Introduction

To begin with, I locate my thesis within the discipline of African Studies, to critically analyse multilevel multi-stakeholder explicit claims of systemic racism, which marginalises and excludes people of African descent from universal human rights. My thesis defines people of African descent, as the African diaspora, Africans, Afro-descendants, and Black people, specifically referring to descendants of historically enslaved and colonised Africans, as well as subsequent migrations from the African continent. Essed (2014, p.59) claims Afro-Europeans experience systemic racism and discrimination, regardless of country, socio-economic conditions, gender, age, or level of education, although significant numbers are well integrated into European society. In that regard, Afrophobia/Afriphobia can be defined as specific forms of racism and structural discrimination, manifested by acts of direct, indirect, and structural racial discrimination and violence including hate speech, which target people of African descent Momodou and Pascoet (2014, pp.262-263).

Afrophobia hinders Africans and Afro-descendants in Europe from fulfilling universal human rights equally, generally, and globally in accordance with the Vienna Declaration 1993. Empirical evidence gathered from desk and field research in this project adequately warrants the claim, that we remain marginalised from equal access to universal human rights. With this in mind, my thesis’ central research question is, *can the African diaspora better fulfil universal human rights, where the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is implemented to achieve the International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD)’s thematic objectives?* I argue implementation of Targets for Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) must facilitate achievement of IDPAD’s thematic objectives of recognition, justice, and development. In that regard, I advocate policymakers reduce inequality on the grounds of race or ethnicity, within and between countries as stipulated in SDG 10, by strategically addressing Afrophobia.

This systematic literature review therefore has the primary goal of critical evaluating European anti-racism norms and policies, to strategically combat Afrophobia. Systematic review of academic sources will highlight the chronological development of theoretical concepts relevant to the implementation and evaluation of anti-racism norms. With this in mind, my background theory demonstrates Critical Race Theory (CRT) to define and interpret legal concepts such as race and racism. However, recognizing the vast transdisciplinary body of scholarship theorizing CRT since it emerged in the 1980s, my primary focus is its application as a radical lens with which to interrogate European law. This eliminates research bias by primarily employing academic sources which theorize normative concepts, e.g. to interpret and create new and original knowledge which advocates IDPAD’s thematic objectives.

My literature review therefore seeks to inform the reader on legal concepts, in the context of the 2030 Agenda and IDPAD’s thematic objectives, by strategically engaging the lens of CRT to interrogate implementation of anti-racism norms. For example, in the USA the term “Black” generally denotes people of African descent, whereas in the UK the term “Black” can be inclusive of Asian, Arab and other minorities, Warmington (2012, p.14). I defend my thesis from the perspective of the former, by strategically citing academic sources of African Centred research and Black Atlantic political thought, to employ the lens of CRT to interpret and create new knowledge. This acknowledges that,

“Responding to race-based material disparities that persisted in the United States even after 1960s (…) legal scholars and activists in the 1970s developed CRT as a framework to challenge the deep-rooted philosophical, legal, systemic, and practical causes of racism (…) CRT has intellectual roots in critical theory, which examines the role of power, history, culture, and ideology on social phenomena, often with an eye to critiquing or correcting abuses of power. But CRT’s laser-focus on matters of race has led it to develop its own language and concepts” (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, pp. 2-3).

With this in mind, I argue IDPAD’s thematic objective of **recognition** entails awareness of inequalities in our access to universal human rights in relation to the normative framework of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. For example, SDG Target 10.2 aspires to empower and promote social, economic, and political inclusion for all irrespective of race, ethnicity, origin, or other status by 2030; and SDG Target 10.3 asserts implementation of anti-racism norms and policies. Similarly, SDG 16 acknowledges the importance of achieving social justice and systemic **justice** which is also a thematic objective of IDPAD. Moreover collaboration in global partnerships as asserted by SDG 17, can employ fully disaggregated statistical equality data, to monitor and eliminate Afrophobia in achieving the three pillars of sustainability, i.e. social, economic and environmental **development**.

1. Critical Race Theory (CRT)

1.1 CRT as Background Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) may be defined as “a body of legal scholarship (…) a majority of whose members are both existentially people of colour and ideologically committed to the struggle against racism, particularly as institutionalized in and by law,” Bell (1995, p. 896). CRT challenges traditional legal theorists’ *objectification* and *subjectification* of race, which excludes minority scholars “values, beliefs, and experiences” in discourses, Crenshaw (1990, pp. 3-9). These radical legal theories emerged in the 1970s during the American civil rights movement, with origins in radical revisionist critiques of Critical Legal Studies, Warmington (2020, p.22). Notably the scholarship of Derrick Bell and Kimberlé Shaw are credited with the emergence of CRT as “an analytical framework for addressing the endemic presence of racism in the 1980s”, Warmington (2020, p.22) and Ogbonnaya-Ogburu (2020, pp1-2).

“CRT inherits from traditional civil rights scholarship a commitment to a vision of liberation from racism through right reason that is ultimately redemptive, not deconstructive” Bell 1995, 899). In that regard, CRT asserts race remains a significant force within the USA and other neoliberal western economies, where property rights and not universal human rights are fundamental. My thesis advocates decolonisation of European legal structures through emancipatory praxis is therefore imperative to dismantle oppressive, unequitable White supremacist neoliberal intersections of race and property. I argue this is in accordance the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and IDPAD’s thematic objectives.

CRT’s critiques include assertions that its’ core principle of challenging “White supremacy”, should be replaced with challenging institutionalised racism, Cole (2020, pp.97-98). Kennedy in Bell (1995, 908) and Cole (2020, p. 100) argue race-consciousness and discrimination exists within African diaspora communities. However, their claim does not negate empirical evidence of the adverse impact of White supremacist oppression of the African diaspora. Afrophobia perpetuated by White supremacist neoliberal economies, contributes to our disproportionately unequal access to civil and political as well as economic, social, and cultural rights globally. With this in mind, my thesis’ substantive aim is to strategically empower African diaspora communities to better fulfil universal human rights, by creating new and original knowledge for understanding, as well as critical evaluation of European anti-racism norms and policies. I advocate SDG Target 10.3, which asserts implementation of anti-racism norms and policies, employing Black Emancipatory Action Research (BEAR) as a theoretical and methodological approach to achieve emancipatory praxis.

1.2 CRT and Black Atlantic Ideology

Black Atlantic ideology or political thought illustrates narratives of disenfranchisement and oppression of the African diaspora that have facilitated international collaborations including the Pan African Movement at the beginning of the 20th century. The lens of CRT is therefore appropriate to interrogate normative frameworks within the European context as well as in North America. For example, SDG Target 10.2 aspires to empower and promote social, economic, and political inclusion for all irrespective of race, ethnicity, origin, or other status by 2030. I therefore locate my thesis in the discipline of African Studies, to interpret and create new knowledge for understanding and critical evaluation. “It was educational researchers, rather than legal scholars, who first adopted CRT” when it emerged as a significant intellectual force amongst British anti-racist scholars between 2003 and 2006, Warmington (2020, pp.20 & 27). Notably, despite academic antagonism “CRT was influential in the development of (…) England’s first undergraduate Black Studies degree, offered by Birmingham City University in 2017/18”, Warmington (2020, p.28). It is imperative White supremacist colonial structures and processes are deconstructed, by inclusive implementation and achievement of the 2030 Agenda. My thesis therefore acknowledges transdisciplinary relevance of CRT to achieve SDG 4, i.e. the overarching goal of inclusive quality education for all, through implementation of anti-racism policies in accordance with SDG Target 10.3.

“CRT’s critiques can (also) be applied beyond the national boundaries of the United States (…) central challenges posed by CRT to mainstream ideas about racial justice are probably just as relevant in the European context” Moschel (2011, p.1649). Those critiques accentuate “invisibility” because “colour/race-blindness” in the European legal system marginalises ethnic minorities as does the American legal system, Moschel (2011, pp.1649-1650). For example, the term Black is sometimes used in British scholarship, as inclusive of Asians, Arabs, and other ethnicities besides people of African descent, Warmington (2012, pp.15-16). In the UK “academic antagonism towards CRT is built upon (…) reiteration of old, paternalistic convictions about the objectivity of class and the subjectivity of race” which mirror Marxist ideologies Warmington (2019, p.21). Moreover, people of African descent are generally subsumed into the British generic term BAME or BME meaning Black Asian and Minority Ethnic or Black and Minority Ethnic, in equality data collected for analysis by public bodies and institutions. “Colour/race-blindness” therefore contributes to our invisibility when monitoring access to universal human rights, although this may be deemed to be politically correct by some public bodies. For example, in Germany, France, and other European countries data collection regarding race or ethnicity is generally not undertaken, and in some instances is illegal. By contrast, the 2030 Agenda and IDPAD thematic objectives advocate fully disaggregated equality data collection for analysis and policy development, to achieve more inclusive, successful outcomes globally.

CRT appropriately problematizes European legislators “reluctance to frame issues of race”, and scrutinizes their “legal definition, interpretation and implementation of what constitutes race and racism,” thereby contributing to critical thinking on race and law in Europe, Moschel (2011, pp.1649-1650). This encourages strategically employing an Afrocentric lens to critically evaluate the impact of European anti-racism norms and policies, specifically with regard to combatting Afrophobia. Commendably, CRT does not seek to be justified, but “speaks for itself and is its own legitimation (…) because it is written to record experience and insight that are often unique and prior to this new work, too little heard” Bell (1995, p.910).

1.3 Key Tenets of Critical Race Theory

Whilst critical race theorists do not subscribe to a unified set of analytical principles or tenets, several are prominent across their body of work Warmington, (2019, p.22), and Ogbonnaya-Ogburu (2020, pp.1-2). My thesis aspires to empower and promote social, economic, and political inclusion for people of African descent in accordance with SDG target 10.2 by 2030. With this in mind, the key tenets conceptualised and theorised in this review are: race as a social construct, the ordinariness of racism, storytelling, critique of liberalism, intersectionality of identity, and interest convergence.

2. Race as a social construct

Howard (2009, pp.63-67) discusses at length the development of “race” as a legal concept used in European legislation, particularly in relation to the European Union’s anti-discrimination Council Directive 2000/43/EC, otherwise known as Race Equality Directive (RED) 2000. She explains that “race” was used rarely prior to the 18th century, when European colonisers found it expedient to justify a hierarchy of different racial groups or categorisations as inferior and superior, for economic and political reasons (Howard, 2009, p.64). For example,

“Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) classified Homo Sapiens into continentally distinct human groups in his magnum opus of modern biological taxonomy Systema Naturae. Linnaeus classified these groups as white (Homo Europaeus), yellow (Homo Asiaticus), red (Homo Americanus), and black (Homo Africanus) varieties with different psychological and cultural characteristics. Systema Naturae went through ten editions between 1735 and 1758 and soon became the standard at all European universities,” Eze, Jackson and Weidman in McEachrane (2018, p.475).

In 1885 the Francophone Haitian lawyer and anthropologist Antenor Firmin’s positivist anthropology *De l’égalité des races humaines* (1885) challenged European scientific racial categorisations of the human species. Firmin’s election to “membership of the Sociéte´ d’Anthropologie de Paris, the most important anthropological society anywhere in the world” at that time, is notable although he was not its’ first Black member, Bernasconi (2008, p.265). The Societe´ d’Anthropologie was formed in 1859, with growing debate between theorists of monogenesis and polygenesis conducted within its’ confines (Bernasconi, 2008, p.267). Unlike those of his peers who were sympathetic to polygenesis, which theorizes different human species or “races” being created separately, Firmin asserts a singular human species source. Firmin advocates monogenesis,

“To embrace the concept of the unity of the species involves, through the exercise of a great keenness of mind, rejecting all the false ideas that the existence of diverse races might inspire and seeing, instead, only the essential characteristics that make of all [men] a community of beings capable of understanding one another and of joining their individual destinies into a common destiny. That destiny is civilization, that is, the highest level of physical, moral, and intellectual achievement of the species,” Boaduo (2014, p.34) and Russell (2014, p.50).

In that regard, Firmin’s *De l’égalité des races humaines* (1885) challenges leading European philosophers and scientists’ hierarchies of race based physical, intellectual, and moral capacities, at a time when this was the accepted norm in Europe and the Americas. Firmin’s positivist anthropology also differs radically from Kant, Hegel, Darwin, and Comte monogenesis. He contends human species “are all capable of rising to the most noble virtues, of reaching the highest intellectual development; they are equally capable of falling into a state of total degeneration” Bernasconi (2008, 380). This ideology was not shared by Firmin’s contemporaries who generally theorised Africans to have inferior physical, moral, and intellectual capabilities than their European peers, regardless of monogenesis and polygenesis.

Theorists who assert race is a biological reality argue this claim is justified because of the existence of subspecies of Homo Sapiens that share identifiable phenotypic traits; e.g. geographical differences in skin colour and hair result from reproductive isolation (Kitcher, 2012, 145-166). From a realist perspective, this illustrates evidence for scientific categorisation of racial groups or human species. In that regard, Firmin concurred with Darwin’s theory which argues climate and environment are primary causes of human evolution, (Russell, 2014, p.53).

“human beings, alike everywhere and inferior to modern man in every way, continued to evolve slowly, under conditions that were more or less favourable to their development as a species, in the course of which development they split into distinct races, an absolutely secondary phenomenon” Firmin in (Bernasconi, 2008, p.377).

This ideology illustrates pluralistic realism that asserts a scientific species concept of race, with different species concepts of humanity, appropriate for differing purposes of inquiry, (Kitcher, 2012). However, Firmin’s positivist anthropology differs from his peers’ doctrine of the inequality of the races, by arguing their ideology to be anti-philosophical as well as anti-scientific (Bernasconi, 2008, 372). His scholarship therefore illustrates a longstanding tradition of radical Black Atlantic political thought.

Appiah (1985, pp.23-24) highlights the ongoing debate as to whether different races exist, and whether racial groups should be defined according to scientific or sociological construction. Notably, the 20th century Pan African leader, W. E. B. Du Bois contradicts Firmin’s positivist anthropology by stating, “scientific definition of race is impossible (…) human development cannot be circumscribed by (…) any conceivable definition of race,” (Appiah, 1985, p.32). Olson (2005, p.119) disputes whether and why Professor Du Bois rejected scientific definitions of the concept of race, in defence of race as a political or social construct. Theorizing race as a scientific or biological construct is generally unpopular; “the cost of making racial distinctions may hinder both biological inheritance and cultural inheritance of the human race as a whole” (Kitcher, 2012). Other scholars argue social construction of the concept of race perpetuates white supremacist ideological attempts to legitimise domination, based on social and historical advantages of European colonisation (Howard, 2009, p.66), and (Hardeman, Medina, & Kozhimannil, 2016, p.2113). Within the context of this historical review of literatures therefore, the challenge remains to be sensitive to differences in the language used by various academic sources relevant to the topic.

“Race is difficult to define, and (…) at different times, may refer to: phenotype/physical features, observed classifications into distinct groups, individual notions of self-defined identity, and racial ancestry” ((Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, p.2). Culturally specific research topics such as **race** can be theorised using constructionism, by employing scholarship and narratives that reflect our human values, beliefs and perception. With this in mind, race is widely conceptualized as a sociological construct in contemporary times. For example, Hardeman, Medina, & Kozhimannil (2016, p.2113) define race as “social classification of people based on phenotype”, i.e. socially constructed categories of people who share biologically transmitted traits considered to be important. **Race and racism** are therefore conceptualised as social constructs and key tenets of CRT, to discredit scientific and biological constructs of racial categorisations of the African diaspora.

“We want to use our perspective as a means of outreach to those similarly situated but who are so caught up in the property perspectives of whiteness that they cannot recognize their subordination,” (Bell, 1995, p.902).

What is relevant to conceptualizing race in this literature review is, “that slavery, colonialism, segregation, privilege, and exploitation not only perpetuate racial hierarchy but also create the worlds of race themselves” (Du Bois in Olson, 2005, p.119). IDPAD’s thematic objective of recognition acknowledges intergenerational effects of colonialism and slavery, marginalise contemporary African diaspora communities globally from universal human rights. In that regard,

“the relationships between the development of enlightenment liberal universalism, the consolidation of concepts of race, and the emergence of capitalism out of slavery and colonialism have been traced and theorized in depth elsewhere (…) any project which seeks to explore the facets of contemporary development-as-imperialism must also consider these three questions in relation to each other”. (Wilson, 2017, p.436).

The largest populations of Afro-Europeans live in former colonial European metropoles such as the UK and France (Lusane, 2014, p.40). Academic discourse on the legal concept of race or ethnicity is documented in these former European colonial powers. Notably, the French government banned use of racialized terms following the end of the 2nd World War, employing different classes of citizenship to distinguish between immigrants from former colonies, (Célestine, & Fila-Bakabadio, 2017, p.1). “France historically rejected the concept of race, or classifying individuals in terms of race and ethnicity, preferring the concept of a French citizenry with equality before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion” Givens (in 2014, p.123)**.** French citizens who lay claim to a racial identity can be accused of “communautarisme” i.e. ethnic or ethno-religious factionalism, (Célestine, & Fila-Bakabadio, 2017, p.3), (Givens, 2014, p.119) and (Cohen, 2012, p.35)**.**

Following racist genocides in the first half of the 20th century, other EU states, avoid using the concept of race in policymaking although it remains a legal category in European law, (Shannon, 2017, p.59), (Essed, 2014, pp.68-69) and (Weiner, 2014, p.733). Exceptionally, race has been the subject of modern British parliamentary legislation since the mid-20th century and remains a protected characteristic in the UK Equality Act 2010.

In the context of White supremacist neoliberalism,Bell (1995, p.908) disputes CRT’s critiques claim that “there is no hidden White normativity or perspective but rather a meritocratic normativity”. Advantages and disadvantages seemingly accrue to different ethnicities, as a result of repressive intergenerational structures of European colonialism and the Transatlantic Slave Trade, (Momodou & Pascoet, 2014, p. 262) and (Célestine, & Fila-Bakabadio, 2017, pp.4-5). This literature review therefore conceptualises race and ethnicity strategically from an Afrocentric perspective reflecting Black Atlantic ideology, to advocate SDG 10, reduce inequality within and between countries by 2030. This includes SDG Target 10.2 which aspires to empower and promote social, economic and political inclusion for all irrespective of race, ethnicity, origin, or other status by 2030. Importantly therefore, I highlight Black Atlantic ideology of Firmin, Du Bois and African centred research who share the conviction that people of African descent are equal in physical, moral and intellectual integrity to their White peers. In that regard, CRT’s radical interpretation of the legal concept of race disputes claims made by White supremacist systems of the existence of various scientific or biological races and the inferiority of Black peoples.

However, “CRT retains racial categories in race-conscious social analysis, in that it is critical of race and race critical of theory but does not give those categories as much credence as Marxist theories of race” (Warmington,2020, p.22). Race is conceptualized as a sociological construct that defines people of African descent historically and globally (Momodou & Pascoet, 2014, p. 262) and (Célestine, & Fila-Bakabadio, 2017, pp.4-5). For example, the term “Black” or “Noir” has returned to popular usage in discourse on racial discrimination in 21st century France, to describe the diversity of its Afro-descendant populations who share a common social experience and resistance to racial discrimination with the global African diaspora (Célestine, & Fila-Bakabadio, 2017, p.4). In that regard, I concur race is socially constructed with material and concrete consequences, e.g. as a result of enslavement and colonisation of Africans. To deconstruct oppressive structures, implementation of SDG Target 10.2 enables and reinforces implementation of SDG Target 10.3, by promoting and enforcing non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development. This literature review therefore defines other legal concepts relating to European anti-racism norms, to highlight Afrophobia in our access to universal human rights, employing the lens of CRT.

3. The legal concept of racism

Hervik (2013, p.43) defines the legal concept of racism as, “the ideology of ranked categories segmenting the [world’s] human population that was originally developed by western Europeans following their global expansion beginning in the 1400s”. Similarly, van den Berghe (in 2007, p. 3749) defines racism as “an attitude or theory where some human groups socially defined by biological descent and physical appearance, (are) considered to be inferior (…) in physical, intellectual, cultural or moral properties”. In that regard, scientific racism holds the existence of different races or biological categories of human beings to be ontologically valid.

During the 18th and 19th centuries White supremacist ideologies of scientific racism described non-White racial categories as inferior and debated the existence of different species of human beings, to justify European colonial rule. For example, Carl Linnaeus’ categorisations of humanity, and proponents of scientific racism such as Samuel White, Samuel Morton, Louis Agassiz, and Charles Darwin, ascribed negative characteristics to non-white peoples to make them appear less human (Smedley, A., Yasuko I., Takezawa, et al, 2019 paras.1-13).

Racial categorisation was used in colonial societies as “the mainstay of a class-based logic which had race as its primary determinant’’ (Lorkin, 2000, p.718). White supremacist liberalism resulted in capitalist overexploitation of African labour in 18th century and 19th century colonial “plantocracies” of Europe and the Americas, and on the African continent. Some theorists therefore argue racism is a belief, ideology or doctrine rather than a practice or behaviour, (Howard, 2009, p.68). In contrast, van den Berghe (2007, p.3749) states “the term racism alludes not only to acts of xenophobic violence, but also to discrimination that targets individuals and groups of people based on race, ethnicity and nationality”. The difference elaborated here is that whilst Howard claims racism is cognitive i.e. a belief, van den Berghe claims that it is an act that includes racial discrimination. I concur with CRT conceptualisations of racism as systemic denial of universal human rights to “othered” racial groups deemed to be inferior in White supremacist neoliberal economies. Moreover, I argue White supremacist ideologies continue to perpetuate racism through inhumane treatment of people classified as African or Black for the capitalistic enrichment of contemporary neoliberal European societies.

3.1 Racism as a social construct

Racism occurs at the macro level in comparison to its components of prejudice and discrimination which generally occur at the individual level; prejudices are “erroneous stereotypical beliefs held by individuals”, whilst discrimination occurs when one acts on those prejudices, (McCardle,2017, p. 99). Stereotyping with historical bases, such as White privilege and accidental association of “othered” ethnicities, occurs because of factors other than biological genes. For example, people of African descent are disproportionately singled out for Stop and Search by law enforcement globally, which further encourages the myth that we are more likely to exhibit criminal behaviour.

Hardeman, Medina, & Kozhimannil (2016, p.2114) distinguish between racial categorisation and racism in contemporary society, by arguing for an imperative shift from use of the former in medical diagnosis, to recognition of the latter as a social determinant of health. Racial categorisation still occurs in public institutions such as hospitals but does not always adequately address disparities in outcomes between different ethnicities. Empirical evidence highlights racism negatively impacts our health, including disproportionate health disparities adversely affecting African diaspora and migrant communities living in neoliberal economies. This illustrates the necessity for adopting a holistic approach to implementing 2030 Agenda SDG Targets; e.g. implementing SDG Target 10.3 can facilitate developing and implementing better health policies in accordance with SDG 3. With this in mind, CRT theorizes racism is generally embedded in institutional structures and processes, and its’ victims can therefore experience it regularly as microaggressions.

3.2 The Ordinariness of Racism

In contrast with traditional civil rights theorists, CRT asserts racism is pervasive and systemic, not an aberration that can be corrected within an institution or structure, therefore racism is ordinary, (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, pp. 265). In that regard, CRT conceptualises racism as institutional, cultural and interpersonal patterns and practices that create advantages for members of society legally defined and socially constructed as White, i.e. White privilege. For example, **institutional racism** occurs where people belonging to “othered” ethnicities are treated less favourably within an institution. Empirical evidence of institutional racism in the European legal system and by law enforcement include reports of disproportionate police killings, brutality, arrests, and Stop and Search of Black people in neoliberal economies. SDG 16 of the 2030 Agenda advocates peace, justice and good governance. For example, European state parties should implement SDG Target 16.b (SDG Target 10.3) to promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development.

**Structural racism** occurs across institutional boundaries, “when the members of (a) dominant group benefit from and thrive in a society that is built upon the labour of enslaved people, indigenous people, or people of colour,” (McCardle, 2017, pp.99-100). It can be defined as a form of oppression by a dominant racial or ethnic group with “the social, historical, and institutional power to back their prejudice and infuse it throughout the entire society,” on another (McCardle, 2017, p. 99). For example, colonial rule illustrates structural racism because enslaved Africans were oppressed by liberalism’s political, legal, and economic structures developed to exploit them. Moreover, scientific, philosophical, and religious structures and scholarship were used to justify White supremacy.

In that regard, modern day hegemony is illustrated by political, economic, and cultural dominance of European values, beliefs, and interests to serve neoliberal interests, whether consented to or forced on African diaspora communities. With this in mind, I define **systemic racism** as pervasive interlinking White supremacist structures and institutions, that marginalise and exclude our communities and other ethnic minorities from universal human rights. This goes beyond institutionalised racism and structural racism, and includes historic and contemporary White privilege, as a result of (neo)liberalism. It is therefore imperative that implementing SDG Target 10.3 otherwise known as SDG Target 16.b facilitates inclusive holistic sustainable development for all including marginalised African diaspora communities. With this in mind, my thesis asserts IDPAD’s thematic objectives of recognition, justice and development can only be achieved in the framework of the 2030 Agenda , where state parties successfully implement SDG Target 16.b, to address Afrophobia.

4. Counter-Storytelling

4.1 Pan African Ideology as experiential knowledge

CRT facilitates IDPAD’s thematic objective of recognition through storytelling i.e. shared **experiential knowledge;** e.g. by employing narratives of our oppression from “othered” and “invisible communities,” to create knowledge for understanding. In that regard, Black Atlantic ideology illustrates storytelling, based on the lived experiences of African diaspora individuals which critique and contest traditional methods of scholarship, such as biographies, chronicles, and narratives. For example, Frazier, (1947, p.267) and Boaduo (2014, p.40) legitimately and appropriately reject White supremacists’ arguments, that determined there being more than one race, the “Negro” is biologically, morally and socially inferior to “Whites”. With this in mind, my thesis also illustrates autoethnography through knowledge exchange about our racial subordination because,

“the narrativevoice, the teller, is important to CRT in a way not understandable by those whose voices are tacitly deemed legitimate and authoritarian. The voice exposes, tells and retells, signals resistance and caring, and reiterates what kind of power is feared most-the power of commitment to change”, (Bell, 1995, p.907).

Both the researcher and the researched are democratic stakeholders through collaborations to create actionable data and new knowledge, but also through knowledge exchange for emancipatory praxis.

Stories of Black Atlantic political thought therefore illustrates historical responses to Afrophobia, such as the emergence of African diaspora led organisations, as champions for our development and self-determination. Notably, the Pan African movement was initiated to solve the “race” problem in the USA, by returning enlightened descendants of enslaved Africans to Africa (Andrews, 2018, p.41). However, by 1900 the concept, movement, ideology and philosophy, was formally launched in London by a Trinidadian barrister named Henry Sylvester Williams, in response to global oppression of people of African descent, (Lusane, 2014, p.43). The first Pan African Congress organised by Professor W. E. B. Du Bois was held in Paris in 1919; subsequently the movement expanded, championed by prominent leaders and intellectuals including Marcus Garvey, George Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah (Lusane, 2014, p.43). Du Bois and his contemporaries, including African independence leaders Kwame Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta, successfully challenged oppressive White supremacist European colonial rule of African peoples. Pan Africanism has since evolved to become: “an international, political, cultural, ideological, and economic movement based on the belief that Africans and people of African descent share the same heritage and must work (together) for their liberation from global oppression” (Kiuchi, 2000, p.1674) and (Boaduo, 2014, p.42).

The essays, speeches and letters by United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) founder, and Jamaican National Hero, the Rt. Honourable Marcus Mosiah Garvey chronicle global activism to address colonial oppression and racism faced by the African diaspora (Garvey, 1986). By the time Garvey published *The Philosophy and Opinions, 1923*, the UNIA was the largest known Pan Africanist organisation with over 2 million members, throughout Africa, Europe and the Americas (Garvey, 1986, p.129). Garvey made a number of convincing arguments of relevance to Pan Africanist ideological perspective of colonial oppression, including explicit value claims for autonomous decision making in African colonies. For example, he stated “if government is something that is (…) appreciable, and helpful and protective to others, then we also want to experiment in government” (Garvey 1986, p.93). This rejects direct rule by colonisers such as Britain, and indirect rule by others such as France. Although both relied on indigenous African elites, the former maintained a semblance of the existing status quo but in allegiance to European governance, and the latter through assimilation. Garvey’s Pan Africanist ideology of Black sovereignty differs from Du Bois’ earlier version of Pan Africanism which did not challenge European imperialism, although they both include elements of elitism (Andrews, 2018, p.47). However, Garvey’s radical ideology proves more controversial within the context of Pan Africanism, “because he appears to reify the European conceptions of scientific racial difference”; e.g. by meeting with White supremacists to discuss their mutual abhorrence on the issue of miscegenation i.e. “race mixing” (Andrews, 2017, pp.2508-2510). Biologically rooted conception of race is both dangerous in practice and misleading in theory even when championed by Pan Africanists such as Garvey (Appiah, 1998, p.116).

Nonetheless, Garveyism (Garvey’s ideology) contributed significantly to the expansion of Pan Africanist philosophy, with the emergence of newly independent states in Africa and the Caribbean in the latter half of the 20th century. Political independence in former colonial territories enabling rights to self-determination and development for indigenous African populations reflects the idealism of Pan Africanists such as Garvey, Padmore, and Kwame Nkrumah (Kiuchi, 2013, p. 1675). Pan Africanism continues to permeate the culture of the African diaspora globally in the 21st century, which is testament to its fluidity and dynamism as an ideology, in spite of its achievements and failures as a movement, and external challenges such as new forms of racism. This ideology also recognises colonialism and neo-colonialism have intergenerational effects and seeks reparatory justice the African diaspora globally.

Contemporary Pan African associations generally define themselves as such because their work transcends any one nationality or ethnicity of sub-Saharan African origin, (Gregoire, 2014, p.194). Examples include the Council of African Communities in Europe and in Belgium (CCAEB), Le CRAN in France, and AFFORD in the UK. Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies publishes articles on efforts to address Afrophobia. For example, in a recent issue, Ogungbure (2018, p.221) defends Frantz Fanon’s critique of Hegelian dialectics, by agreeing they exclude people of African descent from Hegel’s racialized ontology, thereby contributing to the violence of colonial oppression, and resulting neurosis of colonized Black peoples. With this in mind, I incorporate scholarly works by contemporary African diaspora academics in this review, to illustrate the scope and focus of my thesis, e.g. citing (Andrews, 2018), (McEachrane, 2018), (Owusu, 2016), (Kumah-Abiwu, 2016), (Esajas, 2014), and (McDougall, 2002). Moreover, the methodology for conducting this research project relies on BEAR, which entails community participation and community empowerment of African diaspora communities, as well as African centred research (Akom, 2011, pp.118-119).

4.2. Challenging Anti-Black Racism in Post-Colonial Western Europe through Voice

Historically, the terms ‘Black’ or ‘Negro’ were used pejoratively by European colonisers, missionaries and theorists of scientific racism in metropolitan Europe (Reddie, 2019, pp.389-390). In that regard, anti-Black racism alludes to racially discriminatory and xenophobic doctrines that target Africans, and is also known as Negrophobia, because the term ‘Negro’ was used to describe members of the African diaspora, (Adams, 1964, p.8), and (Fanon, 1952). Negrophobia is defined as the fear and contempt of African peoples and our culture and illustrates xenophobia of colour because it relates to our pigmentation; e.g. police brutality towards unarmed people of African descent in neoliberal western economies (Gill and Danns, 2018, p.147). However, anti- Black racism goes beyond racial discrimination because of pigmentation in contemporary European society; “social and cultural differences are used to differentiate between people because biological differences have been rejected by science” (Howard, 2009, p.73).

In the early 20th century, Du Bois and other Pan Africanists initiated assertions that concepts of racial difference should become a source for our political identity and resistance to White supremacy. Subsequently, “Black” and “Negro” have been to describe people of African descent by some academics (Andrews, 2018, pp.139-177) and (Wright, 2015, pp.22 and 26). Notably the Black Power Movement and its leaders Malcolm X and Kwame Ture, accorded the term Black, a political identity gained through a process of understanding oneself in society, and not simply based on skin colour and heritage, (Andrews, 2014, p.23). For example, the term “Black” is sometimes used in European countries, to describe non-White individuals and communities with similar histories of colonial oppression, (Meer, 2019, p.992), (Owusu, 2016, pp. 10-12), (Thakoordin, 2012, pp.168-169) and (Essed, 2014, p.59). Du Bois’ claims that, “the real essence of this kinship is (…) the discrimination and insult; and this heritage binds together not simply the children of Africa but extends through yellow Asia and into the South Seas” (Olson, 2005, pp.122-123). Notably, ethnic minorities other than people of African descent celebrate Black History Month in the UK, which has led to some Pan Africanist organisations requesting the celebration of African History Month.

“Black”-ness therefore remains controversial and vague; the terms “Black” or “Negro” remain controversial as some academics and activists prefer to refer to “Africans” in describing people of African descent, (Essed 2014, pp.57-60). **Uniqueness of voice** expressed through narratives from African diaspora communities, recognises, asserts and acknowledges our personal and community experiences as sources of knowledge for understanding. For example, Kennedy in (Bell, 1995,908) argues “the writings of CRT reveal significant deficiencies; (and) fail to support persuasively their claims of racial exclusion or that legal academic scholars of colour produce a racially distinctive brand of scholarship”. Bell (1995, p.908) responds, “when a black scholar at a prominent law school tells anyone who will listen that other folks of colour are deluded about being excluded on the basis of their race; all who rarely listen to scholars of colour sit up and take notice.” Notably, this discourse highlights ideological differences between intellectuals within our communities.

CRT’s transdisciplinary scholarship therefore asserts and acknowledges, “belonging to a racial minority or an oppressed racial group endows one with a unique perspective, especially with regard to race and racism” (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, pp. 2-3). With this in mind, I recognise Bell and Crenshawe’s CRT as a compatible though radical lens to critically analyse and evaluate normative theory, and an appropriate theoretical approach to conduct BEAR. My thesis therefore recognises uniqueness of voices from the African diaspora, employing BEAR for democratic community involvement, community empowerment and emancipatory praxis.

5. Discrimination based on race, ethnic or national origin

5.1 The legal concept of discrimination based on race

To begin with, I contend that the concept of discrimination is relevant to my literature review, because it illustrates marginalisation and exclusion of people of African descent from universal human rights, as a result of racism. Howard (2009, p.84) states the International Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) 1966, was enacted to counteract negative attitudes perpetrated through racism, and prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, descent and national or ethnic origin. Howard (2009, p.77) differentiates between racism which theorises difference between “races”; and racial discrimination which is the practice, behaviour or act of treating an individual or group of people less favourably than others based on their racial, ethnic or national origin. In contrast, van den Berghe (2007, p.3749) states “the term racism alludes not only to acts of xenophobic violence, but also to discrimination that targets individuals and groups of people based on race, ethnicity and nationality”. The difference elaborated is that whilst the former argues racism is cognitive i.e. a belief, the latter argues that it is an act and includes racial discrimination.

5.2 The legal concept of discrimination based on ethnicity

Howard (2009, p.67) and van den Berghe (2007, p. 3750) both clearly distinguish between race and ethnicity, whilst stating that these concepts are related, overlapping, and often used interchangeably. They argue that this has arisen because of the general preference for the social construction of race since the 20th century, rather than its’ previous scientific construction as biological categories. They also agree that ethnicity has always been descriptive of cultural affinity including shared language, religion, nationality, and traditional origins, whilst alluding to racial difference (Howard, 2010, p.67) and (van den Berghe, 2007, pp. 3749-3750). In that regard, Gill and Danns (2018, pp.145-146) claim xenophobia of ethnicity refers to rejection of others with shared cultural affinities, e.g. religion, language, or ancestry; whereas xenophobia of race refers to rejection of racialized groups on the basis of their shared biological traits such as pigmentation. Islamophobia is argued to represent a form of ethnic discrimination, because as with other forms of discrimination based on real or supposed foreign origins, its victims are “othered” (Hargreaves, 2015, p.96). Notably, scholarship of the Bristol School of Multiculturalism claims ambivalence whether Islamophobia should be included in a wider definition of racism (Meer, 2019, pp.994-995). Ambivalence is also illustrated by the non-existence of definitions for legal concepts of racial and ethnic origin which are enshrined as grounds for non-discrimination in the European Union’s Council Directive 2000/43/EC, otherwise known as the Race Equality Directive or RED (Shannon, 2017, p.58)

5.3 The legal concept of discrimination based on nationality

Council Directive 2000/43/EC is important because it explicitly prohibits discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, although it does not explicitly prohibit discrimination on the grounds of national origin, e.g. in relation to immigration laws or legal acts covering residence, (Howard, 2010, p. 92). Moreover, EU state parties transpose Council Directive 2000/43/EC into their national legislation differently, which partly results from their different interpretation of legal concepts such as racial, ethnic and national origin. For example the United Kingdom and France transpose the Directive differently, the former taking into account colour in a manner similar to the USA, whilst the latter avoids doing so because the term “race” is not written in its constitutional law (Shannon, 2017, p.59). This is noteworthy with the rise of populist nationalism in Europe, where “racism is especially relevant with regards to emergence of opposition toward immigrants belonging to ethnic and racial minorities” (Gorodzeisky, & Semyonov, 2019, p.3). “Xenophobia of nationality is based on fear of and resentment towards immigrants or refugees from a country different from one’s own” (Gill and Danns, 2018, p.146). For example, a recent study in Holland found higher levels of intolerance towards immigrants with dual citizenship than to emigrants with dual citizenship, because of national identification and ethnic exclusionism (Vink, Schmeets, and Mennes, 2019, pp.96-97). This indicates different groups with the same nationality experience discrimination based on their race and ethnicity.

5.4 intersectionality of Identity: African and Immigrant in Europe

My thesis conceptualises **intersectionality of identity,** which CRT scholarship appropriately accommodates and illustrates,

“We emphasize our marginality and try to turn it toward advantageous perspective building and concrete advocacy on behalf of those oppressed by race and other interlocking factors of gender, economic class, and sexual orientation” (Bell, 1995, p.902) and (Gillborn in Crenshawe, 2020).

In that regard, intersectionality of identity between race or ethnicity and national origin, creates vulnerabilities for members of African migrant communities living in Europe. Notably, the *European Convention on Nationality 1997* asserts each state party “provide in its internal law for its nationality to be acquired ex lege by a child, one of whose parents possesses at the time of the child’s birth the nationality of that State Party” (Honohan and Rougier, 2018, p.341). This European norm endorses neoliberal policies of immigration, through *ius sanguinis* i.e., citizenship by descent, that generally excludes Afro descendants born in Europe from citizenship rights*.*

Moreover*, ius solis* i.e. citizenship by territory of birth, is not accorded to children of African immigrants born in most European countries, except where specific provisions have been met, e.g. naturalisation (Honohan and Rougier, 2018, p. 350). France and Belgium are amongst only 7 European countries where 3rd generation immigrants are entitled to ius soli citizenship. 2nd generation immigrants in a further 8 of Europe’s 43 countries including the UK,are entitled to *ius soli* citizenship with provisions, e.g. previous parental residence for up to 10 years (Honohan and Rougier, 2018, pp. 346, 350 and 353). The Windrush Scandal in the UK highlights how intersectionality of identity between race and nationality excludes people of African descent in Europe from citizenship rights, leading to deportation of individuals and the breakup of families. Large numbers of Europe’s African diaspora communities are clearly marginalised or excluded from universal human rights accorded to citizens, which facilitates “underground economies.”

CRT recognizes each individual’s “unique and potentially conflicting set of overlapping identities (…) we must be anti-essentialist and incorporate an understanding that these intersecting identities create unique contexts,” (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, p.2-3). The invisibility of the members of African migrant communities excludes them universal human rights generally accorded to citizens and other migrants not vulnerable to Afrophobia. In that regard, SDG Target 10.2 and SDG Target 17.18 of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development specifically allude to the legal concepts of race, ethnicity and nationality; he former aspires to empower and promote social, economic and political inclusion for all irrespective of race, ethnicity, origin, or other status by 2030; whilst the latter advocates fully disaggregated equality data collection and analysis for policy development.

Neoliberalism also marginalises and excludes women, non-binary, and “othered” communities and individuals as a result of patriarchy. Intersectionality can therefore otherwise involve additional vulnerabilities as a result of gender, age, disability, or gender orientation. With this in mind, “CRT has expanded into subfields such as (…) queerCrit, AsianCrit, and Critical Race Feminism,” since the 1970s (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, pp. 2 -3).

6. Interest convergence demonstrated by the legal concept of Afrophobia

“Afrophobia is defined as the ideology and practice of extreme hatred (…) and discrimination towards Africans, people of African ancestry, culture and the African continent” (Gill and Danns, 2018, p.147). The term Afrophobia (otherwise called Afriphobia by some academics and non-governmental organisations in the UK), was coined by African American scholars including Greene (1997, p.541). It was adopted in the rhetoric of European public institutions following the launch of ENAR’s Shadow Report on Afrophobia in Europe in 2016. Two specific contexts illustrate prior use of the term Afrophobia in scholarly articles, firstly relating to the USA, and secondly relating to South Africa.

Greene (1997, p.542) suggests that Afrophobia is “a state of mind concerned with [white Americans] fear of confronting their own history of cruelty and genocide against people of colour”. Similarly, Nobles (2015, p.403) defines “Afrophobia, (as) a persistent, abnormal, and irrational fear for things African.” In that regard, it is argued the “false universality of the Western Grand narrative” must be replaced with an “African Grand narrative” that reflects our voices which are often ignored or not heard” The term Afrophobia is also been used by various scholars to describe xenophobic violence against African migrants in the post-apartheid Republic of South Africa (Mbecke, 2015, p.74), (Tshishonga, 2015, pp.165-166), and (Koenane and Maphunye, 2015, pp.86-89). In addition, Afrophobia reportedly marginalises and excludes approximately 150-250 million people of African descent living in Latin America, (Gill and Danns, 2018, p.153). Although, the scope of my thesis primarily focuses on Afrophobia as a form of structural and systemic racism, which marginalises and excludes the African diaspora in Europe.

European colonial rule and modern-day neoliberalism clearly illustrates some ethnicities benefit from structural and systemic racism whereas African diaspora communities generally are amongst those who do not. In that regard, CRT facilitates monitoring of **interest convergence**, “where those in power support progressive goals only when it serves their selfish interests, as well” (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, pp. 2-3). Momodu and Pascoet (2014, p.262) define Afrophobia as structural discrimination based on racial, ethnic, or national origin, that specifically targets people of African descent. My thesis concurs with this definition, as the key point being made is that state parties must strategically address Afrophobia as a specific form of racism, (Momodu and Pascoet, 2014). Specific concern is placed on systemic racism faced by African diaspora communities including cross generational effects of slavery, colonialism and apartheid as stated in the Durban Declaration and Plan of Action (DDPA) 2001. Indeed, “the ICERD, DDPA, and the Declaration on Race and Racial Prejudice (1978)—as well as the UNESCO Statement on Race and Racial Prejudice (1967), point to connections between European colonialism, its aftermath, and racial discrimination” (McEachrane, 2018, p.473).

The DDPA 2001 is therefore of significance to my thesis, which advocates the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and IDPAD’s thematic objectives, for policy interventions to address Afrophobia in Europe. In the European context however, a strong argument is made that Afrophobia marginalises and excludes people of African descent from universal human rights with insufficient concern from policymakers. Shannon (2017, p.69) asserts “attempting to combat Afrophobia within the same system that reinforces the establishment of racial hierarchies poses significant challenges.” “After all [people of African descent] are the other according to western norms” (Momodu and Pascoet, 2014, p.265). For example, the Irish diaspora’s “reputation as enforcers of racial boundaries particularly in the USA and South Africa” contrasts with racism faced by African asylum seekers in Ireland (Michael, 2017, p.278). Although racist crimes of assault, criminal damage and arson have been reported by members of the African diaspora in Ireland, they have often failed to secure justice from the Gardai in spite of their reports of racist attacks (Michael, 2017, p.292-293). Other academic sources also assert contemporary neoliberal European states’ failure to adequately protect the universal human rights of people of African descent within their borders include (Esajas, 2014, pp.97-117), (Hansen, 2014, pp.217-227), (Kellock, 2014, pp.236-250) and (Thompson, 2014, pp.253-260)***.***

Interest convergence therefore facilitates intergenerational White supremacist capitalistic overexploitation of African labour and natural resources in neoliberal economies. However,

“where an entire legal framework at issue, minority perspectives can be included in ways that illuminate better the racial consequences of dominant values, concepts, and rules. More importantly, shifting the frame revalues distinct minority experiences; no longer are they cultural handicaps that either must be overcome or made the subject of occasional observation. Such experiences are instead, sources of knowledge that can be legitimately and powerfully utilized in legal analysis” (Crenshaw, 1990, p.8).

In that regard, Greene (1997, p.542) conceptualization of Afrophobia being undoubtedly rooted in and referring to historical events, can also explains modern issues such as racist discrimination and human rights breaches specifically affecting the African diaspora. Moreover, the concept of Afrophobia is clearly concerned with African victims of xenophobia and structural racism regardless of who the perpetrators of those acts might be, or where they may be located globally. My literature review therefore highlights historical and contemporary academic sources that adequately warrant claims of Afrophobia in Europe. For example, modern day Pan Africanist academics and activists use the terminology of Afrophobia or Afriphobia, to describe structural racism and racist discrimination that specifically affects people of African descent. Moreover, I elaborate further on Afrophobia from an Afrocentric and Pan Africanist perspective, with respect to potential policy interventions to empower people of African descent in Europe, to secure universal human rights. With this in mind, I conceptualise the terms Afrophobia and Afriphobia as being interchangeable, as they both relate to the same concept, despite differences taken in their use as language by academics and activists.

7. Critique of Liberalism: European colonialization of Africans as structural racism

The legal concept of structural racism may be defined as “a confluence of institutions, culture, history, ideology, and codified practices that generate and perpetuate inequity among racial and ethnic groups in Europe,” (Hardeman et al, 2016, p.2113). Notably, CRT’s critique of liberalism facilitates critical analysis of European colonial and neo-colonial structures and processes that perpetuate structural and systemic racism. In the context of my historical literature review, European colonialism can be defined as political and socioeconomic oppression and exploitation of people of African descent or Black people. With this in mind, my critique of normative theory argues neoliberal ethics and racial capitalism are underpinned by traditional legal theories of race and racism. For example, Hervik (2013, p.44) and van den Berghe (2007, 3749) indicate European expansion and colonialism are important in defining structural racism, faced by our communities in Europe, whilst recognising other varieties of racism such as anti-Semitism. Political and economic exploitation of the African diaspora within the historical context of colonialism as well as in contemporary neoliberal western economies therefore clearly illustrates structural and systemic racism. Notably, those propagating it may do so “unknowingly and without conscious negative intent” (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, pp. 2-3).

Within the discipline of Politics and International Relations, “raison d’état” or reason of state, i.e. the right of the state to preserve itself and sustain its political order, is used by realists to justify neoliberal western economies’ pragmatic approach to government policy in international relations (Jones & Smith, 2015). Contemporary 21st century post-colonial European society generally remains perceived as a hostile environment for Black people in Britain, Holland and Germany (Vieten, 2018, p. 35). For example, border controls racialize visible ethnic minorities as they travel across Europe. This contributes to a scale of differentiated feelings of European citizenry influenced by structural racism, and self-perception of being European or “Othered,” (Vieten, 2018, pp. 39-40). Ultimately Afro-Europeans become insecure in their national identity. The Windrush Scandal in the UK illustrates that “nationalist” border regimes remain central to “the production, or reconfiguration, of race as a social relation and system of difference” (de Noronha, 2019, p2419). This facilitates discriminatory practices of structural racism, such as ethnic profiling by border controls and law enforcement, and stereotyping of people of African descent which marginalises us from equality in access to universal human rights.

Racial stereotyping in education disproportionately marginalises and excludes African diaspora youth, whilst slavery and the legacy of colonialism evade critique because of White privilege, (Hayes, Joosen & Smiley, 2018, pp. 27-28). For example, Mediterranean countries such as Spain and Italy like France officially do not monitor citizens’ race or ethnicity. However, European state parties discriminate against migrants and ethnic minorities within their borders, as highlighted by the Windrush Scandal in the UK, which demonstrates the need for an anti-racist approach to migration (de Noronha, 2019, pp. 2415-2416). In that regard, “liberalism’s very aspirations to colour-blindness and equality (…) prohibit race-conscious attempts to right historical wrongs (…) can lead to neglect of discrimination in practice,” (Ogbonnaya-Ogburu, 2020, pp. 2-3). Notably, invisibles in Mediterranean states have little access to healthcare and are vulnerable to human rights abuse by public bodies, e.g. arrest and detention. “Contemporary transnational immigrations have not only reactivated colonial memories (…) but they have also shown how the effects of colonialism could not be confined to a distant place and time” (Lombardi-Diop, & Romeo, 2015, p.369).

My thesis therefore argues contemporary forms of structural racism such as ethnic profiling and stereotyping in access to universal human rights, exacerbate adverse intergenerational effects of colonial oppression for the African diaspora. In that regard, structural barriers to immigration and citizenship created by government policy further contribute to socioeconomic marginalisation of people in our communities.

8. Normative interventions to address Afrophobia in Contemporary European Society

Various scholars have formulated possible solutions to the problem of Afrophobia in that have been adopted in the 21st century; e.g. Pan Africanists advocate an “African centred paradigm that privileges the life experiences, history, and traditions of people of African ancestry as the centre of analyses, ergo, African-centred psychology” (Nobles, 2015,p.404). Other scholars have focused their attention on the DDPA 2001 as they believe such an instrument enables an improved understanding of what legal remedies are sought to address Afrophobia. Notably, the intergenerational effects of the enslavement of Africans and colonialism are highlighted as contributing to Afrophobia in scholarly articles adopting either approach. For example, McDougall (2002, pp.137-139) argues that the Durban World Conference is considered as of a historical nature for being the first global diplomatic effort to deal with the past realities of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, slavery, and colonialism, and alludes to reparations for descendants of enslaved Africans. This affects descendants of enslaved Africans in former European colonies and the USA, as well as European state parties many of whom have been reluctant to shoulder the blame for the past injustices of slavery and colonial rule (Camponovo, 2003, pp.670-671). Similarly, Biondi (2003, p.5) states that the declaration that slavery and the Transatlantic Slave Trade are a crime against humanity, as well as the importance given to reparations as a result, makes the third World Conference against Racism noteworthy. However, McDougall (2002, p.148) concludes that the Durban Conference highlighted a shift in the paradigm of antiracist struggle away from the focus on colonialism and apartheid in the two previous world conferences against racism held in 1978 and 1983, towards a focus on addressing racism “as a scourge that exists in every country and in all societies”. In that regard, my thesis concurs adopting a Pan Africanist approach may provide the best solution to problems arising from historical and contemporary forms of Afrophobia, such as disproportionate mental health disparities for people of African descent.

8.1 The International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD) 2015-2024

The International Decade for People of African Descent (IDPAD) 2015-2024 was proclaimed by Resolution 68/237, with thematic objectives of recognition, justice and development, which reflect Pan Africanist ideology of a shared history of white supremacist exploitation. IDPAD represents a further response to this, as the International Year for People of African Descent (IYPAD) in 2011, was argued to have insufficiently achieved all the outcomes sought by the UN and other stakeholders (Clarke, 2011, p.2). Both these events highlight links to Pan Africanist scholarly writings previously discussed in this review, by seeking to empower people of African descent, whilst recognising our shared history of colonial oppression. For example,

“the purpose of the International Year was to strengthen national actions, and regional and international cooperation for the benefit of people of African descent in relation to their full enjoyment of economic, cultural, social, civil and political rights; their participation and integration in all political, economic, social and cultural aspects of society; and the promotion of a greater knowledge of and respect for their diverse heritage and culture” (Clarke, 2011, p.4).

Although there are not many scholarly writings specifically pertaining to IDPAD in the European context, Michael (2017) alludes to IDPAD as the policy framework that uses the term Afrophobia to describe “[a]ll forms of anti-Blackness, meaning hostility and discrimination towards people identified as Black”. In that respect, Kumah-Abiwu (2016, p.15) acknowledges IDPAD as global recognition of the challenges of racial and social injustice faced by people of African descent, and advocates Afrocentric, i.e. African centred theory, policies and pedagogy in response to the widespread negative portrayal of black identity. In advocating integration of the Afrocentric perspective into curriculum development to countries outside of the USA, Kumah-Abiwu (2016, p.17) acknowledges the contribution made to education, by academics such as Asante (1991), Schiele (1994), Dei (1994), Mutisya and Ross (2005), Shockley (2010), Mazama and Lundy (2012). These academics have previously advanced similar ideas to Kumah-Abiwu’s in their works, with a measure of success in positively shaping outcomes for Black students in Western societies.

Other publications which allude to IDPAD include articles in relation to Afro-descendants living in Latin American countries. For example Rojas Davila (in Carneiro, 2018, pp.11-12) considers it “fundamental to perceive the IDPAD (2015-2024) as the perfect opportunity to debate racism and racial discrimination in the Americas earnestly, repositioning the question of race at the centre of the regional agenda on human rights”. In contrast, Andrews (2018, p.50) makes brief mention of IDPAD stating, “the Decade is just a rhetorical tool, something that may make us feel empowered but does nothing to empower us,” in relation to reparatory justice sought from governments including those of European states complicit in the enslavement of African peoples.

My thesis acknowledges the contribution made by African academics and cites Asante (1991) who advocates the use of African centred sources in the pedagogy and curricula of educational institutions, as well as participatory research and action research. I therefore locate my scholarship within the global debate on IDPAD and efforts to address Afrophobia, and critically evaluate normative theory within the Afrocentric paradigm through African centred research, participatory research and action research. IDPAD is used as a framework for policy interventions by various communities of meaning including Pan Africanist and other African diaspora led organisations globally, international and regional public bodies, and a minority of state parties and local authorities including Bristol. With this in mind my methodology combines interpretivism and pragmatism for social, economic and environmental impact that empowers the African diaspora in Europe. It is in that regard: that I create actionable data outputs which critically evaluate policy interventions to address Afrophobia, by linking IDPAD to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; and propose to make an original and new contribution to knowledge for understanding in the field of Politics and International Relations.

8.2 The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development demonstrates a framework through which normative measures can be implemented to achieve outcomes that are more favourable for people of African descent in Europe. Attainment of the 2030 Agenda is measured by the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the implementation of SDG targets, and the monitoring of SDG indicators, primarily by state parties but also by local public bodies, academia and other stakeholders. In contrast to the paucity of scholarly articles on IDPAD, a number of scholars have written on the SDGs, though none has specifically examined links between these goals and the IDPAD. These scholarly articles primarily focus on the SDGs**.** In that regard, Le Blanc (2015, p.177) explains that the 2030 Agenda can illustrate a network of SDG targets for implementation, towards integration of sustainable consumption and production. Strong links between SDGs have implications for policy coherence, as mutually reinforcing actions in the implementation of SDG targets, which facilitates achievement of the 2030 Agenda as a whole, (Nilsson, Griggs, & Visbeck, 2016, p.320-322). For example, SDG 10 aspires to reduce inequality within and between countries; Le Blanc (2015, p.180) argues SDG 10 has a strong link to SDG 16 which promotes peace, justice and good governance. In other words, in the framework of the 2030 Agenda, reducing inequality facilitates peace, justice and good governance, and vice versa. Nilsson, Griggs, & Visbeck (2016, p.321) also illustrate that based on a scale of SDG interactions, SDG 10 and SDG 16 have a high level of interaction, which must be at least be enabling, as there must be peace and good governance (SDG 16), in order for policy interventions to reduce inequality (SDG 10).

This thesis concurs with Le Blanc (2015, p.180) and Nilsson, Griggs & Visbeck (2016, pp.320-322) that SDGs are interrelated, and therefore advocates interpreting and understanding the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development as a coherent whole. However, in contrast to scholarly articles which do not specifically link SDGs to the IDPAD or Afrophobia, this thesis argues that the 2030 Agenda and specifically SDG 10 and SDG 16, can play a role in policy development to address Afrophobia. I argue that collaboration to achieve the 2030 Agenda, should monitor and address Afrophobia and structural discrimination for the realisation of the African diaspora’s universal human rights. (Olaiya, 2014, p.38). In that regard, the 2030 Agenda was initiated as a holistic human rights-based approach to sustainable development that explicitly addresses inequality (Winkler & Williams, 2017, p.1023)

“The human rights community and others called for a stand-alone goal on equality, as well as equality being integrated within the sectoral goals and targets. Importantly, they also called for indicators to be disaggregated so inequalities could be monitored to ensure that human rights entitlements are progressively realised, and inequalities ultimately eliminated. The language of the SDGs makes this commitment to equality central” (Winkler & Williams, 2017, p1024).

As a result, SDG Target 10.2 aspires to empower and promote social, economic and political inclusion for all irrespective of race, ethnicity, origin, or other status by 2030. Implementation of SDG Target 10.2 also enables and reinforces implementation of SDG Target 16.b by state parties, to promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development, (Nilsson, Griggs & Visbeck, 2016, pp.321). Moreover, disaggregated equality data collection and analysis as stipulated by SDG Target 17.18, can enable implementation of SDG Target 10.2 and SDG Target 16.b, to achieve a human rights based approach to development, which is inclusive of marginalised groups such as people of African descent, (Nilsson, Griggs & Visbeck , 2016, pp.321).

Scholarly articles therefore advocate the 2030 Agenda as a human rights approach to development as demonstrated by its local implementation by cities in the USA, where meaningful participation of marginalised communities affected by human rights concerns is encouraged in Baltimore and New York, (Kaufman, 2017, p.116). This is clearly advocated by SDG Target 11. Bristol which is leading in SDG implementation amongst UK urbanisms, similarly encourages participation of marginalised communities for the achievement of the 2030 Agenda, in the guise of the One City Plan. This complies with implementation of SDG Target 10.2 and SDG Target 16.b at the local level, to promote human rights, social justice and equality, see (Kaufman, 2017, p.117-119). I therefore agree with Winkler and Satterthwaite (2017, p.1076), that

“Focusing monitoring efforts on marginalised groups helps break the vicious cycle of invisibility and neglect. All too often, marginalised communities are not part of monitoring efforts because they are excluded from data gathering and rendered invisible in the resulting analyses. By collecting data on, and analysing disparities and inequalities between groups, these dynamics start to shift, and policy-makers are pressured to redress the impacts of marginalisation and discrimination.”

The importance of SDG Targets and Indicators are therefore not to be understated in relation to policy development.

“The framing of indicators and the disaggregation they call for are therefore not just technical details; they have significant influence on what data governments and development partners will gather over the next 15 years or more and ‘what matters’ in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Agenda. The SDG indicators will help shape what governments, development partners and people – disadvantaged or powerful – will know about discrimination, exclusion and equality. Therefore, it will be essential to incorporate a focus on monitoring progress for marginalised communities and reducing inequalities in the SDG indicators to ensure that no one is left behind”. (Winkler and Satterthwaite, 2017, p.1077).

Kaufman (2017, p.120) also correctly argues, SDG indicators can be used by civil society and independent human rights institutions to monitor state parties’ progress in respecting and promoting universal human rights. It is in that regard that my thesis links SDG Target 10.2 to SDGs 16.b and SDG 17.18 in order to address Afrophobia and gaps in policy implementation of anti-racist discrimination policies, which adversely affect African diaspora communities.

For example, Wilson (2017, pp.432-433) argues that it is essential to re-centre race in dominant discourses challenging inequality and racialization of material development processes for the achievement of the SDGs.

“Racialized dehumanisation of human beings described as would be illegal immigrants” is evidence that contemporary capitalist globalization is in continuity with “colonial depredations reaching back to the transatlantic slave trade” (Wilson, 2017, p.442). Therefore, “a central reason for adopting human rights indicators to track progress towards achieving the SDGs is to ensure that human rights guide their implementation and that the Goals achieve core human rights priorities, including equality and non-discrimination” (Kaufman, 2017, p.121). In this respect, the 2030 Agenda promotes fully disaggregated equality data collection for policy development, because it enables monitoring of racial inequality affecting marginalised communities, e.g. in access to social, economic and cultural rights as well as civil and political rights, see (Gostin et al, 2018; 2019, p.2734). For example, implementation of SDG 17.18 can facilitate monitoring of state parties efforts to address Afrophobia and other sources of social conflict within neoliberal western states, as indicated by Kaufman (2017, p.127). It is therefore evident that although no specific mention of IDPAD is made in these scholarly articles, successful achievement of the 2030 Agenda relies on implementation of SDG targets and monitoring indicators that imperatively take into account the situation of marginalised African diaspora communities.

Conclusion

To conclude, the concept of “race” remains controversial within academia and other segments of society, despite scientific theories of racial hierarchies being discredited in the 20th century. My literature review illustrates the legal concept of “race” as a sociological construct (Momodou & Pascoet, 2014, p. 262) and (Célestine, & Fila-Bakabadio, 2017, pp.4-5); and concurs with scholarly articles that argue “racism” is an ideology or belief whereby one racial group dominates another, (Smedley, A., Yasuko I., Takezawa, et al, 2019 paras.1-13), (McCardle, 2017, p. 99), and (van den Berghe (in 2007, p. 3749). Differing interpretations of these concepts by different state parties, leads to ambiguity in transposing anti-racist discrimination norms into national legislation in the European Union (Shannon, 2017, p.59). For example, the European Union’s Council Directive 2000/43/EC, prohibits discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, however EU member states transpose the Directive differently into national legislation of as a result of ambiguity in the definition of these terms.

With this in mind, this literature review interprets and creates original and new knowledge for understanding that locates the social construction of relevant interdisciplinary terminology and language, within the fields of normative theory and Black Studies. For example, European colonial codes pejoratively described people of African descent as “Negro” and “Black” (Reddie, 2019, pp.389-390). However, scholarly articles cited in this review, from Black Studies and the Afrocentric paradigm, illustrate social construction of language in contemporary times, by different interpretive communities contributes to ambiguity in meaning, (Meer, 2019, p.992), (Owusu, 2016, pp. 10-12), (Andrews, 2014, p.23), (Essed, 2014, p.59), and (Thakoordin, 2012, pp.168-169).

Afrophobia therefore adequately describes a longstanding issue that has plagued the world, where the resilience of racist and white supremacist philosophies, battle the dynamism of Pan Africanist and Afrocentric ideologies. Scholarly articles in this literature review illustrate empirical evidence of Afrophobia and highlight African diaspora communities in Europe remain marginalised and excluded, without policy interventions to ensure compliance with anti-racist discrimination norms. Despite efforts made by human rights institutions and international civil society to eliminate racial discrimination since the 20th century, structural racism including legacies of colonialism continues to hinder equality. In that regard, my thesis makes a new and original contribution to knowledge for understanding in the field of Politics and International relations, by highlighting links between IDPAD’s thematic objectives and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, to achieve equitable and inclusive outcomes for people of African descent, through policy interventions.

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