonized’ and the ‘subordinated’¹⁸⁵, an external voice especially that of the colonizer has highly contributed to the misrepresentation of Africans. This can be explained by lack of representation and ignored ‘visibility’ of ‘Afro-Swedes’ as shown in the material. Afro-Swedes are under-represented within higher public spheres in society¹⁸⁶, especially within areas of political representation, which plays a great role when it comes to policymaking and matters that affect their welfare.

It could be argued that stereotypes do not emerge out of vacuums but rather as extensions of existing ideologies that are intellectually constructed. For instance, fabricated science manipulated masses of generations to believe in racial hierarchies, it also took efforts like exhibitions and human zoos through the years to convince especially western masses that there was indeed racial superiority and inferiority.¹⁸⁷ Such constructs will also need the same amount of time, determination and intellect to (de)construct. Prejudices especially based on such intellectual

fabrications are hard to deconstruct and overcome when there are no remedies to address them whenever (re)produced.

For instance, it took South Africa more than a century and democratic freedom to reclaim the human integrity of Sarah Baartman, a black woman whose genitalia was exhibited around Europe while she was alive and after her death. Stereotypes like those of Sarah, Badin, Makatemele, and other stereotypes on Africans, are still pretty much how Africans are viewed, a couple of centuries after legally renouncing racial hierarchy. Looking back at the 2012 painful cake displaying an African woman caricature among an all-white celebrative audience as the minster for culture scooped a piece. It is a reminder that, to deconstruct such painful stereotypes aimed at dehumanizing a people (group), it is important to look at their roots and then continually educate masses from an inclusive informed perspective, highlighting on their effects and giving the front platform to those affected to lead the dialogue.

4.4 Cultural racism and the declining significance of the race thesis

The material further demonstrates effects of racial structures in society. Departing from Bonilla-Silva’s structural racism, this thesis argues that racism may be well hidden in society but it pops-up when racialized ‘bodies’ occupy spaces that are not reserved for those ‘bodies’. The new racism does not necessarily demonstrate Nazism characteristics but rather it is unconsciously (re)produced through public discourses, cultural portraits, schools, museums, sports centres and other spaces.

188 See Pred, The past is not dead, 2004, p. 182.
189 See Pred, The past is not dead, 2004, p. 183.
190 See footnote 27, within the key concepts and Definitions section of this essay.
193 Pred, The past is not dead, 2004, p. 182.
Other examples of structural racism according to the material is the police racial profiling, racialized housing and job markets, how banks and other agents contribute to "white flight" and hence residential segregation. Furthermore, the material shows how Afro-Swedes experience racialized human capital as they tend to be over-represented in low-skilled jobs that do not equate their field of expertise or level of education.

Such experiences of racialization through clandestinely structured exclusion mechanisms are true experiences for Afro-Swedes in Sweden. More so, it becomes a complex manoeuvre to fight racism without visible racism. Such is a story to most Afro-Swedes as whenever they highlight racism, there is always a reminder that, they are trying to pull the race card. Both the victims and the accusers meet such accusations of “pulling the race card” with unwillingness to engage within the race discourse. Firstly, there is always a reminder that Sweden is a tolerant society that has contributed to fighting for ‘human rights’ and given refuge to many who have fled persecution. In other words, those pulling the race card should realise that the problem of race and power relations is not a problem that is relevant to Sweden and therefore no moral agency for race conversations.

Secondly, the discourse on race takes this study back to Fanon’s observation on the power in owning own narratives or being heard through own voices. This question relates to the plea by Afro-Swedes that, it is not yet time for the Swedish state to discard the term race. Race relations and racism are still discourses that demand agency and deconstruction as demonstrated by this essay’s material. However, as the minority affected have not been given a chance to present their views it may be generalised that the issue is not urgent. On one hand, it is a romantic conviction that all ‘human beings’ are ‘equal’, and they belong to one human ‘race’, on the other hand, racialized societies like, Husby, Alby, Rinkeby,

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194 See Schmauch, 2006, p. 82.
195 See Bonilla-Silva, Racism without racists, 2010, p. 36.
197 Raskortet, En dokumentär film om at vara svart I Sverige, dir. SVT, 2014, [Documentary].
199 See Fanon, Black skin, White masks, 2008, p.176.
200 See Afrosvenskarna, Alternative report to CERD, 2013, p. 5.
Tensta, Rosengård, 2013 project Reva, Gottsunda and the 2013’s Husby uprisings, are evident. All those are indications that there are ongoing racial irregularities in Sweden. As long as there is pressure for Afro-Swedes to change their names to ethnical Swedish sounding names in order to get jobs, there is need to pursue the discourse on race. It is only so, we can bridge the gap; consciously deconstruct racial hierarchies and the reproduction of racism by addressing and giving agency to race relations.

Departing from the above notions, the question of ‘identity’ and ‘whiteness’ as a prerequisite to ‘Swedishness’ cannot be ignored. Inclusivity and belonging are the supposed markers of identity and the security bestowed upon members of a community. However, in Sweden, it has been observed that being nonwhite is an automatic disqualification from Swedishness. So, how long is one an immigrant in Sweden? This is a dilemma affecting not only second-generation Afro-Swedes but also Afro-Swedish adoptees with white Swedish parents.

It may sound naive to assume that in the 21st century cultural homogeneity is a factor to determine membership within a cultural or political community. Globalization and migration has taken its course globally and demographical changes are inevitable. This is true for Sweden, as almost 20% of its population originates elsewhere. Immigration in Sweden was highly pronounced with high numbers starting with labor migration of the 60s and 70s, while civil wars and regional wars accelerated immigration figures from the 90s and recently with the Arab spring. The marginalized members of this group (immigrants) happen to be nonwhite but they do belong within the Swedish demography. What will be the implications of continuous internal exclusion based on ‘white and nonwhite’ duality even after second and third generations of having been members within the

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CERD, Concluding observations on the combined nineteenth to twenty-first periodic reports of Sweden, adopted by the Committee at its eighty-third session, 2013.


Swedish society? Historically, it has been observed that such scenarios have resulted in war, displacement and genocide, e.g. the European holocaust, (Rwanda, 94) Yugoslavia, 92, Kurdish persecution et cetera.

4.5 The role of social-heredity in the private-public binary sphere

The material also observed that the privatised spaces in Sweden are strategically linked with the public sphere where policies are made. The power given to private proprietors and property owners in the housing segment by municipalities plays a role in reproducing discrimination and racism. The property owners have the power to choose which bodies are welcome as consumers to lease their property. This is done by a long list of prerequisites, which tenants or buyers should meet in order to qualify as consumers.207

This kind of discrimination whereby the private-public binary becomes the tool of oppression has been featured in Feagin’s model of indirect institutionalized discrimination.208 For instance when leasing property or applying for a mortgage, one must be permanently employed, and retain a certain income value. Therefore, banks and property owners or municipalities become the main agents to consult within efforts to acquire a residence. To Afro-Swedes as the material indicates, this requirement becomes difficult to achieve, as they are mostly unemployed or temporarily employed.209 Another challenge that automatically disqualifies Afro-Swedes from becoming homeowners or potential tenants is the fact that they mostly occupy low wage unskilled occupations.210

The above-mentioned projections influence Afro-Swedes inability to enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms on equal basis as the larger majority. In the sense that those imposed structures, control their ability to choose the kind of place to live or the kind of life to pursue. As a result, they end up in neighbourhoods that are not so attractive (ghettoization) to those who enjoy economic freedom. It has also been observed that Afro-Swedes are mostly prone to ill health,211

207 See Bonilla-Silva, Racism without racists, 2010, P. 118.
211 See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 52.
and maybe this can be explained by their limited chances to take control of their own lives. Because of those structural obstacles, the structured exclusion mechanism within privatised and public spaces also influences ways through which their children are socialized. This reflects through the kind of education they can acquire through space and time. Afro-Swedes families and their children therefore can only have access to those facilities that are within their reach (ghetto neighbourhoods), in terms of educational facilities, recreational amenities and cultural participation. The cycle of determinants will be reflected in Afro-Swedes children’s adult life, which as the empirical data has shown is characterized by poverty and structural internal exclusion.212

Social-heredity as it is determined within family, cultural and educational background, will pave way for exposure and opportunities that Afro-Swedes will acquire in life. Feagin has observed that, the institutional and family life can determine the life chances of an individual in relation to socialization and social-capital.213 Therefore, if Feagin’s claim is something to go by, the Afro-sweeds second generation’s social-heredity will be reflected by, poverty and internal cultural exclusion. Social-distance from the larger majority, racial-stigma, and conflict of identity and belonging etcetera. Their residential areas are likely to be labelled as high-risk areas.214 This attracts negative policy monitoring mechanisms like ‘police profiling’. Someone’s home being ‘labelled’ a place of interest within negative light by law enforcement creates stigma and low self-esteem among its members. It also creates an estranged relationship and low confidence in law enforcement and the state, since the members feel targeted as criminals as ‘claims on police racial profiling’ have indicated according to Mulinari.215

### 4.5.1 Positioning the scene: Rethinking social-heredity

In order to analyse the intergenerational social-heredity cycle among Afro-Swedes according to the material, Feagin’s original model of how intergenerational white privilege circulates through generations has been modified. According to the

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modified table, poverty, racial stigma, cultural identity conflicts, racial stigma among other issues define the cycle by which racism is projected from one generation to the other.

Below is a contrastive modified model of Joe Feagin’s systematic intergenerational inheritance from the family tree; Intergenerational transmission of poverty, racial-stigma and exclusion as modified through the analytical interpretation of the researcher216:

**Social-heredity**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Circle</th>
<th>Inheritance of poverty, identity conflicts and racial-stigma, de facto social apartheid (Ghettoization), social-capital hindrance with larger majority due to social distance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community Circle</td>
<td>Creates family and friendship networks, however, with limited resources and poor capacity building mechanisms, renegotiation for cultural recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Circle</td>
<td>Obstacles in accessing economic, political, educational and legal representation on equal basis as the larger majority, distrust of law enforcement due to experiences of police racial profiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal Circle</td>
<td>Integration efforts becomes assimilation efforts, identity renegotiation processes are overwhelmed by dominant majority-oriented cultures, experiences of exclusion, discrimination, Afro-phobia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.

The table shows that within the family circle Afro-Swedes are characterised by poverty, ghettoization and lack of social-capital for networking among those spaces mainly occupied by the dominant majority. This is due to segregation and social distance that keeps them confined within limited spaces that are within their

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216 See original model, table 1, Feagin, 2006, p. 37, table 2 is a modified version of the original model by the researcher.
reach. Challenges like, poor educational performance,\textsuperscript{217} low wages (poverty), unemployment, poor health and inter alia, other structural obstacles are the experiential characteristics that first generation Afro-Swedes are likely to transmit to their descendants.

Within community circle, the table indicates that Afro-Swedes are likely to suffer from poor capacity building mechanisms due to their limited social infrastructure and inaccessibility to opportunities. Even though they might be potentially able to develop and empower themselves, lack of affluent resources within their communities’ obscure them from coming out of poverty. Instead of empowering themselves and enjoying their civil rights, they are in constant survival mode and need to renegotiate their spaces and belonging among the larger majority. Experiences of internal cultural exclusion are among the grievances that lead to collusion with the law as witnessed by the 2013 Husby tensions.\textsuperscript{218}

At Institutional level, the same characteristics as within community level are causally identifiable. Police racial profiling, lack of representation within political, cultural and economic spheres hold the future generations of Afro-Swedes within the same fate as the first generation. Efforts to break this cycle of internal exclusion and poverty is negatively influenced by lack of trust to the state and authorities for example, the ability of a racist party (SD) being in parliament and having a negative impact on policies that combat racism.\textsuperscript{219}

Finally, yet importantly, Afro-Swedes and their future generations have to deal with the stigma of racial discrimination, victimization by Afro-phobia, which affects them within various spheres in society, at work, school, and mobility in public spaces like restaurants among others.\textsuperscript{220} All the four divisions as spread out within the table show that the power structures and resource availability within communities influence their social-heredity. Institutions controlled by public and private spheres from which Afro-Swedes are excluded and the entire society contribute in framing and shaping the lives of intergenerational Afro-Swedes.

\textsuperscript{217} See Afrofobi, 2014, p. 85.
\textsuperscript{218} See WGEPAD, Mission to Sweden, 2015, para: 78.
\textsuperscript{219} See WGEPAD, Mission to Sweden, 2015, para: 18.
\textsuperscript{220} Feagin, J, Systemic racism: A theory of oppression, 2006, p. 36.
4.6 Migration and Human rights; us and them

Them versus us mechanism is used to dehumanize those that are different and hence justify their oppression. Judith Butler argues that, to oppress human beings, the oppressor must dehumanize his subjects to justify the oppression. Consequently, from a “them versus us” approach, they are not like us, they do not belong and therefore their lives cannot be equal enough for us to share their pains (exclusion), and for them to share our joys (human rights).

Looking back at history, Europeans including Sweden have been known to be the pioneers of migration. When Europe had little and needed expansion, they migrated to locations like, Africa, The Americas, and Australia among other regions to seek fortune. For example, the 18th century great migration of the Swedes to America and South Africa. In Africa, they neither sought nor asked for permission from the local communities who were habitat to those places. They just settled on their own accord and were accepted even though met with resistance initially. This early European immigration is what that paved way for current immigration from the various societies that the Europeans contacted historically.

According to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 in article 1, it states that:

\[\text{All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.}\]

This instrument claims for equality of dignity and rights among all human beings by virtue of being human, regardless of any other diverse instances or characteristics that may be deemed different. In other words, being human is the sole qualification one needs in order to claim and enjoy human rights.

Within the context of this essay, Afro-Swedes should enjoy the rights and freedoms within Swedish jurisdiction as their region of habitat. It is also reasonable

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to suggest that the human rights and immigration claim can be applied as a qualifying thesis for the application of multiculturalism policies that are inclusive to the minorities that inhabit Sweden (Afro-Swedes). In the sense that there are prevailing ties tracing the Swedish–African contact from as far as the 17th century thus, validating the Afro-Swedes claim of sharing a common heritage with the larger majority.²²⁵

5 Concluding Remarks

This essay’s main objective was to explain the life experiences of Afro-Swedes as they relate to race, social and power relations. Throughout the research process it has been brought to attention that Afro-Swedes experiences consist of renegotiating their visibility and hence inclusion within the Swedish society. The structural racial discrimination subjected to Afro-Swedes is consequently deeply rooted within the past in present as the analysis emphasizes. Afro-phobia, racial stigma, poverty and other issues that affect Afro-Swedes may be traced back to the legacies of historical injustices. For full internal cultural inclusion of the Afro-Swedes to take place, a political discourse and an intellectual dialogue aimed at deconstructing historical legacies that label Afro-Swedes inadmissible to certain spaces is urgent. Raising awareness on how those observed stereotypical labels that, lead to afro-phobia, racialize spaces they inhabit is needed.

Creating new spaces of inclusion by deconstructing those walls to which they were formally confined is an effort not be taken for granted. (Re) negotiating, their presence amongst the dominant majority is where the conversation should begin. Before this conversation, the parties (dominant majority and the entire society) must recognize Afro-Swedes legitimacy and humanity claim.

The empirical data has shown that Afro-Swedes visibility in certain spaces equate “Afro-phobia”. It should be borne in mind that, the human community and interconnectedness as conditioned by globalization and immigration as well as historical legacies of European exploration, has evolved into new stances of identity and

²²⁵ See Johansson Handelsfursten av Damaraland, 2001, pp.24-29
belonging with developed new iterations, which influence cultural and demographic diversity. Therefore, Afro-Swedishness is a resource per se to the Swedish society and not a means to an end.

Racism and colourism can only be deconstructed if there is a fundamental comprehension of how much blood certain stereotypes have caused certain human bodies. To include Afro-Swedes into enjoying their fundamental freedoms and human rights starts by deconstructing the race fiction and stigma through an inclusive approach. We must look back and address the root causes of racism and not the symptoms. Because it is within “race” that all the other symptoms like racism are deeply rooted. That is why it is dangerous to stop talking about “race” when race fiction as a product of race biology is well-established into social structures, norms and psychology.

Finally, yet importantly more research on migrant integration in Sweden is needed. It may sound hard to achieve but a study on why the generous Swedish multicultural policies have failed may be useful to explore. Maybe also a study of the larger majority and their experiences with Afro-Swedes may be enlightening to explore. Moreover, the complexity of this topic may inspire an advanced study beyond a Master thesis, which may be in a position to cover the topic exhaustively.
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