



WHITE BLACK **or** BROWN

Manual on active measures
related to skin colour

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For more information, contact:
Stockholm County Administrative Board
Social Development Unit
Tel: 010-223 10 00
E-mail: kitimbwa.sabuni@lansstyrelsen.se

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Introduction

In theory, promoting work for inclusion with regard to skin colour is similar to other organisational development in that the aim is to move from a present state to a desired future state. The planning, documentation and follow-up procedures are similar to those applied to other quality improvement work, yet in practice the difference is huge even compared to such a closely related field as promoting work for greater gender equality.

Because although Swedes like to see themselves as both equal and anti-racist, the difference is that for Swedes gender equality is a practice. This is something that is done in the form of an active policy in this area, the application of approaches such as gender integration and practical methods such as quick reference guides and checklists. Anti-racism, on the other hand, is almost seen as an essence. That is, it is something Swedes have by virtue of being Swedes. Promoting inclusion on the basis of skin colour is not only superfluous, it is unthinkable because it challenges the self-image of Swedes as being naturally anti-racist.

While there may be curiosity in people to explore the effects in themselves and on others of being insocialised in sexism and hetero normativeness, few want to investigate how we are affected by living in a world where racism has been a central part of shaping our understanding of existence and in structuring the world. For example, it is not uncommon for educators to investigate with great interest how they treat boys and girls differently, but few would like to examine with the same enthusiasm how they treat children differently on the basis of skin colour. Skin colour worries Swedes and ideally it should not be named at all. This reality briefly explains why this type of work is so rare in Sweden and that this is probably the first manual that addresses how to work to promote inclusion, with regard to skin colour, in a workplace adapted to Swedish legal and cultural conditions.

It was in the USA that practices, procedures and follow-up systems began to be created in order to work on diversity in the organisation in response to the civil rights movement's demands for rights and inclusion. Gender and skin colour were the two main grounds for discrimination in this work. Sweden is often singled out as perhaps the world's most equal country and it is possible that Sweden has overtaken the USA when it comes to promoting inclusion on the basis of gender, but based on skin colour there is no work at all. This is despite the fact that segregation in the labour market is greater in Sweden than in comparable Western European countries according to the OECD, among others, and that Sweden, as researcher Tobias Hubinette has shown, is among the countries in Europe where by far the largest proportion of the population deviates from the norm on the basis of skin colour.

In order for us to be able to take responsibility for this significant societal challenge in our workplaces, the whole philosophy of how visible minorities are understood in Sweden and the Swedish self-image as a country where skin colour does not matter needs to be challenged. Swedes who belong to visible minorities must begin to be regarded as citizens and rights holders instead of as migrants from underdeveloped nations in a permanent state of more or less unsuccessful adaptation to Swedish society. This involves questioning language, narratives and the conjectures on which these narratives are based. This includes, among other things, identifying the myriad of different ways we in Sweden talk about skin colour without having to do it through euphemisms, distortions or silences that mask that even in Sweden people have a skin colour and that it has relevance to how we are coded by others, as well as what location we have in society's racialised distribution of power, resources and privileges. I am thinking here of terms such as *immigrants*, *foreign-born*, *foreign background*,

non-Swedish appearance and the unclear *dark* or *dark-skinned* that could equally well refer to a black person or a typical person with a background from southern Italy.

The fact that you are now reading this manual means that you are a person who finds the subject interesting enough to want to learn more. It may also be that you are part of a working group that, with the aid of the manual, wants to start work to promote inclusion with regard to skin colour in your workplace.

In this manual, I will continue to refer to the reader as part of a “you”. That is to say, I assume that the reader is part of a working group that actually intends to use the methods in the manual at their own workplace. But even if that is not the case, don’t put the book down.

The manual is both a help for organisations that have come so far that they are prepared to live up to the law and work for inclusion with regard to skin colour and for all those who are curious and just want to learn more. This is not always an easy job, but the manual has come about with the certainty that this is something we absolutely must do if Sweden is not to be a country where skin colour determines people’s opportunities in the labour market.

Kitimbwa Sabuni
Development Manager
Stockholm County Administrative Board
February 2019

Background

This manual was born out of the Expand the Norm network's activities, which were part of the Stockholm County Administrative Board's work to promote equality and equal growth in the region. Expand the Norm addressed how restrictive norms about skin colour prevent Swedes who are coded as non-white from fully asserting themselves in Swedish working life. This is particularly true in the case of qualified or senior positions. When norms about skin colour lead to discrimination in the labour market, this is, of course, a form of racism and one might wonder why the initiative was launched to counter restrictive norms and not racism.

Racism is one of society's fundamental structuring mechanisms that regulate how people are superior and subordinated based on skin colour and the discussion of such a widespread phenomenon should not be so very dramatic. At the same time, however, great efforts have been made in Sweden to avoid the use of the category of racism and manifestations of racism are therefore named with other words, such as xenophobia, fear and ignorance, for example. Even the most aggressive discourses against people on the basis of skin colour are carefully dressed in a language that refers to us as foreign-born, immigrants or even "Swedish-born immigrant children" but never as Swedes who are not white. It is, of course, a language that makes racism invisible and protects the prevailing power structure. Nevertheless, it is language that has been used and it has had the effect that racism has taken on a very narrow meaning for many people as something that relates only to deliberate ideologically motivated discrimination, threats and acts of violence.

There is power in language and there is value in naming things in a way that challenges prevailing power structures, such as racism, sexism, funcophobia and LGBTQ phobia. At the same time, this is a manual that can be used and understood by a variety of users

and applied in practical work with an even larger number of people. I have therefore judged that it is important to start from where these people are and promote openness and understanding of a norm-critical way of thinking that may be new to many. In this manual, I have navigated between these two considerations and therefore use the term limiting norms about skin colour but also the term racism where I judge it appropriate and educational.

A new Sweden facing new challenges

In a relatively short time, Sweden has become one of Europe's most multiethnic countries on a par with countries such as the UK, France and the Netherlands. There is reason for us to have a self-image as an open and tolerant country, but at the same time we are one of the most ethnically segregated countries in Europe in terms of housing and in the labour market. Like few other countries, we have a glass ceiling where Swedes who, by virtue of their skin colour, break the norm for what a Swede looks like, find it difficult to advance to higher and more qualified positions.

As long as these Swedes, referred to in the manual as visible minorities, racialised or non-white, made up a limited part of the population, their low matching rate could be treated as just a matter of discrimination that could be dealt with by the judiciary, but today more than 20 per cent of Swedes belong to what are called visible minorities according to statistics from Statistics Sweden. The question of how these people's competence is not being utilised has gone from being a personal trauma to a huge waste of human resources and a threat to social cohesion.

The study Anti-black racism and discrimination in the labour market published by Stockholm County Administrative Board in collaboration with the Centre for Multi-Scientific Research on Racism studied the pay gap between white Swedes and Afro-Swedes, which is the most norm-breaking group in terms of

skin colour. It turned out that people born in sub-Saharan Africa or with at least one parent born in sub-Saharan Africa need to have a postgraduate education in order to receive the same average disposable income as a person born in Sweden who has completed a maximum three-year degree course. It also turned out that whether Afro-Swedes were born in Sweden or abroad does not play a significant role in their salary levels, which are equally far behind those of white Swedes regardless of their country of birth. The study concludes that Swedish-born people with a 3-year degree course in the rest of the population have 150 percent of the gross salary of Swedish-born Afro-Swedes with a 3-year degree course.

In the UK, unlike Sweden, there is a history of being open about skin colour playing a role in people's opportunities in the labour market. Business executive Baroness Ruby McGregor-Smith was tasked with developing a guide to how employers should combat discrimination against visible minorities and noted in the resulting report, *Race in the workplace*, that there is discrimination and bias at all stages of the careers of visible minority people, even before it begins. From networks to recruitment and once the person has entered the labour market, discrimination is there. Visible minority people lack role models, they are more likely to perceive the workplace as hostile, they are less likely to be promoted to higher positions and they are judged more harshly.

Largely because of external influences, such as the EU's so-called race directive 2000/43/EC, Sweden still has useful legislation in this area. In addition, in 2017, the discrimination legislation was updated and now emphasises that active measures must be taken by employers on all seven grounds for discrimination, where skin colour falls under the larger designation ethnicity. The updated law shifts the focus from having to draw up plans to the employer having to document, and thus be able to demonstrate, actual measures. The legislation is based on an understanding that discrimination cannot be combated simply by the law's explicit prohibition but that measures for change on the part of the employer are an absolute necessity.

ACTIVE MEASURES

Section 1 Active measures means preventive and promotional work to combat discrimination within an organisation and otherwise promote equal rights and opportunities regardless of gender, transgender identity or expression, ethnicity, religion or other beliefs, disability, sexual orientation or age.

On the Discrimination Ombudsman's website www.do.se there is a guide to how employers can work on active measures. It explains that work on active measures should cover five areas.

- Working conditions
- Provisions and practice regarding pay and other conditions of employment
- Recruitment and promotion
- Training and other skills development
- Opportunities to reconcile parenting and work

It is also stressed that the active measures should cover all seven grounds for discrimination: gender, gender identity or expression, age, religion or other beliefs, disability, sexual orientation and ethnicity. In the legislation, ethnicity refers to an individual's national or ethnic origin, skin colour or other similar circumstance. However, even among employers who are familiar with the law's requirement for active measures, only a tiny proportion have the knowledge and procedures in place to be able to work on active measures for inclusion on the basis of skin colour. Active measures do not mean random activity that is not evaluated but evidence-based, goal-driven work to promote inclusion and combat discrimination on the basis of skin colour.

Act (2016:828)

- There is a duty to apply active measures so as to guarantee the enjoyment of human rights
- Active measures shall be necessary, legitimate, proportionate and respect the principle of fairness and take into account both individuals and groups
- Needs shall be evaluated using data that distinguishes by race, skin colour and ethnic origin
- Since the measures should only be in place for as long as they are needed, there must be a system in place for follow-up

From the UN Convention on Racial Discrimination, ratified by Sweden in 1966



Diagram of how work on active measures should work according to the Discrimination Ombudsman.

This reality is problematic but not surprising given that Sweden as a country has no habit of public discussion about skin colour and its social, political and economic consequences for people.

The discussion that has existed has consigned these issues to the debate on migration and integration, which labels all Swedes belonging to visible minorities as foreign-born or as newly arrived refugees. As these are the only existing bureaucratic categories, it is also how visible minorities are understood when any measures are devised to address their situation in the labour market. This renders invisible especially highly qualified persons from the group visible minorities because they are rarely newly arrived refugees or necessarily born abroad. Their barriers in the labour market are not about a lack of human capital or weak Swedish language skills. This is about something else that is not addressed sufficiently today by politicians, employers or trade unions.

All this demonstrates the need to extend existing efforts so as to create an inclusive labour market. We need to find ways to create fairer recruitment procedures, but also ways in which more inclusive working environments can be created that are not characterised by normative whiteness.

AGENDA 2030

There are many reasons for working against the effects of restrictive norms about skin colour in working life, but the strongest are linked to human rights. Sweden has declared that we shall be a leader in the implementation of the 17 Global Goals for Sustainable Development in Agenda 2030, which were adopted by the UN and aim to make human rights a reality for all. Two of the goals relate directly to working life in the form of goal 8 “to promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment with decent working conditions for all” and goal 10 “to reduce inequalities within and between countries”. These goals can only be complied with if Sweden has adequate promotion of anti-discrimination and equal rights and opportunities.



Exercise!

My seat on the bus

Tid: 30 minuter

This exercise is an adaptation of the whiteness researcher Peggy McIntosh's exercise "The invisible knapsack" which is meant to highlight the importance of skin colour in our everyday lives. If you are a larger group of twelve or more, get the employees to sit cinema style. Then ask the participants to listen carefully while you read the six statements on the right. They will then consider how many of the six claims are true for themselves. You can also show the statements on a screen using a projector.

Make sure it is possible for all participants to raise their hand and move around in the room. Then ask the participants for whom all six claims are correct to stand up or raise their hand so they are visible to the rest of the group. Ask them to take a place in the front row. If others are already in these places, they must make room. Then ask participants for whom five statements are correct to stand up or raise their hand and then take a seat in the row behind. Continue until you reach the participants for whom zero answers are a match. If the group is mixed in terms of skin colour, it is very possible that you will have a visual effect similar to that in a racially segregated bus where people sit separated based on their skin colour.

Next, open for discussion about the experience. If the exercise works as intended, it shows that even here in Sweden, skin colour plays a role in the way that visible minorities need to relate to the fact that they have a skin colour, because that knowledge is important to them when navigating their way through everyday life, while white people have the privilege of not having to think about their skin colour because it does not have negative effects for them. This privilege can easily translate into a belief that skin colour does not actually matter and that work to promote inclusion with regard to skin colour is not therefore needed.

Use the remaining time to discuss the exercise. If you have very few participants or are homogeneous in terms of skin colour, you can skip the part where the participants place themselves in the chair rows based on how they respond.

STATEMENTS

1. *I can behave inappropriately without worrying about people thinking that people of my skin colour generally have poor morals.*
2. *I rarely talk (or rarely think about talking) to the children in my life about how they can be perceived by others because of their skin colour.*
3. *I can be pretty sure that if I ask to speak to the manager, I will be dealing with a person of my skin colour.*
4. *If a police officer or shop inspector stops me, I can be sure I haven't been selected because of the colour of my skin.*
5. *Areas where there are many people with my skin colour are generally considered "good" areas.*
6. *If I happen to have a negative experience, I rarely ask myself if it has anything to do with my skin colour.*

Explanation of terms

The conversation about restrictive norms about skin colour in the workplace is so new in Sweden that several terms need to be explained in more detail for a correct understanding. The term racism is already disputed, where the struggle from various quarters to conquer and define the meaning of the word has led to confusion. The term skin colour may seem quite obvious but needs to be clarified on closer examination for a correct and common understanding.

SKIN COLOUR

According to the Discrimination Act, the grounds for discrimination in terms of ethnicity are to be understood as “national or ethnic origin, colour or other similar circumstance”. The term skin colour is thus used in Swedish legislation, but no further explanation is given. The case is also made more difficult because Sweden is one of the few countries in the world that has removed the term race from its legislation with a justification, based on a dubious understanding of the modern concept of race, that it is something that alludes to biology when it is actually to be understood to be a social phenomenon constructed by people. Without socially constructivist understanding, the term skin colour also becomes difficult to understand because it is not actually literally a question of the nuance of people’s skin colour. The most taken for granted categories for skin colour are black and white, even though it is obvious that nobody actually has skin this colour. The skin colour category brown is less commonly used and designations such as red and yellow have a dated sound and are hardly used at all. Nevertheless, it is clear that there are more than two skin colour categories because in Anglo-Saxon countries, where people are more accustomed to talking about skin colour, the term “people of colour” is used as a collective term for all people who are coded as non-white.

We humans place each other in different skin colour categories and attach social importance to these through a process called racialisation. When we shall reproduce these categorisations in language in order to discuss racism and map its effects, we use the categories white and black in a way that coincides with people with European and sub-Saharan African

origins respectively. The other common skin colour categories are instead referred to by the geographical origins their bearers are linked to: Middle Eastern background, East Asian and Latin for people with a background in Latin America.

The postcolonial researcher, Michael McEachrane, argues convincingly that skin colour not only indicates the colour of a person’s skin in the Afro-Swedish National Association’s alternative report to Sweden’s 22nd and 23rd report to the UN Committee on Racial Discrimination. It is not always because of the colour of their skin that, for example, East Asians or North Africans are discriminated against in Sweden; many of them may have skin that is lighter than people who are coded as white. When we talk about people in terms of skin colour, we refer more generally to people’s appearance and their supposed origins. In other words, we can either interpret skin colour literally, where it loses its social meaning and thus becomes uninteresting from a discrimination point of view, or we give it a social constructivist meaning that is more in line with what English speakers refer to when they talk about “race”.

RACIALISATION

Skin colour as a social category can thus almost be understood as race as it is used in English, which does not allude to biology or the essence of people, but is something we humans create in social interaction with each other. Therefore, it is helpful to describe the creation of skin colour as a social process that in the formation of theory has come to be called racialisation. Racialisation means the processes and practices through which people are seen in terms of race. That is to say, because of their appearance, people are attributed certain group characteristics that are derived from society’s ideas of race based on history and the contemporary context.

Without the process of racialisation, skin colour would not have had any social meaning and thus would have had no impact on people’s lives nor been the basis for discrimination. Skin colour would not have had a place in discrimination legislation and this manual need not have been written.

The process of racialisation is dynamic and changes in different eras and geographical locations. People who are racialised as white in Latin America are racialised as non-white in Sweden, and the United

States, for example, has seen several ethnic groups that previously fell outside the prevailing norm of whiteness become racialised as white, such as Eastern Europeans, Southern European, and European Catholics and Jews.

Even though the process of racialisation is variable in time and space, it is constant and ongoing everywhere in the world. This means that all employees of an organisation – you too – are racialised in that they are ascribed certain attributes on the basis of their skin colour. Therefore, you are all involved in strategies and negotiations to deal with the taboo around skin colour and the constant but often veiled questions regarding employees' legitimacy, competence, voice and role in the workplace linked to skin colour.

Notice that people who are coded as white are thus also racialised, but since the norm is to be white, white people pass as "neutral", that is to say as just people, while those who fall outside the whiteness norm are perceived as people of a specific skin colour. In this manual, I use the term racialised in its more mundane sense as a term for people who, by their appearance, are racialised as non-white.

WHITENESS

The scientific concept of whiteness is derived from the research field of critical racial studies. It can be summed up as all the implications that follow from being defined as white by oneself and others. The study of whiteness is a way of highlighting that racism not only has an impact on people who are racialised downwards in the racial hierarchy, but that racism also has very tangible effects on white people as well. Without the study of whiteness, it would be difficult to understand why racism has been such a central part of modernity and has stuck for centuries. The study of whiteness shows how white people have an investment in racism because racism benefits them materially and emotionally. Whiteness researcher Peggy McIntosh notes that Whiteness is a position in a hierarchy characterised by structural advantages. Whiteness is also a point of view or place from which white people look at themselves, at other, and at society. Finally, whiteness is a set of cultural practices that, for the most part, remain unnamed and unproblematic, which is why they appear neutral and are thus favoured.

Whiteness is the dominant position on a global level relative to other skin colour positions. This means that whether you as a white person are in Stockholm, Sao Paulo or Kampala, the world around you is shaped in a way that meets your norms and beliefs and your skin colour gives you access to structural power as it is associated with competence and moral superiority and is the very norm of what is considered humanity.

The idea of whiteness is about admitting that white is one among other skin colour categories even though it is privileged and dominant. This means that white people's experiences and perspectives cannot claim universality. How we are coded on the basis of skin colour affects our experiences because it affects how others treat us and our access to structural power. It affects how we are socialised. These filters of experience are what we see the world through and therefore it matters who is involved and helps to create knowledge. We humans have different collective references depending on our skin colour and different conclusions are closer to hand for us because of this. The difference between a white and a non-white person is often that the non-white person, who is racialised downwards and is thus disadvantaged, thinks much more about issues of skin colour and racism. For example, it is much more common for non-white people to find that they need to talk to their children about skin colour and how it will affect their lives than for white people. Thus, they are often better prepared to deal with and discuss issues related to skin colour and racism.

This is not to say that white people and non-white people can never understand each other or that all whites and non-whites think the same way. It just means that it is important to admit that our experiences relating to skin colour characterise us and are important, just like our experiences relating to gender, sexuality, class, functionality and other social identities.

It must also be emphasised that whiteness is not the same as "white people" and that whiteness should not be seen as a moral judgment of white people. Rather, it is a product of our history and of contemporary discrimination which places white people in a different social category from those coded as non-white. We cannot blind ourselves to the effects of this if we are serious about dealing with restrictive

norms relating to skin colour in the workplace. White people can also be allies in the fight against whiteness. It is simply a question of being serious about wanting to combat racism.

COLOUR BLINDNESS

We live in a cultural paradigm in Sweden that can be called “colour blindness”. That is, Swedes see themselves as people who do not allow themselves to be influenced by skin colour when making judgments about people. Instead, people are guided by the conviction that racism is wrong and therefore they should not only think but also practise colour blindness. The problem with this philosophy is that people are not “blind” to the skin colour of others. Swedes, like most other people, have mental models that divide people into categories to which we assign characteristics and that roughly follow the same racial pattern that has applied over the past five hundred years. These mental models are intimately linked to modernity and the European expansion that began with the colonisation of America and the transatlantic slave trade. Even if Swedes had been colour blind, which we are not, we still live in a society that is characterised by great inequality between people in access to power and resources depending on the colour of their skin. A colour blind approach denies this reality and makes it impossible to take action to deal with and counteract the effects of structural discrimination. Colour blindness acts as a general political guideline of the type of discrimination that can be seen and recognised by society and there is no room for skin colour-based discrimination.

The American sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva believes that the ability of racism to survive is due to the fact that it constantly comes in new versions that are adapted to cultural changes. Today we live in an age where the hegemonic way of thinking tells us that racism is wrong. People should not have advantages over others because of their skin colour. Then colour blindness comes in as an ideology that paradoxically enough cements the skin colour-based inequalities we have inherited and reproduces them because we are deprived of the languages and glasses we need to be able to take into account people’s different experiences and positions based on skin colour and design the necessary measures that address discrimination on the basis of skin colour. Thus, colour

blindness is not anti-racism, but rather the latest iteration of racism. It runs counter to the message of discrimination legislation, which recognises the category of skin colour and which must be highlighted in order to promote active measures against discrimination on the basis of skin colour.

RACISM

In Sweden, the category of racism has been reduced to being used only to denote startling acts carried out with intent by an ideologically motivated perpetrator. Thus, racism is primarily linked to the kingdom of hate crimes, i.e. threats, violence, vandalism and harassment of visible minorities with obvious ideological motives. Deliberate discriminatory acts such as refusing racialised people entry to a restaurant can also qualify as racism in this view, which otherwise essentially prevents us from seeing how racism operates in everyday life and how we are all involved in producing and maintaining racist structures.

Instead of the predominant, limited understanding of racism, this manual is based on a scientific definition of the phenomenon developed by people who have actually devoted their lives to studying and theorising about racism. Bonilla-Silva believes that racism should be understood as a structured network of social relations at a cultural, political, ideological and economic level that affects the life opportunities of different groups in a given society. These racial structures reward those who are construed as white while punishing those who thereby become non-white.

He also believes that racism as a racial privilege structure is legitimised and maintained in different ways over time and it is its ability to adapt to cultural changes that has allowed racism to survive for so long. It is therefore pointless to try to understand or combat today’s racism by focusing on the narratives and methods that maintained white supremacy historically, such as the belief in racial biology and the ravages of the Ku Klux Klan. Instead, Bonilla-Silva shows that today’s racism is perpetuated in a cultural climate where racism is considered morally reprehensible and that encourages colour blindness, and it is the colour blindness itself that protects racism as a system of privilege. You don’t do anything about something you can’t see.

DISCRIMINATION

In 2018, Jennie Bacchus Hertzman, Cecilia Månsson and Hélio Manhica presented a literature review of the situation of foreign-born people in the labour market. They found that the matching rate was far lower for overseas immigrants than for those with a background in Europe. Employers tend to make decisions about employment and promotion based on stereotypes of characteristics such as skin colour, clothing styles and religious attributes, instead of assessing the person's human capital.

Skin colour-based discrimination in the labour market can be divided into two forms: statistical and institutional discrimination. Statistical discrimination includes preconceptions and stereotypes about a particular group that affect how they are treated. In the labour market, it may be that employers' decisions are based on their beliefs and opinions about a particular group instead of the individual's characteristics, as described above.

In his chapter in the anthology *Cross & across: intersectionality and power in the working life of the city*, Anders Neergard points out that recruitment is often perceived as a simple linear practice that results in the most qualified person getting the job. Instead, recruitment procedures themselves can systematically affect different people in different ways, and thus be discriminatory. It also means that recruitment procedures, conversely, can also counteract discrimination. Since the basis of institutional discrimination exists precisely in regulations and structures, discrimination forms part of how working life is designed and can arise regardless of original intentions. Institutional discrimination can be described as seemingly neutral recruitment requirements that affect different groups in different ways, or when certain rules, procedures or instructions within a social system have had intended or non-intended discriminatory consequences, according to sociologist Jens Rydgren. Even when employers use a formal process in which jobseekers are seemingly treated equally, the job requirements used can work in a way that rejects visible minorities without the job requirements having any real validity. They then serve as a way to reject certain people instead of as a measure that actually presupposes success at work. A common example is the frequent requirement for "good Swedish".

This requirement is discriminatory when the tasks for the specific job do not always require the level of communication indicated in the advertisement, and because it is vaguely described and allows for arbitrariness on the part of the employer. Another is the Swedish inability to adequately evaluate education and qualifications acquired outside Europe and the rest of the Western world.

Probably the most significant form of institutional discrimination is that so much of the recruitment takes place through informal channels as opposed to, for example, through the Swedish Public Employment Service, job advertisements or other formal recruitment methods. Informal contacts are found among relatives, friends and personal networks. The majority of recruitment in Sweden is done through network recruitment and not in formal application processes. The Swedes who are in the role of "gatekeepers" such as managers, HR staff and recruiters are predominantly white Swedes and have white networks. When they recruit from networks or recruit on feelings, it is a given that they will reproduce a form of homosociality in the organisations based on skin colour rather than gender.

Sima Wolgast showed in her dissertation *How does the job applicants' ethnicity affect the selection process?* that professional recruiters treat people with "Swedish-sounding" and "Arabic-sounding" names differently in the recruitment process. With job seekers of "Arabic" origin, recruiters of "Swedish" origin focused more on whether the job seeker has integrated into the cultural norms and values of the group and how well they fit into a working group. However, when job seekers were from their own group, recruiters focused more on matters that examined the applicant's job-specific abilities and skills. Since the recruiters themselves stated that they value more highly interviews that focus on job-specific abilities, the conclusion is that those who have had to devote their interview time to talking culture are disadvantaged.

INTERSECTIONALITY

The term intersectionality comes from the word intersection (crossroads). Its author, the lawyer Kimberlé Crenshaw, imagined the intersection as a metaphor for intersectionality where the roads represent different social identities, and that unique situations of vulnerability arise at the intersection where the roads meet. An intersectional perspective is based on the idea that within a social group there are divisions. Within the group of white Swedes, for example, there are men, women, and non-binary people. An intersectional perspective suggests that these divisions are hierarchical, i.e. subgroups have different amounts of power. For example, in most societies, men as a group are superior to women, and both women and men are superior to non-binary people. An intersectional analysis highlights how different power structures interact and affect individuals and groups depending on which social groups they are attributed to.

An intersectional perspective is based on the idea that social groupings are derived from the body – such as gender, age, skin colour, ethnicity, sexual orientation – or to social position – such as class, place of residence, citizenship status etc. – and that the group subdivisions are constructed. That a grouping is constructed means here that it is both descriptive – it describes how something is – and normative – it describes how something should be. In this manual, I will take an intersectional perspective to racism in the workplace. In the section Do you can learn how to use an intersectional analysis in practice.



Friction and benefits

A prerequisite for working intersectionally is to become aware of the privileges you carry with you. When we fit into different norms, we automatically get certain advantages, such as being taken seriously, that we can feel safe when we move outside and in our home, that the protective equipment is adapted to our bodies, and so on. When you do not fit into a norm, friction occurs. Friction can be noticed by feeling different, questioned, singled out or invisible. It can also be noticed by being subjected to threats and harassment, or not having access to social functions. Most people have experience of both benefits and friction. In most social situations, our perception of friction and benefits is affected by several categories at the same time. Finding out how you perceived friction and benefits will help you use intersectional glasses in the work against racism in the workplace.

Purpose: To investigate the benefits we have in society depending on the norms we fit into, or which groups we belong to. To be able to actively relate to your privileges and illustrate how benefits and friction are created in the meeting with others.

BENEFINTS	FRICTION
Considered normal	Considered strange or abnormal – feel left out or different
Don't need to explain yourself	Need to explain yourself, defend yourself or get out
Get taken seriously, get confirmation	Not taken seriously, get questioned or become invisible
Security	Become subjected to discrimination, mockery, hate crimes, harassment, violence or fear of being victimised
Access to resources, locations, and activities	Limited access to resources, locations, and activities
Gaining status	Being stigmatised

1. Draw the table below on a board or flipchart. If you wish, you can replace or add social groupings to the table.
2. Think for a few minutes about whether you have experience of benefits in relation to the different social groupings, and tick often, sometimes or rarely.
3. If you do the exercise in a group, share examples with each other of when you have experienced benefits or friction.
4. Discuss the questions on the right in the group.

EXPERIENCE OF BENEFITS	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY
Gender			
Gender expression			
Skin colour			
Ethnicity			
Class			
Educational level			
Place/area of residence			
Family			
Functional ability			
Age			
Language			

QUESTIONS

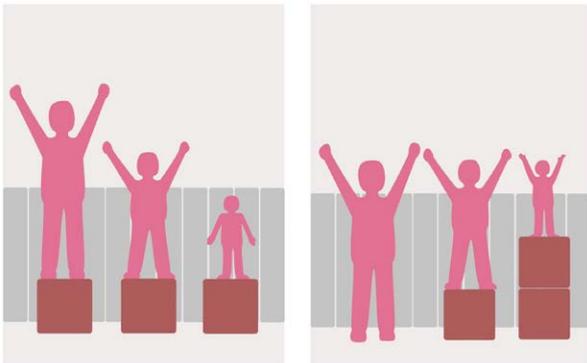
- *Have you discovered any new benefits that you didn't think you had?*
- *Do you make a distinction between how benefits/friction affect you in your professional role and in the rest of your life?*
- *How do your benefits in a social group – such as your gender or age – affect your experience of benefits and friction in other groups?*
- *Which social groups' friction is most difficult for you to understand?*
- *Which social groups' friction and benefits are most often forgotten in your work?*
- *In what ways can understanding your benefits help you create the conditions for a more equal and inclusive organisation?*

Equality

It has become accepted to divide the work for greater inclusion into gender equality (equality between men and women) and equality, which has become a collective name for the same efforts linked to all the other grounds for discrimination. When you work on active measures to promote inclusion and combat discrimination on the basis of skin colour, it is important that you have defined what is meant by equality.

Most people agree that equality is desirable, but where we differ is how we define the phenomenon. Three types of equality are distinguished: The first is equal treatment, which assumes that as we are formally equal, we should be treated equally without taking into account any characteristic or circumstance that separates us from each other. The second is called equal opportunities and is about society trying to create a level playing field for everyone to compete on, for example by making higher education free. The third form is equality in outcome which is also sometimes called material equality.

In order to support the idea of active measures, so as to offset the effects of historical and contemporary discrimination, we must have an understanding of equality as something that goes beyond formal equality. This is in many ways a philosophical question, but it is quite clear that Swedish society is based on principles derived from the latter two ideals of equality. This can be seen in our general welfare policy, which is intended to compensate for the limitations of formal equality and create what we perceive as a more equal and therefore fairer society. This can also be seen in our discrimination legislation, which opens the way for active measures.



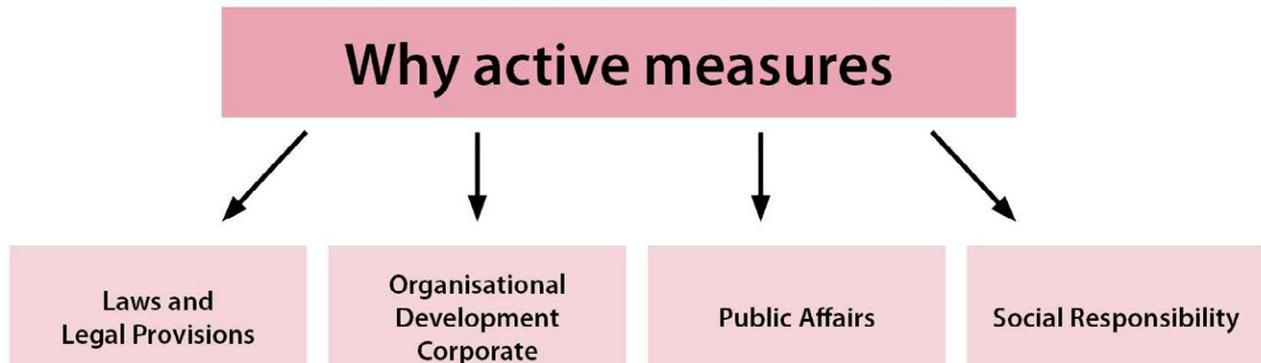
The illustration shows the difference between formal equality (left) and material equality (right).

Exercise!

Gender equality and equality

Read out the gender equality policy goal adopted by the Swedish Government: "Women and men shall have the same power and opportunities to shape society and their own lives".

1. Discuss how the goal relates to the three different understandings of equality.
2. Then read these words aloud: "Swedes shall have the same power and opportunities to shape society and their own lives regardless of skin colour".
3. Discuss why this wording is not the basis for any policy at all and that the equality agenda on the basis of skin colour has so much lower ambition than the gender equality agenda.



Arguing for active measures

The most pressing argument for active measures is the promotion of equality and justice and is based on the human right not to be discriminated against. Unfortunately, this is rarely enough to convince everyone, since organisations and companies operate in a competitive environment where different priorities counter each other and decision-makers think in more crass and less principled terms when making their considerations. So for those of you who want to endorse active measures or make a decision to use them, it is good to know that there are many more reasons why companies and organisations come to the conclusion that inclusion in terms of skin colour is so important that it justifies measures to promote it.

You can also argue for active measures with a more businesslike approach because active measures can range from a way of ensuring compliance with the law and avoiding negative legal consequences to a form of organisational development that provides a more well-functioning organisation which delivers better goods and services. Successful active inclusion measures can also improve the organisation's relationships with the world at large, as these become increasingly internationalised and characterised by diversity. Finally, reference can be made to the social responsibility of the company or organisation.

ARE ACTIVE MEASURES NECESSARY

The question can be asked whether active measures are necessary or whether discrimination on the basis of skin colour can only be combated with prohibitive legislation. The answer is that attitudes and

perceptions change slowly and active measures have proved to be a tool that can make significant changes to restore imbalances in the short and medium term. Sometimes the only way to confront deep-rooted structural discrimination is in a way that achieves results within a reasonable time. Active measures are also effective where historical discrimination has an impact on the present or where contemporary discrimination is systematic, structural and embedded in the institutions. In such circumstances, we have equal treatment of different cases, which works in such a way as to maintain the discriminatory structure.

Since recruitment is influenced by the context in which we live, its processes are of course affected by the restrictive norms relating to skin colour that apply in society. Yet there is a strong tendency to believe that meritocracy works well and that people are generally rewarded based on their talent and ambition. However, research shows that recruitment does not work more meritocratically for jobseekers of different skin colours and, as discrimination is a form of market failure, prevention of discrimination is not only morally correct but also a way of making the labour market work better. A better sense of reality would be one that asks whether recruitment decisions should continue to be based on exclusion mechanisms against different groups such as visible minorities. Given how recruitment actually works, the argument against active measures is not a defence of justice, but an exercise in abstract liberalism that defends existing discriminatory practices and structures.

Exercise!

Condoleezza, Brent and father and son Bush – an exercise about competence and meritocracy

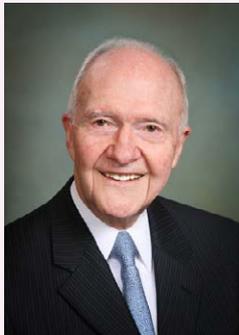
Condoleezza Rice is a professor at the prestigious Stanford University and former Secretary of State of the United States of America. She has a brilliant career behind her that contrasts with what is expected of a person with her background. She is a black woman born in 1954 into a family of limited means in the then racially segregated state of Alabama. In addition to gaining a doctorate in political science at the age of 26, Condoleezza is a skilled pianist and speaks fluent Russian and French. She was considered by many to be the most competent person in President George W. Bush's administration.

In a candid interview, with former Swedish Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt, Condoleezza turned against the idea that she or anyone else could be the

product of their ambitions and talents alone. She said that as a young assistant professor at Stanford, she was noticed by Brent Scowcroft, who was then national security adviser to President George H. W. Bush. He recruited her to work in the first Bush administration and then became a mentor to her. Without him, she would never have had the career she had, she said. Condoleezza's boss when she was secretary of state was George W. Bush. He was a mediocre student and businessman but still went further in his career than Condoleezza. His entire life was full of positive interventions from influential older white men like Brent Scowcroft, and not least from his own father President George H. W. Bush.



Condoleezza Rice



Brent Scowcroft



George H. W. Bush



George W. Bush

TO DO:

Let the participants sit in pairs and discuss the career paths of mediocre student George Junior and top student Condoleezza. Then let them tell you if they can remember any Brent Scowcroft moments in their own lives where they have been given openings or opportunities that have helped them in their careers thanks to help from others or other circumstances beyond their own control. Then let those who wish to share with the whole group.

FRAMING THE QUESTION

In a situation where people argue for promotion of inclusion in terms of skin colour, it may be useful to know that research shows that people's attitudes towards active measures are strongly influenced by how the question is framed. Right now, a very partisan understanding of active measures dominates as something that collectively benefits minority people in an undeserved way at the expense of the majority. According to this colour and gender blind viewpoint, equal treatment can only be based on an individualistic premise and no account can be taken of the fact that people are actually discriminated against on the basis of group affiliation and not as individuals and that discrimination therefore needs to be tackled collectively. It is no accident that this skewed approach has become so widespread, given that active measures are still being challenged politically and there are strong interests that wish to maintain the status quo. The way in which the question of active measures is framed must therefore be understood more as part of a discourse between opposing interests than something that says anything about what active measures are really about.

So despite contemporary and historical discrimination making "different" treatment necessary in certain situations so to achieve equality, the approach that portrays people as individuals disconnected from all structural constraints continues to dominate and shape contemporary discussions about active measures. Equal treatment according to this approach should be understood as procedural equal treatment regardless of the history and circumstances surrounding the person. Any action that takes into account people's vulnerability as a group is therefore almost always treated with suspicion. Therefore, be prepared for the discussion in the organisation to take time and that what is to be endorsed goes against much of what people have learned to take for granted about meritocracy, the individual's possibilities and the individual's own responsibility for outcomes.

Approach

This methodological manual counteracts skin colour-based discrimination by strengthening employees' competence to address restrictive norms and practices on the basis of skin colour. Pedagogically, it takes its starting point in implementation theory that assumes that the implementer understands, wants and can carry out a task for good implementation. To achieve this aim, the rest of the manual is based on the four parts "learn", "make visible", "draw up an action plan" and "do". It is also important that you, as a user of the manual, understand that it is necessary to go through these parts of the manual sequentially for a correct understanding.

In **LEARN**, you will learn more about how restrictive norms relating to skin colour work in the workplace. It is also an endorsement of the questions that will provide motivation for continued learning and concrete work to implement the action plan.

MAKE VISIBLE is about applying different analytical categories and quantitative methods to make visible the effect of restrictive norms and practices relating to skin colour, but also to be able to follow up on the effects after a more normative way of working with active measures is introduced. Thus,

at this stage, different categories and administrative practices are established for the follow-up and evaluation of actions that promote equality and combat discrimination with regard to skin colour.

According to implementation theory, *Do follows Make visible*, but of course the doing should be based on an analysis and carefully balanced planning where needs are set against resources and capacities and reformulated into measurable goals to be achieved through the completion of specific activities. This is why the section *Do* is preceded by the section **DRAW UP AN ACTION PLAN**.

DO presents examples of things that organisations can do to address deficiencies that have emerged after the methods under *Make visible* were applied in a review. It is by actually doing things that organisations are left with an infrastructure of systems and established practices to promote inclusion with regard to skin colour. Remember that each organisation's situation is unique and has its unique circumstances. You must therefore find the solutions that suit your organisation and remember that the list is in no way exhaustive.

LEARN

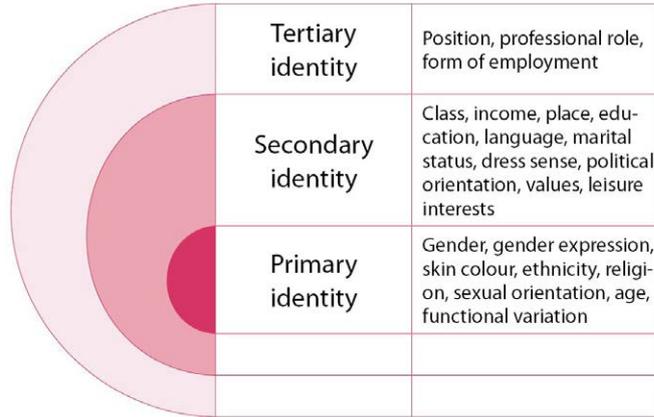
Putting your finger on how restrictive norms relating to skin colour affect your organisation is one of your great challenges because we have become socialised into seeing racism as outward-looking aggressive acts with clearly identifiable, ideologically motivated perpetrators who act with intent. It has never been that racism is maintained as a system and in our time it is rare for racism to manifest itself in the workplace. Therefore, we introduce below some concepts taken from the research field critical racial and whiteness studies. The glasses that these concepts offer help you to identify how restrictive norms relating to skin colour operate in your own workplace as an inequality system next to others.

The American sociologist Joan Acker defines an inequality system as “loosely interconnected practices, processes, actions and intentions that create and maintain class, gender and racial inequality”. She further argues for the need to study how inequalities are created within organisations, so as to be able to capture the everyday practices that reproduce complex inequalities. Acker believes that inequality systems are fluid and changeable and vary between organisations. Inequalities can be, for example, differences in salary, influence or career. She has identified a number of factors that are central to the creation of different gendered and racialised class practices within organisations. These include the requirements imposed on employees, the creation and control of class hierarchies and the forms of recruitment. Drawing inspiration from intersectional theoretical frameworks, Acker emphasises the need for organisational analyses that can capture the specific local forms of inequality that are created within different organisations. This manual focuses on the inequality regime that is reproduced around skin colour or, expressed in a different way, how employees are racialised in the workplace.

Acker’s colleague, Rosabeth Moss Kanter’s research shows that majority group members with power and positions are personally motivated to retain their privileged positions. One of the ways this is done is through the exclusion of individuals from other skin colour or gender categories and by only providing opportunities to individuals who share their social identity. The benefits given to the privileged groups, such as higher salaries and more opportunities for education and development, necessarily limit the work-related benefits for the discriminated groups. Majority group members may engage in discrimination on the grounds of conscious hostility towards minorities or because feelings of trust and shared understanding in groups are greater when there is more similarity among the group members. Individuals can also act in discriminatory ways as a result of institutional or organisational pressure.

What is an inclusive organisational culture?

Each organisation has its own specific organisational culture. Organisational culture has been defined as the underlying beliefs, assumptions, values and ways of interacting that contribute to the unique social and psychological environment of an organization. Among the underlying beliefs and assumptions that are part of an organisational culture is an unspoken idea of what characteristics the typical employee in the organisation has linked to different dimensions of identity. These ideas together constitute the group identity of the organisation and contribute to the strengthened cohesion of the organisation, but it can also exclude people if it is exclusionary. As employees of an organisation, we are not only recipients of the organisational culture, but also active carriers of it who pass it on. We can therefore ask ourselves to



what extent, through our behaviour, jargon, jokes, clothing choices, choice of conversational topics and other subtle expressions of approval and disapproval, we contribute to creating a more inclusive or exclusionary group identity.

As the figure above illustrates, identities can be divided into primary, secondary, and tertiary dimensions. Primary dimensions are linked to basic, often immutable aspects of our person and are often protected by legislation. Secondary dimensions of identity are less visible and can change over time, such as our marital status, educational background or place where we live. Tertiary dimensions include aspects of identity linked to the person’s role in the organisation, such as work, position, professional role or form of employment. As has already been mentioned, our primary identities are protected by legislation and most people’s sense of what is right tells us that it is not appropriate to treat someone

negatively on the basis of, for example, gender, sexual orientation or skin colour. Instead, the creation of in and out groups in organisations takes place at the secondary levels of identity, which are not mentioned in the law, in that we actively select people who resemble ourselves in terms of, for example, class, place, values and leisure interests. Those who belong to groups also more highly value the competences of those who are similar to themselves when making selections.

However, there are strong relationships between secondary and primary identities, so that the practical effect of these behaviours is discrimination on the basis of primary identities such as gender, skin colour and sexual orientation. This is called indirect discrimination in the legislation and is just as prohibited as direct discrimination against a person on the basis of a primary identity, even though it is more difficult to bring in evidence.



Who is the typical employee in our organisation?

The aim of this exercise is to investigate what identities the typical employee has, so as to see to what extent the organisation is characterized by difference or similarity. Then you will investigate the extent to which factors outside the organisation's control contribute to your having the group composition you have and to what extent you yourself as an upholder of the group identity contribute to this. If the group is not too large, it is recommended that you all work together on this exercise so that you go into the exercise with a common idea of how the typical employee is connected to different dimensions of identity. The answers to the questions in the exercise can be used as a basis for a strategy to create a more inclusive organisation since they highlight barriers to inclusion.

1. Come up with a joint response to all the fields.
2. What are the external factors beyond your control that lead to the typical employee having the characteristics you have come up with?
3. How, through your own behaviour, do you confirm or challenge the idea of what the typical employee in the organisation should be like?
4. Are there any connections between skin colour and the secondary dimensions of identity that are typical of employees in the organisation?
5. Are there any connections between employees' primary and secondary dimensions of identity and the tertiary identities they have in the organisation?

WHO IS THE TYPICAL EMPLOYEE IN OUR ORGANISATION?	
Gender	
Skin colour	
Religion	
Functional Variation	
Sexual orientation	
Age	
Class	
Place	
Education	
Language	
Dress	
Leisure interests	
Marital status	
Political orientation	

Microaggressions

Out of 2,266 doctors who responded to a survey from the television channel SVT news and the Swedish Medical Association, 505 agreed with the statement: “I have been subjected to abusive treatment because of my ethnic or religious background by patients or their relatives”. That is more than a fifth of respondents and since far from all doctors belong to visible minorities, it is fair to assume that doctors who are not white suffer racist abuse. In autumn 2018, SVT news also reported that racism against employees in pharmacies was a growing problem. Both the medical and pharmacy professions in Sweden are characterised by increasing diversity. The combination of the pharmacy sector crying out for a workforce and the fact that pharmacy jobs are a high-status profession in many countries outside Sweden has led many with roots outside the country to apply for the profession, SVT news reported. This, in turn, has partly resulted in a new problem for the employer: customers who harass, express racism or behave in a racist manner towards employees. Racist harassment seems to be an inescapable part of working life for visible minority people who work outwards towards customers.

”I don’t want
you to touch me
with your Turk hands.”

Patient in life-threatening condition
to the attending physician

The last few decades have brought with them significant cultural changes that have affected how people view racism and the nature of racism has shifted. Open expressions of racism, as in the quote above, remain, but there is also a shift towards more subtle, ambiguous and often unintended expressions of racism. The concept of microaggressions was coined in the 1970s by the American psychiatrist Chester Pierce to describe the everyday abuses that African Americans were and are subjected to.

Microaggressions can be divided into:

- **Micro attacks:** Explicit racist attacks in verbal or non-verbal form such as mockery, evasive behaviour and other deliberately discriminatory acts. Micro attacks often occur deliberately.
- **Micro insults:** Communications that convey malice and insensitivity and disparage a person on the basis of skin colour or origin. These include subtle forms of insults that follow cultural patterns and can therefore be done unconsciously by the perpetrator. For example, to associate different levels of intelligence or other characteristics with different racial or ethnic groups. Notice that this often happens in an ostensibly positive way in the style of “you Asians are so smart”.
- **Micro invalidations:** Communication that excludes, negates or denigrates thoughts, feelings or experiences arising from belonging to a racialised group. The perpetrator is often unconscious of these. Examples of micro invalidations are the assumption that people who belong to visible minorities are foreigners or when white people deny that they see skin colour.

The prefix *micro* should not be understood as meaning that microaggressions have little significance, but alludes to how microaggressions manifest themselves in such a way that incidents are rarely clear acts of aggression or malice. Instead, individuals are flooded with many small, almost imperceptible injuries, the cumulative effects of which can be devastating. These “small” discriminatory acts can easily be explained away when viewed in isolation, as the mainly white environment in the workplace would like to do. Paradoxically, therefore, exposure to microaggressions can be more difficult to bear for the individual because it does not lead to the kind of understanding and support that can almost be taken for granted from those around them if they had suffered more classic forms of “visible” discrimination.

The paradigm of microaggressions removes the focus from identifying good and evil, that is to say racists and anti-racists, by focusing on how all members of dominant groups in everyday life can participate in degrading marginalised groups. This makes the issue of racism something that has a place on the agenda in the ordinary workplace, even one where all employees identify as anti-racist, because there is no protection from acting in a racist manner at times.

EXOTIFICATION AND STEREOTYPING

There are strongly rooted cultural stereotypes in Sweden about visible minorities and what these have in common is that they distort reality and create an environment of misunderstanding and even oppression. Stereotypes are mental projections people resort to so as to create easy-to-manage categories and in this way organise reality. But they are also a way of exerting power and control over groups of people since one can attribute characteristics to them and assign them roles they did not choose for themselves. Exotification is a special type of microaggression based on stereotyping that underlines real or imagined differences.

In the interview study *Don't touch my hair*, Salem Yohannes examined Swedish professional norms and the meaning attributed to Afro-Swedish women's hair. The informants described how their appearance and especially their hair arouse fascination, curiosity and a desire to touch it in white co-workers. They described how they constantly receive insensitive comments about their hair and that co-workers invade their personal space by touching their hair without permission. Overall, they expressed that the experience of exotification of their appearance is a way of telling them that they do not belong in the workplace because they do not fit the norm of how one looks in the workplace. They also had a hard time knowing how to react when it happens, as many of the comments from those who touch their hair or comment on their appearance are meant to be funny or compliments.

”She said, ‘Oh, Mirre. I must put my fingers in your hair! [...] It’s so beautiful and curly and different’”.

Female employee about a colleague

Because the informants had difficulty knowing how to react to the exotification of their appearance, they became resigned to what was being done to them. But Yohannes notes that it does not constitute

normal behaviour in public administration to touch colleagues' hair and that it is actually a strange behaviour in a professional environment as the hair is part of the body and therefore both private and personal. The touching of Afro-Swedish women's hair is a result of the exotic significance black hair has been given in a Swedish professional environment because it is different.

Exotification can also be expressed in such a way that lunch boxes, costumes, religious practice and other cultural practices that deviate from the recurring nature of majority culture are the subject of discussions in ways that are not merited by how interesting or even abnormal they are in today's Sweden. In isolation, they may appear to be harmless acts, but in their totality, as an element of the organisation's everyday life, it is an important part of making a distinction between the minority person and the other employees of the organisation.

“They may be comments such as I’m ‘exotic’, ‘what a nice skin colour you have’, ‘welcome to Sweden’ or ‘welcome to our country’”.

Female doctor about her patients

CONTRASTING

In her analysis, Kanter describes a process she calls “contrasting”. Contrasting denotes efforts by the dominant group to strengthen their status, normality and centrality when minorities take a place in the organisation. This is confirmed in Denise Beniwa Johnson's study *Afro-Swedes managing racialisation within the Swedish workplace*. The study shows how skin colour determines the status of employees and the choices they make because racism acts as an organising principle in the workplace for people and resources. Due to restrictive skin colour norms, employees can be bypassed for promotions and opportunities because it would interfere with the hierarchical structure of the organisation and thus lead to resistance from others. Eight of the

fourteen interviewees described experiences of being overlooked for promotions, being hidden from customers or being avoided by customers.

”I think it’s a sales culture thing. I don’t know if it comes from the managers or if it is just that only they apply [for sales jobs]. I don’t know, but it’s very homogeneous [white] over there.”

Female employee

Tokenism

Sociologist Adia Harvey Wingfield develops Kanter’s concept of “tokenism” into a paradigm by which restrictive norms relating to skin colour in the workplace can be made visible and analysed at a time when diversity is outwardly portrayed as something welcome by most organizations.

Tokenism is the practice of making only a superficial or symbolic effort to be inclusive of minority groups, for example by recruiting a small number of people from under-represented groups, thereby giving the appearance of being an inclusive and equal organisation and pre-empting accusations of discrimination.

Even when the intention is not cynical or coldly calculating when recruiting minorities, the effect of half-hearted efforts on inclusion and equality is that visible minorities end up in the token position. The organisation then celebrates diversity externally but does not do the internal work to create an inclusive environment where equal opportunities and rights apply and where everyone can feel secure. The matter is made worse by the fact that the very presence of visible minorities represents proof that the organisation has no problem.

In his groundbreaking study *Race and gender in men’s work*, Harvey Wingfield shows how the token role puts pressure on visible minorities to do their work better than their white colleagues and to behave in accordance with given stereotypical roles. Because

token employees are by definition few in number, they have little opportunity for collective resistance and the individual identity of each token person is not respected, but instead they are assigned stereotypical roles as a way of exerting social control over them in the workplace. Maimuna Abdullahi and Gina Manzila conducted an interview study of Afro-Swedes in qualified positions in which the informants constantly returned to their experiences of tokenism.

”I am the diversity in all companies. I am on every poster they have. Every time, regardless of which company I came to, I’ve ended up at the forefront of the statistics and media-wise, they have showed me off.”

Male computer engineer

When the racialised employee is the bearer of diversity and thus proof of how inclusive the organisation is, they are expected to pose for pictures that are communicated outwards. It can also be taken for granted that minority people shall be the ones that lead inclusion initiatives in the organisation, which makes diversity their cause, much as if questions of diversity don’t concern white employees. The presence of visible minorities is taken as proof that whiteness norms are challenged, which need not be the case at all because one does not follow from the other. In this way, non-white employees become alibis for workplaces so that they do not have to deal with whiteness norms.

INVISIBILITY AND HYPERVISIBILITY

Harvey Wingfield argues that workplaces are being made into white spaces through a process of whitewashing. Whitewashing can be described as a form of colour blind white chauvinism that uses language and selective blindness to deny the importance of skin colour while exaggerating and giving priority to white culture. It is a way to disqualify

non-white employees and make them invisible. The whitewashed workplace, just like a whitewashed wall, is seen as colourless rather than white, universalising white culture, normalising it and making it synonymous with professionalism. The “whitewashed” workplace is not neutral and it is not inclusive because visible minorities only have access to it at the cost of making an essential part of their identity invisible when they step through the door to the workplace.

Paradoxically, invisibility is simultaneously linked to the phenomenon of hypervisibility, which is another part of the tokenised experience. Because while racialised employees are invisible as individuals, they are more visible as categories. Superordinate groups use stereotypes to place minority people, which means that they can only be understood as representatives of a group instead of as individuals. All of this together leads to minority people being more likely to be stereotyped, isolated and generally regarded as less competent.

One of the most interesting contributions to this research area comes from law researchers Mitu Gulati and Devon Carbado who explain in the book *Working identity* how everyone needs to develop suitable workplace identities, but that for members of minority groups it becomes particularly difficult because their acceptable workplace identities are contrary to prevailing cultural stereotypes. For example, black men may feel compelled to work more hours as a way to avert stereotypes about a poor work ethic among blacks. But the matter is further complicated by the fact that such strategies can reinforce other stereotypes. Colleagues can interpret this as black employees having to put in long hours because they lack the intellectual abilities needed for high-status professional jobs.

THE IMPOSTER PHENOMENON

Visible minorities continue to be under-represented in skilled jobs and describe how they regularly end up in situations where colleagues, customers and users show in different ways that they assume that the person is not actually in the position they are in. It's sometimes called the “imposter phenomenon”. When the matter is cleared up, it usually leads to exuberant apologies, while the racial aspect of the incidents is absurdly not dealt with at all. Managers,

colleagues and perpetrators – who are mostly white – mainly find the situation embarrassing and are very concerned that what happened appears to be an innocent misunderstanding that could have happened to anyone. The victim is also often embarrassed but above all humiliated. Being questioned in their professional role is a form of micro invalidation and the victim needs redress, not smoothing over. But here, white emotions are almost always given priority and the victim is victimised a second time when they are expected to actively help with the smoothing over by not “making a big deal” of what happened.

A variant of the imposter phenomenon is when customers, users, colleagues etc. prefer white people and the organisation quietly accommodates this in various subtle ways. This is done for self-serving reasons, but there may also be a genuine but misguided desire to protect the racialised person from unpleasant situations. In its most obvious forms, the victim can invoke the law's prohibition on following an instruction to discriminate, but discrimination is usually too subtle to bring in evidence.

“It feels like they [customers] are shocked... that you work there [...] I have always found myself in white environments, but here it was really white. And because of this... customers come in sometimes and kind of... you know... ‘Do you speak Swedish?’”.

Male employee

“A good day at work is a day
when I don’t need to answer
the question where
I come from.”

Female employee

Gaslighting

Swedish culture underlines individualism and we often want to pretend that collective identities do not have social meaning. The truth is that our skin colour has meaning in a myriad of different ways and that on the basis of skin colour we have collective experiences that make us perceive and interpret the world differently. This is one of the challenges when a workplace goes from being homogeneous in terms of skin colour to being more representative of what Sweden is actually like.

The quote above can be used as an illustrative example. For the white reader, the informant’s statement may seem rather difficult to understand and they may have at some point asked a colleague where they came from. Isn’t the question just a sign of genuine curiosity about a colleague and a willingness to get to know them better? Of course it can be like that for the questioner, but for the racialised colleague, who has been asked the question more times than they can count, the question can be interpreted in a completely different way. The question is clearly related to the skin colour of the person being asked, which the questioner links to migration, even though about half of the racialised Swedes do not have their own experiences of migration. It is therefore a form of racialisation and in countries with a more mature relationship to people having different skin colours, it is often considered inappropriate to assume that a person has a background as a migrant because of their skin colour. The question is also not a product of individual curiosity, but part of a cultural pattern based on the fact that whiteness is the norm and that everything that deviates from whiteness needs to be explained, and the sooner the better.

The question of where a racialised person comes from is asked in Sweden by white people early in their acquaintance, often in the very first conversation, without them asking themselves if this is not a

very intimate question. The colleague is clearly not a tourist in the country and may not immediately want to talk about experiences of a country where they have not lived for decades, if at all. Especially in a workplace where everyone is involved in carving out their identity and legitimacy in different ways as a professional, competent employee, being immediately reduced in all meetings to an immigrant becomes a problem. So there are many nuances to the seemingly innocent question of where someone comes from and for those who are not white, it is no wonder if it is perceived as proof that their colleagues are obsessed with their skin colour and that the question really means something like “how can someone like you be here? Explain.”

We interpret this issue and many other phenomena differently because we have different collective experiences depending on the colour of our skin. However, since the whiteness norm prevails in Sweden and white employees are usually in the majority, it is difficult for the non-white employee to even talk about these experiences. Immediately, they encounter resistance from colleagues who find it easier to identify with the white person and their intentions instead of the effects of the act on the victim. The person who was asked is told that it was a question asked with all good intentions, with an implicit admonition that it is very ugly to accuse colleagues of being racist. “No one in the workplace even thinks in terms of skin colour,” might be added. The racialised colleague is given a guilty conscience for raising the issue and is made into the problem. Since so many people are rushing to share the questioner’s world view, the racialised colleague may end up doubting their own experience or at least feeling that it is not worth raising the matter with colleagues. This phenomenon is called gaslighting and is a form of psychological manipulation that leads to doubts in individuals or members of a group, so that they question their own memory, perception

and state of mind. The phenomenon of gaslighting is recurrent in racialised stories about trying to address issues related to skin colour that affect the racialised person's sense of recognition, belonging and security in the workplace. An inclusive organisation needs to have arenas where these kinds of issues can be raised and develop approaches to how we treat each other in relation to skin colour.

Minority stress and ill health

We understand that microaggressions, tokenism and gaslighting are important work environment issues with strong links to ill health, if the phenomena are considered with a minority stress perspective. In the report Romas' experiences of hate crime, researchers Simon Wallengren and Caroline Mellström of the Department of Criminology at Malmö University cite American researcher Ilan H. Meyer, who argues that 'central to the minority stress perspective is that there is discord between the person belonging to a minority group and the surrounding society and that this creates stress that is unique, chronic and socially based'. Wallengren and Mellström distinguish between distal and proximal stress processes where distal stressors are external, such as microaggressions, tokenism and gaslighting (the author's own example). Proximal stress processes are often a consequence of being exposed to distal stressors and can, for example, be about feeling anxious and insecure and experiencing negative feelings towards your own minority group. Together, the combination of distal and proximal stressors create over time high levels of stress that can result in ill health among minority groups.

In the USA, for example, there has long been research on minority stress among African-Americans and LGBTQ people, but in Sweden research is limited and the knowledge level among employers and healthcare providers is very poor. Swedish workplaces are not equipped to deal with the ill health that comes with minority stress as it currently exists.

"I also feel that I have to be extra precise, be on time, compared to my colleagues. An older gentleman with white hair, a typical doctor, gets away with very much more than I can . I have anxiety that I have to do more so as to have done enough."

Female doctor

MAKE VISIBLE

Innan aktiva åtgärder mot hudfärgsbaserad diskriminering kan implementeras i organisationen måste fenomenet kartläggas och synliggöras. Kartläggning är helt avgörande för att identifiera diskriminerande praxis och för att kunna göra bedömningar av effekterna av olika insatser men redan här brister många initiativ för ökad mångfald i organisationer så att de efterföljande åtgärderna inte har någon förankring i en observerad verklighet. Det går heller inte att göra någon bedömning om åtgärdernas måluppfyllelse när det inte finns några ingångsvärden mot vilken förändringen kan mätas. Typiskt för sådana initiativ är att aktören är mer mån som att framstå som att den gör någonting än att faktiskt förändra något.

Kartläggning är inte ett mål i sig utan utgör utgångspunkten för ytterligare åtgärder. Att ta medarbetares hudfärg i beaktning i en kartläggning med syftet att eliminera diskriminerande praktiker är inte bara fullt acceptabelt, det är rekommenderat.

Ofta används även uttrycken bevakning, uppföljning och utvärdering när man talar om kartläggning, beroende på i vilka skeden i processen som kartläggningens rön ska användas. Oavsett är metoderna ungefär desamma. Inom organisations-teori är det en accepterad sanning att det som inte mäts inte blir gjort, alltså behöver en organisation som vill arbeta framgångsrikt med implementering av aktiva åtgärder ha ett fungerande system för bevakning av ojämlikhet. Utmaningen då är att inte låta kartläggningen bli en engångsåtgärd

utan användandet av metoderna i kartläggningen ska institutionaliseras så att de blir en del av organisationens normala rutiner. Det kräver att en organisation avsätter resurser som tid, pengar och tankekraft för dokumentation och analys.

Tips on the way

- See mapping out as an instrument for developing knowledge and for being able to plan ahead
- Mapping out needs its own action plan with a stated purpose and methodology
- Use both quantitative and qualitative measurements
- Measure outcomes against clear goals when evaluating

Building your team

Implementing active measures with respect to skin colour is a labour-intensive organisational change process. There may already be a diversity manager in the organisation, but forming a working group to collaborate and support that person is recommended. Ideally, the working group should include people higher up the hierarchy and it should have its mandate from senior management. Management's visible commitment to active measures is important because this signals to the rest of the organisation that the initiative is important. In the design of the working group, you should ensure diversity on the basis of different functions of the organisation and social identities without falling into the trap of restricting yourself only to people belonging to minority groups. This sends the signal that active measures are something that only affects minorities. It is also recommended to include a union representative at the workplace in the working group, since active measures should be implemented in collaboration with representatives of the employees. Commitment is of course also important and all employees with a strong commitment to the issues should therefore be considered to be part of the working group.

The working group's responsibilities include:

- Creating a common vision
- Leading the initiative for implementing active measures
- Developing an information collection strategy
- Developing an action plan
- Ensuring that the action plan's measures are implemented
- Evaluating-the process
- Documenting progress and lessons learned through the initiative

Qualitative data collection methods

Since inequality in organisations is an issue that concerns people, it is a good idea to let people speak for themselves. A qualitative approach is focused on people and takes the spoken word as the primary data source. Ideally, you should meet employees in their work environment so as to learn about the organisational culture and how inclusive the organisation is in terms of skin colour. Here, organisational culture means the habits, values, unwritten rules and atmosphere that prevail in the workplace. Not infrequently, it is unspoken and difficult to pinpoint, but it takes its concrete expression in employee behaviour that is what you ultimately want to influence. The mapping out of the organisational culture should therefore aim to break it down into behaviours so that the subsequent analysis can define which changes in behaviour would be compatible with a more inclusive organisational culture.

QUESTIONS

In my experience, it is helpful to use a battery of questions that is divided into different areas of activity. This ensures a structure in the analysis and that no important aspects of inclusion in the mapping are missed. Also, start from the themes and concepts described in Learn when selecting questions to investigate the presence of, for example, microaggressions and tokenisation in the workplace. The questions are your measuring instruments and they need to be adapted depending on the measurement method. In other words, questions need to be formulated differently if they are to be used in an interview, focus group or survey. On the next page are examples of questions divided into five aspects of the activities.

Governance and leadership

- To what extent is the existing inclusion agenda communicated to employees and guides the practical work of the organisation?
- Is management confident and knowledgeable in being able to handle and discuss issues related to the importance of skin colour in the organisation?
- Does management have the necessary competence to set goals and follow up on the results of work to promote inclusion on the basis of skin colour?
- How does management demonstrate in practical actions their commitment to equality and inclusion in terms of skin colour?
- Are competences developed and resources such as time and money allocated in the organisation so as to be able to implement the existing inclusion agenda?

Organisational culture

- Has the organisation succeeded in creating a welcoming and inclusive environment in terms of skin colour?
- What does the stereotypical image of an employee in the organisation look like in terms of skin colour, gender, age, sexuality, class, leisure interests etc.?
- How do employees contribute to strengthening or challenging that image through who you are, your jargon and your behaviour in general?
- Does the organisation have adequate language to be able to discuss issues related to skin colour when needed?
- Do you believe that microaggressions and tokenisation of employees on the basis of skin colour are common in the organisation and does the organisation have adequate management when it occurs?

Handling human resources

- Do you believe that the organisation's recruitment and human resource management procedures promote inclusion and equal rights and opportunities in terms of skin colour?
- Are there regular evaluations of the obstacles that may exist to the recruitment and development of different groups in the workforce? And if so, what grounds for discrimination are covered in this analysis?
- Does the organisation have the knowledge and resources to deal with minority stress?

Follow-up and evaluation

- Does the organisation have stated goals for inclusion in terms of skin colour in various governing documents such as values, annual report and equal treatment plan?
- Are there the necessary prerequisites such as measurable goals, indicators and documentation so that regular evaluations of conditions can be made regarding inclusion on the basis of skin colour in the organisation?
- Are such mapping and evaluations presented in reports on a regular basis?

Communication

- Does your organisation signal that it values diversity in your external communication such as website, printed material, social media and who can represent the organisation externally?
- Do you think your organisation adapts language and communication channels, for example, so as to reach out to under-represented groups?

INTERVIEW

Interviews are designed to collect information that reflects deep knowledge and insight. The interviewer and informant can develop a trust so that opinions and experiences can be shared openly in a conversation that provides the opportunity to clarify the answers as needed. It also provides the opportunity for the interviewer to explore nuances of the informant's thoughts and experiences and provide clarity on conflicting ideas.

In their most common form, interviews are semi-structured one-on-one conversations, which means that you start from a questionnaire but can ask follow-up questions and also that the informant is not limited to multiple choice responses, as is often the case in a survey, but can answer freely. The interview typically lasts between 45 and 75 minutes and since the space for the interviewer to influence the interview is so large, it is important to try to be as structured as possible. This is especially true if you intend to redo the interviews in the future so as to be able to make comparisons from one time to another regarding developments in the organisation.

Interviews provide rich information on the subject of interest but it is a time-consuming method that leaves large quantities of data that can be difficult to organise and analyse. One can rarely say anything about how generalisable the answers in a single interview are, but rather the point is to gain unique insights. Therefore, limit the interviews to key informants and supplement them with other methods of obtaining information.

FOCUS GROUP

A focus group is a qualitative form of mapping that invites participants to express their impressions, experiences and opinions in response to a set of open questions. When selecting participants in focus groups, my experience is that it is often preferable to use homogeneous groups not only in terms of position but also based on the power structure one is interested in when this is practicable. Many people have spontaneous doubts about the idea of groups where normative and norm-breaking employees are kept apart, but it can actually help that both majority and minoritised people feel that they can talk more openly about the issues.

A focus group should consist of 6-10 people and last for 1-2 hours. This is usually enough for a maximum of 6-8 questions that invite discussions and the sharing of anecdotal information. Choose open questions that cannot be answered with a simple yes or no and feel free to start with a positive question such as "what do you like about your workplace and your role in the organisation", and then lead on to the themes described in the section Learn.

Be aware that the discussion can easily be taken over by dominant people at the expense of the other informants. The informants can also steer away from the topic when reacting to each other's input. The role of interviewer is about keeping the group on the subject and helping less prominent participants to also be heard. Remember that focus groups, like personal interviews, are very sensitive to the interviewer's influence, which affects the validity and reliability of the results.

GOVERNING DOCUMENTS

Governing documents, such as vision, values, business plan, diversity plan, action plans against harassment and bullying, quick references and codes of conduct, are all interesting sources of information for understanding an organisation. Although the distance between theory and practice can be great, governing documents are important for regulating behaviour in the organisation and tell you what the organisation aims to be like and what is prioritised. In particular, examine whether these documents address the issue of skin colour or related issues and whether this forms the basis for goal-driven, measurable and responsible work for inclusion. Also investigate the extent to which these governing documents are communicated to employees and guide their daily work. Finally, investigate whether competences are developed and resources such as time and money are allocated in the organisation in order to be able to implement the inclusion agenda.

INTERPRET QUALITATIVE DATA

The most common way to interpret qualitative data is through thematic analysis. With this approach, one seeks to identify recurring patterns or themes around certain questions that one can then assume reflect reality more than an answer that comes

only from a single informant. If several informants return to the view that in the workplace they are not encouraged to raise complaints with the manager or in the group, then this can be taken to be part of the organisation's culture. The more often informants return to something, the more it forms a theme and thus an essential part of what can be described as the organisation's functionality and organisational culture.

In the thematic analysis, you should ask yourself whether it is possible to identify clear themes that came from several informants regarding the organisation's strengths and weaknesses in relation to inclusion. Another question is whether there are any narratives or strong convictions about the organisation that prevent the organisation from making progress in terms of inclusion relating to skin colour. For example, the organisation and its employees may be characterised by colour blindness. Also, see if you can see differences between groups. It is not at all uncommon for answers to emerge that differ between groups of employees. White employees and racialised employees can have very different perceptions of how inclusive the organisation is. This comparison is very interesting because it reveals a lack of communication among employees about these issues and a lack of insight. How in groups and out groups can have different views of the same organisation is illustrated by a worldwide study conducted by the consulting firm McKinsey in 2017. This showed that men and women had very different views on how equal the organisations that they worked for were. Men were more likely to perceive their organisations as equal and they felt to a greater extent than women that the organisations did a good job of promoting gender equality. The report found that women's views on the matter were closer to reality, with as many as 50 per cent of men surveyed believing that women were well represented in the top management of their organisations, even though women made up only 10 per cent of the organisations' top management. Differences can therefore be just as interesting to analyse as regularity and coherence.

Quantitative data collection methods

The quantitative method is the systematic collection of empirical and quantifiable data, which is then summarised in the form of tables, registers, diagrams and key figures. Put very simply, the quantitative method is about counting numbers to show regularity and thus make patterns and conformity to law visible. Quantitative data is also good for simple comparisons between organisations and within organisations so as to measure change. Quantitative data is not enough by itself to give the full picture of how inclusive or discriminatory an organisation is, but it is an essential element. Quantitative data also has the effect that it is easy to comprehend and therefore works well as a basis for action or communication externally.

RESISTANCE TO THE COLLECTION OF QUANTITATIVE DATA

In Sweden, there is still some resistance to the collection of the necessary quantitative information to carry out evidence-based work against discrimination with regard to skin colour, what is often called equality data. There is a risk that this criticism can also be raised against your initiative and therefore it is worth reviewing the three main expressions of this criticism.

To begin with, opponents argue that data protection legislation prohibits the processing of personal data that reveals race, ethnicity or skin colour. This is not true because the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) applies throughout the EU and has as a general rule that what is called sensitive personal data can be registered if people are informed and give their explicit consent. The Swedish Legislative Council is also clear in the council's recommendation on GDPR, which states that "*There should be no exception to the provision that sensitive personal data may be processed on the basis of the data subject's explicit consent*". However, there are restrictions on employers who, as a rule, cannot use consent as a basis for processing personal data about workers. The matter was clarified in Sweden in a decision of the Swedish Data Protection Authority (No. 120-2017) which ordered the gaming company King to stop recording data on employees' sexual orientation and ethnic origin as part of their diversity and equal treatment efforts even though the

employees had given their consent. They relied on the opinion of the collaborative body for data protection authorities in the EU, in an opinion on the processing of personal data in employment relationships, that consent should only be used if the worker really has a free choice and can subsequently withdraw their consent without negative consequences. In the Data Protection Authority's assessment, employees' consents were not voluntary in the way required by the personal data law in force at the time because an employee is dependent on the employer. The employee may experience the employer's wishes as pressure to provide the data and feel compelled to disclose sensitive personal data about themselves even though they do not really want to.

But the question of personal data linked to the collection of equality data is, on the whole, a constructed debate without any basis in reality. Cases such as the gaming company King are extremely rare in Europe and the approach widely used in several EU countries is instead based on the method advocated by, among others, the European Commission, the UN agencies and the Council of Europe. This collects aggregated data based on anonymity, volunteering and self-identification that cannot be linked to individuals. The method is popularly called the *equality data method* and is considered the most ethical, legally sound and scientific method for collecting statistics to support the promotion of anti-discrimination work. The equality data method does not therefore collect any personal data and it is therefore wrong to talk about registration at all, although many people still do so completely incorrectly. The GDPR does not even apply when using the equality data method.

The second main objection to the collection of statistics for evidence-based work for inclusion on the basis of skin colour is that skin colour is not an exact category. In this case, it is believed that the definition difficulties make the information that is generated meaningless. Anyone who uses this argument needs to be intellectually honest and acknowledge that all social categorisations of people are abstractions where we set boundaries based on what we believe to be of social importance. Even legal gender is such an abstraction, as the queer criticism has shown, because people do not allow themselves to be divided into the discrete categories *men* and *women* either biologically

or socially. Instead, it makes more sense to talk about a continuum in which people are viewed and treated differently according to how male and female they are perceived. Categories that we construct based on chronological age ranges are also arbitrary and miss the fact that two people of the same chronological age can differ socially and medically depending on, for example, lifestyle, gender and appearance. Class is another category that is often used in social analysis but does not have a uniform definition, nor is there any objective criterion for determining when a person can be categorised as having a particular sexual orientation. Social categories are not objective categories and do not need to be so in order to be meaningful. But precisely because they are socially meaningful, we operationalise them in the work to counteract the negative social effects that they can have. Most people would probably believe that it would be a step backwards for gender equality if we stopped operationalising the categories *men* and *women* in the statistics. Similarly, it is impossible to implement active measures against discrimination on the basis of skin colour without the use of skin colour categories.

The third common objection to gathering information on how skin colour affects our opportunities in society is based on the idea that the information could be used by someone with evil intentions to discriminate or persecute people. Given that a majority of the world's countries actually use equality data to map, for example, race, skin colour, ethnicity and language groups and that there are no known examples of the existence of these systems in themselves leading to the threat patterns being suggested, this is a warning based on a very weak empirical basis. This objection is particularly strange in Sweden, where our population register records people's place of birth and family relationships. Since the vast majority of Swedes who are identified by others as non-white were born abroad themselves or have parents born abroad, it is not difficult to single out these Swedes using the population register. For example, Swedes born in Lagos or who have a parent born in Lagos are almost always black and the population register is therefore in practice a register of people's skin colour. Also, the population register is public so anyone can access this information just by picking up the phone and calling the Swedish Tax

Agency. Anyone who objects to equality data on the basis that it poses a threat to ethnic groups must be considered to be not entirely sincere if this person does not simultaneously campaign against the population register.

CATEGORIES

We have established how restrictive norms relating to skin colour limit people's opportunities and rights in working life and we know that quantitative data is necessary in order to work against discrimination in a goal-oriented way. If your organisation is serious about the initiative for increased inclusion in terms of skin colour, the question is not whether to collect quantitative data, but what should be collected and how.

We know that people are racialised and discriminated against differently on the basis of skin colour, but what exactly does this look like in Sweden? How far should you differentiate in your initiative on the basis of skin colour? There are many considerations to be taken into account here. When working with statistics, it is tempting to try to obtain a lot of information, but it is not certain that the statistics will be very useful if you use too many differentiated categories because this leads to small response groups. Small response groups lead not only to data that cannot be presented for privacy reasons but also to a weak statistical basis. The other considerations move towards increased differentiation and have to do with giving recognition to groups, nurturing a general understanding of the importance of skin colour and getting the organisation and employees to move away from reflexive colour blindness to a constructive colour-conscious condition.

My own experience is that Swedish patterns of racialisation in their coarsest form can be divided between the people who, based on their skin colour, are normative and those who deviate from the norm. In Sweden, whiteness is the norm, which means that Swedes who are considered by themselves and others to be white maintain the favoured position. One way in which this is shown is that visible minorities are understood to be non-Swedish, based on their skin colour, and thus

implicitly have less right to the state of Sweden. The existence of visible minorities is subject to different conditions from those of white Swedes and there is an unspoken understanding that they should qualify by being well-behaved and profitable for society – or at least adapting to an imagined Swedishness that is intimately associated with whiteness. How widely coded the idea of Swedishness is is evident in the fact that the categories of white and non-white Swedes are colloquially referred to as "Swedes" and "immigrants".

But even among those racialised as non-white, there are differences that can make it meaningful to make distinctions. In surveys I myself have done, I have used the following two questions:

Which of the following categories do you identify with? You can tick several alternatives.

- White
- Middle Eastern/North African
- South Asian
- East Asian
- Black
- Latin American
- Other
- Prefer not to answer

What part of the world do your parents originate from? If necessary, you can tick more than one alternative if you have parents who come from different parts of the world.

- Sweden and the rest of Western Europe
- Eastern Europe
- Middle East and North Africa
- Sub-Saharan Africa
- North America
- Latin America and the Caribbean
- South Asia
- East Asia and Southeast Asia
- Oceania
- Other
- Prefer not to answer

By asking questions about skin colour in terms of both ethnicity and geographical origin, you are given one variable based on self-identification and another based on an objective criterion that can serve as a control question. Together, they say how people identify themselves and are identified by others in terms of skin colour. Depending on the size of the group being examined and the questions raised in the study, it is possible to decide afterwards whether to add different categories to correspond to the categories white versus non-white or majority Swedish versus visible minority or whether to present more differentiated results. Remember that no matter what question is asked in a survey, it is always important to give informants the option of not answering.

PROCESSING OF PERSONAL DATA

The discussion regarding mapping and following up inclusion often turns into a discussion about the processing of sensitive personal data. This is unfortunate because, using the right methods, no personal data is processed. Nevertheless, this is how the discussion looks and it is therefore good to remind that personal data means all kinds of information that can be linked to a living person. This can be name, address and personal identity number. Photographs of people are also classified as personal data. Yes, even audio recordings that are stored digitally can be personal data even if no names are mentioned in the recording. Personal data can also arise from deduced connections between answers in surveys, for example, that allow conclusions to be drawn about individuals. Should you process personal data when collecting data in order to be able to implement active anti-discrimination measures, you are responsible for ensuring that the processing takes place in accordance with the provisions of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR).

The personal data controller is the organisation that decides for what purposes the data will be processed and how the processing will be carried out. It is therefore not the manager at a workplace or an employee who is the personal data controller. A natural person can also be a personal data controller, as is the case, for example, for sole proprietorships. As a personal data controller, you can transfer the actual

processing of personal data, but the responsibility for personal data can never be transferred.

A personal data processor is one who processes personal data on behalf of the personal data controller. For example, it may be a survey company that specialises in conducting questionnaire surveys. The processors used by the personal data controller must be able to provide sufficient guarantees that the processing complies with the requirements of the GDPR and ensures that the rights of the data subject are protected. There are great advantages to using a reputable survey company as they can both provide valuable advice and ensure that you yourself do not have to deal with any personal data by de-identifying all responses from links to individuals before they are submitted to you. In this way, employees also feel freer to answer honestly when they know that they are anonymous in relation to the employer.

EMPLOYEE SURVEY

Surveys are easy to reach out with and are therefore the most time-efficient method of gathering information from many employees. Typical employee surveys contain factual questions of the yes/no type, questions on a grading scale and open questions. If such questions are supplemented with background questions, comparisons can easily be made between different categories of employees.

In a survey that focuses on equality between employees of different skin colours, it is of course interesting to find out how employees of different skin colours experience the workplace, or if there are differences in representation at different levels and in salaries and benefits.

Self-identification surveys are the most inclusive and ethical way to measure representation of different social categories. You can use different alternative answers that employees can answer or use a method where the informants are allowed to give free answers on how they identify themselves, but then at a later stage you must gather different answers into meaningful categories that can be compared.

At the same time, there are important issues to consider when performing an employee survey with background questions. One has to do with trust. Because even with the assurance that the

questionnaires are handled with strict confidentiality, employees can shy away from answering questions sincerely when it is perceived that the answers could be traced to the individual. It can also be tempting for you to do many cross references that do not provide information that is as useful as statistical data. Say you want answers to the question of how black female employees in the age range 18-35 years are getting on in the workplace. Then there is quite a high risk that the response group will be very limited, perhaps only one or a few employees. Such results cannot be published for ethical reasons and since they are based on so few respondents it is difficult to generalise the results or make comparisons over time. For this reason, it may be better to have broader categories such as visible minority and majority Swedish and not to cross reference with additional background variables such as age and position. If you are not a large employer with employees who are used to working with surveys, it is highly recommended that you bring in outside help. Having a third party take care of the collection and processing of surveys also increases confidence, since raw data then ends up with people without knowledge of who the employees are in the workplace. The information provider can therefore feel more confident in their anonymity in relation to the employer.

Employee surveys are very useful if they contain the right questions but have some limitations. For example, surveys provide little opportunity to exemplify or for further explanations, and informants rarely fill in the fields that are given for further comments. These limitations can be offset by using focus groups or the personal interview as a method. Another drawback of surveys is that you may need quite sophisticated computer skills to compile the information. If you have the resources, it is therefore recommended to use consultants as personal data processors.

USE OF REGISTRY DATA

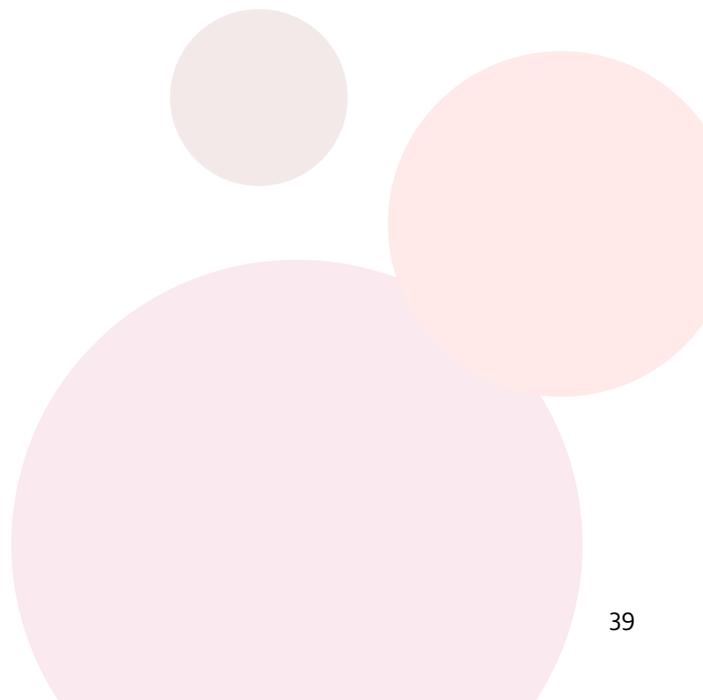
Equality data on skin colour can also be collected using registry data from the agency Statistics Sweden. This means that you do not turn to employees for answers, but to companies that provide services based on data, linked to employees' personal identity numbers, which can be retrieved from Statistics Sweden.

You can then use Statistics Sweden's definition of a foreign background – that a person was born abroad or has two parents born abroad – as a way to approximate skin colour and produce similar comparisons to those that employers are legally obliged to produce in salary mapping that compares men and women. The technology is based on dividing foreign background into different regions and thus getting a close value to skin colour. Statistics Sweden is already operationalising the categories Swedish background, Nordic background, European background and non-European background. The non-European background category can be used as an approximation for visible minority. Survey companies that deliver this service can produce comparative key figures between these groups that describe the situation in the organisation based on the following variables, among other things.

- Median age
- Median salary
- Percentage of women and men
- Percentage of managers
- Percentage of permanent employees
- Percentage of full-time employees
- Percentage recruited
- Percentage leaving
- Percentage with higher education competence
- Period of employment
- Percentage in different areas of activity
- Percentage at different position levels
- Percentage in different occupational groups

EXAMPLE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

In 2014, the Swedish Public Employment Service carried out a survey of the composition of their employees using data from Statistics Sweden. They used the categories Swedish background, Nordic background, European background and non-European background. According to Statistics Sweden, a person is defined as having some kind of foreign background if they themselves were born abroad or have two parents born abroad. It was found that visible minorities in the Swedish Public Employment Service – i.e. those with a non-European background – had higher education but lower salaries than their corresponding white colleagues and the higher up the organisation, the lower the proportion of visible minorities. At the same time, it was found that the visible minorities were slightly younger and had fewer years in the organisation. Visible minorities were under-represented at the Swedish Public Employment Service in relation to their proportion of the population, but there had been an increase in them in recent years and, in spite of significant differences between white employees and those belonging to visible minorities, the Swedish Public Employment Service was better than the average among employers in the civil service sector from an inclusion and equality point of view. Without this data, it would not have been possible to say much at all about the position of visible minorities in the Swedish Public Employment Service and it would not have been possible to say whether the efforts made by the agency to promote inclusion had had an effect.



DEVELOP AN ACTION PLAN

Drawing up an action plan is about articulating objectives and defining strategies based on identified priority areas. The planning is based on the priorities identified in the mapping and therefore you need an overview of these themes. The work of producing the overview and the planning itself should involve the entire working group and be performed in an open way so that new information can be added.

A well worked out action plan is one of the cornerstones of the successful introduction of active inclusion measures based on skin colour. The preparation of the action plan creates clarity about the organisation’s priorities regarding inclusion and it ensures more successful teamwork based on a common understanding of how different measures are related to specific goals and results to be achieved. It also allows the organisation to allocate adequate resources in terms of time, money and energy to achieve the objectives.

SWOT analysis as sorting method

A SWOT analysis is a proven concept that can be used to make different priority areas visible from the themes that have emerged in the mapping. The organisation’s internal weaknesses and strengths are placed next to external opportunities and threats that exist in the environment in which the organisation operates. Consider that strengths and weaknesses are things that the organisation can influence through its own decisions and opportunities and threats are things that the organisation cannot influence. Presented together, it will be easier to make an assessment of which areas it is most important to apply measures and how successful the measures might be.

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS

Sit together in the working group with the overview of themes from the mapping in front of you. Draw the figure above on a whiteboard and put up themes from the overview in the boxes where you think they fit best. Feel free to use post-it notes and let it be a creative process where participants are free to introduce strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats that have not emerged from the mapping if you come to think of them. This is especially true of the opportunities and threats in the outside world, as the mapping has so far had a stronger focus on internal conditions in the organisation.

STRENGTHS

What internal strengths can we benefit from when working on active measures for inclusion on the basis of skin colour? What are we doing well and what are our assets and resources? For example: Knowledge of restrictive norms relating to skin colour, good representation of visible minorities, past experiences, relevant statistics, well thought-out goals, a good analysis/mapping, will and interest.

WEAKNESSES

What internal weaknesses could have a negative effect on the initiative? What can we do better and when are we vulnerable? For example: Weak representation of visible minorities, resistance, disinterest, lack of relevant statistics and lack of internal communication.

OPPORTUNITIES

What external opportunities can we benefit from? Are there opportunities and situations that we are aware of but do not use? For example: The demands for inclusion from vulnerable groups are getting stronger, the industry is ready, knowledge of the target group and its needs.

THREATS

What external threats could have a negative effect on the initiative? Are there external processes that are preventing us or a lack of financial conditions? For example: The industry is not ready, lack of knowledge among external partners or an organised advocacy in the media against active measures with a focus on skin colour.

Set goals

Once priority areas have been identified, the next challenge is to express the change you want to see in terms of goals. There is a difference between setting goals and simply expressing a desire for things to be different. There are certain requirements that must be met in order for the goals to be useful in the work of change. Often the acronym SMART is used from the first letters of the requirements that exist for goals if they are to be useful.

Specific: The goals shall be so concrete and precisely defined that there can be no ambiguity as to when the goals are fulfilled. Thus, goals must not be vague and formulated in terms such as “We shall be an inclusive company” or “The proportion of visible minorities shall increase significantly”.

Measurable: There must be concrete criteria for measuring whether the goals have been fulfilled. With measurable requirements, it is easier to demonstrate the success of the work to yourself and to others.

Accepted: The goals must be endorsed not only by management but also by the employees. It is important that time for endorsing the goals is set aside in the action plan.

Realistic: The goals must be feasible. They should also be reasonable in relation to the time and resources you can mobilise to achieve the goals. This does not mean that you should think small. It is often easier to mobilise others to achieve goals that, while difficult to achieve, have the prospect of leading to really profound change.

Timely: The time by which the goals are to be fulfilled must be clear. If the timing of goals is not defined, it is difficult to make a meaningful assessment because unfulfilled goals can always be referred to the future and cannot be counted as failures. Setting goals is an art that requires practice to get really good at it. By working out the goals in a group, you are more likely to develop good, useful goals.

Find solutions

When the problems are known and the desired change is defined in terms of goals, the next step is to find the solutions or, expressed in a different way, to decide on the measures to be taken to achieve the goals. This is a process that can be divided into several stages.

BRAINSTORMING

Brainstorming is a very useful technique for developing proposals for solutions. All the ideas that come out are written up so that everyone sees them. This in turn breeds new ideas and energises creativity. To achieve the best possible result, follow a few simple rules.

1. No criticism
2. Everyone participates
3. Unleash the ideas
4. Quantity over quality
5. Build on other people's ideas
6. Make a note of everything

(The list taken from *Succeeding with Process Management*.)

Brainstorming is intended as a way to generate ideas from the whole group but the method has a built-in bias in that it rewards people with high thoughts about their own ideas and those who do not feel much need to think before sharing. Research has shown that this favours men over women and majority people over minoritised. To make sure you get contributions from everyone in the group, it may be worth changing the conditions towards the end of brainstorming by walking around the team and individually asking everyone taking part in the brainstorming if there is anything they could think of adding. The good thing about this technique is that you stop expecting your most knowledgeable employees to share things unbidden and stop allowing your loudest employees to monopolise the conversation.

BENCHMARKING

Benchmarking can be simply described as comparing one's own organisation with other organisations. It is a powerful tool for finding possible improvements in your own organisation and for identifying and implementing best practices taken from others. When it comes to inclusion in organisations, there are resources and methods to be drawn from government agencies such as the Discrimination Ombudsman and from various trade unions. The best thing, of course, is if you can find good practices in Sweden because each country has different stories, different workplace cultures, different laws and different ideas about what constitutes diversity; however when it comes to inclusion in terms of skin colour, we are so far behind in Sweden that it is recommended to look elsewhere. In English-speaking countries such as the USA and the UK, there is a much longer history of working on inclusion on the basis of skin colour. Canada is a country very reminiscent of Sweden, with a similar history of becoming a much more multiethnic and multicultural country as a result of migration movements over the past forty years. There, the legislation uses the concept of visible minorities and there is a clear requirement for employers to work on active measures for the inclusion of visible minorities and to report the results to the authorities.

Thorough benchmarking takes a lot of time and it can involve study visits to others. Therefore, one way to facilitate the exchange of experience is to join a network with other employers aimed at exchanging ideas on diversity and inclusion. Through such networks you can get up-to-date information on what currently represents good practice. There are several such active networks and although no one there works on restrictive norms in relation to skin colour, their methods can inspire and be adapted to the work you do.

STANDARD FOR WORK ON INCLUSION ON THE BASIS OF SKIN COLOUR

Through my total experience and in the work to produce this manual, I have read lots of literature and guidance on the subjects of equal treatment and norm criticism. I have set this against my insights about Swedish conditions and come to my own recommendation for how active work on inclusion on the basis of skin colour should be organised in a Swedish workplace. I believe that in order for an organisation to be said to have a serious intention to be inclusive on the basis of skin colour, the seven points below need to be fulfilled and worked on continuously:

- Increasing knowledge
- Developing language
- Establish mapping and follow-up systems
- Develop governance and leadership
- Develop an inclusive culture
- Recruit without discriminating
- Other changed processes such as:
 - Changed communication
 - Changed response to customers/ users/citizens
 - New/changed services/products
 - Changed procurement
 - Changed personnel health care

SELECT MEASURES

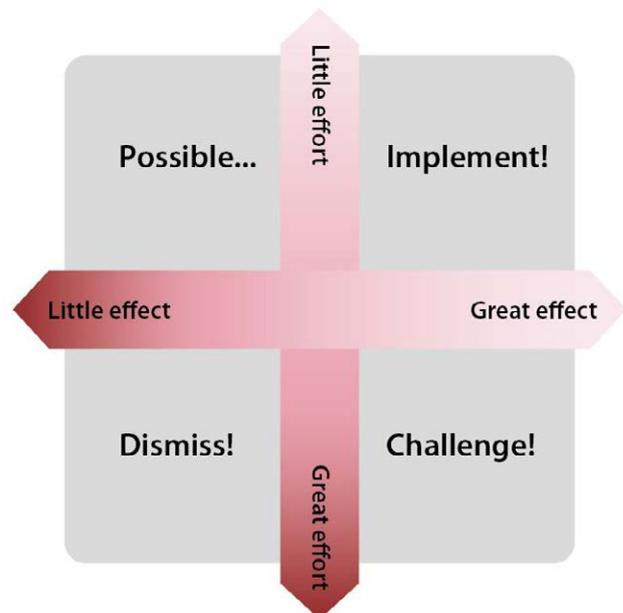
After the brainstorming and benchmarking, you have come to the part of the preparation of the action plan where you will sift through the proposed measures and select the very best. This means those relating to the most prioritised areas and where there are the best conditions for success.

This is about looking at the concrete proposed solutions for the selected areas. What can you do based on the needs you have and the obstacles you have seen linked to the priority area? What can you fix quickly and easily? What is it that needs to be addressed in the long term for the workplace to be inclusive in terms of skin colour?

To assess whether an action is worth implementing, you can use a PICK (possible –

implement – challenge – kill) graph, as shown in the figure below. You place the proposed measures along the two axes of the PICK graph according to how much effort they require and how much effect they are expected to have. They then end up in one of the four boxes of the matrix, and the PICK graph thus gives you answers as to which measures should be prioritised. Priority must be given to high-effect, low-effort measures. It is best to start with them. Measures with high effort and high effect should also be considered. Feel free to initiate the measures but plan the work in stages that are coordinated with other business planning. Low-effect measures, which also involve low effort, should only be considered if there is time for them, while measures involving high effort but having a low anticipated effect should not be included in the action plan at all.

The PICK graph has been criticised for being a more pragmatic than principled tool and the criticism is true in some sense but the tool is used wrongly if it is used to avoid making the decisions that can lead to actual change just because you may encounter resistance. The tool is there to help you to think things through but not to be cowardly. Measures can require a lot of resources and provoke resistance, but if they concern a high priority area, they should of course be implemented



Intersectional analysis

This manual addresses the issue of restrictive norms based on skin colour with an intersectional perspective. As we have noted before, the intersectional analysis is about making visible how different power structures interact in their influence on individuals. This means, on the one hand, that you should work with the understanding that people who fall outside the whiteness norm can be vulnerable in different ways on the basis of other group affiliations that they have that involve other grounds for discrimination. It is also about ensuring that your work for increased inclusion on the basis of skin colour does not lead to increased exclusion on the basis of other grounds for discrimination or characteristics. You have now come so far that you have a number of proposals for active measures for inclusion with regard to skin colour. The intersectional matrix is a tool to help you investigate how the intended measures strengthen or reduce vulnerability on the basis of other grounds for discrimination and characteristics. The matrix shows how external forces and institutional relationships interact with different types of power structures and the person's specific identities so as to leave each person with their unique vulnerability. It invites us to think about the different ways in which we can be powerless and vulnerable and how the measures that are being taken should be sensitive to this. You do not

want to create other restrictions on employees' access to rights and opportunities when working against the effects of restrictive norms relating to skin colour in the workplace.

In working on the web-based analysis tool Insikta, Stockholm County Administrative Board developed the battery of questions below for an intersectional analysis.

1. What is the distribution based on, among other things, gender, age, functional capacity and position among those affected by the measure?
2. How has everyone affected by the measure, taking into account, among other things, gender, age, functional capacity and position, participated in the development of the measure?
3. Whether resources are assigned or redistributed within the framework of the measure. How does it affect those affected by the measure based on, among other things, gender, age, functional capacity and position?

Do you think that some of your chosen measures should be reassessed after the intersectional analysis? Are there any measures you decided not to take after the PICK graph which have become relevant after the intersectional analysis?

The intersectional matrix.

Source: Handbook for Perspective Questions

SOCIALA KONSTRUKTIONER

CATEGORY	NORM	DISADVANTAGED GROUP	OPPRESSION
Gender	Male norm	Non-male	Sexism
Skin colour/race	Whiteness norm	Non-white	Racism
Class	Middle class norm	Working class, underclass	Class oppression
Ethnicity	Ethnic majority	Ethnic minority	Ethnocentrism
Sexuality	Hetero norm	Homo, Bi, Queer	Heterosexism
Function	Functional norm	Functionalist	Ableism, funcophobia
Gender identity	Cisnorm	Trans person, Intersexual	Cis sexism
...

The action plan

The product of the planning work is your action plan for inclusion with regard to skin colour that will guide your work on the implementation of active measures and that will take you through a controlled process from the present position to a desirable condition at some defined time in the future. An ideal action plan identifies goals, tasks, necessary resources, timelines and people responsible for carrying out each task. It must also define indicators that can be measured to demonstrate whether the goals have been fulfilled as a result of the implementation of the measure. There must be a logical chain between all parts of the plan. For example, you can use what is known as project logic to think backwards in the chain from the goals to be achieved to the activities to be implemented and

the resources to be mobilised and ask yourself how these contribute to the fulfilment of the goal.

I myself find it practical and transparent to present the action plan in a grid where the different parts of the plan are placed in different columns, while the project logic of the plan can easily be followed horizontally in the grid.

It is recommended that the action plan is valid for at least a two-year period as it often takes time for the results of the measures to be visible and able to be evaluated. But all organisations are different and work under different circumstances, so the length of the action plan is ultimately something you have to decide in your own organisation.

ACTION PLAN FOR INCLUSION					
PURPOSE					
Our organisation shall be representative of the general population in terms of skin colour and all employees shall have equal access to rights and opportunities regardless of skin colour					
GOAL	ACTIVITY	RESOURCES	RESPONSIBLE	WHEN	INDICATORS
Strengthen employees' commitment to inclusion	Lecture on the value of increased inclusion	Premises Lecturer Time set aside for employee participation	Training supervisor in the working group on increased inclusion	With APT 1 September	Results of knowledge and attitude survey before and after training
Have a functioning system for monitoring representation and equality of skin colour	Hire a survey company to show how, with the aid of Statistics Sweden, key figures on representation and equality can be produced	Financial resources Time for the working group to consult the survey company	HR. Working group on increased inclusion	Presented 15 October	First report from the survey company



DO

There are really no restrictions on how many different active measures the organisation can use to work towards the purpose of creating a more inclusive organisation in terms of skin colour. An organisation's operations can be described as a set of different defined processes such as recruitment, communication, purchasing, marketing and sales. All processes can be scrutinised from an inclusion perspective and changed in such a way that they contribute to increased inclusion. The measures you have decided on in your action plan depend, of course, on the obstacles to inclusion you have identified and your own capability to address them. Work on active measures for inclusion on the basis of skin colour can therefore be seen as quality assurance work where you constantly develop your way of working in such a way that the organization becomes more inclusive with regard to skin colour. Regardless of the special circumstances of your organisation, some things are common to all organisations that work on active measures with regard to skin colour. They can be recognised in my recommended model for work on inclusion with regard to skin colour in Swedish workplaces. It begins with the recognition that the implementation of active measures set out in the action plan will require increased knowledge. A language is needed in order to be able to talk about skin colour. A system must be established for follow up and evaluation. Leadership and governance must be developed and a more inclusive organisational culture promoted. Finally, the way you recruit needs to be reviewed if you do not already have an adequate diversity in the organisation with regard to skin colour. In addition to all this, a number of processes in your organisation can be affected that it is beyond the scope of this manual to be able to go through.

Increasing knowledge

Various training activities are probably the most common measure and are almost always part of strategies for promoting inclusion. Such training can have many names such as "diversity training", "cultural competence training" or "anti-racism training". Sometimes the tool is misused because it is so easy to hire a consultant to arrange a workshop on diversity and thus be able to show that you have done something. Typically in such cases, the training is not linked to any overall strategy or goal whose achievement is to be measured. But it is not the training tool itself that is wrong but how it is used.

Properly performed, training is linked to goals in the action plan and should be seen as a process by which the organisation develops an increased awareness of the cultural dynamics around skin colour that affect individuals, workplaces and entire communities. Through training, participants can also learn more about historical inequalities related to skin colour and how our collective experiences based on skin colour affect how we view the world and perceive and interpret phenomena differently. But the training should not only address diversity and equality on an abstract level; it is equally important that it also has a perspective that links to how you bring about concrete change in your own organisation. For example, it can be about training that gives you the skills you need to realise elements of the action plan.

It is not certain that you have the competence within the organisation to train the employees and if this is the case it is better to set aside resources to bring in a facilitator from outside. Consultants who offer training in diversity and inclusion are available in all price ranges and money does not mean the same as quality. Consultants act in a market and it is easy for them to adapt their message to what

their clients normally want to hear. This means that the most popular consultants do not always teach the knowledge and skills you need to bring about real change, but rather say things that make the participants feel good and satisfied with themselves, because unfortunately this is what many are willing to pay for. Check with others who have hired the consultant before you make up your mind.

There are also non-profit organisations that educate about diversity at little or no cost because this is part of their mission. Their facilitators are not bound by the same market logic and can therefore be clearer. But even when a facilitator does not cost so much, it is recommended to take references. The biggest input in this context is rarely the facilitator's fee, but the time employees invest in undergoing the training. Training that deals with the subject of restrictive norms on the basis of skin colour in working life requires the knowledge and experience of the facilitator. The subject evokes strong emotions and the facilitator must be qualified to handle this. Unfortunately, a facilitator who is not up to scratch can do more harm than good.

Checklist

- The training should be based on the needs of the specific workplace and be designed to help the organisation implement the overall plan for increased inclusion.
- Educational and training efforts that are not complemented by other strategies to influence organisational culture and the organisation's practices have little chance of making a difference.
- Training should primarily focus on changing behaviour and not attitudes.

Develop a language

It is possible to talk about skin colour and sometimes it is absolutely essential. At the same time, it is a recurring point that employees feel they lack a language to talk about skin colour and there is concern about expressing themselves in ways that can be perceived as offensive or even racist. Many people therefore feel uncomfortable talking about skin colour. At the same time, skin colour is something that is constantly present in social contexts and becomes most noticeable when people of different skin colours are to interact with each other as is the case in a workplace. Since all employees in an organisation are racialised in that they are assumed to have certain attributes based on skin colour and ethnicity, the result is paradoxically that everyone is involved in strategies to deal with taboos about skin colour and the constant but often disguised questions regarding the legitimacy, competence, voice and role of different employees in the workplace depending on their skin colour. An established language about skin colour in the organisation makes it easier for employees to talk and think norm-critically about skin colour and helps to de-dramatise the issue.

Since the law actually requires employers to apply active measures with regard to skin colour, organisations need to develop a language for this. It is not possible to work actively on a phenomenon that you lack words to talk about and thus cannot conceptualise and think about in complicated ways. So it is not a question of whether, but of how the organisation should talk about skin colour. The development of a language to talk about skin colour is therefore an absolutely essential process that you need to go through together in the organisation. Of course, you need to respect the right of groups to define themselves, but in substance this is no more

complex than the fact that the vocabulary we use to talk about disability and sexual orientation is also not self-evident and changes over time. Yet organisations are addressing this issue with the result that they have words to talk about these phenomena, which are characterised by respect for different groups and can be used in anti-discrimination work and promoting equal rights and opportunities.

In a British study conducted by the sustainability network Business in the Community, visible minority people had to choose between four commonly used terms to describe themselves: *Ethnic minority*, *BAME* (*Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic*), *BME* (*Black and Minority Ethnic*) and *non-white person*.

PERCENTAGE	TERM
30%	Doesn't matter which
26%	Something else
18%	Ethnic minority
16%	BAME
8%	BME
6%	Non-white person

Nearly a third of those surveyed said all four names were equally good and even when they had expressed a preference, this did not mean they found the other terms offensive. The bottom line was that the fear many Britons have of saying the wrong thing is exaggerated and Sweden is probably not so different on that point. The essential thing for the organisation is to end up with terms that you are comfortable with so that they can be used in the work of promoting equal rights and opportunities and combating discrimination. Look around the world and learn from others. Business in the Community's guide on how to start the conversation, *Let's talk about Race*, is available to download on their website and can be a good help to you, even though it is written for a slightly different cultural context.

Establish systems for follow up and evaluation

Active measures are based on knowledge of the situation in the organisation in terms of inclusion and the incidence of discrimination. This can only be acquired through active knowledge acquisition in the form of mapping as described in the section Make Visible. No employer's commitment to inclusion with regard to skin colour can be taken seriously unless it is linked to a system for following up inclusion that is based on meaningful categories that actually measure what is meant to be measured. The mapping should not be a one-off exercise but should be seen as a first step towards establishing a permanent system for following up and evaluating inclusion with regard to skin colour. This means that the practices and procedures used in the mapping should be institutionalised in the organisation by securing resources in terms of competence, time and money to regularly measure indicators, draw conclusions from the results and use them to change the way you work. Your work on active measures will then be based on real knowledge. In English, the term monitoring is used, which translates into *bevakning* in Swedish. Below is a checklist of the requirements that can be set for a system for monitoring.

Checklist for successful follow-up and evaluation

- Active measures are based on actual knowledge of the situation. Before any implementation can be relevant, you need to know the current situation through mapping and how to follow up and evaluate that the measure actually achieves the goals by having a monitoring system in place.
- The first mapping should be seen as part of setting up the system.
- The inclusion monitoring system must be based on both qualitative and quantitative indicators as described in the section on mapping out.
- Possible key figures may relate to representation in the organisation as a whole and at different levels of position, salaries, terms of employment, proportion recruited, proportion of applicants for vacancies, promotions, departures, employee training background and so on. It can also be about issues such as the percentage of complaints, reported cases of discrimination or harassment and how employees answer different questions in employee survey.

Develop governance and leadership

Work to promote inclusion in terms of skin colour can usefully borrow from the methods used in promoting gender equality. A common approach when governing documents are to be equality integrated is to engender goal formulations in such a way that “women” and “men” are written instead of gender-neutral descriptions of the target group such as “citizen”, “customer” or “user”. The point is that if the goals are engendered, so is the follow-up. That is to say, we will look at the fulfilment of goals for both women and men. Since not everyone identifies as a woman or a man, it is becoming increasingly common to have engendered goal formulations that do not point out specific genders. Instead of writing “the business should function equally and well for women and men”, one can write “the business should function equally and well regardless of the recipient’s gender”. Translated into the question of skin colour, that wording could read “the business should work equally and well regardless of the recipient’s skin colour”.

Review your governing documents, such as vision, values, business plan, diversity plan, recruitment policy, action plans against harassment and bullying, quick references and codes of conduct. If they do not contain any specific wordings about skin colour, this means that the issue of skin colour is sidelined and only followed up poorly, if at all. Skin colour quite simply needs to be written into governing documents in order for goal-driven work to promote inclusion in terms of skin colour to become relevant in the organisation.

Not only do you need to have good governing documents that can guide the work, but you must also have a management that has the necessary knowledge and is confident that you can both discuss issues related to skin colour and handle the control of an initiative for inclusion in terms of skin colour. Management should be able to be involved in setting appropriate goals and making decisions on action plans and be able to follow up on the implementation of things and whether goals are achieved. Management must understand that these are competences they are expected to have and they should signal in words and actions how important the issue of active measures relating to skin colour is to the organisation.

Inclusive culture

Training in itself does not lead to more diversity in the workplace, if by diversity you mean better representation of people with different social identities. But training can make employees more aware of how norms affect the organisation and how the organisation can be excluding or unwelcoming to some people. In this way, work can begin to create a more inclusive culture and environment where more different groups of people feel secure and affirmed. An inclusive organisational culture is also a prerequisite for norm-breaking people to want to remain after they have been recruited into the organisation.

Remember, it takes time to change an organisational culture. It is not a linear process and sometimes the changes can feel chaotic. The important thing is that it is possible to improve the organisational culture with deliberate strategies and some changes will arise as a by-product of other activities in the promotional work. Try to always evaluate cultural change in terms of changing behaviour because it is through actions, not attitudes, that people exclude or include.

Checklist for inclusive recruitment

- Ask yourself what the stereotypical image of an employee in the organisation looks like in terms of skin colour, gender, age, sexuality, class, leisure interests etc. How do employees contribute to strengthening or challenging that image through who you are, your jargon and your behaviour in general?
- Scrutinise the physical environment of the workplace to ensure that it does not contain flags, images, doodles, or other manifestations that are offensive to different groups on the basis of skin colour or other grounds.
- Ask yourself how employees and visitors are welcomed when they come to the workplace. Is there anyone there to welcome them? Are all people treated in the same welcoming and professional way as one might expect?
- If you are not sure that, for example, visible minorities among customers, users and other stakeholders feel equally welcome, consider asking them.
- Make an effort to put up decorations and signs that convey the values that you want your employees to be carriers of and that customers, users and other stakeholders should associate you with.
- Adapt holiday leave to other than the holidays of the majority culture.
- Have a secluded, quiet space intended for spirituality.

Recruit without discriminating

That an organisation has representation of social identities that reflect their proportion of the population is a strong indicator that an organisation is inclusive, even though it is not exactly the same thing. It is perfectly possible for an organisation to achieve good representation but still be excluding in terms of how the organisation works and in terms of the degree to which employees, based on their different social identities, feel at home in the organisation, seen and respected. Having said that, representation is a cornerstone of inclusion and as the path to broader representation goes through recruitment and retention of staff, we need to take a closer look at how this is done in practice and what obstacles there are to inclusive recruitment. Therefore, recruitment is treated as a special process in the organisation with a special status in work on active measures relating to skin colour.

When reviewing your recruitment process, it is recommended to work closely with HR and also feel free to get help from outside. There are qualified consultants who work on competence-based recruitment, but there are also other actors such as associations and networks which train and give advice about non-discriminatory practice in recruitment. For the first review, the list below inspired by the publication *Recruit Right* can be helpful.

Recruitment group

- Is the recruitment group composed of people from different backgrounds in terms of skin colour and other social identities such as gender, disability and age. If not, it may be a good idea to strengthen the recruitment group. If only HR and management are involved in recruitment, you can form a recruitment group in which other employees can also participate as a way to increase the diversity and perspectives of those involved in recruitment.

Job description

- Could discrimination be built into the position in any way? Is it possible to change the working tasks to avoid certain groups not being able to apply for the position?

Requirement specification

- Are there requirements for competences that are not relevant to the working tasks?
- Do you break down skills into behaviours to avoid routine requirements being set for education and work experience because it is unclear whether they contribute to better productivity at work?
- Have you distinguished the competences that are absolutely necessary, so-called must requirements, from those that are purely advantageous?
- Can all competences be measured? Competences you cannot measure allow for arbitrariness and should therefore not be used.

Advertising

- Do you use recruitment channels where you reach as many people as possible?
- Do you use targeted search paths to reach people you don't reach today?
- A good job announcement focuses only on the competences and characteristics required to perform the job.

Application procedure

- Have you ensured that the application procedure is standardised so that everyone can answer the same questions?
- Do you use anonymised applications as a way to prevent you from being influenced by irrelevant factors?

The first selection

- Can you say with certainty that you are only evaluating applicants according to the selection criteria?
- Are you consistent in your decision-making?

Interview

- Do you ask all the interviewees the same questions?
- Do you refrain from asking questions that have no relevance for the position?
- Do you ensure you are several people performing the interviews so as to bring more perspective?

Making a decision

- Do you analyse why a particular candidate was chosen as the final candidate from a non-discriminatory perspective?
- Do you clearly document your reasons for decisions in order to communicate them to applicants and critically review your decisions afterwards?
- Do you regularly evaluate the results of your recruitment procedure based on how it contributes, or does not contribute, to more diversity in staff composition in terms of skin colour?

Changed practices

Above, I have gone through what in my assessment must be done in an organisation that is serious about its work to promote inclusion in terms of skin colour. But there is more. An organisation's activities can be divided into a number of procedures and processes, the performance of which has an impact on how inclusive the organisation is. This includes the organisation's communication, so review your printed material, the website and your social media. Do the images there reflect diversity in society? Also look at the language used and take into account whether the symbols and examples used speak to a diversity of people. With your external and internal communication, you should signal that you are an organisation that values diversity. This gives support and legitimacy to the agencies for change in the organisation while making your dedication clear to external stakeholders.

A thorough analysis of the effects of racism in the organisation, and how the same is expressed in society as a whole, can lead to the development of new products and services. You can also set requirements in your procurement that contribute to suppliers having to work adequately on inclusion.

It is important to have equal treatment of customers, users and the organisation's other stakeholders. Everyone should feel equally welcome and well cared for in their relationships with the organisation, regardless of skin colour. It is a good idea to not just assume that this is the case, but actually ask the external stakeholders and take action if differences in the perception of treatment are revealed.

And with your new insights into minority stress, you may see that the organisation needs more or better competence to deal with this phenomenon. Perhaps there is reason to develop staff healthcare to cope with the health problems that minority stress ultimately leads to.

There is a palette of other initiatives the organisation can launch so as to become more inclusive in terms of skin colour. This includes, for example, targeted trainee programmes. Mentoring programs are another proven approach where visible minority people are paired with employees or managers in the organisation. In the USA, it is a common requirement for managers to be part of reverse mentoring programmes in which managers seek out employees from minority groups so as to better understand the positive effects diversity has on the organisation and what the barriers might be that minorities face in the organisation.

An exhaustive review under the heading changed practices could become another book on its own so I will stop there. My hope with this manual is to help organisations get started on active measures against discrimination on the basis of skin colour. The rest is up to you.

Good luck on the journey!

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Muntliga källor

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