

Migration Mobilities Bristol, Waling Waling and
Permanent Peoples' Tribunal

Hostile Environments and Struggles for Justice



Introduction

‘Justice’ is a word that is widely used in politics and in policies in many different countries and in the European Union. Political parties may have the term in their names and in their manifestos and a wide range of campaigns and organisations. Justice it seems is an ideal that we can all aspire to. Unlike other ideals such as equality it cuts across the political spectrum from right to left. The embrace of justice as a common ideal shared by institutions and groups with fundamentally different values suggests the danger that it has become a non-political abstraction. It sounds good – who can be *against* justice? – but what does it actually mean in practice? What are we asking for when we call for justice?

ETHOS – Towards a European Theory Of juStice and fairness is a European Commission Horizon 2020 research project running from January 2017 to December 2019 that investigates justice in theory and practice. Utrecht University in the Netherlands coordinates the project and works together with five other research institutions. These are based in Austria (European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy), Hungary (Central European University), Portugal (Centre for Social Studies), Turkey (Boğaziçi University) and the UK (University of Bristol).

ETHOS has two intertwining strands: the empirical and the theoretical. The ‘empirical’ is practical research and investigation. In our empirical work we have explored what different people – bureaucrats, activists, policymakers, the person in the street – mean when they think about ‘justice’. We have looked at justice in different fields, including welfare benefits, migration, education, and the media, in the different countries where we are based to better understand the possibilities of justice, and why for some people and groups it seems so difficult to achieve. In our theoretical work we have looked at the history of debates about the nature of justice, what are the key disputes and flashpoints, and, importantly, how is this reflected in practice.

While those working on the frontline in struggles for justice may feel theory is an indulgence and not directly relevant to the difficult struggles and decisions of the day-to-day, we argue that theory and concepts matter and can be helpful to their work. For example, there is a long history of debate about justice and ideal/non-ideal theory: when we call for justice are we looking to the future of an ideal world, or are we starting at the world as it is? If we are starting from the world as it is, what we are calling for now or in the immediate future might stand in the way of where we would like to end up. To take a concrete example, some people argue that in the ideal world there will be no immigration controls, and in practice might fight for a campaign that recognises asylum seekers’ right to stay. But the flipside of recognising particular groups’ or individuals’ right to stay is the deportation of those who do not belong to the right groups e.g. who have a criminal record, or who are entering a state illegally because they are seeking a better life. In making our world a little bit better, we risk reinforcing the institutions that are the root causes of injustice. This might indeed be the risk that we have to take, but recognising it, and thinking it through using tried and tested ideas and arguments, can be helpful to our political positioning.

As well as having relevance we also point out that thinking about concepts is not confined to the University. We need to get away from the idea that researchers come into organisations, find out the

information and then come up with the big ideas. All of us are using concepts and doing conceptual work all the time. Oftentimes those organising and campaigning for justice do not have the time or resources to reflect on their conceptual work, but this does not mean they are not doing it. Universities can be useful in this regard. Most people cook, some people are very good, and some home cooks are better than trained chefs. The University is a kitchen with all sorts of useful tools for home cooks and trained chefs on hand to help out with new recipes. Those of us working in the University also have the opportunity to meet home cooks from a wide variety of backgrounds, cooking very different dishes, who could learn a lot from each other.

In this dossier you will find short descriptions of the ETHOS research work conducted by the team based at the University of Bristol. Each of the six universities took a leadership role in one work package. Leading a work package meant co-ordinating national research reports on the topics in our work package. Bristol University co-ordinated national research reports on justice and Roma peoples in Europe, justice and care/personal assistance, and justice and social assistance. When we received the national reports we then wrote up a 'Deliverable', an official report to the European Commission. This connected the national reports to theories of justice and looked at how theories of justice might be affected by their empirical findings. You can find our Deliverables on pages X and Y of this dossier. We also conducted research and wrote national reports for the work packages led by other team members. You can find descriptions of these national reports on pages A and B of this dossier.

One of the key lessons we take away for theory is to question the relation between justice and citizenship. Those who have seen the powerful Ken Loach film, *I Daniel Blake*, may remember that at the end he asserts 'I am a citizen' and, traditionally, citizenship has been seen as an important means of making claims to justice. However, citizenship is increasingly being hollowed out. It is being tied ever more closely to race/ethnicity, and to being a certain kind of worker. The value of citizenship for people on social assistance, for disabled people, for Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic people, is being diminished. There is a lot to be learned from the treatment of migrants and from their struggles to demand rights outside the confines of citizenship, whether those rights are for housing, for the basic necessities of life, disability rights and so on. We recognise the importance and intertwining of local and global perspectives, that even intensely local struggles are embedded in a history of colonialism and ongoing relationships of exploitation and injustice that are expressed in the food we eat, the products we buy, the health service we rely on.

We wish to thank all our research participants. We learned and are learning a lot from all of you. Difference can be respected, but we must also make opportunities to speak across differences, make comparisons, and learn from each other. Understanding what we mean by justice, and understanding it together, is one way of doing so.

Bridget Anderson
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Director of Migration Mobilities Bristol
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OVERVIEW OF ETHOS STUDIES			
UK case study	Topics	Lead university	Deliverable
JUSTICE AS LIVED EXPERIENCE (WP5)			
--	Standpoint theory Critical race theory Methodological nationalism	University of Bristol, UK	Conceptualisation and Articulation of Justice: Justice in Social Theory
Political Representation and Experienced Recognition among Roma in the UK	Roma, Gypsy and Travellers Ethnic representation	University of Bristol, UK	'How Does it Feel to Be a Problem?' What We Can Learn about Justice as Political Representation from Empirical Case Studies
--	Commodified care for disabled persons in the private home	University of Bristol, UK	Justice, Care and Personal Assistance
Working for Benefits: Deservingness and Discrimination in the UK Social Security System	Welfare benefits Universal Credit Mobility Disability	University of Bristol, UK	Just Deserts? Justice, Deservingness and Social Assistance
STRUGGLES FOR JUSTICE (WP6)			
UK Report on the Economic Struggles of Young Mothers and Migrant Domestic Workers	Economic precarity Labour law Austerity	University of Coimbra, Portugal	Comparative Report on the Types of Distributive Claims, Interests and Capabilities of Various Groups of the Population evoked in the Political and Economic Debates at the EU and at the Nation State Level
UK Report on Social Dialogue in Wage Setting	Minimum wage Collective bargaining	University of Coimbra, Portugal	The Effectiveness of Social Dialogue as an Instrument to Promote Labour and Social Justice
Promoting Access to Injustice? Alternative Dispute Resolution and Employment Relations in the UK	Workplace conciliation Employment Tribunals	University of Coimbra, Portugal	Comparative Report on Labour Conflicts and Access to Justice: The Impact of Alternative Dispute Resolution
JUSTICE IN PUBLIC DISCOURSES (WP4)			
UK Report on the Discursive Construction of Justice in Politics	Grenfell fire 2017 General Election	University of Utrecht, Netherlands	Justice in European Political Discourse – Comparative Report of Six Country Cases

Political Discourses on Educational Justice and Muslims in the UK	Muslim education Religious schools Cultural accommodation	Boğaziçi University, Turkey	Discourses on Minorities' (and Vulnerable Groups') Access to Education: Inclusionary and Exclusionary Aspects
The Trojan Horse Controversy: Mapping the Construction of Justice in the UK Media	Education inspection Islam and gender equality	University of Utrecht, Netherlands	Mapping the Construction of Justice and Justice-Related Tensions in Europe: A Comparative Report
Imperial Reminders: Arguing about Statues and Commemoration in Oxford	Commemoration of imperial history Public monuments	Boğaziçi University, Turkey	Historical Memory and the Practice of Commemoration in Public Space – Mapping Moral Sentiments of Opinion Leaders
LAW AS OR AGAINST JUSTICE FOR ALL? (WP3)			
The Right to Vote for Disabled Persons and Citizens Living Abroad: UK Report	Voting eligibility and procedures	Central European University, Hungary	A Comparative Report on the Legal Rules and Practices Regulating the Exercise of the Right to Vote (Eligibility and Representation) in Local, National and EU Elections of Marginalised Groups
The Right to Housing for Disabled Persons and Refugees: UK Report	Housing benefits Emergency housing assistance Evictions	Central European University, Hungary	Coming 'Home': The Right to Housing Between Redistributive and Recognitive Justice
The Right to Education for Disabled Persons and Religious Minorities: UK Report	Compulsory schooling Curriculum Admissions Expulsions	University of Utrecht, Netherlands	Comparative Report on the Right to Education: An Assessment of the Legal Framework of Six Countries from the Perspective of Recognitive and Redistributive Justice

Work Package 5: Justice as lived experience

Coordinated by University of Bristol



Political representation and experienced recognition among Roma in the UK

Bridget Anderson, Dora-Olivia Vicol, Pier-Luc Dupont and Julia Morris

Focusing on the Roma in the UK, this report explores the relation between institutional and individual processes of ethnic identification, discursive construction and political representation, as well as their interaction with Gypsy, Traveller and migrant identities and policies. The report foregrounds the fluidity and context-sensitivity of Roma identities and teases out the reasons why different actors endorse or reject them. It asks who engages in Roma politics, what those who do seek to achieve, and how they relate to institutional discourses and representative bodies.

Findings suggest that some Roma-specific policies are perceived as opening opportunities for countering negative stereotyping and promoting political participation whereas others raise fears of misrepresentation and misrecognition. Individual Roma generally did not object to being grouped together with Gypsies and Travellers but awareness of the stigma attached to these labels made them ambivalent toward their use in state monitoring and public policies. In terms of portrayal, they did not only reject hostile stereotypes of criminality and fecklessness but also benevolent ones of poverty and educational underachievement, as well as some construals of their cultural traditions. Conversely, the discourse of anti-Roma discrimination generated a degree of consensus among respondents. The question of political participation was deemed significant to the extent that it contributed to addressing barriers to social mobility, but service providers and Roma migrants alike signalled dangers of tokenistic or self-interested representation. They also problematised the legitimacy of leaders who claimed to represent the Roma community as a whole without engaging with all its constituents, emphasising the diversity of national origins. In contrast, the political representative perceived the internal coherence of Roma demands, conveyed by a limited number of leaders, as a pre-requisite for effective dialogue. For Roma activists, the most immediate threat to representation was a lack of public funding which undermined civil society organisations' capacity to mobilise Roma communities and take part in consultative mechanisms.



This report draws together the findings of six national studies conducted on the Roma

What are the obstacles to the political representation of individuals who are identified with a minority?

How are these obstacles linked to experiences of (mis)recognition?

Critical race theory provided insights to overcome methodological nationalism

WHAT IS THE PROBLEM?

"Roma" is a contested, multi-dimensional and highly stigmatised identity

The Roma identity often evokes material poverty, racialised phenotypes and cultural practices

EU member states have been encouraged to fight this since the 1990s

In some countries Roma can elect political representatives, provide them with information and advice through civil society leaders or recognise their history in official discourses

However there is still no substantive representation - Roma interests and perspectives are still overlooked by authorities. There are few Roma policymakers, and political institutions have strong race and class biases.

IMPLICATIONS FOR JUSTICE

THEORY

Democratic theorists should attend more to the issues arising from NGO/civil society claims to represent and how they challenge or relate to institutional representation.

POLICY

In formulating minority policy, institutions should be attentive to the full range of voices within communities - including women, sexual minorities and linguistically marginalised groups

PRACTICE

Achieving political justice for minorities requires simultaneous engagement with the politics of recognition, redistribution and freedom of movement, as well as the development of non-territorial forms of democratic representation

'How does it feel to be a problem?' What we can learn about justice as political representation from empirical case studies

Bridget Anderson and Pier-Luc Dupont

This report examines the relationship between political representation and experiences of (mis)recognition by reflecting on the results of national case studies on the Roma. More specifically it develops insights derived from critical race theory and tries to overcome the methodological nationalism that underlies the literature on political representation. We are guided by two overarching questions: what are the obstacles to the political representation of individuals who identify or are identified with a minority? How are these obstacles linked to experiences of (mis)recognition?

We find that in the current European context, Roma is a contested, multidimensional and highly stigmatised identity which simultaneously evokes material poverty, racialised phenotypes, and cultural practices. It is frequently shunned by those to whom it is ascribed. Since the 1990s, EU member states have been encouraged to reverse this trend in part by improving the political representation of their Roma citizens. The results have been ambiguous. On the one hand, in some national and municipal contexts, those who identify as Roma have the right to elect Roma representatives in local, regional and national governments, and Roma civil society leaders have had opportunities to influence policymaking through permanent and ad hoc consultative mechanisms. There have also been attempts to symbolically recognise Roma history, including their persecution, in official discourses. On the other hand, these measures do not seem to have translated into substantive representation, to the extent that Roma interests and perspectives continue to be widely overlooked by public authorities. This may partly be attributable to the scarcity of policymakers identifying as Roma, but the class bias of political institutions also plays a key role in the powerlessness of a materially deprived population. Alienation from state institutions, coupled with financial support from international and transnational ones, has triggered a proliferation of civil society organisations claiming to represent the Roma on a non-territorial basis. To the extent that they challenge the legitimacy of the powers attributed to territorial states, such claims break with the Westphalian or nationalist frame in which justice for cultural minorities has been envisaged up to now. In this way, they offer an opportunity to rethink political representation beyond the sedentarist assumptions which reproduce the misrecognition of mobile and racialised populations.

Reference document on the histories of minoritisation in Austria, Hungary, Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey and the United Kingdom

Bridget Anderson, Sara Araújo, Laura Brito, Mehmet Ertan, Jing Hiah, Trudie Knijn, Isabella Meier and Maddalena Vivona. Edited by Emma Newcombe and Liam Lemkin Anderson.

For this joint publication, ETHOS research teams in all partner countries were asked to draft national case studies detailing state attempts to respond to minority claims for political recognition and justice, and the context for these responses given the national history of state formation and bordering. For each case study researchers wrote a history of minoritization in their respective countries, its relation to state formation and to how states institutionalised claims for political justice. The material produced for this historical context was extremely rich and important for other ETHOS work packages as well as a resource for other researchers.

This reference document does not attempt to make a particular theoretical point or to develop an overarching narrative for the case study material, but it provides useful background information for the analysis of inclusion/exclusion processes in selected European countries. For instance, it finds that the British state's creation and treatment of certain populations as minorities needs to be understood within two major historical trajectories. The first is the creation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, which is comprised of four 'nations': Scotland, Wales, England and Northern Ireland. The second trajectory is Britain's history as a global colonial power, deeply implicated in the slave trade and Empire. These two are inter-related – England's conquest and colonization of Ireland began in the twelfth century, in 1541 Henry VII proclaimed himself 'King of Ireland', and by 1603 England controlled all of Ireland. In Turkey, the Lausanne Treaty of 1923 recognised non-Muslim communities as legal minorities. Since then, being non-Muslim has been the legal condition for being attributed a minority status in Turkey. In practice Turkey restricts the scope of minority rights to Armenians, Rums (Orthodox Greeks) and Jews, therefore excluding other non-Muslim communities such as Assyrians, Chaldeans, Nestorians and Protestants. In Portugal, the ideology of Lusotropicalism has perpetuated the view that Portuguese colonialism was harmonious and mild, and that the Portuguese were non-racist and prone to misgeneation. This ideology has led to a lack of data collection on racism which makes it difficult to properly address the problem. In the Netherlands, the construction of minorities must be understood in the context of four socio-political developments: first, the creation of the Dutch Republic (1581-1795), which is praised for its comparatively unique tolerance towards religious minorities; second, the role it played in the early days of colonialism and the slave trade; third, pillarization or the so called 'consensus' model of governance; and fourth, in the context of decolonisation when the Netherlands became an unwilling country of immigration, and integration thinking and practice were introduced. In Austria, the XIX century Habsburg monarchy was conceived as a multi-ethnic state, with 11 officially recognised languages. The Treaty of Saint Germain (1919) also contained provisions for the protection of national minorities, in particular for the Slovenian in Carinthia and the Roma, Hungarian and Croatian in Burgenland. In 1938 with the Third Reich, some minorities became the object of expulsion and persecution: particularly affected were the Jews, the Slovenian in Carinthia, the Roma and Sinti in Burgenland and the Czech in Vienna. The Austrian Ethnic Group Act 1976 was an attempt of the government to bring minority politics back into an institutional and democratic frame.



Justice care and personal assistance

How are claims for justice made and negotiated in private households?

The Capability Approach/Capability Theory (CA/T) makes the normative claim that **freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance**. It has been used as a framework to assess the relation between well-being and socio-economic contexts, to inform policies for social change.



CA/T's move from a focus only on resources (redistribution) reveals how the relation between the **elements of 'participation' and freedom** in the achievement of **well-being** become **contested**.



FINDINGS

There are **differences** between policymakers and service users' understandings of **resources and of concepts**:



For policymakers, the **money** that pays for care workers is the key resource that people are to convert into capabilities;

for the service providers and service users, the resource is experienced as **time**;



For policymakers, 'independence' means **non-institutionalisation** i.e. can mean intense family involvement;

for service users 'independence' often means **independence** from family members.

Nussbaum's **central human functionings** gives a vocabulary to legitimate claims to affiliation outside the family context. However, contra Nussbaum, participants are not starting from a position of separation from which they are seeking connection and relationality. They are seeking not to **make** but to **manage** connections.

Temporalities matter: process can turn the enablement of basic functionings into the promotion of well-being.

People with a long term engagement in care work experience **moral distress**, but those for whom personal assistance is temporary work are less emotionally engaged.



What does this mean?

Resources should be deployed to recognise the capacity of care users to be caregivers in practice. Also, ethical training should be provided for care workers.

The theoretical, policy and practical insights gained from the experience of those who are disabled throughout their lives and those who become disabled later in life should be brought together.

Policymakers, civil society organisations and other stakeholders should clarify the meaning of **'independence'** as an aim to be pursued in relation to family members, friends and local community. They should also acknowledge and problematise the **gendered nature** of 'family support', care work and personal assistance.



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Justice, care and personal assistance

Bridget Anderson

This report seeks to develop Capability Approaches/Theory through the analysis of national case studies of support services for elderly and disabled people in private households. It explores the effects on capabilities and functionings of everyday practices of recognition and redistribution in private homes with specific regard to the lives of adult physically disabled care users and the people who are paid to provide them with care. Thus, it covers those perceived as potentially vulnerable and therefore eligible for provision but also care workers/personal assistants who provide services and are often in low waged and precarious work.

The paper begins with an outline of the Capability Approach/Theory and its relevance to disability before briefly outlining the methodology and national contexts. In keeping with the 'bottom up' approach and responding to the diversity of the case studies both within and between national reports, we then take two very different examples of elder care and disability assistance and consider what can be learned about Capability Theory from the contrasts between them. Taking these as our starting points highlights two under-explored aspects of care and capabilities: matters of independence versus connection and issues related to temporalities and process. We therefore explore these further drawing on all the national case studies.

Applying Capability Theory to relations of personal assistance and care suggests the fruitfulness of taking as a starting point what people consider to be a life they have reason to value. This is a question that, correctly and sensitively put, most people have the possibility of engaging with. It is also a question which will produce widely variant answers depending on the personal, social and institutional situation of the person one is asking. This raises the issue of how to scale up from these answers, which may in some cases be expressions of personal preference, to questions of justice. That is, how does one move from a commitment to concrete and particular concerns to broader social and political demands? This is precisely what Nussbaum's list of central human functionings claims to do. Indeed, in the context of the national case studies many of the functionings that figure on this list seem highly relevant, particularly those that capture emotion and affiliation, which give us a vocabulary to legitimate these claims. As illustrated by the 'part of the family' model of caregiving, the principal concept that we currently have for legitimating these claims is the family, yet this does not adequately capture the complex webs of affiliation and emotional connection we are woven into or excluded from. At the same time, the ethnographies suggest the limitations of taking Nussbaum's starting point of the separated individual who must be connected. Indeed, the personal assistance model in Austria indicates that the idealised autonomous and independent individual – in other words, disconnection - is in some cases the desired end point. Furthermore, affiliation requires someone to affiliate to. This can be experienced as a demand or trade-off, as fulfilling one person's desire for connection may require another to devote time and effort to the creation and maintenance of interpersonal emotions. However it may also enable genuinely affiliative responses, particularly over time.

Working for benefits: Deservingness and discrimination in the British social security system

Pier-Luc Dupont, Bridget Anderson and Dora-Olivia Vicol

In the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, the British welfare state came under systematic attack within a broader agenda of deregulation and austerity. This report explores what people understand to be the relation between means-tested working-age benefits and social justice. Its focus is on the impact of welfare retrenchment on three subordinated social categories: disabled persons, foreign nationals and young mothers.

Findings reveal an influential media and political discourse holding that insufficient motivation to work and other individual factors are to blame for poverty. Under the rule of Conservative-led Governments, this rhetoric provided a cover of legitimacy to coercive measures purporting to make employment more attractive than claiming benefits and instill work-related behaviour. While the principle of 'less eligibility' continues to enjoy broad support, upholding it in a context of increasing in-work poverty has meant plunging families into destitution, riddling them with debt, subjecting their daily lives to close scrutiny and making the conditions and process for claiming benefits increasingly onerous. By effect or by design, these impacts have exacerbated the subordination of disabled persons, foreign nationals and young mothers. Most disabled claimants have faced reduced allowances on the highly contested assumption that they would be able to participate in paid employment. Non-UK jobseekers have been imposed stringent conditions for retaining 'worker' and 'resident' status, including minimum earnings thresholds, compelling evidence of job prospects, language skills and social connections. Due to the scarcity of affordable childcare, single parents of young children, the vast majority of whom are women, have borne the brunt of work-related conditionality. Interviews suggest that some of these impacts are more likely than others to be perceived as flagrant injustices. While migrants have proven willing to accept a degree of less favourable treatment, sometimes by pointing to the inadequate support received in their countries of origin, gendered ideals of work and childcare have contributed to stronger opposition toward austerity measures targeting young mothers. Perhaps the most uniformly negative reactions were aroused by the procedural failures of an increasingly complex and automatised system whose foremost purpose is to ensure that claimants do not receive any more than the amount to which they are entitled.

While sowing division and arousing interpersonal frustrations, benefit cutbacks have also sparked transformative forms of mobilisation. Non-discrimination provisions have offered a legal basis on which to challenge austerity, and specialist charities have been joined by statutory bodies in their support for claimants. International human rights organisations have played an active role in legitimating these cases by condemning in unusually strong terms the negative effects of benefit restrictions. Unions and job centre staff have allied with claimants to contest the Government's insistence on making greater use of sanctions. Driven by an ideal of needs-based social assistance that furthers the interests of precariously employed workers, these alliances may become fertile ground for a renewed politics of social security.

Just deserts? Justice, deservingness and social assistance

In public perceptions and policies alike, people are seen as deserving of **social assistance** insofar as they comply with **five criteria**

- 1) facing deprivation due to **circumstances** beyond their control;
- 2) showing **gratefulness** for the support received;
- 3) having made or making a socio-economic **contribution**;
- 4) sharing a common **identity** with other citizens; and
- 5) **struggling** to cover basic needs.



What do benefit claimants, activists and officials understand to be the **relation between justice and social assistance** ?



Social assistance is understood to be a means-tested benefit that is meant to be non-contributory

FINDINGS



Deservingness is used to signify an injustice affecting taxpayers rather than those living in poverty.



The conception of need is deployed to impose a maximum rather than a minimum income threshold. This allows for inadequately low levels of social assistance.



Contribution is interpreted narrowly as employment and overlooks a wide range of other valuable activities.



The logic of citizenship assumes a national frame of justice and excludes mobile and racialised populations, including the Roma.



The elderly, the disabled and, to a limited extent, the carers of young children are represented as 'disadvantaged' and 'vulnerable'. This means they may be considered deserving.



When social workers and claimant managers lack the resources or motivation to positively respond to claimants' interests and circumstances, their discretionary powers can facilitate discrimination and domination.



What does this mean?

Theory: Justice and deservingness, and particularly work- and citizenship-based principles of deservingness, should be more fully explored.

Policy: benefit sanctions should be removed as a first step toward the elimination of work-related conditionality. Social assistance should be provided to all those who are legally resident.

Practice: promote dialogue between claimant unions and the workers administering benefits, and provide sufficient training to officials administering the benefits.



Just deserts? Justice, deservingness and social assistance

Bridget Anderson and Pier-Luc Dupont

This report explores the relation between justice and social assistance, a means-tested state benefit that is in principle non-contributory. The context of the views and experiences described is the 2007-2008 financial crisis and the subsequent policy shift toward austerity that took place in the countries under study except Turkey. The contested nature of social policy during austerity revealed public perceptions regarding the treatment of different social categories, which can be inferred from legal changes but also captured in the discourses of the media and political parties. Comparing such perceptions with the accounts of individual claimants can reveal important gaps in hegemonic understandings of the welfare state and its impact on structural inequalities. Our analysis is based on semi-structured interviews and secondary data on the social position of disabled persons, foreign nationals, young persons and women (and the interaction between these characteristics).

We find that in the context of social assistance, ideas of justice are mobilised not to support claimants, but to support the 'taxpayer' and the citizen working poor who are represented as the losers if the welfare state is too generous. Respondents' ideas about social assistance call on ideas of appropriateness or fittingness of treatment and might be seen to draw on Aristotelian ideas of moral character or virtue as a desert basis for economic distribution. This is particularly evident when considering the pattern of distribution. Using Van Oorschot's 'CARIN' criteria (Control, Attitude, Reciprocity, Identity and Neediness) we explore how reciprocity trumps deservingness and the implications of this for recognition. While the welfare state is often represented, in both political theory and practice, as one of the pinnacles of European citizenship, to be in receipt of social assistance is neither experienced nor viewed as the imprimatur of citizenship, but rather it raises serious questions of misrecognition. The emphasis on need means that benefit claimants often feel the weight of social judgement on their personal behaviour, choices and values, or that they are the object of pity. The imposition of symbolic reciprocity is undermined by the failure to recognise activities as work and by the imposition of others that are considered socially demeaning. Furthermore, we argue that attention to outcomes is not sufficient for justice concerns, and that in many cases the procedures for claiming were themselves experienced as an injustice even if the outcome was not.

Report on the conceptualisation and articulation of justice: Justice in social theory

Bridget Anderson, Claudia Hartman and Trudie Knijn

This report outlines the conceptualisation and articulation of justice in social theory. It mainly focuses on sociological and anthropological theories that relate in one way or the other to philosophical reflections on justice and fairness. At the beginning of these disciplines' development, their founders were deeply interested in justice related issues, reflecting on legal, economic, social and interpersonal aspects of (in)justice and offering macro- and micro-level interpretations of causes and outcomes of (in)justice and (un)fairness. However, the closer we come to current academic theorising the less these concepts are articulated. Hence concepts of justice and fairness disappeared from social theoretical vocabulary and were replaced by 'objectively measurable' concepts like inequality, stratification, social capital and in/exclusion.

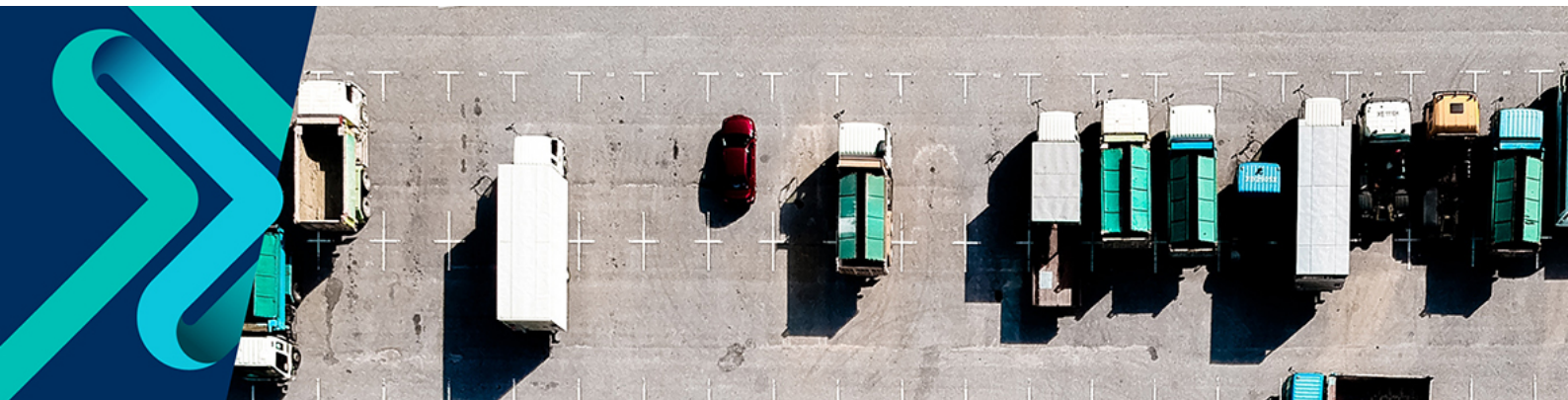
The boundaries between the empirical and the normative are highly contested, and social theorists can be concerned with the normative as philosophers can be engaged with the empirical. Indeed, both are often interested in exploring precisely the relation between 'what is' and 'what ought to be'. We outline how different challenges to abstract European moral reasoning have attempted to develop grounded theories of justice. We focus on theories that analyse structurally embedded forms of (in)justice and theories that engage with the perspectives of those who are marginalised. We articulate the interdependence of social theory and political philosophy and the continuing relevance of some of the critiques of European theory's universalism, disembodiment, abstraction, individualism, and methodological nationalism.

Different theories of justice emerge from different standpoints and classic liberal theory has emerged from the standpoint of the white, male, able-bodied property owner, i.e. one that is partial and historically embedded in values of independence and freedom. The selected approaches differently emphasise a) relationality and interdependence; b) embodiment/identity and subjectivity; c) mobilities and citizenship. Looking at the literature on care, gender, and interdependence informs critiques on liberal notions of citizenship and outlines a notion of justice that accounts for the interdependence of human subjectivity. The literature on identity provides us with a way to understand issues of justice from particular standpoints which shed a critical light on the generalised disembodied understanding of justice. And by drawing on specific critiques emanating from migration and mobility studies we highlight the dominance of the national as the frame of thinking and researching in social theory. We view race, gender, abled-ness, and sexuality as processual and relational rather than as given attributes and shed light on how these social relations fundamentally shape people's empirical experiences of injustice and the deeply contested relation between the law and justice.

Starting from the position that a theory of justice and fairness is most plausibly understood as a social construction or contract rather than a timeless truth means that critical social theory is very valuable. The purpose of applying critical social theory is to analyse the significance of dominant understandings generated in European societies in historical context, examining how vulnerable categories of people occur and are represented in the real world, and how such representations function to justify and legitimate their domination.

Work Package 6: Struggles for justice

Coordinated by University of Coimbra



UK report on the economic struggles of young mothers and migrant domestic workers

Pier-Luc Dupont and Bridget Anderson

This report examines how the 2008 financial crisis and the agenda of austerity and Brexit have affected young mothers, migrant domestic workers and other precarious workers in the UK, and how people have mobilised for economic justice in this context. In addition to identifying explicit legal restrictions that have excluded workers from employment protection, we examine the gaps between labour law in the books and in practice, highlighting structural factors that have impeded the effective exercise of statutory rights.

Results suggest that the evolution of economic conditions during the last decade has exacerbated and exposed deep tensions between economic justice and the ideal of the worker citizen, the person who proves their citizenship through labour. While all interviewees adhered to a version of this ideal, notably by expressing reservations toward universal basic income, they also criticised its contribution to current material and symbolic exclusions. For an increasing proportion of workers on non-standard contracts, the worker citizen's promise of decent pay and positive identity has been replaced by low wages, short termism and unpredictability of hours. This has made it difficult for them to plan their personal and family life, enforce their rights in court and participate in political struggles. Official exhortations to take up paid employment under threat of benefit sanctions have reminded young mothers that family-provided childcare was not considered worthy of legal protection and financial compensation, but also that most jobs did not pay enough to turn its commodification into a plausible alternative. Migrant domestic workers lost their right to renew their visas and therefore the capacity to effectively enforce all employment-related rights. Trades unions have adapted their structure and tactics to deal with these challenges, but economic struggles have also been waged in other sites such as informal grassroots organisations, political parties and think tanks. The remedies advanced to tackle economic injustice have included minimum wage enforcement, stronger legal underpinnings for trade unions activities, state-funded vocational training, public awareness campaigns, guaranteed means of subsistence for carers and long-term residence rights. For most respondents, Brexit raised the prospect of further deregulation and tighter migration control.

UK report on social dialogue in wage setting

Ioannis Katsaroumpas

This report examines the use of social dialogue in wage setting in the UK. It offers an overview of its evolution before and after the 2008 economic crisis and a justice-based evaluation of two social dialogue mechanisms: collective bargaining and the Low Pay Commission advising the Government on minimum wage rates. The 2008 social dialogue landscape is found to be the result of two contrasting trends. On the one hand, since the 1980s, a process of rapid de-collectivisation and de-centralisation of employment relations has significantly weakened and fragmented collective regulation. This process was driven, or at least facilitated, by the dismantling of the supporting institutional apparatus. The analysis discusses the overall decline of collective bargaining coverage and unionisation (especially in the private sector) and the abolition in 1992 of the tripartite Wages Councils (with the exception of the Agricultural Wage Board) which previously set legally binding sectoral minima. On the other hand, since 1998, the UK has a Government-led statutory minimum wage regime where social partners are assigned a consultative role through membership of the tripartite LPC. The report demonstrates that while not as dramatic as in other countries, post-crisis developments reinforced pre-crisis trends. This effect is manifest in the continuation of the decline in collective bargaining coverage and unionisation as well as the abolition of the last national-level Wages Council in 2013 (Agricultural Wages Board). However, the minimum wage has gained strength in terms of value and legitimacy in recent years.

The second part of the report normatively compares the Low Pay Commission and collective bargaining. It finds that the Low Pay Commission combines independence with some forms of indirect state influence, most notably through the determination of its remit. The inclusive nature of the process is facilitated by the Commission's tripartite composition and its broad evidence base. However, the process evinces deficits in terms of representativity because the Commission differs from 'mandate-based' collective bargaining where negotiators act on behalf of their organisations. The analysis highlights the formally equal status of all parties within the Commission and its process as a unique mix of deliberation and negotiation. The Commission process has a positive record on reducing extremely low-paid work. The evidence-based nature of the process means that it is dominated by economic considerations but the whole exercise can be seen as the practical realisation of a justice imperative. Its transparency is secured by the accessibility and well-reasoned nature of the Commission's annual reports. By contrast, collective bargaining is a more autonomous form of social dialogue. It offers a mandate-based form of inclusion of employers and employees through negotiators acting on behalf of their respective organisations. However, the analysis highlights two potential exclusions associated with collective bargaining: (i) exclusion of some workers from the scope of regulation and (ii) exclusion in the representation of non-union members. In collective bargaining, equality between parties is more power-sensitive than in the LPC, as it is contingent on labour market circumstances but also underpinned by the possibility of industrial action. The report draws attention to the different effects of centralised, mainly sectoral, and firm-level negotiations. Sectoral negotiations tend to strengthen the position of workers by aggregating power among all employers and workers. If they constitute the only level of social dialogue, however, they may come at the cost of workers' direct participation. Justice-sensitivity and transparency are not required for collective agreements but the process may be considered as an implicit realisation of justice, and transparency may be achieved through internal democracy mechanisms.

Promoting access to injustice? Alternative dispute resolution and employment relations in the UK

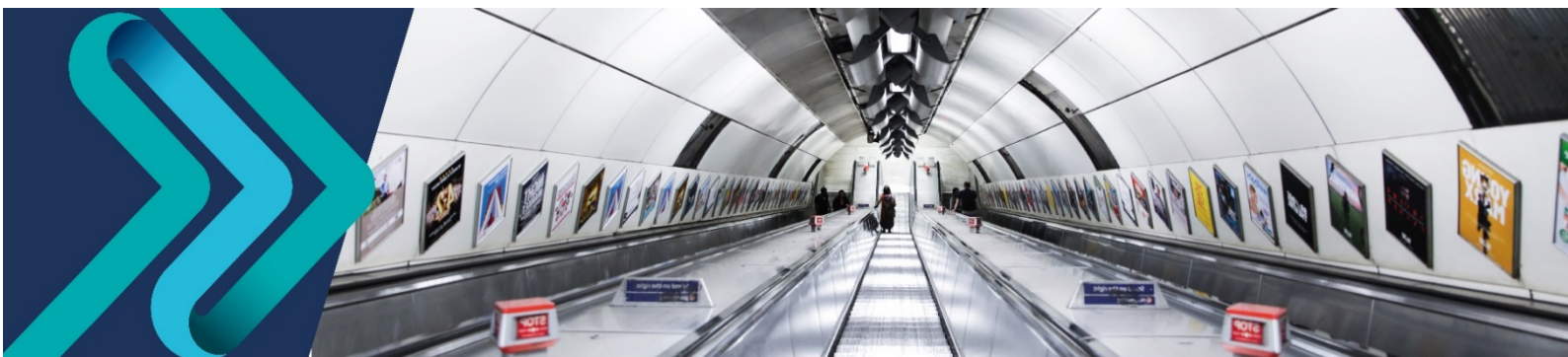
Pier-Luc Dupont, Eleanor Kirk, Morag McDermont and Bridget Anderson

In the UK, workers and employers are increasingly being encouraged to use alternative dispute resolution (ADR) mechanisms rather than Employment Tribunals (ETs) to resolve conflicts. Like adjudication, ADR involves the intervention of an independent third party in the dispute, but its aim is to help them reach a settlement rather than to apply legal rules and sanctions. It is generally praised for its comparative affordability, speediness and informality. This report unpacks the implications of the shift from judicial to extra-judicial dispute resolution for workers' capacity to contest power inequalities and exercise their rights. It focuses on the activities of the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (Acas), a large state-sponsored agency which wields unparalleled influence on the overall landscape of employment-related ADR in Great Britain.

Acas' main intervention in employment ADR takes place through a conciliation service which intervenes rapidly in ET claims, entails no direct financial cost for parties and seems to be positively evaluated by most of its users as well as (other) employers. However, unions have been more critical of its capacity to deliver fair outcomes, and both legal theory and available data suggest important pitfalls in terms of procedural and substantive justice. When it does not conclude in a settlement, conciliation may lengthen the dispute resolution process in a way that imposes disproportionate burdens on workers. Whatever its outcomes, it also offers employers an opportunity to shape workers' expectations through the authoritative voice of conciliators, whose impartial position may be confused with that of a judge despite the fact that they have no mandate to interpret legal rights and standards. The ambiguity is compounded by Acas' multiple roles, including a helpline on employment rights which many employees contact prior to conciliation. High rates of satisfaction with Acas services may thus conceal that conciliation can result in workers accepting unfair settlements in which their legal rights are compromised. Also of concern is the prevalence of confidentiality agreements which can make further claims by other employees difficult to pursue, and which keep employer abuses of rights out of the public domain. Since worker vulnerability partly reflects the overall inequality of bargaining power created by a long-standing decline in union representation, collective ADR (designed to prevent strikes rather than court cases) may be more likely to deliver fair outcomes than individualised interventions.

Work Package 4: Justice in public discourses

Coordinated by University of Utrecht and
Boğaziçi University



UK report on the discursive construction of justice in politics

Claudia Hartman, Pier-Luc Dupont and Bridget Anderson

This report critically examines the discursive construction of justice as political representation, taking as a starting point two recent and highly mediatised events. The first is the 2017 general elections, called by the Conservative Party in an ultimately unsuccessful attempt to consolidate its authority ahead of Brexit negotiations. The second is the fire that engulfed Grenfell Tower, part of a social housing estate in one of London's wealthiest boroughs, killing over 70 residents and leaving many others traumatised and homeless. In both cases, a recurrent theme of public discourses is the criticism of out-of-touch elites, which echoes the populist turn currently observable across Western Europe. However, the characteristics and interests of these elites are depicted very differently. In the context of the general elections, they are often represented as a pro-European and globalist middle class willing to sacrifice the economic interests and security of the British nation(s) on the altar of free movement and anti-racism. In Grenfell-related debates, the elites are portrayed as mainly upper-class whites who seek to entrench their economic privileges by capturing political institutions.

The discourses analysed also diverge in terms of the 'ordinary people' or the 'community' who are seen as misrepresented by political elites. In the general election, the 'left behind' are (hard)working parents whose sex, race, abilities, sexual orientations and religions generally remain unstated but who are regularly juxtaposed to the female, non-white, disabled and homosexual beneficiaries of 'targeted' policies, as well as to the 'Islamic extremist' perpetrators of terrorist attacks. The working class plays a similarly prominent role in the claims of Grenfell fire activists, but unlike in the general election, it is a racialised working class that is also subjected to stigma and discrimination. This symbolic disadvantage is perceived as manifesting itself in the neglectful and sometimes contemptuous treatment received by local authorities.

A final parallel between these events is the ubiquity of migrants as objects of political discourses and their contrasting oversight as subjects of political participation. During the general election, migrants are regularly depicted as a threat for public services and social cohesion, although those in work are also recognised as contributing to the British economy. Nevertheless, their exclusion from the national vote is largely taken for granted, despite the participation of some in local elections. In the aftermath of Grenfell, the declaration of an amnesty for undocumented survivors brings their victimhood under the spotlight, but the laws and policies that underpin their irregular status remain unproblematised.

Political discourses on educational justice and Muslims in the UK

Pier-Luc Dupont

In the volatile context created by Islamist attacks, counter-terrorism policies and anti-Islam populism, the education of Muslims has gained increasing prominence in UK political discourses. This report examines how different stakeholders (Muslim and non-Muslim civil society organisations, activists, school representatives or administrators, state agencies, politicians, think tanks and teachers) understand related problems and solutions through various dimensions and scales of educational justice. It shows that disagreements on the adequacy of specific policies or practices are often linked to the relative emphasis placed on redistribution, recognition, representation and other dimensions of justice, all of which can be upheld or undermined by social relations taking place at family, local, regional, national and other scales.

Findings suggest that Muslim education is most frequently interpreted through the lens of recognition. This is particularly evident in the discursive frames of social cohesion, promoting inter-group respect and the fight against prejudice, and values, which insist on the centrality of anti-discrimination in the British ethos. Redistribution and representation play a more significant role in the frame of culture, where student poverty and insufficient school funding are portrayed as important obstacles to the acquisition of knowledge that is necessary to participate in paid work and democratic politics. However, these dimensions are overshadowed by aesthetic considerations that revolve around the subjective aspirations of Muslim families and may be characterised as concerns of socio-cultural reproduction. Despite the acknowledgment of a link between Muslim poverty, area-based admissions and school segregation, few stakeholders explicitly link Muslim education to issues of class and economic policy. Across all frames, the perceived scale of social processes generating injustice is blurry and contested. Social cohesion discourses sometimes inadvertently shift from the national to the local, and the value discourse mobilises global principles but characterises them as British. Scale-related discrepancies are especially salient in the frame of culture, where the aspiration to provide all students with a 'broad and balanced curriculum' nationwide is tempered by the willingness to give Muslim families an education that caters to their specific preferences. Beyond references to international migration, European and global processes are seldom mentioned in UK educational debates. Sex-specific policies and practices frequently constitute a flashpoint of conflict between various dimensions and scales of justice, situating female Muslim students at the centre of an ideological battlefield where the advocates of gender, national and religious recognition/reproduction seek to assert moral and political authority.

The Trojan Horse controversy: Mapping the construction of justice in UK media

Susan Divald

The Trojan Horse controversy erupted in 2014 when an alleged plot to ‘Islamicise’ schools in Birmingham was made public. This occurred within the context of debates on British citizenship, terrorist attacks in Britain and France, and a shift away from policies of community cohesion toward the security focus of the Prevent strategy. The response to the alleged plot was a media frenzy, several government investigations, professional misconduct hearings and the dissolution of an educational trust in Birmingham. On a societal level, it brought to the surface tensions concerning Muslim integration – whether in terms of the failure of Muslims to integrate or in terms of British society’s prejudice towards the Muslim community.

This report analyses the different claims to justice that were made by media on the right, centre and left of the political spectrum. It is structured according to four justice-related frames: the claim to truth, the role of education, security and societal trust, and trust in state institutions. Results show that the government and articles from media on the right generally see Muslim youths as people at risk of segregation and vulnerable to radicalisation. Official government statements stand by British values, and some on the right question the results of diversity promotion that purportedly encourage segregation, intolerance and put the future generation at risk. In this sense, the ideal of justice as protection is very relevant to the right-wing debate, as is justice as recognition where the cultural values to be recognised are British values and tolerance. Another frequently mentioned concept of justice is that of representation or deliberation, which focuses on state institutions as legitimate representatives and capable assessors of ‘the truth’. Articles from left-wing media focus on the Muslim population as victims of injustice in terms of procedure, redistribution, recognition and representation. Through the play *Trojan Horse* and its coverage, as well as other articles, writers intend to give the Muslim minority a voice amidst a portrayal of the community that is deemed unfair and inaccurate and thereby a violation of justice as recognition and representation. There is little trust in government institutions siding with the Muslim community. Among the left-wing media the presence of biased and untrustworthy actors brings into question the presence of representative justice and also raises the issue of procedural justice. Finally, the ideal of redistributive justice is found in discussions around the importance of education as a means to alleviate inequality and poverty.

Imperial reminders: Arguing about statues and commemoration in Oxford

Pier-Luc Dupont and Bridget Anderson

This report examines UK opinion leaders' understandings of justice and fairness in the commemoration of British history. The specific context is the city of Oxford, whose history and heritage has recently come under criticism for its role in British imperialism and its contemporary complicity in the promotion of colonial Britain. The study explores how tensions between different justice claims, especially those relating to racial, ethnic and class categories, emerge in the context of British imperial commemoration. Opinion leaders' views were collected by means of a fictitious vignette describing the projected renovation of a central statue representing Lord Mountbatten, last Viceroy and first Governor-General of India, who oversaw the violent partition of India and Pakistan and was assassinated by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in 1979.

The analysis reveals that commemoration is simultaneously perceived as a local, national, continental and global issue. However, these territorially defined scales of justice are linked and blurred by frequent allusions to non-territorial communities such as the Black, South Asian or Irish diasporas. In addition to redistribution, recognition and representation, ideals of restoration, reproduction and deliberation play a prominent role in philosophies of commemoration. Discourses evince a consensus on the framing of Mountbatten as a symbol of colonial violence feeding into contemporary racism. This understanding coexists with a much more controversial one that emphasises the preservation or reproduction of White British culture. Restorative, anti-racist and reproductive commemoration is generally discussed as a form of deliberation which should be underpinned by principles of normativity, relevance and publicity. Normatively, it should focus on events from which moral lessons can be drawn due to their positive or negative implications for the parties involved. Relevance should be measured based on an event's capacity to explain present social structures or its centrality to the collective identities of those involved in remembering it. Publicity refers to the correspondence between the intended effect of commemoration, its audience and its context-specific meaning.

Participants offered detailed views on the interaction between substantive, formal, descriptive and symbolic representation in decision-making on commemoration. The formal procedure of public consultation was understood as a necessary but not sufficient condition for substantive representation to take place, especially among racialised, working-class or younger citizens. The notion that personal characteristics tended to generate specific experiences and perspectives was widely accepted, but nearly all participants acknowledged that considerable ideological diversity may exist within a given social category. They also considered that various forms of protest in the vicinity of controversial statues could enrich political debates but disagreed on how disruptive, provocative and respectful of public property they should be.

Work Package 3: Justice and the law

Coordinated by University of Utrecht and Central European University

Pier-Luc Dupont

The legal strand of ETHOS empirical research comprises three UK reports on the right to vote for disabled persons and citizens living abroad; the right to housing for disabled persons and refugees; and the right to education for disabled persons and religious minorities. Each report starts with an overview of the institutional framework for the protection of the right at hand. This is followed by an analysis of the general obligations it imposes on the state and other actors, relevant anti-discrimination provisions, specific provisions for the social categories under study, recent judicial cases reviewing the compliance of the regulations with human rights law, and a theoretical examination of the relation between law and justice.

The report on the right to vote finds that it explicitly furthers an ideal of justice as representation, but that the question of who should be entitled to vote in which elections remains a contested one. In particular, electoral law seems to be underpinned by diverging approaches to mentally and physically disabled persons, with the latter enjoying stronger safeguards than the former. This seems related to a largely implicit idea according to which mentally disabled persons, like children and convicted prisoners, do not fulfil the cognitive requirements for voting. In the case of citizens living abroad, the dilemma relates to which political decisions they should be able to make or influence, that is, those of their country of citizenship or residence, or both. Several cases have been brought against the rule limiting the right to vote to 15 years of residence abroad, based on the argument that personal circumstances other than place and time of residence can shape people's effective connection to a state and subjection to its laws.

The report on the right to housing observes that the scope of the redistributive justice sought by the law is by and large national, illustrating the general embeddedness of social rights in state institutions. Hence the exercise of housing rights is subject to strict citizenship requirements and excludes an expansive category of 'people from abroad', which however spares refugees and most foreign nationals with unlimited leave to remain. The concept of 'local connections' reveals that national conceptions of justice interact with more localised ones that seek to protect significant social relations such as those linking a person to her close relatives, her employer or service providers. Yet the forced dispersal of destitute asylum seekers throughout UK territory betrays an assumption that they are not members of any local community. In addition to dependency and vulnerability, including those stemming from a disability, engaging in work-related behaviour is a frequent requirement for access to housing. The egalitarianism sought by the law is mainly sufficientarian in nature, and its overall logic is that people should enjoy no more than 'adequate' or 'suitable' housing in light of their needs.

The report on the right to education concludes that disability, ethnicity and religion are all recognised as protected characteristics in education law, but that disability is the only one that gives rise to a general duty to make reasonable adjustments. Legislation and case law both establish specific duties for educational providers to make reasonable adjustments for ethnic and religious differences, but religion is excluded from anti-discrimination protection in religious schools and from several equality standards, including the prohibition of harassment, in secular ones. An increasingly nationalised and

marketised education system seems to have mainly benefited families who wish their children to receive either state-oriented education or one that is tailored to their specific preferences, including in matters of special educational needs and religious identities. The price of these opportunities may be segregation along lines of ability, ethnicity and religion, with negative consequences for intergroup recognition.

Conference organisers

Waling-Waling

Waling-Waling is an organisation of migrant domestic workers established in the mid eighties to campaign for their basic rights as workers in the UK. The members were from many nationalities and they had one thing in common. They were brought to the UK by their employers to work in the home of the employer but without the recognition that they were workers and that they were here to work. So, they were given a 'visitor visa' and prohibited from employment either paid or unpaid. Usually the employer kept their passport, didn't pay their wages, they had to work 18–20 hours a day, slept on the floor of the children's room, suffered from sleep and food deprivation, physical and sometimes sexual abuse, and constant verbal abuse calling them derogatory names and shouting at them.

Following a ten year long campaign Waling-Waling won basic rights as workers with the same rights as any other worker in the UK and specifically the right to change employer.

However, in April 2012 the rights gained by migrant domestic workers were taken from them with the promise that they would be protected under the Modern Slavery Act. This is a total denial of the reality. Hundreds of migrant domestic workers escaping from brutalising employers are now in the UK without rights or protections. So, in 2017 the Waling-Waling members reconvened and are now campaigning to reclaim their rights as workers.

Migration Mobilities Bristol

Migration Mobilities Bristol (MMB) conducts research that expands and challenges understandings of mobility in order to contribute to a more just world. We foster creative and interdisciplinary thinking by engaging with theory and the arts as well as law, policy and practice to explore human mobility and its social relations. We build connections between the local and the global, the present and the past.

MMB combines perspectives from arts and social sciences, bringing together current analysis and observation, historical evidence, philosophy, the creative arts and sociological and legal theory and engaging with and learning from the perspectives of non-academics particularly people who are on the move. This interdisciplinarity and engagement with policy, practice and theory enables us both to better understand contemporary mobilities and to reflect on what responses to migration tell us about the states and places where migrants live. An interdisciplinary hub for research on human mobilities, MMB is an interconnected body of academics and researchers; a source of thought leadership and expert commentary. We work beyond the boundaries of our University to push the boundaries of our subject. We have strong relationships with other research centres across the world, and we are part of the landscape of organisations involved in migration: local to international. Our work at Bristol is linked by a common interest in the social, economic and cultural consequences of migration and in the connections between human movement and other mobilities. We are part of a City of Sanctuary, and aim to contribute our knowledge, relationships and experience to make experiences of movement better for all.

Permanent Peoples' Tribunal

The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, headquartered in Rome, is an internationally recognized civil society human rights tribunal functioning independently of state authorities. It applies internationally recognized human rights law and policy to cases brought before it. The PPT is a descendant of the 1967 Bertrand Russell-Jean Paul Sartre Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal, and it hears cases in which prima facie evidence suggests abridgement of basic rights of ordinary people.

Most PPT Sessions are similar to courtroom proceedings in which a complainant or class of complainants brings an action against a government or private party and asks that they be judged against legal standards. Complaints heard by the Tribunal are submitted by the victims or by groups or individuals representing them. The PPT calls together all parties concerned and offers defendants the opportunity to make their own arguments heard. The panel of judges is selected for each case by combining members who belong to a permanent list and individuals who are recognized for their competence and integrity.

The final public hearing of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal on "The Hostile environment" was held in London on 3rd and 4th November 2018. It formed part of a process of investigation lasted more than two years from the opening session in Barcelona (7th- 8th July 2017) and from Palermo (18th- 20th December 2017), Paris (4th – 5th January 2018) and Barcelona (29 June- 1 July 2018). The hearings and documents produced by the sessions can be found at www.permanentpeoplestribunal.org.

actREAL

actREAL facilitates workshops using participatory theatre based methods. actReal brings academic research on social issues into the community by using performance to bring it to life. Collaborating with academics we develop workshops to explore research topics, explore research outcomes or facilitate learning for community groups. Workshop participants include school groups, community groups, academics and students. Our programmes vary from one-off events, short programmes or long-term 10-week intensives that conclude in a performance by the participants.

For academics, it takes findings into the heart of society, disseminating work by using new and innovative forms of public engagement. For participants, it provides a thought-provoking catalyst that helps people of all ages develop social awareness, life skills and drama skills, and allows communities to explore and empathise with often controversial social issues in a participatory, ethical and inclusive manner.

ETHOS

ETHOS - Towards a European Theory Of Justice and fairness is a European Commission Horizon 2020 research project running from January 2017 to December 2019 that investigates justice in theory and practice. Utrecht University in the Netherlands coordinates the project and works together with five other research institutions: Austria (European Training and Research Centre for Human Rights and Democracy), Hungary (Central European University), Portugal (Centre for Social Studies), Turkey (Boğaziçi University), and the UK (University of Bristol).



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