



Media Handbook on Justice and Fairness

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About ETHOS

ETHOS - Towards a European Theory Of Justice and fairness, is a European Commission Horizon 2020 research project that seeks to provide building blocks for the development of an empirically informed European theory of justice and fairness. The project seeks to do so by:

- a) refining and deepening the knowledge on the European foundations of justice - both historically based and contemporary envisaged;
- b) enhancing awareness of mechanisms that impede the realisation of justice ideals as they are lived in contemporary Europe;
- c) advancing the understanding of the process of drawing and re-drawing of the boundaries of justice (fault lines); and
- d) providing guidance to politicians, policy makers, advocacies and other stakeholders on how to design and implement policies to reserve inequalities and prevent injustice.

ETHOS does not merely understand justice as an abstract moral ideal, that is universal and worth striving for. Rather, it is understood as a re-enacted and re-constructed "lived" experience. The experience is embedded in firm legal, political, moral, social, economic and cultural institutions that are geared to giving members of society what is their due.

In the ETHOS project, justice is studied as an interdependent relationship between the ideal of justice, and its real manifestation – as set in the highly complex institutions of modern European societies. The relationship between the normative and practical, the formal and informal, is acknowledged and critically assessed through a multi-disciplinary approach.

To enhance the formulation of an empirically-based theory of justice and fairness, ETHOS will explore the normative (ideal) underpinnings of justice and its practical realisation in four heuristically defined domains of justice - social justice, economic justice, political justice, and civil and symbolic justice. These domains are revealed in several spheres:

- a) philosophical and political tradition,
- b) legal framework,
- c) daily (bureaucratic) practice,
- d) current public debates, and
- e) the accounts of the vulnerable populations in six European countries (the Netherlands, the UK, Hungary, Austria, Portugal and Turkey).

The question of drawing boundaries and redrawing the fault-lines of justice permeates the entire investigation.

Alongside Utrecht University in the Netherlands who coordinate the project, five further research institutions cooperate. They 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). The research project lasts from January 2017 to December 2019

Executive Summary

This Media Handbook is part of WP8 – Policy and Dissemination and acts as input for discussion for the final ETHOS conference, to be held in Graz, Austria in November 2019 together with media and policy stakeholders. The Media Handbook builds on insights from all previous content-related ETHOS studies and has the goal to distil and present information about justice and its framing in a manner relevant to media stakeholders.

The ETHOS Media Handbook serves as a blueprint for communicating (on) justice using both content-related and dissemination-related insights from the ETHOS project.

The media is a vital actor when it comes to communicating (on) justice and can derive significant benefits from reporting on and about justice topics. In this vein, ETHOS can help provide a framework for nuanced and differentiated understanding of justice, based on insights yielded from three years of empirical and theoretical research. This research and Nancy Fraser’s three-dimensional model of justice employed therein can help understand and report on daily experiences in which justice manifests. The Media Handbook provides a series of justice-related inputs and stories for media stakeholders, which can help shed new light on justice and justice-related topics. This, in turn, can have a positive effect on raising awareness and sensibilization for justice in public, political and media discourses.

The Media Handbook is primarily geared to media stakeholders, but also holds valuable insights on how to move away from a black-and-white understanding of justice in other realms. In this sense, it is relevant for purposes outside the media and can be used to kickstart a critical conversation on justice topics.

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I. Guiding Rationale

This media handbook was created based on the understanding that media stakeholders, our intended target group for this document, are the masters of their own craft. In this context, media stakeholders include actors involved in the organisation, creation, editing, dissemination and framing of traditional and new media materials. As experts, media stakeholders themselves are best aware of how to reach their target audiences and of the means necessary to do so. The handbook was therefore created based on the assumption that while methodological and communication expertise rests with media stakeholders, the ETHOS Consortium is able to provide unique insight on justice and justice-related topics.

The document at hand is designed according to the principle of two-way communication and mutual learning. It is intended as a foundation for meaningful exchange between and among these two groups in order to arrive at an understanding of justice communication that incorporates both media-specific and ETHOS-specific expertise. The idea of sensibilisation to adequate and constructive communication on justice and justice-related topics is put into the foreground.

Based on this, the handbook has the goal of providing information, impulses and examples that can be *effectively* and *meaningfully* utilised by media stakeholders and others, while doing so in a manner that reflects the project approach and findings on justice and fairness in Europe.

The handbook has three objectives:

- ➔ To synthesise the project approach and findings into examples and stories
- ➔ To introduce and make graspable the theory of justice as used by the ETHOS project, building on Fraser's tri-partite definition of justice as redistribution, representation and recognition
- ➔ To transport our ideas and results towards a new, integrated European theory of justice and fairness by using best practice examples as yielded through the communication and dissemination efforts of the project

In the creation of this handbook, the guiding rationale was to provide information in a way that is *relevant* and *useful* for journalistic purposes, and to do so in a way that enables *direct access* to examples, stories and practices reflective of a new way to communicate justice and justice-related topics.

Against this backdrop, the handbook can be conceived as a re-arrangement of existing insights on justice that are on the one hand prepared as guidance to media stakeholders, but on the other hand are also intended to serve as a wake-up-call for the relevance of justice and justice-related topics.

The media handbook is split into three broad sections: First, the case for the importance of justice and justice-related topics is made with direct reference to the ETHOS project. Second, content-related and methodological input on communication about justice and justice-related topics will be given by using practical examples, dilemmas and stories yielded from ETHOS research and communication/dissemination practices. Third, critical questions on justice communication and potential intersections for further research will be posed.

II. Introduction

Justice matters and affects everyone

→ *Justice issues immediately evoke a reaction. How can a situation be evaluated in the most just manner? What makes a decision just or unjust? Who wins and who loses?*



Figure 3: Refugee tourism on Greek Islands. *Source: APA-MNA Athens-Macedonian News Agency.*

Imagine a long-awaited holiday is coming up. You booked the holiday in advance and worked hard the entire year, gleefully awaiting the moment of departure to a Greek island. However, in the past year, there has been a massive influx of refugees to the region. The point of arrival is an island in Greece – the island of your holiday. Your five-star hotel, which costs several hundred Euros per night, overlooks the beautiful sea on the one side. The other side the island is filled with thousands of refugees, stranded, arriving in dire need for care; they are housed in cramped, hot and unhygienic arrival camps. The island is split into two parts. As a tourist, you can only see the refugee camp from the hotel restaurant on the highest floor, where your four-course meal with complimentary drinks is waiting. As a refugee, you can see the towering hotel complex glittering in the distance. There are no showers, and food is only available when non-profit organizations bring the next ration. It is hot and sticky. The island is split into two worlds.

- ? Will you go on holiday? Will you look away?
- ? What does this say about your sense of justice?
- ? What is the right thing to do? For you, for the island as a whole?
- ? Is there a just thing that can be done?

What is the just thing to do?

We all have a sense of justice: Justice permeates daily life.

→ *Justice touches on emotions and rationale, on our innate ideas of what is right and wrong. Justice emerges in daily life and is always worth highlighting and drawing upon as it is ambiguous, yet it affects everyone. Justice triggers concern and starts a conversation.*

Explicit or inexplicit questions of justice appeal to a person's innate sense of self and sense of society. Justice inextricably applies to rational understanding and even more so to emotional understanding. These two forms of understanding are often portrayed as dichotomous or even opposing.



Figure 2: The commonly-perceived emotional vs. rational dichotomy. Source: pxhere.com

Justice and justice-related topics **bridge** these two levels of perception. Questions about justice often generate empathy, but also highlight notions of deservingness: who or what becomes the measure of need, identification or

reciprocity? When such fundamental questions are asked, a chord embedded deeply into human nature is struck: this allows for awareness raising and sensitisation.

At the same time, thinking of justice is a reminder that there is an ideal, a normative assumption that underpins our evaluation of issues or acts. Is something just or unjust? What is the right thing to do, and what does this idea build on?

Not only does justice strike emotional and rational chords and touches on existing ideas of morale. **Justice and justice-related topics permeate daily life and are always relevant.**

- ✓ Public depictions of justice often instrumentalise individual stories or fates to make a broader point
- ✓ Justice and justice-related topics require more attention and a more differentiated view as they play a unique role in human perception and nature

Justice is not only a matter of how it is portrayed, made public, or discussed. There are underlying scientific facts and empirical data that give information on (in)equality, discrimination, laws, legal procedures, political-decision making and its effects. This data merits consideration as it can help support discussions not motivated by media, political or other aims that distract from the subject matter.

- ✓ Justice is not a question of black-and-white, just or unjust, right or wrong
- ✓ Particularly in times of political polarization, fake news and politically-biased reporting, a nuanced view on justice and justice-related topics matters

Justice and justice-related topics are always relevant and hence also worth employing, considering, touching upon, and discussing. They affect everyone, they are timely, they trigger emotional and rational concern on an individual and collective basis. However, debates should be underpinned by facts rather than medial, political or other aims.

The ETHOS Project – Towards a European Theory of Justice and Fairness

- ➔ *As justice is a relevant and important issue, the ETHOS project was initiated. ETHOS works with a three-dimensional model of justice as it permeates daily life: justice as redistribution, justice as representation, and justice as recognition. These three lenses of justice help shed light on different dimensions of an issue. Often, these spheres supplement each other; often, they clash.*

The ETHOS project was started in January 2017 and is a collaboration between six research institutions in six countries: Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and Turkey. ETHOS is funded by the European Commission under Horizon2020 (grant agreement No. 727112). It lasts until December 2019.

Since January 2017 The ETHOS research project has

- ✓ Focused on justice and fairness in Europe from various disciplinary perspectives and various political traditions;
- ✓ Particular focus is given to how justice is constructed in discourses in Europe, in laws, in experiences, in the media, in politics, in daily life, and in struggles for justice;
- ✓ Multiple voices are accommodated via communicative tools, workshops, focus groups, meetings, policy briefs, as well as an interactive online game: the Landscapes of Justice;

The goal of ETHOS is to reach a process in which seemingly antagonistic and opposing voices are attuned in a harmonious concert, which reflects the mutual understanding of a European theory of justice and fairness in a deliberative, constantly evolving process. In other words, **ETHOS highlights what experiences, viewpoints and realities related to justice unite, divide, affect and matter to people in Europe and Turkey.**

It does so by conducting empirical studies in six countries, generating comparative reports, combining findings with philosophical/theoretical insights, and engaging in a permanent process of re-evaluation and re-conceptualisation to understand the nature and effects of justice and fairness in Europe.

I. A three-dimensional model of justice

There is a theoretical framework that underpins the research conducted in ETHOS. This framework is particularly useful to see that justice as a concept is not straight-forward or an issue of right or wrong. While justice may seem clear-cut from one perspective, the experience may be completely different through the eyes, experience or viewpoint of someone else. Beyond that, what is just in one realm might be unjust in another.

Nancy Fraser, an American theorist, philosopher, researcher and author, has devised model of justice that consists of three intersecting, interwoven and interrelated spheres.

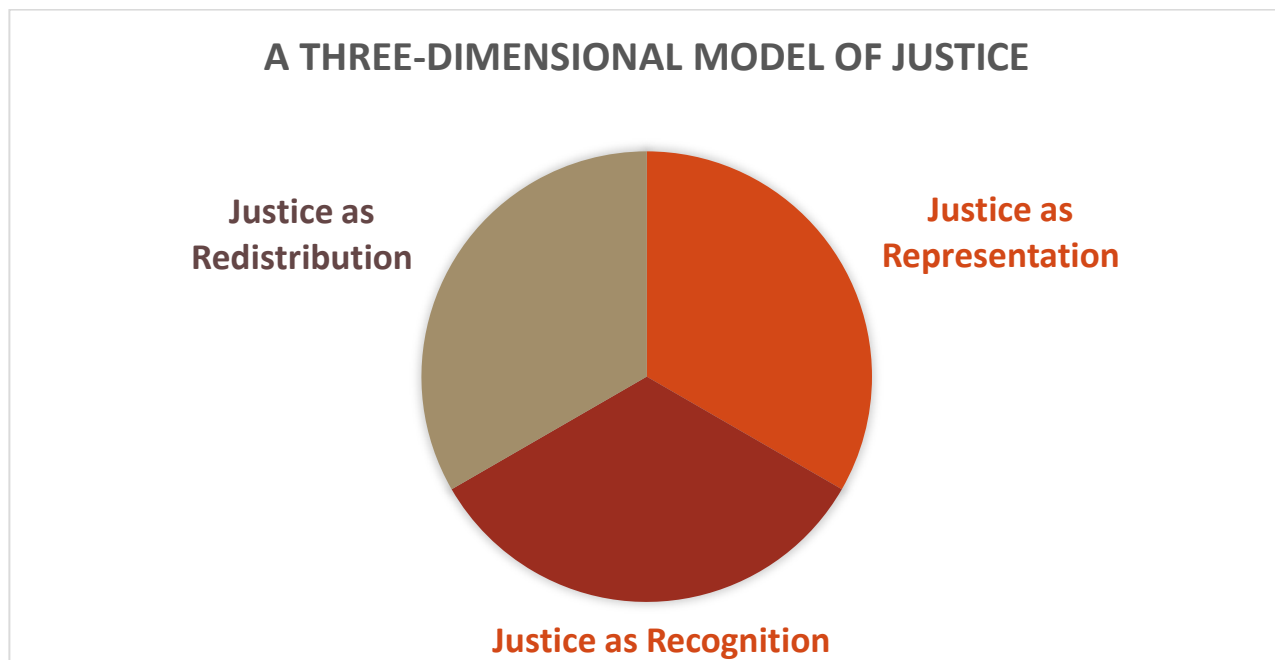


Figure 4: Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional model of justice. Source: ETHOS.

According to Fraser, a justice issue can be viewed through three spheres or lenses:

- ✓ Justice as **redistribution**
- ✓ Justice as **representation**
- ✓ Justice as **recognition**

Each of these three spheres touches on particular aspects and topics in which justice is or is not manifested. In other words, the three spheres help highlight conditions that are conducive or not conducive to justice by showcasing different dimensions of justice. The three spheres apply to all levels, from the individual to societal experiences, from local to international experiences:

- ✓ Justice as **redistribution** touches on economic (re)distribution, resources, opportunity, access, etc. **How and in what way are resources distributed and who has access to them?**
- ✓ Justice as **representation** touches on political participation, elections, protests, freedom of assembly, etc. **How and in what way is someone/an issue represented and what form does participation take?**
- ✓ Justice as **recognition** touches on identity, acknowledgement, abilities, etc. **How and to what extent is someone/an issue recognised and acknowledged in their identity?**

ETHOS research using this model has yielded many new insights, including the finding that there are countless justice spheres beyond Fraser's three. In the ETHOS project we have evaluated situations, discovered new issues, spoken to dozens of people in different countries, and learned about what matters. We were often surprised, often concerned, but always convinced that **justice affects everyone and does to in multiple spheres and multiple ways**. They are often intertwined, intersecting, and relational.

Stories are therefore a great tool to show and uncover how different spheres play together in daily experiences, and which tensions may arise. It is imperative to use such stories to contribute to a differentiated view of justice that helps dispel myths, prejudice and black and white thinking.

The effects and nature of justice are not straight-forward. Justice affects everyone in multiple spheres and ways, including through redistribution, representation and recognition. These spheres are intertwined, intersecting, relational. An issue may be just when viewed from one sphere, but unjust when viewed from another. Stories are a good method to highlight the ambiguity of justice as it manifests in daily experiences.

III. Communicating Justice and Justice-related Topics

→ *Justice and justice-related topics are immensely powerful due to the fact they are universally experienced. Therefore, it is important to consider the nature of justice in public discourse and in the media. The ETHOS project can help showcase a new framework for understanding justice, which in turn can help to raise awareness and consideration about the complexity of the topic and its communication.*

1. A New Form of Awareness

Justice and justice-related topics are worth considering in the media because

- ✓ ...they apply to every (media) target group
- ✓ ...they apply to daily life and daily experiences
- ✓ ...they exceed demographic, linguistic, cultural, or medial boundaries
- ✓ ...they are timely and always relevant
- ✓ ...they speak to both emotions and rationale, and touch on innate ideals of morale

I. The complexity of justice and the role of the media

Nancy Fraser's three-dimensional model of justice helps to differentiate between different types and spheres of justice, which manifest in nuanced and interwoven forms across experiences and realities. Justice is not a matter of wrong or right. Equally, the manner in which justice is made public and appears in the open merits consideration and reflection of the many intersecting facets underpinning a single issue.

It is a paradox that some forms of justice appear in the open and others don't. In daily life, many forms of injustice remain hidden, as do many forms of justice. **The media plays a strong role** in determining the public narrative and thus holds great potential to shedding light to the complexity of the matter. After all, justice affects everyone and touches on innate senses of emotion and rationale. Justice moves, justice touches, justice raises questions.

The ETHOS project has much to offer in terms of research findings, insights about politics and society, and causal relationships and dynamics across Europe and Turkey. The integration of three justice concepts provides a framework that was employed in the project, and that can help understand how these types are reflected in the arenas of politics, law, the economy, social life, in particular related to vulnerable populations.

We find that....

- ✓ Justice is **contextual** and **path-dependent**
- ✓ Justice is **controversial** and **disputed**
- ✓ Justice is **subjectively experienced**, but can be **objectively defined**
- ✓ Justice and injustice can be found in **all areas** of daily life
- ✓ Experiences of justice and injustice are **intertwined, intersecting, relational**
- ✓ There is no such thing as a universally just solution or evaluation – “making justice” often relies on **compromise** and **trade-offs**. In Europe this is a debate within, among and beyond the Member States.

ETHOS research has yielded many stories, individual and collective fates and experiences, which offer motivation and inspiration for a new justice framework of understanding. The power and position of the media to communicate on justice and justice-related topics is immense. This, in turn, can offer an opportunity to generate awareness and sensibilisation to the complex nature of justice topics, helping to dispel commonly held myths and helping to foster an understanding that issues are not merely black and white.

Justice is all-encompassing and permeating, yet portrayed very selectively. Using the framework of ETHOS research insights and the three-fold model of justice (redistribution, representation, recognition), it is possible to start a new discourse and to foster a new understanding. The basis for this could be individual and collective stories yielded from three years of empirical research across six countries.

2. Addressing the Right Target Group with the Right Topic

➔ *ETHOS research in a breadth of topics provides ample material to highlight the complex and intersecting nature of justice based on selected stories and experiences.*

ETHOS research has clustered around four broad topic areas:

- ✓ Law and Justice
- ✓ Justice in Politics and Media Discourses
- ✓ Justice as a Lived Experience
- ✓ Struggles for Justice

These four topics cover a breadth of issues also covered by specialised and non-specialised media sources, representing areas of life that are particularly relevant for justice and justice-related topics. In other words, drawing on stories from these topic areas can help speak to several target groups, realms of experience, topic specialisations, and reporting goals as all topics touch on daily areas of life.

What is relevant for whom?

I. Law & Justice

Applicable for reporting in the following media departments:

- ✓ Politics: participation, elections, policy-making, vulnerable groups
- ✓ Economics: (re)distribution of resources, ownership and property, social housing, vulnerable groups
- ✓ Society: ownership and property, social housing, welfare, vulnerable groups
- ✓ Education: equality of opportunity, support for vulnerable groups, redistributive measures

Social housing as a double-edged sword

Social housing and housing benefits regulations are often defined at the local level and impose local residence requirements. These exclude from redistributive justice those who are mobile (typically foreigners, and younger persons), and contribute to spatial segregation processes. For instance, in Vienna (Austria), which has an important municipal (social) housing stock, only those who have resided in Vienna for at least two years can apply for such housing. A newly introduced bonus system for long term inhabitants which shortens the waiting list as points increase, lead to a 'structural' disadvantage in favour of local residents, and against most recent (foreign) arrivals, including many refugees, who are then forced onto the expensive private, and even exploitative, rental market. In Graz or in Innsbruck, applicants must have lived or work there for five years before being able to apply for municipal housing. What is envisioned as a measure in support of redistributive justice has the consequence of negatively impacting this form of justice. (see ETHOS D3.5)

The EU market law and social justice

EU market law can promote social justice objectives. For instance, the procedural guarantees offered by the [EU Directive on Unfair Terms in Consumer Contracts](#) was mobilized to protect Spanish mortgage borrowers from evictions resulting from mortgage payment default. Another example: the inclusion by the [revised EU Public Procurement Directive \(2014\)](#) of accessibility criteria or the proposed [European Accessibility Act](#) can contribute to improving disabled persons' access to a wide range of essential buildings, including polling stations, schools and social housing, as well as products and services, some of which (Information and Communications Technologies, ICTs) are central to ensuring inclusive education. However, EU internal market law may also play against certain justice aims, or undermine particular conceptions of social justice. For example, private property developers in the Netherlands mobilized EU law and institutions against the Dutch social housing scheme. It led to an adjustment, which redirected redistributive efforts towards 'disadvantaged citizens' or 'socially less advantaged' groups, thus privileging a prioritarian, as opposed to universalist, approach to redistributive justice. In other words, the prioritarian or "priority" view implies that those who are worse off in the distribution of advantages should be favoured, as opposed to doing so in a universalist, all-encompassing and inclusive manner. This reform was strongly contested by housing associations and (some) NGOs. (see ETHOS D3.5)

Justice in democratic decision-making

A core question of justice as representation concerns the boundaries or 'scope' of justice. With regard to the right to vote, this scope is sometimes considered to be simply a reflection of democratic decisions concerning the extent of the right to vote (within the norms of human rights instruments like the [European Convention of Human Rights](#)). However, constitutions sometimes specify interesting principles with regard to the scope of the franchise. For example, Portuguese law permits the extension of the franchise to citizens of historically Portuguese-speaking countries, based on a principle of reciprocity. Declaration n°30/2017 formalises the right to vote in local elections for foreigners in Portugal. Historically, Portuguese-speaking third country nationals are, subject to reciprocity, enfranchised in local elections after a period of residence of four years. At the time of writing this applies to Brazilians and Cape Verdeans. This reciprocal aspect of justice as representation can also be seen in the reciprocal

local voting rights granted to EU nations resident in EU member states other than their state of national citizenship. (see ETHOS D3.4)

Applicable ETHOS deliverables:

- ➔ Policy Brief WP3 (available upon request)
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D3.1: [Report on a theoretical review of the conceptualization and articulation of justice in legal theory](#) – Orsolya Salát
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D3.3: [Justice in Europe Institutionalized: Legal Complexity and the Rights of Vulnerable Persons](#) - Marie-Pierre Granger, Barbara Oomen, Orsolya Salat, Tom Theuns & Alexandra Timmer
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D3.4: [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](#) – Tom Theuns
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D3.5: [Coming “Home”: the right to housing, between redistributive and recognitive justice](#) – Marie Pierre Granger
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D3.6: [Comparative report on the right to education: An assessment of the legal framework of six countries from the perspective of recognitive and redistributive justice](#) – Orsolya Salát
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D5.2: [‘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
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D6.1: [Report on Economizing on Justice](#) – José Castro Caldas

II. Justice in Politics & Media Discourses

Applicable for reporting in the following media departments:

- ✓ Politics: political participation, elections, vulnerable groups, political institutions
- ✓ Economics: (re)distribution of resources, ownership and property, social housing, benefits, vulnerable groups
- ✓ Society: ownership and property, social housing, welfare, education, children, vulnerable groups
- ✓ Media: justice in public spaces, linguistics in marketing, reporting methods, narratives

British identity and recognition of power disparities

Commenting on a public statue of Lord Mountbatten, the last Viceroy of India who oversaw the violent partition of India and Pakistan, Oxford activists, academics, artists and politicians interviewed for the ETHOS project voiced strong criticism toward the idea that White British or English identities should be unthinkingly and uncritically reproduced. A political campaigner and an art activist pointed out how Englishness is often mobilised to scapegoat migrants, and the latter characterised calls for the preservation of British culture as a ‘dog whistle’ (or a covert way of expressing racism that is recognised by the speaker’s audience but is difficult to call out). At the same time, there

was an ambivalent acceptance that those who identified as White British may be genuinely anxious of cultural change. In an attempt to reconcile justice as reproduction and justice as recognition/anti-racism, a political campaigner proposed that British identities should come with a recognition of contemporary power disparities between white and Black people, and a university professor and a theatre activist submitted that removing a colonial statue would not necessarily hurt the feelings of those who were proud to be British. (see ETHOS D4.5)

Educational segregation in redistributive, representative and recognitive terms

In Portugal's discussion on education in the media, the policy focus on this issue is on poverty and class factor as the main structure explaining inequalities in the educational system. At the same time, this redistributive focus pushes away issues to do with justice as recognition from the public debate and from consciousness: racism also perpetuates structural inequalities. Recognition can lead to feelings that the majority is deprived of just distribution (justice as redistribution) through preferential treatment of minorities. At the same time, the privileged position of other schools that prioritise freedom of educational choice over equality of opportunity can alleviate recognitive principles altogether, which contributes to educational segregation, inequality of educational attainment, opportunity, and mobility. Segregation is considered an unpleasant side effect of the celebrated freedom of education. The (policy) focus of poverty and class structure as the main factor explaining educational inequalities, pushes the injustice of colour blindness and the role of racism in the perpetuation of structural inequalities out of public debate and consciousness. This is also well-reflected in questions about the curriculum: for example, it is not unheard of that minority associations (Afro-descendant, for example) seek to amend the school curricula in order to provide a breadth of opinions and standpoints when it comes to Portugal's role as colonizer. Frequently, the pledge for a plurality of voices (justice as representation and recognition) is dismissed, leading to injustice. Yet, all children in Portugal have the right to education (justice as redistribution and recognition) but there are inequalities in the way vulnerable groups are represented, creating situations of injustice. (see ETHOS D4.4)

Freedom of educational choice in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, tensions arise around the relative importance of freedom of choice of education and the right of parents and communities to nourish and transmit their (cultural and religious) values. Interestingly, those tensions may cut across the traditional opposition between liberal and communitarian visions of social life, where the former emphasize the autonomy of the individual and importance of individual liberty, and the latter accentuate the social nature of the self and the normative value of community. The freedom of educational choice is believed to reinforce the transmission of significant communal values, some of which – such as those religiously informed – might be far from promoting individual liberty or autonomy. This is well illustrated in the Netherlands, where freedom of choice of education is defended as a liberal right and a part of Dutch political history and national identity, deeply embedded in the Dutch poldermodel or pillarization and the culture of consensus; and where it is being criticized for its negative effects on social segregation, social integration and social cohesion. (see ETHOS D4.4)

Victimhood and the importance of narrative

In terms of justice, the narrative about certain groups can determine the scope of justice as representation and recognition, which can have far-reaching consequences in policy, public discourse, and beyond, often resulting in disadvantageous positions of certain groups. In Austria, Hungary, the Netherlands and the UK, in the more conservative, right-wing media, it is usually the white majority that is construed as a victim of (ethnic, racial, religious) minority groups, the state and its (unjust) policies that favour minorities, or both. If a minority group is construed as a victim by the conservative, right-wing media, they are the victim of self-exclusion and – in the case of Muslims – Islamic fundamentalism and extremism. In the UK, in the context of the Trojan Horse controversy, Muslim children in particular are construed as victims of their own communities that prevent them from flourishing and by cutting them off from the wider society make them “vulnerable to segregation and emotional dislocation.” Yet, also in the Netherlands, the right-wing audiences refer to Muslim parents blaming them for the educational lack of success of their children. Contrastingly, In the left-wing media, minority members are usually portrayed as a victim of (structural) neglect and institutional discrimination that prevents them from developing their talents and capabilities. In Hungary, they are presented as a victim of governmental policy that serves the isolation aspirations of the majority, and in particular the interests of religiously-minded elites. In Portugal, minorities are seen as victims of historically embedded institutional racism. In the UK, particular attention is drawn to the misrecognition of the Muslim community in the form of false accusations and stigmatization through associations with terrorism, extremism; Muslim communities are also recognized as an object of witch-hunt by government officials, demonized and scapegoated. (see ETHOS D4.4)

Applicable ETHOS deliverables:

- Policy Brief WP4 (available upon request)
- ETHOS Working Paper D4.1: [Report on a theoretical review of the conceptualization and articulation of justice in political theory](#) – Ayse Bugra
- ETHOS Working Paper D4.2: [Justice in European Political Discourse](#) – Dorota Lepianka
- ETHOS Working Paper D4.3: [Discourses on minorities \(and vulnerable groups’\) access to education, inclusionary and exclusionary aspects](#) - Ayse Bugra and Basak Akkan
- ETHOS Working Paper D4.4: [Mapping the construction of justice and justice-related tensions in Europe – a comparative report](#) – Dorota Lepianka
- ETHOS Working Paper D4.5: [Historical memory and the practice of commemoration in public space – mapping moral sentiments of opinion leaders](#) – Basak Akkan and Jing Hiah
- ETHOS Working Paper D5.2: [‘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

III. Justice as a Lived Experience

Applicable for reporting in the following media departments:

- ✓ Health: security, care services, access to health services
- ✓ Society: welfare and care, old age, disability, self-determination, vulnerable groups
- ✓ Economics: welfare state, benefits, social security, social partners
- ✓ Politics: vulnerable groups, majority/minority relations, ethnic minorities

Descriptive representation vs. substantive representation

The inclusion of minority voices in institutional politics through mechanisms of descriptive representation (alternatively known as ‘quotas’, ‘reserved seats’, ‘positive/affirmative action’ or ‘reverse discrimination’) may enable a greater variety of perspectives to inform public policy, as well as facilitate symbolic representation and combat misrecognition. A Roma representative interviewed for ETHOS considered their role was important in terms of combatting stereotypes of helplessness and victimhood, even if it did not necessarily give power to change things. Despite these potential benefits, advocates of descriptive representation have been strongly criticised for paying insufficient attention to intergroup similarities and intra-group differences in perspectives, interests and opinions. A UK Roma activist thus expressed outrage at some representatives’ failure to engage with specific nationalities. Another observed: ‘Descriptive representation would help, but it would have to be someone who cares about the poor too, not just for themselves’. As this quote suggests, descriptive representation does not necessarily translate into substantive representation (understood as acting in the interest of a constituency) and is often undermined by class biases. (see ETHOS D5.2)

Care dependency beyond families

Care dependency, or the subjective need for support in the domain of care, is articulated as a burden to governmental budgets and public resources. Family dependency (dependence on the family rather than care workers), on the other hand, is presented as a form of independency in all countries studied. We see that ‘the principal concept for legitimating the claim of good care is the family, yet this does not adequately capture the complex webs of affiliation and emotional connection we are woven into or excluded from.’ This contrasts the experiences of people in need of care as well as the experiences of care givers. It also contrasts the current EU’s principle of the autonomous self-responsible individual as well as the social investment approach on care as written in the EU document on care. The familialisation of care responsibilities does not respond to the idea of a social Europe that takes care for its vulnerable populations. What we see is that people in need of care as well as their family members are struggling with reciprocal commitments, contrasting policy claims and lack of support in solving this dilemma. This disproportionately affects female family members. (see ETHOS D5.3)

Redistributive justice and the EU service guideline

The [EU service guideline](#) is interpreted by some Member States as a vehicle for stimulating commercial care services subsidized by public funding or collective insurance. This goes at the costs of redistributive justice principles as is illustrated by the separate departments for affluent and less-affluent people with care needs in Portugal, the increasing divide between privately financed high quality care services versus waiting lists for those who can't afford such care in the Netherlands, Turkey and Hungary. Redistributive justice principles are at stake because in all the countries studied those with higher income were better able to compensate for the lack of public services themselves. Another effect of the lack of recognition of care as a public good is the development of an informal or semi-formal market of home care resulting in unacceptable, unregulated and unjust private contracts between care users and care workers that can be called exploitative. Such markets are flourishing in Austria, Hungary and Turkey and to a lower extent in the Netherlands. (see ETHOS D5.4)

Applicable ETHOS deliverables:

- ➔ Policy Brief WP5 (available upon request)
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D5.1: [Report on the conceptualization and articulation of justice: Justice in social theory](#) - Bridget Anderson, Claudia Hartman and Trudie Knijn
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D5.2: [‘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
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D5.3: [Justice care and personal assistance](#) – Bridget Anderson
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D5.4: [Boundary lines between private and public care; Living independently at home or in a home](#) – Trudie Knijn
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D6.2: [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](#) – Maria Paula Meneses, Sara Araújo, Silvia Ferreira and Barbara Safradin
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D4.3: [Discourses on minorities \(and vulnerable groups’\) access to education, inclusionary and exclusionary aspects](#) - Ayse Bugra and Basak Akkan
- ➔ ETHOS Working Paper D4.5: [Historical memory and the practice of commemoration in public space – mapping moral sentiments of opinion leaders](#) – Basak Akkan and Jing Hiah

IV. Struggles for Justice

Applicable for reporting in the following media departments:

- ✓ Labour market: access, gender equality, minimum wages, working conditions, social benefits
- ✓ Society: Integration of various groups into the labour market, struggle for the right to give and receive care, struggle for inclusion on one's own terms, recognition of difference
- ✓ Economics: changes in labour market, influence of austerity, inequality

Full-time employment among women in Portugal

In the last decades, Portuguese employment numbers has shown high rates of women full-time employment when compared to the global European numbers. This results from the constitutional (re)introduction of equality between men and women after 1974, together with a process of rapid economic and social transformation. These realities combined produced a massive entry of women into the labour market (justice as redistribution). The effects of the recent crisis and the associated austerity policies have had differentiated effects upon men and women, generating detrimental effects to advancements in gender equality. In fact, the recent crisis and the austerity measures affected families' well-being in different ways. It not only reinforced class disparities but also gender inequalities (justice as redistribution, representation, recognition). Women were particularly affected 'both by decreasing female employment and by widening gender pay gaps' and 'in spite of their higher average levels of education, Portuguese young women seem to be in a particularly vulnerable situation'. On the other side, 'cuts in public provision lead to a reprivatisation of care and to a shift towards a more familialist welfare system, thus reinforcing the traditional informal welfare society, whose main pillar is the unpaid work of women'. The cuts in the household budget demand for a cut on domestic help. This means a decrease in job opportunities for uneducated women and more domestic work for middle class women, as the uneven distribution of power and resources between women and men in the household is still a reality. The expansion of women's unpaid domestic work may also imply a relative disinvestment in professional careers, threatening their occupational status. (see ETHOS D6.2)

The Hungarian public works programme and the Roma

In Hungary, several EU frameworks for Roma integration and support are in place, including support on education, employment, healthcare and housing. At the same time, one of Hungary's primal active labour market policies is the public work program – an atypical form of work with wages lower than the minimum wage but higher than state benefits, which seeks to attract poor (such as the Roma minority) to the programme and to motivate unemployed people to seek better employment opportunities on the primary labour market instead (justice as redistribution, justice as representation). The explicit aim of public works is to replace benefits. The public work scheme has been used as a quasi-punishment since its introduction, in 2008, when it was stated that there is no welfare without work. It is commonly agreed that the public work programme does not develop skills and competencies that might open the door to jobs in the open labour market. Particularly the Roma minority are present in public work. Discrimination, combined with high costs of employment and the fact that the recession hit the classic employment sectors of Roma disproportionately hard (eg. manufacturing industry), results in the extensive exclusion of Roma from official employment, pushing them towards informal segments of the labour market. A significant number of Roma work outside the official, declared labour market and perform temporary jobs in the grey and black job markets, which are the lowest paid and the most vulnerable sectors. In addition, Roma face extensive racial discrimination not only by business employers; state employers and even stakeholders in the labour market, such as employment offices and job centres, may also act in a discriminatory way. According to the Labour Force Survey of 2015, the Roma rate of public workers within the rate of employment is 41.8% comparing to the rate of non-Roma public worker which is only 4.2% within the employment rate. A complaint of Roma public workers is that they feel that non-Roma public workers are placed in "invisible" places - as in the schools, in kindergartens, in social institutions or in the office of the local government -, while Roma public workers

are placed in the “visible places” of the village as in the streets to do cleaning and similar works what they feel very humiliating (justice as recognition). (see ETHOS D6.4)

The benefits and pitfalls of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR)

When it comes to Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) or the ability to make use of alternative methods of resolving disputes between parties, away from resorting to litigation, five dimensions relating to the proximity of ADR mechanisms to users could be identified: geography, costs, time, culture and visibility to assess this hypothesis. Judicial courts are, more often than not, expensive, time consuming and opaque. At first glance, ADR mechanisms in all six countries (Austria, Hungary, Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey, UK) are usually less expensive, faster and geographically closer to citizens. Lawyers, judges and other legal professionals share a common language whereas ADR mechanisms tend to use a language that the ordinary citizen understands. In addition, formal legal proceedings can be complicated and confusing, while informal ones are more familiar and easier to figure out. Therefore, in terms of justice as redistribution and justice as representation, ADR takes on a positive role. However, the variable of visibility is a challenge, as it is not always clear that informal justice in the European context is likely to be identified as a relevant option to claim rights and struggle for justice. At the same time, it was found that proximity is mainly wishful thinking that is not reflected in practice (i.e. law in action). Behind a mask of neutrality, informal ADR mechanisms can serve to reinforce inequalities and promote “compromises” that benefit the most powerful party. In such cases, mediation can become repressive because it lacks coercive power to neutralize differences of hierarchy between the parties. It is therefore necessary to consider whether the final solution results from a mutual agreement or from the vulnerability of the participants. It is vital that the asymmetries of power embedded can only be annulled to a limited extent by informal justice mechanisms. Therefore, the negative aspects identified across six countries also have negative effects on justice as redistribution and representation, as well as justice as recognition. (see ETHOS D6.5)

Applicable ETHOS deliverables:

- Policy Brief WP6 (available upon request)
- ETHOS Working Paper D6.1 – [Report on Economizing on Justice](#) – José Castro Caldas
- ETHOS Working Paper D6.2: [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](#) – Maria Paula Meneses, Sara Araújo, Silvia Ferreira and Barbara Safradin
- ETHOS Working Paper D6.3: [Impact of the Social and EU Charters in times of crisis](#) – Sybe DeVries and Barbara Safradin
- ETHOS Working Paper D6.4: [The effectiveness of social dialogue as an instrument to promote labour and social justice](#) – Sara Araújo and Maria Paula Meneses
- ETHOS Working Paper D6.5: [Comparative report on labour conflicts and access to justice: the impact of alternative dispute resolution](#) – Sara Araújo, Barbara Safradin and Laura Brito

V. Additional resources from ETHOS for further reading on justice topics

ETHOS Working Paper D2.1: [Report on the European heritage of philosophical theorizing about justice](#) – Simon Rippon, Tom Theuns, Sem de Maagt, Miklos Zala, and Bert van den Brink

ETHOS Working Paper D2.3: [Multidisciplinary Perspective of Justice in Europe](#) – Trudie Knijn, Tom Theuns, Miklos Zala

ETHOS Working Paper D7.1: [Report containing a conceptual framework for integration of findings](#) – Trudie Knijn and Dorota Lepianka

ETHOS Working Paper D7.2: [Framework paper on the methodological tool for reflecting and reviewing empirical findings of ETHOS](#) – Tom Theuns, Sem de Maagt, Trudie Knijn

IV. ETHOS Best Practices for Justice Communication

- *During the three years of the ETHOS project, an elaborate communication strategy was devised for digital and analogue platforms with the goal of raising awareness for the fact that justice is relevant in everyday life. Excerpts from what has been achieved can constitute best practices for new media activity on justice.*

The ETHOS dissemination and communication strategy is **multi-level, multi-faceted and multi-stakeholder** and provides examples of **how justice and justice-related topics can be successfully and effectively communicated**. Several target groups have been catered to: academics, policy stakeholders, media stakeholders, civil society organisations, members of the public. A particular focus has been put on vulnerable groups.

The way justice and justice-related topics have been communicated to these target groups takes into account their relative positions, interests and standards. This means that as is the case with the topic of justice, also in the dissemination one size does not fit all. The selection of **language style, content depth and format** has been made depending on the target groups and the topics likely to interest them/affect them. A mix of digital and analogue communication tools has been used to communicate project findings. Digital means by far outweigh analogue means.

Where possible, communication is two-way and seeks to initiate **dialogue and engagement**.

Digital Communication

- Note to readers: Please reference ETHOS sources accordingly when using this information!

Website

- The website acts as a hub for all information regarding the project. This includes general information about the framework, background information, research findings and reports, publications, and event information/reporting. The website can be accessed at www.ethos-europe.eu.
- The website links to all social media outlets and to the Landscapes of Justice web app.
- The target group is very broad, encompassing all Internet users, likely to comprise actors from academia, the media, policy stakeholders, civil society organisations, and members of the public.

Landscapes of Justice – a playful tool for science-to-public communication

- The Landscapes of Justice are an interactive app and online game. The app can be accessed at www.myjustice.eu and boasts over 2000 visitors per month from all over Europe and Turkey.
- They are a tool for science-to-public communication through which also ETHOS project results are disseminated
- The app allows users to visualise their own subjective justice experiences, to compare them across countries, and to access further information on justice-related topics in daily life

- The app is designed as a tool for human rights education, allowing users to sharpen awareness for their individual and collective situations. The app seeks to sharpen awareness for the intersection between justice and human rights, and gives supplementary information and links.
- The target group encompasses the public, civil society organisations, as well as young people (16+) in particular

Blog

- The blog provides short, easy-to-understand summaries of ETHOS findings, as well as critical commentary to justice-related issues and occasions. It can be accessed at <http://www.ethosjustice.wordpress.com> and boasts over 6000 unique visits from users across almost 100 countries.
- Posts are text based (between 500 and 1500 words), written in easy language, and are supplemented by a stimulating infographic breaking down the research concepts/findings even further.
- Blog texts focus on key findings and outline, where possible, practical recommendations
- The intended target group is primarily non-academic, nonetheless it is assumed that also academic audiences make use of the blog. There is a high rate of click-through-rates to the full academic reports. The target group is furthermore the general public, civil society organisations, media stakeholders and policy-makers.

Infographics

- The infographics were initially developed to supplement blog posts but were soon proven to be great dissemination tools in themselves. Infographics are created with the free online programme Piktochart and outline research findings briefly in a colourful, easy-to-follow manner.
- With one view of the infographic, all important information is conveyed
- Infographics are made for individual country-reports, as well as comparative and theoretical reports
- A special series of Justice HeroInes was made, in which persons relevant to the justice discourse in various countries are briefly presented in the style of a “hall of fame”. The Justice HeroInes are available on social media.
- Visuals of famous justice quotes are also made using Piktochart, and are disseminated on social media.
- The target group for visual infographics are audiences who wish to get much information in a very short amount of time, including members of the public, often students, civil society organisations, and media stakeholders.

Social Media Outlets

- ETHOS is active on [Facebook](#), [Twitter](#), [LinkedIn](#) and [Youtube](#).
- These channels are great tools for fast communication, for teasing various justice topics, and for communicating about justice happenings around the world.
- Social media channels provide a platform for communication and engagement, where ETHOS researchers and affiliates can communicate with other interested persons and organisations.
- Target groups include the general public, civil society organisations, and sometimes also media and policy stakeholders.

- There is also a Twitter hashtag #ETHOSJustice.

Newsletter

- The newsletter briefly summarises project developments for interested stakeholders.
- The newsletter is intentionally short and makes use of visual tools including pictures and a catchy design.
- As the newsletter is digital, it makes use of a lot of hyperlinks.
- The main target group is academics, policy and media stakeholders, as well as sometimes civil society organisations.

Analogue Communication

Events, Conferences and Workshops

- Conferences and other events serve as platforms for communication with other stakeholders, including academics, media and policy stakeholders.
- At the annual ETHOS conferences, special focus is put on dialogue with all these groups, including civil society organisations and members of the public. Thereby, each conference was allocated one group of stakeholders to engage particularly.
- The goal at events is to engage in face-to-face dialogue and communication about justice and justice-related topics. Focus is put on mutual and collaborative learning, where each group is seen as an expert in their own right.
- ETHOS conferences are partly made accessible to the public. As they are held at universities, students often attend and participate in workshops.

Beyond in-house conferences, ETHOS researchers often attend international conferences to present research findings. The main target group for those conferences is academics and (sometimes) policy-makers.

ETHOS dissemination and communication tools showcase how communicating (on) justice has worked throughout the project. The strategy employed caters to multiple target groups and uses an approach in which content is adapted in a way to fit the intended audience.

V. Key Take-Aways and Questions: Considerations when communicating (on) justice

How should one leave the audience? Open-ended? With answers? This largely depends on the topic, the group, and the medium. **As with justice, there are no all-encompassing solutions, and there is no inherent right and wrong.** Hence, this handbook does not and cannot provide a set of universally valid do's and don'ts for communication about justice and justice-related topics.

Rather, it is possible to ask critical questions about the way justice and justice-related topics can and could be communicated. Below we outline a list of questions that might serve as a checklist for further consideration when writing, researching, or discussing such topics.

- ? Can we (factually) report on justice or is doing so a value judgement per se? What alternatives are there, if any?
- ? What happens if the focus on ideals of justice/injustice is put in the foreground? How does this affect the audience? How does this in consequence affect the medium?
- ? How should one leave the audience? Open-ended? With answers? Which answers? Which emotions? With a call to action?
- ? What difference does the type of communication (stylistic, linguistic) make – is there a difference in communicating justice when it comes to in-depth reports, opinion pieces, commentaries, news flashes, etc?
- ? What is the role of moral pleas in writing? Should they universally be used/avoided?
- ? Is the role of (investigative) media reporting to state what *is*, or to ask the right questions to make the reader think for themselves?
- ? How can the message given to the target audience be differentiated, but still make a “satisfying” point?
- ? What difference does it make if a story is told from a majority member’s point of view or a vulnerable group member’s point of view? How can/should stigmatisation be avoided in storytelling?
- ? Is it possible to coat old topics in new clothing and if so, how can the tension between what is already known and what “should” be known be resolved?
- ? When can clichés and dilemmas serve a cause that is conducive to the cause of differentiated justice reporting, and when is it counterproductive to play with stereotypes?
- ? What difference does the author’s own bias make in reporting – is it possible/necessary to leave bias behind?
- ? Is an understanding of justice a conclusion to reach or is it a means for a story/a point?

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Figure 2:

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