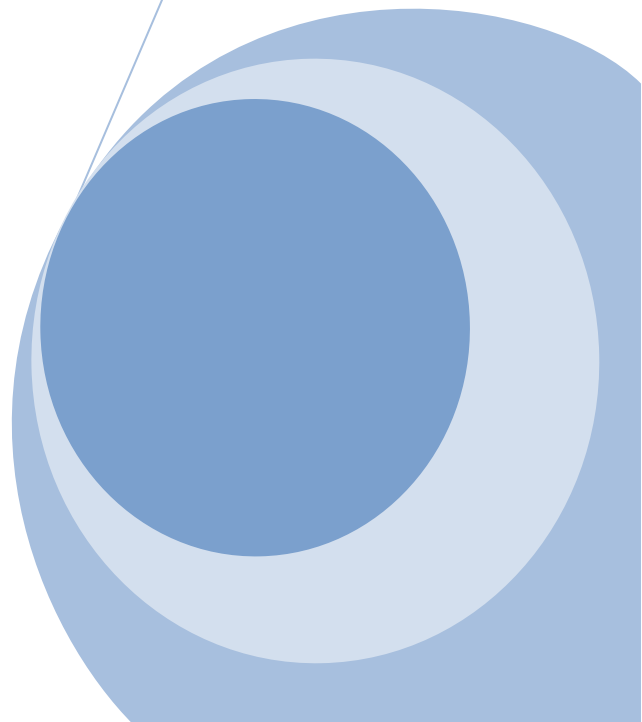


RACE EQUALITY IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

[A guide to its promotion]



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About Waterhouse Consulting Group

Waterhouse Consulting Group is a multi disciplinary management consultancy that brings together the UK's leading experts to deliver services in equalities & diversity, counter-extremism training, research and executive search.

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RACE EQUALITY IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES

A guide to its promotion

Contents

Preface	5
1. The scope of local race equality work	16
2. Local race equality organisations and their functions	43
3. Working for a local race equality organisation	76
4. Race equality policy in social and historical context	113
5. Developing race equality policy	150
6. Urban race relations, community cohesion, and ethnic conflict	210
7. Supporting communities and promoting good race relations	266
8. Race equality law, human rights, and the Equality Act 2006	326
9. Doing race equality casework	374
10. Explaining race relations	408
Discussion questions	462
Abbreviations and acronyms	470
References and bibliography	477

Dedications	505
Index	507
Race equality practitioner series	525

Chapter One

The scope of local race equality work

Overview. Local race equality work aims to eliminate racial discrimination, and promote equality of opportunity and good race relations. It does so in a local context characterised by the immigration and settlement of people from other parts of the world attracted to the job opportunities and relative prosperity afforded by the changing British economy. The private, public, and voluntary sectors are each shown to make a distinctive contribution to local race equality work. Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) represent efforts to coordinate the contribution of the three sectors, to encourage joined-up working, to increase participation in local decision-making, and to promote race equality and community cohesion.

What is race equality work?

Race equality work refers to action systematically undertaken:

- to rid society of racial discrimination, harassment and violence and to provide support for victims who are often, but not always, individuals from minority ethnic backgrounds, or recent immigrants.
- to create better opportunities for individuals and groups who are socially disadvantaged or discriminated against on grounds of colour, race, or ethnicity, in their places of residence,

The scope of local race equality work

education, employment, housing, and other social contexts.

- to improve the relations between, and integration of people from different ethnic or racial backgrounds and, where there is evidence of conflict, to intervene and resolve it.

Continuing social change, continuing work

By any standard, work of this kind presents a vast and challenging task, more so when set in the context of uneven global economic development resulting in an accelerating movement of both capital and labour. What race equality workers are faced with are different communities, some more recently arrived, struggling to make a living for themselves in an already well-established competitive hierarchy of unequal social relations. When the question is asked 'have race relations improved over the last forty years, or are they the same or worse?', it may signify a failure to recognise that population movement, together with the social and ethnic relations it generates, is a continuous and dynamic process, alleviated or exasperated by economic and technical change and the expansion or contraction of the economy and labour market, either in Britain itself or world-wide. Race equality work is not like a steady up-hill journey to some tranquil retirement home, more a perpetual roller-coaster ride. Race equality workers are made redundant not because their goal of race equality has been achieved, but because the time-limited project funding for their posts has run out.

Race equality in local communities

Legal framework

Race equality work at local level is still generally conceived and undertaken within the civil-law framework of the Race Relations Act 1976 (amended 2000). The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 created new offences, including racially-aggravated assault, criminal damage, harassment and provocation of violence, which has further expanded the scope of activity to that of providing support for victims of criminal racial harassment and violence, and of monitoring 'hot spots' of anti-social behaviour. The Race Relations Act makes it unlawful to discriminate on grounds of race, colour, nationality, ethnic origin, and national origin, in employment and training, in the provision of goods and services, and in undertaking public functions.

Institutional framework

Because the majority of the British population is committed to treating people fairly, irrespective of their race or skin colour, and this standpoint has the force of law behind it, various institutions have been set up, organisational arrangements made, policies put in place, and measures taken, to tackle unfairness.

Duties of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)

At national level, the Race Relations Act 1976 brought into being the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) with the duties of working towards the elimination of racial discrimination, of promoting equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different racial groups and of keeping under

The scope of local race equality work

review the way the Act itself was working. The CRE is the only body with a statutory duty to enforce the Race Relations Act, but its powers will be taken over by the Commission for Equality and Human Rights.

CRE goals

Currently, in 2006, the CRE describes its main goals as:

- encouraging greater integration and better relations between people from different ethnic groups.
- using its legal powers to help eradicate racial discrimination and harassment.
- working with government and public authorities to promote racial equality in public services.
- supporting local and regional organisations and employers in all sectors in their efforts to ensure equality of opportunity and good race relations.
- raising public awareness of racial discrimination and injustice and winning support for efforts to create a fairer and more equal society.

Race equality in local communities

Public, private and voluntary sectors

As these goals show, the CRE works with and across the public, private, and voluntary and community sectors to eradicate discrimination and to ensure equality of opportunity and good race relations. The public sector consists of organisations, such as local councils, the police, primary care trusts and hospitals, schools and colleges, which are mostly funded from the public purse, and which commission and provide services for the general public. The private sector is made up of commercial and industrial businesses, such as British Telecom, or the corner shop, which sell goods and services and are normally run for a profit. Four fifths of the work force are employed in the private sector. The voluntary sector is composed of non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations, often charitable in intent, which contribute to the quality and richness of life by, for example, alleviating the effects of poverty, assisting the elderly, sick, infirm, vulnerable, or victims of injustice, or promoting culture, sport, recreation, or the arts. Examples are Oxfam, Age Concern, and the Citizens Advice Bureaux. The title 'voluntary' is misleading because, while a great deal of volunteering goes on, many staff in the voluntary sector are paid. The 'voluntary' is meant to contrast to 'statutory' bodies legislated into being by the government.

Sectors' compliance with race relations legislation

Each of the sectors described above must comply with race relations legislation when providing employment, training, goods and services. In addition, following amendments to the Race Relations Act in

The scope of local race equality work

2000, listed public authorities in the public sector have an extra statutory duty to promote race equality positively. If they fail to do so, the CRE can serve a compliance notice on them which is enforceable through the County Court. The public, private, and voluntary and community sectors have responded in different ways to social, economic and legal pressures to eliminate racial discrimination, promote equality of opportunity, and foster good race relations.

The public sector

Public sector agencies, such as local councils, often employ thousands of people and commission, or themselves provide, a wide range of public services. Major public services include education, health, environmental services, social housing, some public transport, the police and other criminal justice agencies. Many of these bodies have for some time implemented race equality policies and monitored ethnically their employees and user uptake of their services, for example, social housing tenancies. The original aim was to ensure there were no discriminatory barriers to accessing these facilities.

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000

In addition, the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 requires public authorities to promote race equality in relation to their policy, service delivery, and employment practices. Listed authorities must undertake general and specific duties (see Chapter Five). These usually require an authority to produce a race equality scheme or policy, part of which involves

Race equality in local communities

undertaking a comprehensive review of its functions, policies and proposals.

Specialist diversity units

When public authorities first embarked on this course of action, they sought expert advice from external agencies but, as time went on, they appointed their own equality staff. The larger agencies now have specialist units, free-standing, or attached to, for example, a chief executive's or human resource department, to ensure they comply with race relations and other equalities legislation, improve the suitability for different user groups of their services, and perform well in terms of best value and other performance indicators (including indicators relating to race and other equalities).

Service improvement agenda

The promotion of race equality in the public sector is frequently treated as an integral part of the government's efforts to improve public services and raise service standards, thus contributing to equality by making available collective social benefits. The imposition on public authorities of the statutory race equality duty is often interpreted by them as a further means of upgrading their services. In 2004, the Audit Commission produced a report on delivering improved services to local communities. The report found that people of black and minority ethnic origin were more likely to be dissatisfied with public services than whites, and public services more likely to fall short of expectations, although the reasons for differences in satisfaction between groups were

The scope of local race equality work

complex. The Audit Commission argues that services would be improved overall if the concerns of minority ethnic communities were addressed. Outcomes contributing to improving the quality of life for minority ethnic communities were: influence over decision-making, better access to services and information, more employment opportunities, and increased trust (for more detail see Chapter Five).

Generic equalities approach

The public sector has gradually rationalised its approach to the various strands of equality – especially in regard to race, gender, and disability – and now works mostly to a generic equal opportunity policy when dealing with employment and training, service delivery, and other functions. Many of the larger public authorities have a team of specialist equality and diversity officers to ensure that the organisation is in compliance with the law, produces and works to agreed equality schemes and standards, and is improving the life chances of all service users in the overall drive for public sector service improvement.

Race equality and the public sector

In short, public authorities:

- have had in place for some time equal opportunity policies aimed at ensuring they do not discriminate racially in employment or service provision.

Race equality in local communities

- must ‘have due regard’ to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, and promote equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different racial groups. Many are also required to have a race equality scheme, that is, a timetabled and realistic plan setting out arrangements for promoting race equality.
- often have specialist staff in place pursuing a generic equalities policy, to ensure the organisation complies with the requirements of the laws relating to equality.
- vary considerably in their success in recruiting minority ethnic staff, providing services relevant and sensitive to ethnic groups’ needs, eliminating ‘institutional racism’, achieving equality standard levels, and meeting race equality targets.
- sometimes pursue active overseas recruitment to fill labour shortages in what has been until recently a comparatively poorly-paid sector.

The scope of local race equality work

The private sector

The private sector provides goods and services for profit and tends to judge its success on sales figures rather than on separate indices of user satisfaction. The service improvement model of race equality promotion cannot easily or successfully be applied to the operation of private companies. They are not bound by any general duty to promote race equality as in the public sector but they most comply with the anti-discrimination clauses of the Race Relations Act.

Diversity management

Some firms, instead, have chosen to adopt a policy of ‘managing diversity’ (see Chapter Five), which involves them trying to capitalise on the fact that their workforce, actual or potential, comprises people from many different backgrounds, with a wide range of skills and experiences. By embracing so-called ethnic and cultural (as well as gender and age) diversity, managers are able to identify extra sources of labour, tap skills and experience, release creative energy, and enter new markets. Diversity management and diversity managers aim to improve the effectiveness with which companies make use of the full range of human resources at their disposal and thus contribute to their profitability.

Compliance with race relations law

Most importantly, however, organisations in the private sector must ensure that they do not run foul of

Race equality in local communities

race relations legislation and find themselves accused of discrimination in an Employment Tribunal or County Court. They might, as a consequence, have to pay legal bills and compensation and incur adverse publicity. When firms have run into trouble in this way, they sometimes employ private consultants, usually in the field of human resource management, to overhaul their policies and procedures. The private sector has usually sought private sector solutions to its race relations problems.

Race equality and the private sector

In short, organisations in the private sector:

- wish to avoid the costs of not complying with equality legislation.
- do not want their customers to complain about poor or inappropriate services, nor to receive adverse publicity relating to their treatment of ethnic individuals or groups.
- sometimes recognise the added value of adopting proactive diversity management strategies.
- collectively create the demand for labour and seek to secure the supply of labour, which can result in new immigration.
- are generally opposed to any action, such as rioting in urban settings, that may damage or disrupt normal commercial activity.

The scope of local race equality work

The voluntary and community sector

Sector diversity

The voluntary and community sector is somewhat of a catch-all label. The sector is often subdivided into smaller categories, such as advice and counselling agencies, direct assisters (Help the Aged), educational, not-for-profit providers (e.g. housing associations), political pressure, religious and faith, self help, community, and black and minority ethnic groups. It is estimated that there are some 400,000 voluntary and community organisations in the UK of which about two fifths are registered charities. They vary greatly in size. The giants such as Oxfam and Banardo's have an annual income in excess of £100 million but the vast majority are small with an income of less than £10,000 per year. Sometimes a sub-division of the voluntary and community sector as a whole consisting of voluntary organisations is contrasted with a sub-division made up of community groups. An argument has also been made for a separate political sector consisting of political parties, trade unions and other pressure groups which, while 'voluntary', and 'not for profit', has distinctive political objectives. Charles Handy (1988) divides voluntary activity into three broad types: mutual support, service delivery, and campaigning. In the field of race and ethnic relations, a category of black and minority ethnic (community) groups is often distinguished.

Race equality in local communities

Responding to community need

The voluntary and community sector, almost by definition, is a direct product and expression of the daily needs, concerns and activities of communities of geography and interest. It can be seen as responding to and satisfying social requirements that initially remain unrecognised and unmet either by private sector market forces or public sector service provision. It is often driven by socially committed people who give freely of their time. In regard to race equality promotion, Councils for Racial Harmony and Community Relations Councils, forerunners of today's Racial Equality Councils and Partnerships, were originally set up to provide practical help and a campaigning voice for New Commonwealth immigrants who came with their families to work in Britain in the twenty-five-year period after the Second World War (see Chapter Four).

Responding to New Commonwealth immigration

There was widespread and covert racial discrimination at the time in housing, employment, service provision and recreational facilities, and no effective legislation to prohibit it. Supported by sympathetic whites and associations of recently-arrived black and minority ethnic immigrants, the 'councils' provided (i) a united front in the face of hostility from right-wing nationalism and the remaining imperial delusions of white supremacy, (ii) mutual support especially for local black and minority ethnic residents and (iii) most importantly, a campaigning voice for racial justice, human rights,

The scope of local race equality work

respect, and equality of treatment, for example, by the police, social housing officers, or school teachers.

Creating the institutional framework

Responding to the case made for legislation, the government passed increasingly comprehensive Race Relations Acts in 1965, 1968, and 1976. Voluntary action by MPs, progressive forces, and black and minority ethnic groups, led to the setting up of new national statutory government-funded bodies such as the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants and the Race Relations Board (1965), the Community Relations Commission (1968) and, eventually, the Commission for Racial Equality (1976). These bodies, in turn, determined the context in which the voluntary sector developed and operated.

The range of voluntary and community sector responses

Race equality councils and partnerships are the direct successors of early local voluntary initiatives, but the voluntary sector has spontaneously spawned a whole range of responses to minority ethnic needs and to the process and effects of continued inward migration and settlement. The following bullets attempt to summarise these activities:

- General race equality promotion: community development, policy development, complainant-aid provision, and public awareness-raising by race equality councils and partnerships.

Race equality in local communities

- Specialist social welfare provision for black and minority ethnic individuals and groups provided by, for example, Caribbean housing associations, Asian day centres, sickle cell and thalasemia support groups.
- Specific black and minority ethnic cultural, community and recreational activities, often organised around 'cultural centres'.
- Black and minority ethnic religious activities and projects centred on places of worship.
- Expatriot groups' political campaigning.
- Immigrant and refugee support.
- Black and minority ethnic voluntary sector 'umbrella' networking, frequently committed to capacity-building affiliated organisations.
- Mainstream voluntary agency project work targeted at black and minority ethnic individuals and groups.
- Human rights campaigning.
- Legal advice.

The scope of local race equality work

Race equality councils versus black and minority ethnic self-help

Not surprisingly, with the formation of black and minority ethnic groups aiming to promote their individual community interest, the question was soon raised as to whether race equality councils, created in the early years to promote black and minority ethnic collective interest in the face of discrimination by white institutions, political groups and individuals, had outlived their usefulness. Were the race equality councils simply a sophisticated way of controlling ethnic minority communities or mediating between them and entrenched authority (sometimes abusively described as ‘administering Bantu affairs’)?

The urban/rural dimension

In urban areas, with developed minority ethnic pressure groups, race equality councils which sought to speak on behalf of ethnic communities might well have deserved this criticism, but in county towns and rural areas, where the black and minority ethnic presence was thin on the ground, there was still very good reason for retaining a collective voice.

Countering community fragmentation

After the northern riots in 2001 and their analysis in terms of ‘community fragmentation’ and ‘parallel lives’ the distinction between the ‘bridging’ and ‘bringing together’ functions of the race equality councils on the one hand, and the pursuit of an individual ethnic group’s self-interest on the other, became much more apparent. The need for an

Race equality in local communities

organisation that specifically and impartially promoted race equality and good race relations was once more publicly reaffirmed.

Race equality and the voluntary and community sector

In summary, the voluntary and community sector:

- is conceived as recognising the emerging needs of individuals, such as New Commonwealth and other economic immigrants, minority ethnic cultural groups, refugees and asylum seekers, Gypsies and Travellers, etc., which have gone unrecognised and have not yet been met by mainstream public services.
- expresses more immediately and directly aspects of individual communities' mutual support, services needs, and political campaigning.
- reflects the cultural, economic and political differences between ethnic communities, as well as mass popular collective campaigning against discrimination and racism.
- provides mutual support and services to minority ethnic communities and new arrivals and refugees.
- promotes race equality and good race relations at local neighbourhood level.

The scope of local race equality work

- pressures the public sector to provide better and more sensitive services to local communities.
- undertakes casework with individuals.

Co-ordinating public, private and voluntary and community sector activities.

Relations between the sectors

In recognition of the need to improve collaboration between the public, private, and voluntary and community sectors, and to share their respective merits and strengths, the government has pursued a tripartite strategy of (i) encouraging partnerships between sectors, (ii) blurring the distinction between them by separating service commissioning from service delivery (which can now be undertaken by private sector agencies, as with Private Finance Initiatives (PFI), or not-for-profit companies), and (iii) encouraging greater 'social enterprise' in the voluntary sector. Of these, the new emphasis on collaboration through partnership initiatives has probably had most effect on how promotion of race equality at local level is now conceived and undertaken.

Service improvement through partnership work

In 2001, what was then the Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions set out a vision for local government in the explicitly-entitled white paper, *Local Leadership – Quality Public Services*,

Race equality in local communities

which stressed that local leadership had to be earned through democratic legitimacy, good governance, effective partnership working, meaningful engagement with local communities, and a noticeable improvement in the quality of local services. The government argued that the contribution of the public, private and voluntary sectors, and of local communities themselves, needed to be marshalled in order to tackle the most challenging social problems of health, crime, education, transport, housing and the environment.

Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs)

One solution was to established Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) to develop integrated approaches to local service delivery and to deal with policy priorities in a joined-up way. LSPs, funded through the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, were set up in the 88 most deprived areas of the country. An LSP is a cross-sectoral, cross-cutting, umbrella partnership aimed at improving the quality of life and governance in a particular locality. It brings together the public, private, and voluntary and community sectors to provide an overarching coordination framework within which other more specific local partnerships can operate. It is intended to improve local public services by bringing those who deliver or commission different services together with those for whom services are provided. The aspiration behind LSPs is to enable all local service providers to ‘work with each other, the private sector, and the broader local community to agree a holistic approach to solving problems with a common vision, agreed objectives, pooled expertise and agreed priorities for the

The scope of local race equality work

allocation of resources' (Community Strategy Team, October, 2000, p.3).

Inclusivity

Every LSP is expected to include public sector representatives, including elected councilors, private sector representatives, voluntary sector representatives and community representatives. Efforts are made to encourage the participation of women, disabled and older people, faith and youth groups, and people from black and minority ethnic communities (ibid, p.16). This can be done by building on existing community networks, such as those of the local race equality councils, which frequently have representation on the LSP or its subgroups.

Promoting race equality through LSPs

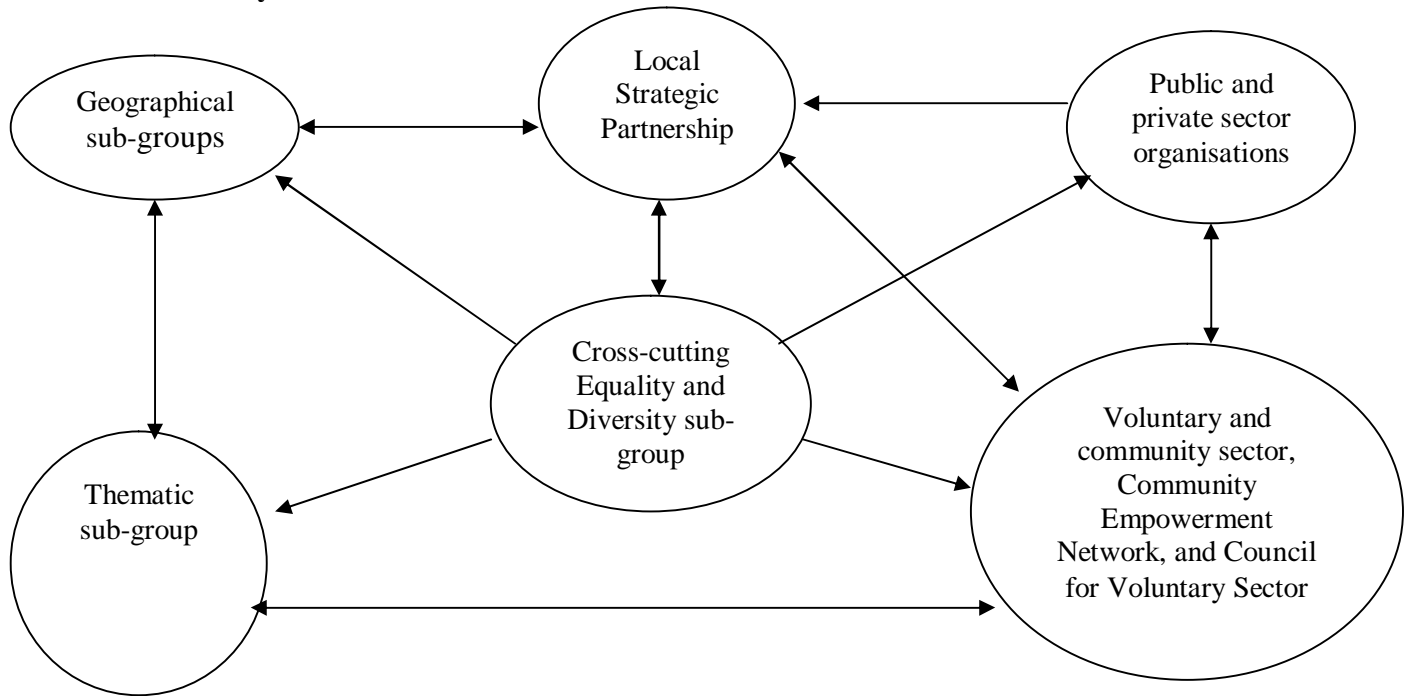
LSPs have the potential to combine three mutually-supportive local policy strands. They can improve inclusivity by bringing together public, private, voluntary and community sectors, and ensuring the involvement of people from minority ethnic communities. They can assist in promoting in a strategic manner race equality in service provision as envisaged by the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. They can play a part in developing community and neighborhood renewal strategies to ensure community cohesion. In summary, race equality councils and minority ethnic group representatives on LSPs might play an active and important role in encouraging minority ethnic community groups' engagement in local decision-making, promoting race

Race equality in local communities

equality on the LSP agenda by disseminating good practice and providing training, and attempting to align and coordinate the various race equality schemes and policies of public sector partners.

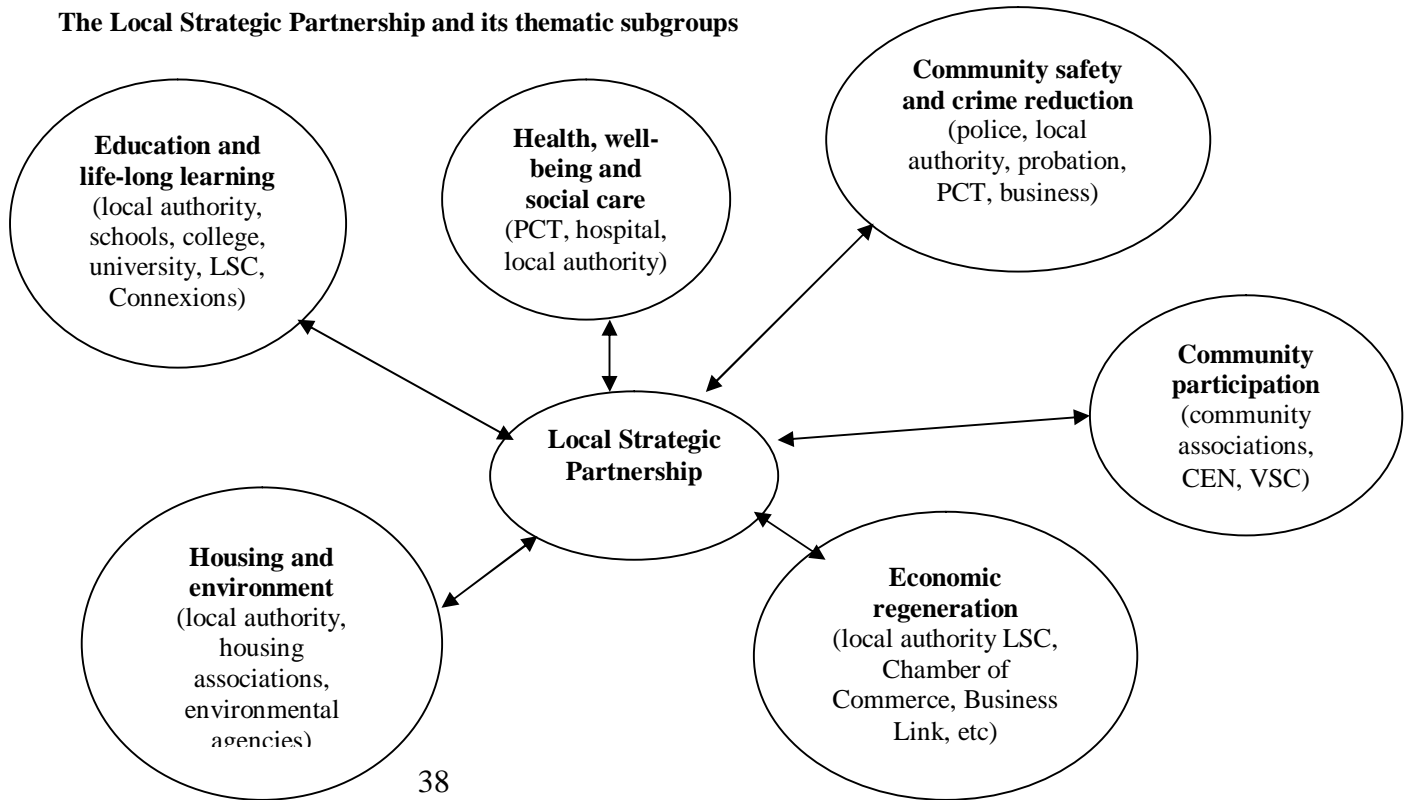
The scope of local race equality work

The Local Strategic Partnership's relationship with the public, private, and voluntary and community sectors



Race equality in local communities

The Local Strategic Partnership and its thematic subgroups



The scope of local race equality work

The meaning of 'local'

Throughout this chapter, it is assumed that readers will understand what is meant by 'local', as in the expressions 'local race equality work' and 'local service provision'. Work at local level is being contrasted throughout with work at international, national, or regional level, but 'local' also derives its meaning in this context from its association with the functions and services provided by local government.

In fact, local race equality work is much preoccupied - some would say overly pre-occupied - with policies aimed at improving locally-derived public authority services. When considering the scope of local race equality work, then, it is essential to acquire some understanding of the complexities of British country-wide, regional and local government and where responsibility lies for the various local services on offer. The note that follows provides a beginner's guide. But 'local' is very much a relative concept. A county council, or a large city council, such as Birmingham, may be considered far from local in comparison with a district or neighbourhood. And a district council may be seen as remote and impersonal by people at parish council level, or who relate only to their 'local community'.

Area of benefit

To be effective, local race equality work must negotiate or bridge all these levels. In reality, however, most race equality organisations relate to a constitutionally-limited area of benefit, usually defined in term of local government boundaries, and

Race equality in local communities

are supported to some degree by the local authority or authorities operating on that patch. Thus, a race equality organisation is traditionally identified by the name of the unitary authority, county, or district council, for which it provides a benefit. In a two-tier authority, it may be given grants by both county council and district councils. It can, of course, seek funding from other public authorities operating in its area of benefit, or from organisations at regional or national level (such as the CRE), which are legally sanctioned to give grants to local voluntary organisations. At the time of writing, Race Equality West Midlands is the only race equality organisation with a regional brief, but receives no funding from regional agencies.

Country-wide, regional and local government structures

Britain consists of three countries, England, with a population of approximately 50 million people, Scotland with just over 5 million people, and Wales with just under 3 million people. Scotland has a Scottish Parliament whose responsibilities include health, education, and training, local government, housing, economic development, some home affairs, civil and criminal law, transport, environment, agriculture, fisheries, forestry, sports and the arts. The National Assembly for Wales has responsibility for economic development, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, and food, education and training, industry, local government, health and personal social services, housing, environment, planning, transport, roads, arts and culture. England is divided into nine regions each served by a Regional Development Agency (RDA)

The scope of local race equality work

and a Government Office (GO). One of the English regions, London, has the Greater London Authority which sets key strategies on issues affecting London, such as transport, economic development, strategic and spatial development and the environment. Scotland, Wales and the nine English regions are made up of areas administered by local authorities which have local powers and functions granted to them under various parliamentary acts. There is considerable variation across Britain but, as a rough guide, local authorities are either two tiered or single tiered.

Two-tiered and single-tiered local government

Two-tier systems consist of counties sub-divided into districts. These counties, as well as their constituent districts, have locally-elected councils. County councils provide large-scale services, such as transport, planning, highways, traffic regulation, education, social services, while (county) district councils are responsible for local services such as environmental health, social housing, local planning applications, and collection of refuse. By contrast, unitary authorities, often situated in the major conurbations, and variously referred to as cities, boroughs, or districts (although these labels are not indicators of unitary status) are responsible for all local authority services on their patch (apart from those which are organised across neighbouring areas, such as the fire services and public transport). Partly because of the confusion caused by two-tier divisions of responsibility, there has been a move towards single-tier or unitary authorities, with 46 new unitary authorities established in England in the 1990s.

Race equality in local communities

Other local service providers

While local authorities with locally-elected councils offer a range of local services, it should not be assumed that they run them all, or even those services people consider to be essential. Primary health care is the responsibility of the local Primary Care Trust, hospital treatment that of Hospital trusts. The police service and criminal justice agencies are separate. Housing Associations and so called Arms Length Management organisations (ALMOs) manage social housing tenancies. Local primary and secondary schools have been granted a degree of autonomy from their local education authorities. Other services, such as water, gas, and electricity, usually referred to as utilities, are provided by private companies.

Chapter Two

Local race equality organisations and their functions

Overview. Race equality organisations share the objective of promoting race equality. Six categories of organisation can be distinguished, including those of the race equality councils and the race equality partnerships. Traditional race equality councils have four constitutionally-defined functions: policy development, community support, assistance to individuals and public education. These are functions they are permitted to exercise. Not all have the resources to undertake them in equal measure. Specialisation has resulted in the emergence of different organisational types. Race equality partnerships have been developed as an alternative to race equality councils, and are intended to contribute to service improvement by providing a bridge between service providers and users. Chapter Two also explores the governance and funding arrangements of race equality councils and partnerships.

Kinds of local race equality organisation

Local variation in race equality organisation (REO)

Local race equality organisations (REOs) vary in the functions they perform, the way they are governed and managed, the size of their budgets, the number of staff they have in post, the outcomes they achieve, and their reputation for effectiveness. What they have in common, however, are the primary objectives, (usually enshrined in their constitution) of achieving

Race equality in local communities

race equality by working to (i) eliminate racial discrimination and (ii) promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups. They share these objectives (set out in the Race Relations Act, 1976) with the Commission for Racial Equality. The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 has since encouraged REOs to extend their work on eliminating discrimination to the provision of support for victims of criminal assault and damage.

Six categories of race equality organisations (REOs)

Nowadays, organisations specialising in race equality work take different forms, but usually fit one of the following six categories.

- *Race equality councils (RECs)*. They have a broad membership of local community organisations and generally follow the CRE's revised model constitution for race equality councils, 1995.
- *Race equality partnerships (REPs)*. Usually, they are formed as a local partnership between voluntary and community organisations, and public authorities (and, less commonly, private sector agencies) and are governed by a small board of trustees and/or directors.
- *Equality partnerships (EPs)*. Since proposals were first made to set up the Commission for Equality and Human Rights and to close the Commission for Racial Equality and other

Local race equality organisations and their functions

commissions at national level, equality partnerships have been mooted, promoted, and in some cases, locally established, despite the ongoing need to resolve the problems of combining the six legally-recognised strands of equality work into a systematic and effective practice.

- *Racial harassment and discrimination advice, guidance, and support agencies and networks (RHNs)*, often with a monitoring brief. They are usually run by a committee of local community groups and of members of agencies that have to deal with the negative consequences of harassment and violence.
- *Stand-alone race equality projects*. Sometimes supported by public authorities, they have been set up to deal with a specific local task, for example, advising complainants of discrimination, engaging in specific ethnic minority health, education or community-safety projects.
- *Second-tier umbrella organisations*. Operating at a national or regional level, examples are the British Federation of Race Equality Councils and Race Equality West Midlands.

Partnerships replacing councils

Race equality councils remain the commonest form of local race equality organisation in Britain, but most, if not all, newly-established bodies have been set up as

Race equality in local communities

partnerships. Many recent partnerships have also been 'future proofed' to take on broader equality remits, not only for race. For some time, too, especially since the CRE began to disengage from the funding of REC posts and the supervision of work programmes, the need for a collective race equality infrastructure has been recognised, such as that provided by Race Equality West Midlands, although regional funding for it has not until recently been available. This gap has been filled in part by private consultants brought in by REOs and local authorities to undertake specific development tasks.

Difference between race equality organisations and black and minority ethnic pressure groups.

Race equality organisations operate in a crowded context of competing voluntary and community agencies offering a wide range of community services irrespective of race or colour or, as in the case of minority ethnic community groups, self-help and mutual support for persons of a specific ethnicity. While frequently understood as contributing to racial equality in addressing service deficits for disadvantaged ethnic minorities, they are not organisations with a primary purpose of promoting race equality for all ethnic groups (majority and minority) living in local geographically-defined communities. REOs have found it difficult to explain (i) that race equality promotion is something more than promoting minority ethnic interests and (ii) that racial inequality has unique distinguishing features that cannot be dealt with simply by adopting an undifferentiated generic approach to bringing about greater equality.

Local race equality organisations and their functions

Race Equality Councils (RECs)

The four constitutionally-explicit functions of RECs

According to the CRE's model REC constitution (1995), race equality councils aim to fulfil their purpose by engaging in policy development, community support, assistance to individuals and public education.

Policy development

Policy development is explained as acquainting organisations, in the statutory, non-statutory, private, and voluntary sectors with the extent and nature of racial discrimination and inequality experienced by racial groups in the field of social welfare, and in particular, the fields of housing, employment, education and health care, with the aim of encouraging them to implement policies and practices which will eliminate racial discrimination and promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups. (Chapter Five deals in greater detail with race equality policy development.)

Community support

Community support involves helping organisations which are concerned with the promotion of equal opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups, by providing them with information, advice and other forms of assistance in keeping with REC objectives. (Chapter Seven

Race equality in local communities

focuses on supporting communities and improving race relations.)

Assistance to individuals

RECs are expected to give information, advice, and support (including representation at tribunals) of a non-financial nature to individuals who seek the REC's assistance as a consequence of their experience of racism or racial discrimination (where that information and advice and support are not readily available from other local agencies).(Chapter Nine describes REC case work.)

Public education

RECs are expected to maintain an appropriate programme of public information and education related to the REC's aims and functions. (Chapter Ten deals with how to go about explaining race relations.)

Permissible versus actual reported REC functions

The four constitutionally-sanctioned REC functions described above are interpreted, developed and implemented by RECs in different ways. There is a difference between what RECs are constitutionally permitted to do in relation to their general aims and what they do in practice. A REWM survey in 2001 showed that RECs differed widely in the work they prioritised and involved themselves in.

Local race equality organisations and their functions

Race Equality Councils: reported functions

Functions	% of RECs
Policy development	
Equal opportunity policy development for public, private and voluntary sector	90
Community policy development in partnership with public authorities and other agencies	72
Consultation exercises undertaken for public authorities	72
Monitoring of local organisations' equal opportunity policy	63
Community support	
Involvement in community development/capacity building projects	78
Participation in regeneration initiatives	63
Race relations and community needs/local needs analyses	50
Local 'watchdog', exposing cases of racial injustice and disadvantage	63
Law enforcement, anti-crime, criminal justice, victim support initiatives	63
Assistance to individuals	
Information and advice to individuals	78
Casework with complaints	63
Tribunal representation of complaints	22
Support for victims of racial harassment and violence	72
Public education	
Campaigns to raise public awareness of racism and race related issues	59
Cultural, community, educational and	59

Race equality in local communities

life-long learning projects	
Responses to local media exposure/events inimical to good race relations	50

Source: REWM: returns from 32 of 88 RECs, July 2001.

REC functions listed in more detail

In the 2004 national audit of RECs and REPs (RED 9, REWM 2004, p. 11), the following twenty-six, sometimes overlapping, functions and services were listed by respondents in answer to the question as to what they had to offer:

- advice and information
- advocacy
- assisting black and minority ethnic groups
- asylum seeker\refugee support
- brokerage
- careers advice
- casework
- community capacity-building
- community cohesion work
- community development
- community engagement
- community partnerships
- complainant aid
- conflict mediation
- criminal justice policy development
- education advice (including work with schools and colleges)
- employment discrimination casework
- immigration advice

Local race equality organisations and their functions

projects on race equality
public awareness-raising and education
public policy work
reporting racial incidents
support for victims of racial harassment
training on equality and diversity
translation and interpreting
youth work.

Newly-specified REC functions under old headings

The range of services offered by RECs has expanded since the model constitution was written but recent additions can still be presented under the old headings:

Policy development

- Assisting public authorities with their duties to promote race equality under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act, 2000.

Community support

- Establishing partnerships with the public, private and voluntary and community sectors to improve the quality and sensitivity of service delivery.
- Managing and undertaking local community development or regeneration projects, usually involving black and minority ethnic communities, but now increasingly aimed at building bridges between groups divided

Race equality in local communities

along ethnic lines (often referred to as ‘building community cohesion’).

- Mediating between the parties to inter-ethnic community conflict.

Assistance to individuals

- Assisting people who believe they have suffered from racial discrimination in taking complaints to employment tribunals and the civil courts under the Race Relations Act.
- Helping victims of racial harassment and violence.

Public education

- Raising public awareness of racial and ethnic issues and the benefits of cultural diversity, often in the context of concurrent racist political campaigning.
- Contributing to citizenship education.

Most frequently-mentioned REC functions and services

The most frequently-mentioned services were (i) assisting public authorities (with their race equality schemes), (ii) public policy work (often relating to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000), (iii) training on equality and diversity, (iv) support for victims of racial harassment and discrimination, (v) public awareness-raising and education, (vi) casework and

Local race equality organisations and their functions

complainant aid, and (vii) community development (in descending order of frequency of mention) (ibid, p.11).

KPMG review of RECs, 1997

In 1997, the consultancy firm, KPMG, was asked by the CRE to undertake a review of the public-service functions of racial equality councils. On the whole, the review portrayed RECs in an extremely positive light, confirming their important contribution to local racial equality work. KPMG's conclusions were cautiously framed, but appeared to raise more questions about the CRE's failure to provide strategic leadership to the RECs, than about their effectiveness (CRE 1997).

Lack of CRE strategy and support for RECs

KPMG did not think that the CRE had set out a clear strategy on complainant aid services with which it cooperated with local RECs in providing. There seemed to be no rationale for CRE investment in alternative complainant aid projects, no guidance on how RECs should work with other aid projects, no investments in supporting RECs to undertake the specialised nature of the work through reference manuals, case updates, shadowing, etc. absence of any guidance on how lessons from casework might be used to develop a wider race equality strategy, a variable relationship between the RECs and the CRE in terms of cross-referrals, etc., and little by way of national or regional training schemes in tribunal representation.

Race equality in local communities

Importance of RECs' local contribution

KPMG believed that RECs were a vital point of access for many individual complainants and that the CRE should target investment at designated REC centres of complainant-aid expertise. KPMG also saw RECs as playing an important role in local public education and policy development work, recommending that the CRE's national and regional planning should recognise the nature of RECs' local contribution. The CRE, it felt, should accept that many priorities were best determined locally. The review concluded that there was a clear need for a distinctly local racial equality service which, by demonstrating its grounding in local communities, was able to secure recognition from other key local agencies.

The need for local race equality strategy and flexible arrangements

By coming down so firmly in favour of locally-based racial equality work, KPMG also drew attention to the need for RECs to plan their work strategically, renewing their objects and modes of operation in the context of local requirements, the setting of specific targets, and the mobilisation of the resources necessary to achieve them. RECs should be allowed to experiment, if they wished, with formal changes to electoral or constitutional arrangements in order to secure a greater level of representation in their membership. The CRE acted on some of KPMG's recommendations, for example, by attempting to

Local race equality organisations and their functions

rationalise the provision of complainant aid and encouraging the development of REPs.

Other inexplicit REC functions

Apart from the explicit functions, it is quite apparent from actual reported functions and the changing nature of REC work, that RECs have always had, or have acquired in response to the changing external environment, a number of other attributes that are not reflected in their formal constitutions. Various selected and categorised, the most obvious are their roles in mediating, resolving and controlling racial, ethnic and related conflict, in coordinating the drive for race equality and developing strategy in respect of its promotion, in establishing minority ethnic community service needs through research, and in marketing services.

Mediating, resolving and controlling racial, ethnic and other conflict.

RECs have always been expected to contribute to diffusing racial tension. They have periodically been castigated when, instead, they have taken the side of angry ethnic communities in opposition to the authorities, especially the police (see the Scarman report 1981). In situations of racial and ethnic conflict, RECs have in the main been prevailed upon to play a de-escalatory mediating role, pleading for order in the face of confrontation by community activists. Community expectations may have been disappointed and REC reputation lost as a consequence of their abject peace-making efforts, but they have usually managed to stay in business. Their

role in contributing to conflict management has once more been brought to the fore by the 2001 disturbances in northern England and their aftermath.

Coordinative and strategic role

Chapter One situated the race equality promotional activities of RECs at the heart of local strategic networks. It is increasingly recognised that in order to make any significant and enduring impact on racial inequality, it is essential to agree common goals and to engage in collaborative action with other like-minded agencies and community organisations. In regard to race equality promotional strategy, RECs were until recently content to accept the leadership of the CRE (which funded them) and to adopt its priorities when planning their work programmes. The broad strategy had essentially been set at national level following the Policy Studies Institute's review of the role and objectives of Community Relations Councils (1988) and in the implementation of the CRE response to it (1989). The KMPG report (CRE 1997) criticised the CRE for not providing that strategic leadership and suggested that RECs should review their objectives in the context of local conditions and develop their own strategies. In the West Midlands, the strategic Race Equality Forum of RECs and REPs was established to undertake this task and its members work within a strategic and infrastructural development framework.

Establishing minority ethnic needs through research.

An essential feature of modern management is its commitment to evidence-based decision-making.

Local race equality organisations and their functions

Increasingly, RECs are expected to keep comprehensive records of all their transactions and to monitor and assess their performance using the feedback to modify and improve their practice. It is taken for granted that managers in today's RECs should operate in this cyclical manner if they are to deliver and improve race equality services. The output model of performance implies that race equality work should, where possible, be based on prior research findings, and the result evaluated to see whether intervention was indeed effective. RECs have for many years made use of race relations research, of course, but have increasingly become involved in collecting their own data as evidence to support their work, and assigning time and resources to compilation, circulation, and dissemination.

The marketing function

It has been believed for some time that the techniques of marketing could usefully be extended from the commercial sector to public services and not-for-profit organisations. (Kinnell and MacDougall, 1977). This would, it is thought, enable organisations, such as REOs, to meet the needs of client groups more effectively and to achieve desirable social change (such as improving standards of health and education). Organisations with a market orientation focus on analysing and satisfying their customers' or users' needs. According to this approach, an REO should not start out with a prior work programme or project, but consult with local communities to discover what it ought to be doing. Individuals have wants (specific desires directed towards fulfilling their basic needs) and marketing approaches aim to

Race equality in local communities

satisfy these wants. In an organisation based on a philosophy of marketing, staff are primarily focused on assessing customer (user) wants, gathering marketing intelligence, ensuring they have access to and take up the service made available, and obtaining and assessing their reaction to or satisfaction with it.

REO marketing strategy

REOs can probably learn a great deal from the ideas of marketing and go on to develop a marketing strategy. This involves specifying as clearly as possible their main 'customers' (e.g. complainants of discrimination, public authorities, minority ethnic community organisations and groups, religious and faith groups), and service range (case work, consultancy, training, research). REOs would also need to decide who their competitors were and what channels of communication and distribution they could best make use of. Consciousness of marketing principles could result in greatly improved services and increased user satisfaction. The marketing approach relates closely to the idea of REOs as media hubs (see Chapter Ten).

Specialised types or styles of REC

RECs have always adapted their work in response to local conditions and the resources available to them. They have frequently been forced to specialise in one or more areas of service provision and now rarely undertake the full range of activities (at the same level of intensity) as permitted by the model constitution. Four main service types or styles are distinguishable.

Local race equality organisations and their functions

Type 1: Consultancy and training service for public authorities or voluntary agencies on race equality and equality of opportunity policy. (Alternatively, a pressure group for improving services to black and minority ethnic communities.)

Type 2: Community development agency seeking to empower and/or build the capacity of local black and minority ethnic groups or communities, or more recently, to improve relations and build bridges between all the different ethnic communities living in an area.

Type 3: Professional support bureau for complainants of unlawful discrimination, discrimination generally, or the victims of racial harassment and violence.

Type 4: Public awareness and education service (often delivered in partnership with local schools, colleges, libraries, or youth service). (In practice, this type is not found separately but in combination with any of the other three.)

Recent REC development and specialisation

Far fewer RECs now specialise in complainant aid (Type 3), as it is resource-intensive and, in recent years, has not been a CRE funding priority. Many RECs have found it easier to acquire community development grants and have increasingly focused their work on delivering community development and cohesion projects (Type 2). This may explain why they were seen in the White Paper on the Commission for Equality and Human Rights as playing a major role in community bridge-building, ironically, the

Race equality in local communities

main and much-criticised purpose of their predecessors, the Community Relations Councils. In the context of the duty placed on public authorities to promote race equality, many RECs have also aspired to playing a greater role in assisting public authorities (Type 1), but have not always had the capacity, nor been strategically well-placed, to do so.

RECs as service providers

Along with others in the voluntary and community sector, RECs are publicly viewed as organisations whose primary purpose is to provide a service, in their case, a race equality service, free and on the basis of need, rather than on individuals' ability to pay. RECs have been forced to emphasise their role as service providers, partly to secure funding and charitable status, and partly because another historically-significant function that they perform has been taken for granted or ignored.

RECs as community forums

RECs were never originally conceived as direct providers of services, but as community-expressive forums to enable spokespersons for newly-arrived minority ethnic groups, and those progressive elements in the population who were concerned to ensure such groups were fairly treated, to articulate, aggregate and advance the collective community interest. The aim was to improve the treatment of ethnic minorities by informing and educating the general public and bringing political pressure to bear on firms and public service providers which

Local race equality organisations and their functions

discriminated or contributed to the disadvantage of minority ethnic individuals.

The meaning of 'council'

The original Councils for Racial Harmony and Community Relations Councils were conceived as 'councils', in the sense that they deliberated about, and spoke out in support of, improving ethnic and race relations, and formed a kind of alternative local parliament on behalf of what were then the most politically-marginalised sections of the population. In the context of the Race Relations Act 1976 and the growing reliance on government and local authority funding sources, RECs have increasingly asserted their functions as service providers, while downplaying their community-expressive political role.

REC functions reflected in organisational shape

The organisational shape of RECs, however, continues to reflect their historical community-expressive dimension. There is a diverse membership of organisations including local black and minority ethnic organisations. A large executive committee provides governance for much smaller numbers of paid staff. REC staff spend a great deal of their time arranging and servicing council executive and sub-committee meetings, as well as managing service delivery. There is a sense in which the government has begun to acknowledge the earlier community-expressive agenda of the RECs with its new emphasis on the importance of Community Empowerment Networks (CENs). The community-expressive

Race equality in local communities

dimension of race equality work plays little part in current assessment of RECs' contribution to local race relations and communities. RECs are now judged on the services they provide, not on the contribution they make as participatory bodies.

Race Equality Partnerships (REPs)

REP development in a context of service improvement initiatives

Race equality partnerships (REPs) have usually been inaugurated to help public authorities improve their services to black and minority ethnic communities through joined-up working, and to contribute to the effectiveness of community development, regeneration and empowerment initiatives. A REP is intended to form a bridge between service providers and users, assisting and strengthening government initiatives to improve service standards and quality of life in a particular administrative area or neighbourhood.

Engaging voluntary and community groups in decision-making

A REP is often seen as a means of engaging a wider range of voluntary and community groups (especially 'excluded' or 'hard-to-reach' populations) in local decision-making and regeneration. There has been a tendency, however, to focus on the issues of public service improvement and the eradication of institutional racism from the point of view of the more powerful public agencies participating in the partnership, sometimes at the expense of grass-roots

Local race equality organisations and their functions

community development, casework with individuals, or victim support.

REPs replacing RECs

REPs vary a great deal in purpose and functions, partner membership, operation and outcome. Many have replaced race equality councils either as a result of a deliberate REC strategy of renewal or because the REC failed. Of thirteen race equality organisations in the West Midlands region, for example, eight now have constitutions based on a partnership approach.

Streamlining governance or undermining community accountability?

REPs are sometimes seen as having the advantage of streamlined and strengthened governance, avoiding the often ponderous business of mediating between entrenched or incompatible local community interests. Community organisations, however, may view REPs with suspicion, seeing them as a means of reducing community control. The partnership approach is currently being explored as a possible answer to how multi-strand equality work might be undertaken at local level.

Influence of other partnerships

REP development has often been informed by and modelled on the formation of other partnerships at local level, particularly, in recent years, Local Strategic Partnerships and their thematic sub-groups. These are intended to bring the major public providers

Race equality in local communities

together to coordinate their services and to make them more responsive to community need.

The theory of insider status

In theory, by creating a unitary purpose between the partners, reflected at director, management and operational levels, the REP can gain unrivalled insider entry into and influence over race policy in public and private organisations, in contrast to the community-dominated REC with its outsider status and reputation for criticism from the sidelines. The counter-argument is that the REP is more likely to be induced into adopting a less-than-critical stance towards its more powerful members' faults. Anecdotal evidence suggests powerful institutional partners wield considerable influence on REP boards and are likely to veto action they do not approve of, particularly action critical of them.

Statement of REP objectives and functions

The main and most commonly occurring objectives and functions of REPs can be formally stated as follows:

Policy development

- To facilitate collaboration between the public, private and community sectors, by means of the Local Strategic Partnerships and other thematic, geographical and cross-cutting partnerships, in order to promote race equality, encourage inclusivity and improve community cohesiveness.

Local race equality organisations and their functions

- To assist local service providers to work individually, and in partnership with one another, the private sector, and the broader community, to ensure their services are delivered in an holistic manner, free of institutional racism and discrimination.
- To advise and assist public authorities on their general and specific duties under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and, where appropriate, to monitor and scrutinise their performance in relation to the legislation.
- To assist in identifying, assessing, and monitoring functions and policies that impact on race equality, consulting groups that may be affected by those functions and policies, and making available information about the outcomes of assessment, consultation and monitoring exercises, and the benefits or services available.

Community development

- To engage with, and participate actively in plans, programmes and services aimed at alleviating disadvantage and discrimination and improving social conditions.
- To play an active role in local forums and community networks aimed at involving members of local communities in the

Race equality in local communities

decision-making processes that affect their lives.

- To encourage, support and empower groups, such as women, disabled and other persons, faith and youth groups, and people from black and minority ethnic communities.
- To contribute to community cohesion by playing an active part in developing a common vision, a sense of belonging, an appreciation of diversity, and strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in local schools, colleges, places of work and residential neighbourhoods.

Casework

- Either separately, as a free-standing service, or in partnership with (an) other agency(ies), to give information, advice and other support to individuals who seek assistance as a consequence of their experience of unlawful discrimination, particularly of a racial kind, in circumstances where such information, advice and support are not readily obtainable from other local agencies.
- To offer help and support to victims of racial harassment, intimidation, and violence, and other racially-motivated crime.
- To monitor closely incidents of discrimination and racially motivated crime,

Local race equality organisations and their functions

with a view to providing information and advice to public authorities on measures that might be taken to reduce their number.

Public information and education

- To provide information and education to members of the public and to local organisations, especially those who are members of the Local Strategic Partnership, on race and community relations, with a view to dispelling misconceptions and stereotypes and promoting understanding and tolerance.
- To monitor national, regional and local media news, views and opinion about racial groups and their relations and to take action to redress misinformation and promote positive reporting about the benefits of living in a multi-racial environment.
- To monitor and take effective action against the propaganda, behaviour and campaigning of extreme nationalist and racist groups that oppose the Race Relations Act and other anti-discrimination legislation and seek to undermine good race relations and the cohesion of local communities.

General

- To undertake any other similar function compatible with the general objects.

Race equality in local communities

- To work closely and in collaborative partnership with other race equality organisations within the region to fulfil these functions.

(These functions are derived from the draft constitution prepared by REWM for Race Equality Sandwell. We wish to thank Race Equality Sandwell for its permission to reproduce this list.)

Race equality organisation governance and structure

RECs as membership organisations

RECs are membership organisations. Their membership is open to any incorporated association (affiliate membership) and individuals (individual membership) which/who are interested in furthering its work. Affiliate members must make a written declaration of their commitment and satisfy the REC that there is nothing in their constitution which conflicts with the REC's aims. Individual members must also make a formal declaration of their commitment. RECs, therefore, have an open membership, providing those who seek to join agree with their aims.

REC executive committee

The REC membership of associations and individuals elects an executive committee, consisting of between 18 and 25 members of whom two thirds must be elected by ballot of members at the annual general meeting. Honorary officers (chair, vice-chair,

Local race equality organisations and their functions

secretary and treasurer) are chosen by the executive committee.

Sub-committees

The executive committee must appoint a finance and general purposes sub-committee and personnel sub-committee. A membership panel will receive, consider and determine membership applications, as well as recommend to the executive committee any termination of membership. The executive committee can set up other sub-committees, ad hoc working parties, and task groups. The executive committee decides on the REC's strategic direction, deals with its financial and legal affairs, and is able to employ full-time staff.

Charity and company registration

Many RECs have registered as charities and/or companies to gain financial and legal benefits, such as exemption from tax or business rates, a limitation on the liability of members, and a greater eligibility to access government or charitable funds.

REP partnership boards

REPs are usually governed by a board of directors and/or trustees. Board membership is nearly always smaller than that of a REC executive committee. Board members are frequently nominated by constituencies that are treated as being representative of the public, private, voluntary and community sectors. Board members from public authorities, for example, might be nominated by each of the major

Race equality in local communities

public authorities operating in the area or, alternatively, by public sector representatives participating in the Local Strategic Partnership. Private sector nominations might be made by the Chamber of Commerce. The voluntary and community representatives might come by way of Councils for Voluntary Service, Black and Minority Ethnic Forums, Community Empowerment Networks, or specially-established stakeholder groups.

REPs not membership organisations

Some boards might seek nominations on a periodic or rolling basis, while others might renew their composition only when vacancies occur because of resignation or failure of attendance. The crucial difference between most REPs and RECs, is that the former are not membership organisations and do not automatically hold elections among their members to fill their official positions. Such elections that do take place will be for honorary officer posts at board level.

Example of REP governance arrangements

As governance arrangements vary, it is instructive to look at two examples, the first with a more tightly-controlled board membership, the second with membership determined by constituencies. The first has a board of ten directors, consisting of five agencies (City Council, Trades Council, Voluntary Services Council, Learning and Skills Council, and Primary Care Trust) and five community representatives selected in its area of benefit. The second has a board of seventeen, consisting of an appointed independent chair, and four directors each

Local race equality organisations and their functions

from four constituencies: representatives of the public sector nominated by the LSP, representatives of the voluntary sector nominated by the CVS, representatives of local communities nominated by a 'community stake-holder' group and representatives from the private sector and wider regional interests, nominated by the Chamber of Commerce and wider regional interests.

REPs as companies and charities

Unlike some of the earlier established RECs, these new organisations are invariably set up as both companies limited by guarantee and registered charities, and they operate to standard memoranda and articles of association, which also act as their constitution. They have the normal company powers to appoint staff and manage their financial affairs within the scope of the law.

The funding of race equality organisations (REOs)

Traditional funding arrangements

Local race equality councils and their predecessors, community relations councils, were originally funded in roughly equal proportions by their local authority and the Commission for Racial Equality (an arrangement initiated by its predecessor, the Commission for Community Relations). The local authority often provided accommodation and administrative support, with the Commission funding race equality officer posts. Long after the CRE ceased funding posts in favour of simply making block grants to RECs in support of local officer salaries, fossil

Race equality in local communities

traces of the old arrangements could be detected in the proportion of the grant still allocated towards race equality officer pension costs. The CRE/REC pension scheme was finally closed in 2005.

Section 44 of the Race Relations Act 1976

Local authorities and the CRE continue, however, to provide funding to local REOs. Section 44 of the Race Relations Act 1976 allows the CRE, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to give financial and other assistance to any organisation concerned with the promotion of equality of opportunity, and good relations between persons of different racial groups. The money is now used to purchase services conceived as outcomes, and no longer supports particular posts.

CRE Getting Results grant aid

From 2002-03 onwards, the CRE introduced a system of grant aid referred to as *Getting Results*. It is awarded on the basis of applications from race equality and other organisations to deliver annually-agreed outcomes, milestones and outputs against CRE priorities. For 2007-08, organisations could apply for up to three outcomes at £33,500 per outcome per annum.

Other funding sources

Given the short-term nature of grant aid and the uncertainty surrounding funding, established local race equality organisations have been under pressure to find new ways of resourcing their activities.

Local race equality organisations and their functions

REWM's 2004 national audit of REOs showed that local organisations had often succeeded in diversifying their funding base, with income coming from seven sources: the CRE (20%), local councils (40%), other public authorities (10%), National Lottery (10%), regeneration funds (5%), own income generation (5%), and other (10%).

Variation between race equality organisations in income and income sources

There was, however, a great deal of variation between REOs, the more successful having a larger number of income streams and being less dependent on the traditional sources of local authority and CRE. In one region, the proportion of CRE funding had fallen to 10%, with national lottery grants accounting for a third, and government regeneration initiatives for a quarter, of all REO income.

Annual variations in income

Most REOs report problems in managing annual variations in their income, which result in uncertainty, staff turnover, and difficulties in sustaining regular work programmes. Increasingly, REOs find themselves delivering a plethora of outputs, outcomes and targets to sustain their income, with little flexibility for manoeuvre within the confines of previously-agreed project outcomes and restricted funding.

Race equality in local communities

Concept of core costs

A recurring observation is that there is insufficient funding available to cover the core costs of keeping the organisation going. Core costs could, or should, be provided for in the costing of outcomes, but seldom are, as most public funding is severely limited and REOs have little choice but to accept what is on offer, even if delivery results in a deficit. Outcome-related funding is invariably time-limited, with no guarantee of repetition or renewal, thus contributing further to the financial uncertainty and instability currently endemic in the voluntary sector.

The search for sustainable and regular income

Time has increasingly to be spent on the search for funding, variously estimated at between a fifth and a third of managers' time. Nearly all successful REOs have grown as a result of the exercise of entrepreneurial and related political skills by their chief executives. But success brings its own problems. The sustainability of the income thus generated is also a matter of concern. Rapid expansion, followed by equally-rapid contraction, is a particularly destructive scenario, leading to de-motivation and low morale.

The future: funding contingent on service contracts?

REO managers and their boards find themselves torn between the traditional ethos of charitable public service responding to need and the recognition that they must operate as a surplus-generating business venture, taking on only economically-viable projects and causes. In the context of public authorities

Local race equality organisations and their functions

increasingly refashioning themselves as purchasers (or commissioners) of services from providers in any of the three sectors, race equality organisations may have to adjust to the prospect of competing in the guise of new-style social enterprises for service contracts. Currently, of course, public authority procurement policy generally favours larger providers, standardised corporate contracts, and economies of scale. But are race equality organisations simply providers of services, or, in Handy's terms, shouldn't they endeavour to retain their self-help and campaigning roles?

Social enterprises

In November 2006, the government launched proposals to encourage the development of social enterprises in the social space believed to exist between traditional charitable foundations motivated by philanthropic intent and private businesses driven by the need to make profit for shareholders. Social enterprises may provide public authorities with the solution to improving services while simultaneously achieving value for money. The concept derives from the cooperative and mutual societies which used a business model for collective self-help. It is too soon to decide whether the organisational model emerging is relevant to the development of REOs.

Chapter Three

Working for a local race equality organisation

Overview. Race equality organisations (REOs) operate to annual work programmes often based on three-year strategic or business plans, setting out the outcomes they are expected to deliver. Five categories of person come together to deliver these outcomes: members, staff, consultants, volunteers, and trainees, all of whom have a unique contribution to make to race equality work. Within the organisation, there is a division of labour and a degree of specialisation reflected in the staffing structures, job titles and job descriptions. Five basic principles operate in deciding how tasks, roles and responsibilities are shared out. Examples are given of typical jobs. Two perspectives are offered on the kinds of knowledge, values and skills that are required to undertake successful race equality work: the intuitive experiential and the rational expert. The latter perspective now dominates, as evidenced by the increasing numbers of race equality staff qualified to degree level in relevant disciplines. The chapter concludes by setting out factors critical to the success of local REOs.

Organisational and personal work programmes

Most REOs operate to an annually-revised organisational work programme systematically setting out the tasks that have to be undertaken and the milestones reached to deliver a set of agreed outcomes, the achievement of which is measured

Working for a local race equality organisation

against more tangible, visible or measurable outputs. The general organisational work programme often makes clear personal responsibilities for ensuring particular tasks are undertaken and outcomes achieved, but sometimes personalised work programmes are also devised and issued to individual race equality personnel.

Five categories of person

Members

The outcomes of REOs are normally delivered by several of five categories of person: members (including directors), staff, consultants, volunteers, and trainees. Members, particularly executive committee members and directors, undertake a great deal of unpaid work relating to governance and general decision-making, oversight of financial affairs and signing of cheques, chairing public meetings and panels, consulting and negotiating with various stakeholders, appraising the performance of senior staff and participating in serious disciplinary hearings, representing the public face and interests of the organisation, and advising the chief executive on strategy.

Value of board member input

Members, honorary officers and/or directors are usually required to agree the strategic direction, expenditure, work programme and grant applications of the organisation. It is easy to forget, but the hard work and loyal support of board members are essential to a voluntary sector organisation's success.

Failure, indeed, is often a consequence of a factionalised and warring executive committee or board of directors.

Staff

The staff of the organisation are responsible for the delivery of the greater part of the work programme. Unless agreed outcomes are successfully delivered on time to the specification of stakeholders supporting the organisation, funding for subsequent years will be at risk, and claw-back of existing money a distinct possibility. It is essential, therefore, that the work programme is realistic in its expectations and matched closely to staff numbers, time, skills, experience and ability.

REOs' staffing complements

REOs vary in the number of staff they employ. The REWM 2004 national audit showed that RECs/REPs employed an average of 8.25 staff, with numbers ranging from one to twenty-five. This figure corresponded closely with that obtained from the 2003 West Midlands audit, but disguises the large differences in organisations' staffing complements. One fifth were 'singleton', that is having only one generalist race equality officer, either with or without administrative support. What might reasonably be expected of a singleton will be less than of an organisation of 25, although the size of the staffing complement is often forgotten when performance comes to be assessed.

Working for a local race equality organisation

Fixed-term staff contracts

Staff may be full-time or vary in the number of part-time hours they work, but a significant feature of voluntary-sector race equality employment is the number of staff – nearly three fifths or 57% - on fixed-term or temporary contracts. A majority is working on projects with a short funding life, not usually of more than three years. Apart from being insecure, contracts of this kind have other adverse consequences. Frequently, they do not attract an employer pension contribution and obtaining a mortgage or loan may prove difficult. A small minority of staff – around 5% - has been seconded to RECs/REPs from other agencies, sometimes to circumvent problems of attracting competent staff on poor conditions.

Negative effects of fixed-term and temporary contracts

The effect on staff and race equality work of fixed-term and temporary contractual arrangements is predictable. Managers claim that it is difficult to attract high calibre, professionally-qualified staff and that job insecurity leads to demotivation and a high turnover as contracts reach full-term. Staff often leave before they acquire the essential training and skills, or establish the local contacts and long-term relationships to do the job effectively. Short-termism hinders commitment, teamwork and the emergence of professionalism. More immediately, it is often difficult to complete projects satisfactorily when staff leave early in anticipation of their contracts drawing to an end. The inability to attract, retain and train

Race equality in local communities

staff, or to plan a longer-term staff development strategy, not only adversely affects REO competence and achievement, but undermines the perception and reputation of race equality work as a whole.

Benefits of working in an REO

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to view employment in this sector in only a negative light. The work is often varied, worthwhile and interesting, allowing individual race equality workers scope for innovation. By definition, it involves contact with a diverse range of individuals and groups and provides the kind of stimulation and sense of commitment to a worthwhile endeavour that those who are initially attracted to the work almost inevitably find personally fulfilling and addictive.

Staffing structure

REOs with larger complements of staff will have in place a staffing structure distinguishing levels of responsibility and specialist roles, and represented by a line-management diagram. For small organisations, line management is a relatively simple matter, with main grade project staff answering to project leaders accountable in turn to an executive officer (or an assistant eo) who coordinates all the organisation's activities and is directly accountable to the chair and board of directors (or executive committee). Administrators or clerical assistants will be allocated to particular projects or to a member or members of the senior management team.

Working for a local race equality organisation

Staff categories

The structure thus outlined distinguishes the following categories of staff or employee: chief executive officer (ceo), assistant ceo, project managers, project officers, administrator, and clerical assistants. The way they relate in a management hierarchy can be seen as a pyramidal or lozenge-shape formation.

Consultants

Consultants are persons, partnerships or incorporated bodies hired on contract by an organisation to perform a specialist task or role, either as a one-off exercise or to provide a long-term recurrent service. Given the temporary and fluctuating nature of most race equality organisations' income, which is often geared to the delivery of specific projects and outcomes, one way of avoiding extended commitments and fixed costs is to take on consultants to meet sudden increases in the work load. The use of consultants is also a means of acquiring expertise that is unavailable among the existing staff, where demand or funding is insufficient to warrant the creation of a specialist post. Consultants can also undertake independent diagnoses and evaluations of an organisation's internal arrangements where a professional or external opinion is legally or politically expedient.

Race equality in local communities

Functions of consultants in REOs

Currently, REOs use consultants to undertake a whole range of functions such as auditing, project evaluation, financial management, legal advice and contract preparation, staff recruitment, writing of funding applications, and the delivery of discrete race equality outcomes, often requiring expertise. Private consultants are frequently hired by local authorities to review the provision or delivery of race equality services within their area prior to setting up a (race) equality organisation or withdrawing funding from an existing one.

Volunteers

Volunteers play a vital part in the success of many race equality projects. Projects, such as the Jigsaw mentoring project at East Staffordshire Race Equality Council, may involve the recruitment of large numbers of volunteers, who, in the case of this example, act as mentors to the project beneficiaries. Volunteers, who may also be REO members, often help to form a bridge between the organisation and the local communities it has been set up to serve.

Motivation of volunteers

Volunteering for race equality work can be variously motivated: some students come for work experience, partly because they are indeed interested in promoting race equality, and partly because it enhances their curriculum vitae. Where volunteering is institutionally recognised (with policies, procedures and protocols in place) and built in as part of project

Working for a local race equality organisation

delivery, managers speak in glowing terms of its contribution to the success of the organisation.

Paying volunteers

Payment can be made to particular promising student volunteers who demonstrate they are making a positive impact on the organisation. This arrangement helps to support them while they are still studying and is a means of retaining contact and perhaps encouraging them to consider a career in race equality promotion when they complete their course of study.

Trainees

Recognising the important contribution that part-time paid volunteers might make to the organisation, some REOs have offered them systematic staff development and training in race equality promotion, with a view to their eventually taking up appointment in the field. Capable trainees can add value to the organisation at little extra cost, while at the same time acquiring marketable skills to their own benefit in fund-raising, public relations, project management, the promotion of race, diversity and community cohesion, and much else. One trainee in a Midlands REO secured £50,000 of project funding by developing an idea, writing a properly-budgeted application, and steering the initiative through to success.

External and internal variation between REOs

Although REOs all share the general task of promoting race equality, they operate in local external contexts, ranging from urban to rural, and serve authorities varying in political hue and policy preference and in the ethnic composition of communities with different needs. Internally, too, organisations diverge in their blend of board member, manager, and officer knowledge, skill, experience and competency. They have also sought and been awarded grant aid to undertake a wide range of projects and to achieve outcomes in relation to specifically-targeted beneficiary groups. REOs will vary, therefore, in their line-management structure and in the posts and roles they create and allocate to members, staff, consultants, and volunteers.

REO post titles (2004)

The 2004 national audit of REOs provided a varied list of post titles, including:

Directly race equality-related

Capacity builder, career advisor, caseworker, community access worker, community cohesion officer, community development officer or worker, complainant aid worker, Connecting Communities officer, Connexions youth officer, education officer, employment officer/coordinator, health project coordinator, immigration advice officer, immigration advisor, legal aid officer, mentoring project manager, partnership officer, racial harassment officer/coordinator, race equality chief executive, race

Working for a local race equality organisation

equality officer, research officer, sport development officer, surgery advisor, volunteer coordinator.

Supportive roles

Administrative assistant, administrative officer, administrator, business manager, cleaner, finance officer, office manager, personal assistant, receptionist, secretary, senior administrator, training administrator.

Division of labour, specialisation

At least five principles can be detected for deciding on a rational basis how REO tasks, roles and responsibilities are to be shared out, but in practice, and for expediency, these are often modified or combined. Posts may be defined in relation to:

- the organisational structure or pyramid.
- whether the post relates directly to the promotion of race equality or provides support indirectly through the organisation.
- the four main constitutionally-defined functions (policy, community, awareness-raising, case work).
- the main public authority service-provider areas, such as education, training and youth, employment, housing and regeneration, criminal justice (including the police), and sometimes, health.
- the project management and delivery of specific time-limited project outcomes,

Race equality in local communities

with staff given roles and titles related to the projects they are working on or the outcomes they are expected to deliver.

Organisational structure or pyramid

The following posts relate to positions in the line management structure.

Chief executive officer (CEO)

An REO's chief executive officer (CEO) was traditionally referred to as its director but, as more REOs become companies with boards of directors, to avoid confusion, the title 'director' for a paid employee is falling out of favour. CEOs have overall responsibility for delivering the work of the organisation and must have knowledge of, and skills in, managing people, projects, money and public relations.

CEO responsibilities

For the REO to be successful, its CEO will also have to keep abreast of current affairs and policy development and chart the organisation's strategic course. CEOs are responsible for servicing and advising the board and managing, directing, guiding and mentoring any other staff that the organisation may have at main grade or trainee level. Normally, CEOs have the difficult job of liaising with the heads of major bodies in the locality and steering the REO in a way that wins acceptance for its race equality promotional role.

Working for a local race equality organisation

Race equality officer

A race equality officer was traditionally seen as the main-grade officer in a REC. Indeed, many community relations councils or race equality councils had only two officers, consisting of the chief executive (or director) and the race equality officer (who had to take on those tasks remaining after the director had made a choice). Race equality officers took on a wide range of jobs, often including daily face-to-face contact with members of black and minority ethnic communities, and/or complainants of discrimination in employment, housing, education, police, and the courts. In the 1970s, this often involved explaining the provision of the Race Relations Act to people who were ignorant of its existence and provisions.

Professionalisation

Today, the job requires a greater knowledge of community needs or conditions in the neighbourhood and of the services provided locally by public authorities and private companies. Race equality officers' professionalism is judged on whether their intervention is supported by social scientific evidence and convincing arguments: the rhetoric of anger and indignation, however justified, will lead to external bodies closing their ranks against the REO.

Post supporting the race equality organisation

Administrator

An REO administrator oversees the organisation's administrative arrangements which, for a small organisation, can be a surprisingly wide-ranging and demanding task. More often than not, the administrator will also have responsibility for day-to-day financial control, ensuring income is received and expenditure is under control. The administrator is expected to run the office efficiently, which includes ensuring the information technology and other equipment, for example, photocopier, telephones, faxes, are working and all staff conform to office protocols in a concerted plan to deliver organisational outcomes. The administrator will line manage and support staff, including clerks and receptionists, and make sure that all people contacting the organisation in person, by telephone, post, or email, receive a professional and courteous service. Another time-consuming role involves arranging meetings and servicing the board and its sub-committees.

Multi-tasking

In small organisations, the administrator will have to double up as a personal assistant, secretary, or clerk to the chief executive, performing word-processing, communication, photocopying, and filing tasks as requested. In larger organisations, it may be possible to distinguish the functions of administrator from those of the finance officer, the personal assistant, clerk, secretary, and receptionist. In general, however, money for staffing is more likely to be

Working for a local race equality organisation

allocated to race equality officer posts than to support work.

Finance officer

Financial management and control is a vital element of all voluntary and community sector organisations receiving grant aid, entering into service level agreements, tendering for contracts, and employing their own staff. It is self-evident that as annual budgets rise above the £100,000 mark, with funding coming in from different sources, each with its own conditions attached, the organisation may need to make use of full or part-time financial expertise. Currently, many small organisations will contract out their payroll function and this may be the answer to the growing demands for effective and transparent financial management. With most REOs registered as companies and charities, and being judged as worthy recipients of charitable funds on the basis of the proficiency of their financial management, however, further attention is likely to be paid to the specialist role of the REO finance officer.

Clerical, secretarial and reception

These functions are common to general office work in small organisations and show no sign of decline even in situations where the race equality officers are expected to undertake their own word processing and photocopying and to arrange meetings directly.

Race equality in local communities

Continuing demand for clerical work

While websites and emails are essential to modern office practice, there are few signs that the demand for typed reports and printed publications is in decline. Indeed, there is an expectation that meetings will have formal agenda, supporting reports, and minutes approved and kept on file. In addition, clerical and secretarial staff have to deal with a torrent of electronic communication, and accompanying information storage and retrieval. Organisations are judged on the speed and quality of their responses and orderliness of their presentation.

Functionally-defined posts

Race equality policy officer

Larger REOs sometimes choose to develop a functionally-specialised staffing structure in terms of the modes of operation set out in their constitution (see CRE Revised Model constitution for RECs 1995). This identifies policy development within the public, private and voluntary sectors as a key function of REOs, although in practice most work of this nature has been targeted at the public sector.

Policy officer contact with public bodies

Race equality policy officers, therefore, usually have the brief of contacting and discussing with major public sector bodies dealing with housing, employment, education, health and criminal justice agencies, in particular the police, (but sometimes, local prisons and youth offending institutions), the

Working for a local race equality organisation

effect of their policies and activities on race relations and ethnic communities.

REOs' role in consultation.

Officers' intervention will often be informed by maintaining contact with local communities and taking up individuals' complaints with the relevant body. In recent years, public authorities, increasingly aware of the importance of being responsive and sensitive to their users' demands, have put into place more systematic ways of gauging public opinion, and have sometimes involved REOs in this process, particularly when seeking to consult with ethnic minorities.

Community advocacy

Race equality workers have become useful sounding boards for some authorities and play a role in legitimising their approach to community provision. Nevertheless, it is difficult for a single officer to give useful expert advice across the full range of the very different kinds of public services. The role of the race equality policy officer is probably best conceived as an independent advocate or mediator between ethnic communities and complainants on the one hand, and large public authorities on the other. The post holder runs the danger of being perceived by communities as a paid apologist for the authority, or by the authorities as an outspoken, unreasonable propagandist for an extreme and unrepresentative section of public opinion.

Race equality in local communities

Community development officer

Frequently funded by money intended to assist with urban regeneration, community development posts are usually aimed at engaging with excluded and hard-to-reach groups (consisting of disproportionately-large numbers of minority ethnic individuals) and persuading them to participate in socially-constructive or distractive activity. The work is often conceived in terms of targeted projects tackling social problems, for example, unemployed or disaffected young people, homelessness, street crime and vandalism, drug dealing and taking, poor school performance, illiteracy, or low participation in post-compulsory education. Sometimes, however, the projects have a positive focus, involving cross-cultural contact and collaboration, sport, recreation, dance, drama and the arts. With some ethnic communities, the emphasis is on supplementary education, the acquisition of a community language, or the celebration and renewal of cultural or religious traditions. The role of the community development officer may involve grant acquisition to embark on specific community projects, recruiting participants and volunteers in managing or working on projects, and evaluating their effectiveness.

Liaison with ethnic communities

The community development officer will be expected to liaise with different ethnic communities supporting the projects, and other similar workers employed by public authorities and voluntary organizations, e.g. youth and community workers, sports instructors,

Working for a local race equality organisation

teachers, neighbourhood managers, housing officers, and the police. A more recent addition to the portfolio of REO community development work has been the task of building the capacity of black and minority ethnic groups in order to strengthen their contribution to advocacy, self-help, and service provision for their members. It should be clear from this brief account that community development work can be immensely varied.

Race equality case worker

Race equality case work involves providing information, advice and guidance on the law relating to racial discrimination in employment and the provision of goods and services. Race-equality officers engaged in this work undertake casework for those individuals who approach the REO for help with their complaint, and sometimes, where the complaint cannot be resolved in any other way, represent their clients at an Employment Tribunal or County Court.

Case management

This free legal advice service involving intensive case work with individuals can easily be overwhelmed by demand, particularly if stimulated by publicity. Officers need to have legal knowledge and skills, and experience in case work and representation. Case loads have to be consistently managed and maintained and cannot readily be transferred to other staff. Case workers are specialist workers and have to be dedicated to and prioritise their case work over other organisational obligations, making them an expensive

Race equality in local communities

and inflexible element in overall staff management arrangements. This has led in recent years to a decline in the number of REOs undertaking anything more than providing preliminary information and advice in this field and to a corresponding increase in the demand for a specialist referral agency to take on tribunal representation.

Support for victims of racial harassment.

Some REOs have extended the scope of individual case work and the case worker's role to supporting victims of racial harassment and violence under criminal law. This involves working in partnership with the police on race hate crime, liaising and supporting victims, and monitoring the kinds and locations of incidents to take preventive measures. Victims may incur racial harassment from neighbours, from strangers in the street and public places, from school students and in educational settings, at work, and in relation to the police.

(Public) education officer

The REO public education function has often been consolidated into a post of education officer, who is allocated the general role of publicising the organisation's functions to all its client groups: public authorities and funders, different ethnic communities, individual complainants and victims of discrimination, and the general public, through the press and media. This generic role often rests with the Chief Executive Officer. But this kind of function is capable of different interpretations.

Working for a local race equality organisation

Race awareness training

Responding to requests mostly from public authorities, some REOs have acquired race awareness training expertise and appointed training officers to market and provide appropriate training to public sector employees, including teachers, social workers, and the police, on race relations legislation and statutory requirements and different ethnic minority cultures. Others have collaborated with schools in enriching the curriculum with various multi-cultural history, music, creative writing, dance, drama, and arts projects.

Public awareness-raising

More recently, with the electoral success of racist far-right political parties, REOs have begun to focus more closely on raising public awareness about the myths surrounding immigrant numbers, crime, asylum seekers, refugees, and terrorists, and the dangers of extremism.

Public authority service-related posts

Service improvement roles

Staffing structuration based on REO functions has frequently been modified to reflect the field of operation of some of the main local service providers, who may have deliberately encourage this process by offering to fund or second staff into a post that more directly meets their perceived organisational priorities. Not surprisingly, REOs, short of funding,

Race equality in local communities

have responded by sprouting posts related to specific service-improvement areas, such as school liaison officer, youth (Connexions) officer, employment officer, housing officer, Asian women's health improvement officer, police liaison officer, community safety officer, and racial harassment victim support officer. The titles are self explanatory. In essence, they involve close collaboration with the relevant public authorities in order to eliminate institutional discrimination, implement race equality schemes, conduct community consultation, and deliver improved services.

Project management and delivery posts

Timed outcomes

Often funds for service improvement activities are time-limited, as are grants for urban regeneration and other projects. This, and the move to outcome-related funding, have resulted in REOs restructuring themselves and their work programmes into sets of time-bound projects, each with specific outcomes, milestones and outputs to deliver, their duration normally ranging from one to five years. This approach shifts the emphasis away from one of providing a continuous repetitive process as performed by, for example, a doctor, nurse, or teacher, or in the case of a REO, the chief executive officer, or complainant-aid case worker.

Reality of the continuation of time-limited projects

In reality, however, though devised for a limited duration to conform with the terms of the available

Working for a local race equality organisation

funding, nearly all projects are based on analyses of continuing and unmet need which is unlikely to be suddenly satisfied on project termination. Nevertheless, most REOs are funded on a short-term basis and have had to take this into account when deciding their staffing structure and establishment. Typical time-limited posts of three years duration or less are: refugee integration worker, Asian women's health worker, and mentoring project manager.

Mentoring project manager

The mentoring project manager post serves as an example of project work. It involves creating a coordinating team to assemble a multi-racial list of one hundred suitable volunteer mentors who are then carefully matched on a one-to-one basis with one hundred mentees, nominated and selected on the basis of need by secondary schools or local agencies, or self-nominated, to form a supportive social learning relationship. This process is repeated for new mentees every year for three years. New mentors have to be trained and the whole process carefully recorded, monitored and evaluated. Collective social and recreational activities are interspersed with regular mentor-mentee meetings. This is a sophisticated exercise requiring high levels of professionalism and organisational expertise from all the project workers and especially the project manager. But at the end of the three-year funded project, there is no guarantee that this non-statutory activity will continue.

Ideal staffing structures

When a new REO comes into being - usually a race equality partnership - an opportunity presents itself to devise a staffing structure fit for purpose. While unlikely to be implemented in full because of budgetary constraints, one newly-devised structure is worth presenting as an indication of contemporary thinking on staffing arrangements.

While some of these posts have been described above and are already familiar, two of them are new.

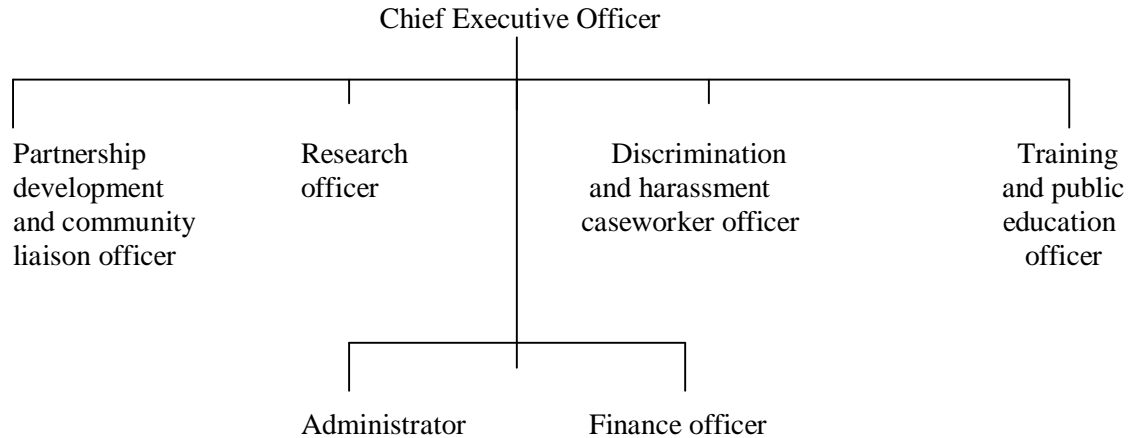
Partnership development and community liaison officer

This officer has responsibility for developing community partnerships, developing local organisations, identifying and obtaining resources, and maintaining formal and informal links with partnerships and networks, including the LSP and CEN, and organisations in the public, private and voluntary sectors, in order to ensure the delivery of local race equality services.

Research officer

This post is established to provide research and development in support of the organisation's race equality promotion remit. It involves broad-based social scientific research and survey work to justify and support strategic objectives and to track user groups' changing needs and perceptions.

Working for a local race equality organisation



Staff qualifications, experience, and training aspirations

Perspectives on race equality knowledge, values and skills.

Traditionally, two perspectives on the kind of knowledge, values and skills required to undertake race equality work have been apparent. These may be termed the intuitive experience approach and the rational expert approach, with the former gradually being displaced by the latter in the selection procedure for race equality officers.

Intuitive experience

The intuitive experience approach places great weight on the experience of ethnic minority status and of being on the receiving end of racism. Experience is regarded as an essential means of generating insight into race relations in order to take effective action against discrimination. Certainly, instances of discrimination need to be identified and highlighted.

Rational expert

The rational expert view is that in order to provide expert advice to public authorities seeking to improve their services to ethnic minorities, or to intervene successfully when race relations are in danger of breaking down, it is necessary to access the reservoir of objective knowledge, both theoretical and practical, on organisations and race relations. The job of promoting race equality is seen as requiring specialist

Working for a local race equality organisation

knowledge and expertise. In this context, race equality work is not only about identifying and highlighting instances of discrimination, but of contributing to finding solutions.

Race equality officer qualifications

Recent surveys by REWM show that the vast majority of race equality officers are educated to at least first degree level, with more and more chief executive officers pursuing and obtaining qualifications at post-graduate level. Administrative staff have GCE, A level or NVQ 2 or 3 equivalent qualifications, and clerical and secretarial grades GCSE/NVQ. All current REO staff surveyed were educated to at least GCSE level. Staff have formal qualifications in many skill areas key to REO operations, the most frequently mentioned set out in the table below. Qualifications in clerical and administrative work are the most common, followed by qualifications in law, management, and race and ethnic relations.

Race equality staff experience

The table on page 103 shows the percentage of REOs where REOs claim to have staff with at least three years' experience in the key skills areas listed. Other areas of experience mentioned were immigration and international law, support for asylum seekers and refugees, translation and interpreting, equality training, mentoring, community development and empowerment activity, capacity-building, and mediation.

Race equality in local communities

Percentage of REOs with staff having formal qualifications in key skill areas	
Areas of formal qualification	% of REOs
Clerical/administrative	56
Law degree	50
General management	44
Race and ethnic relations	31
Teaching/training	25
Youth and community work	25
Information technology/computing	25
Human resource management/development	19
Social research methods	19
Social work	19
Accounts, finance and banking	13
Marketing/public relations	6
Economic development/regeneration	0

Staff development and training

Nearly three quarters of REOs had established a budget for training staff members and volunteers, on average putting aside £4,000 per REO, but this figure ranged from £600 on the low side to £15,000 on the high, differences relating in part, but not entirely, to the size of the REO budget overall and the number of staff in post. REOs sometimes, but not always, distinguished between the budget set for training members of their executive, from the staff training budget, making it difficult to calculate a per capita staff training figure. On the basis of information supplied, REO annual per capita expenditure on staff development and training averaged £500.

Working for a local race equality organisation

Percentage of REOs having staff with at least three years' experience in listed skills areas	
Area	Percentage
Support for victims of racial harassment/violence	75
Education and school	69
Conflict resolution/mediation	63
Public sector consultancy	56
Youth work	56
Employment tribunal representation	50
Legal advice and guidance	50
Police and crime prevention	50
Crime prevention	44
Legal casework	44
Health and social services	38
Consultancy in private sector	31
Housing	31
Interfaith work	31
Support for victims of domestic violence	25
Women's welfare	25
Working with young offenders	25
Disability rights work	19
Support for victims of drug abuse	19
Economic regeneration	13
Helping the aged or infirm	13
Support for victims of homophobic crime	6

Management training

Most respondents thought that REO staff would benefit from management training and would consider arranging for their release on a part-time basis, providing that practical problems of finding fees and suitable accredited training programmes could be solved. REOs also wanted a series of seminars to update their staff on development in the equalities field and were prepared to release staff to attend. Nearly all REOs had in place a staff appraisal policy and procedure, sometimes separate from, but often combined with, a staff development policy and procedure. A majority also had a staff development and training plan and programme. Many also had in place a training programme for members, officers, trainees and volunteers.

Critical success factors

Research into best practice in local race equality work, as well as into the reasons for the occasional total collapse of voluntary organisation in this field, has led REWM to identify various factors critical to the success of REOs. While the factors are not entirely discrete, the most vibrant organisations demonstrate to a large degree the following nine features.

- clear aims, objectives and priorities,
- strategic awareness and positioning,
- strong links with local communities,
- strong links with public authorities and other service providers,
- autonomy and independence,

Working for a local race equality organisation

- relevant, and reliable service provision,
- sustainability and developmental potential,
- competitive conditions to recruit and retain quality staff, and
- management expertise.

Clear aims, objectives and priorities

The successful REO has clear aims and objects, presents them clearly, translates them into a comprehensive work programme commensurate to the staffing resources available, and establishes measurable outcomes which it pursues vigorously. Staff understand the vision, what is expected of them, and have an ambitious 'can-do' mentality. The organisation sets out precisely what it is about and what it is going to do, goes out and does it, and then makes sure it demonstrates publicly what it has succeeded in doing. The process of clarifying aims is particularly important in a context of rapidly changing circumstances. The external factors impacting on local equality work lead to the need for a constant revision of objectives and outcomes, and of the work programme devised to deliver them. The effects of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights, government prioritisation of community cohesion issues, public authorities' race equality duty, and the development and evolution of Local Strategic Partnerships and Local Area Agreements need constantly to be reviewed. Pronounced specialisation may be required in regard, for example, to race and faith work, community cohesion, and urban regeneration.

Race equality in local communities

Strategic awareness and positioning

Equality organisations that fail to understand the power structures in which they operate, or the changing social climate, rapidly become isolated and irrelevant. Failure to sustain or generate increased economic resources impacts directly on the organisation's ability to deliver its objectives, but, in the long run, the inability to sustain or win political allies, or to enter into partnerships (or conversely, to avoid creating enemies) is equally damaging.

Avoiding a 'silo mentality'

If it is to have any relevance at all, an REO has to work closely with the public, private and voluntary sectors, and local communities themselves, to tackle social problems of health, crime, education, transport, housing and the local environment, each with its own significant (in)equality components. An REO must avoid adopting an inward-looking 'silo mentality' and turn itself wholeheartedly outwards, working always at the interface with other agencies in the public, private, voluntary and community sector. In this respect, it has to become an 'inside-out' organisation, recognising that the only effective way of promoting and mainstreaming equality is in its relationship with others. Its effectiveness will be judged only on the way these relationships bring about changes in other social institutions.

Working for a local race equality organisation

Strong links with local communities

An REO must have close links with the communities it has been set up to serve. These communities of interest, or of residents, need to be sharply defined and targeted in line with the need for clarity of organisational vision. Some of the more vulnerable groups with which race equality organizations must engage are new and potential user groups. As might be expected, the groups with which established support agencies are least likely to relate to, meet with on a regular basis, or involve in the consultation process, are the ones least likely to receive equality of treatment in service provision or in other respects.

Links with potential client groups

The degree to which an equality organisation establishes and sustains supportive links with the communities it purports to serve is a central justification for its continued existence. An equality organisation that has little or no contact with groups, such as Gypsies and Travellers, asylum seekers or refugees, black and minority ethnic communities living in isolated rural areas, victims of Islamophobia, mixed-race people, or alienated and excluded white communities, yet claims the right to speak out on behalf of their interests, can have little credibility. REOs have the further task of improving relationships between communities that live separate or 'parallel lives' and which frequently exhibit their mistrust for one another (see Chapter Six). Bridge-building activities require the bridge builder to have firm foundations on either side of the divide.

Race equality in local communities

Strong links with public authorities and other service providers

The government is committed to raising standards and improving services across the full range of public services. Success involves reaching all sections of the community, especially the most disadvantaged. Many public authorities have equality targets aimed at raising the standard of their services to particularly vulnerable groups. In addition, the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 places a statutory duty on listed public authorities to promote race equality. Public authorities which have to produce race equality schemes are required to consult with the general public and service users on how best to ensure all racial groups are treated equally. Public authorities working in partnership are also expected to draw up a joint race equality strategy. The duty to promote race equality has now been extended to cover two other equality strands: gender and disability.

Autonomy and independence

Unlike large impersonal public authorities, voluntary sector bodies are regarded as being close to communities and in a strong position to articulate and aggregate local needs. The voluntary sector is thought to play a useful role in responding innovatively to emerging needs, in augmenting and plugging gaps in existing services, and in pressuring local government and public authorities to improve their practice. While being encouraged to work in partnership with local authorities, such as the police and local councils, and to seek funding from them, equality organisations should have sufficient freedom,

Working for a local race equality organisation

autonomy and critical space to speak out against what they may judge to be unfairness in the operation of the public services.

Relevant and reliable service provision

Just as it should be clear about its aims and objects, and the groups it serves, an REO must be precise about the services it will provide and make them known to users and potential users. It has to be flexible in catering for the needs of its clients while, at the same time, maintaining its claim to specialist expertise. As a small organisation, it has to specialise and focus on what it is good at. Failure to satisfy expectation once generated, might jeopardise any further service level agreement and funding. There is a strong case for greater organisational specialisation in areas such as community cohesion projects and conflict resolution, or public education and awareness-raising. There is also the need to coordinate the various elements of equality work at local level and to incorporate them into a comprehensive local equality strategy or plan. In deciding on service range, the views of potential clients and user groups have to be taken into account. It is clear, for example, that local communities want complainant aid and victim support: services involving one-to-one casework and usually requiring expensive legal expertise. Funding for these kinds of service is not easy to obtain. For an REO to succeed, it is essential that it gets clear what services it wishes to provide and specialise in, and ensures that they remain relevant, reliable and accessible to all who need them. A scenario of 'mission drift' in search of funding has to be avoided if an REO is to succeed, not

Race equality in local communities

only on its own terms but, more critically, on those of others.

Sustainability and development potential

An REO has to be of a sufficient size and capacity to be able to undertake the jobs expected of it. The achievement of critical mass is essential to an equality body's success. Without a sufficient size it is unable to deliver services in sufficient quantity or quality. REO staff who are unable to specialise, or to hone their skills, rapidly relinquish any claim to be expert in their field. Overworked, they soon lose any creative get-up-and-go and resort to the kind of routine response that inevitably fails to bring about change. The key is the acquisition of income to pay for a complement of suitably-qualified staff. Paradoxically, as a result of the need for voluntary sector managers to persuade others to give their organisations money, the success of an REO's senior staff is no longer judged on the basis of knowledge and skill in the field, but on entrepreneurial skills, demonstrated by the speed with which the budget expands. A good manager is seen as one who is able to attract funding.

Competitive conditions to recruit and retain quality staff

Conditions of service in REOs have deteriorated in recent years. Nationally-agreed pay scales have been abandoned, and the CRE/REC pension scheme has been closed. If the staff of an REO are to provide quality services, they need attractive conditions, including opportunities for training and development.

Working for a local race equality organisation

This can only partly be achieved through higher rates of remuneration. Financial stability of the organisation, with permanent appointments, and some measure of career progression, would enhance staff prospects and, in the longer term, improve the quality of the service on offer. It is essential that an REO attracts staff who are sufficiently knowledgeable and skilled to provide advice and consultancy services that can be relied upon and respected. It needs to employ enough people to allow for specialisation. Increasingly, a requirement (particularly in this field) is for advice and decisions to be evidence-based, with the implication that some staff at least should have current knowledge of research techniques.

Management expertise

Management expertise is essential in any small organisation hoping to tap into a multiplicity of funding streams, to respond to the conditions imposed by different funding bodies, to elicit support from local communities, and to provide them with relevant high-quality services, as well as to mount successful projects and build a motivated team of staff. Indeed, precisely because REOs are often small organisations and comparatively politically and financially fragile, the senior staff member must have considerable management knowledge, skills and experience. Otherwise, organisations will fail, or at the very least, fail to live up to expectations. Having a good manager is a prerequisite for all successful organisational endeavour, and probably even more so in small voluntary sector service delivery agencies. Good highly-motivated and committed managers

Race equality in local communities

rarely emerge naturally, have often benefited from expensive management training, and come at a price.

Essential management skills

The essential management skills are entrepreneurship and financial management, human resource management (with sound knowledge of employment law), project management (projects and services have to be delivered on time to specification), and, specific to the job, diversity management. A knowledge of quality, contracts, and estates management does not come amiss, either. A manager will not be respected by a chair, executive committee, funders, public or private sector managers, politicians, or members of local communities, if these skills are not apparent on the job. Advice given to others on, for example, management of diversity, will not be appreciated if it is apparent that the advice giver is an incompetent manager.

Chapter Four

Race equality policy in social and historical context.

Overview. Chapter Four explores the process of immigration, the sometimes violent reaction to it, legislation enacted to control immigration, and current government immigration strategy. This is followed by an account of the forty-year history of legislation to outlaw racial discrimination. Finally, mention is made of key government initiatives to alleviate racial disadvantage and discrimination in cities and towns where immigrants first came to settle and which are now established as areas of minority ethnic community residential concentration. The chapter also shows how voluntary organisations concerned with race relations helped to fashion events and have in turn been fashioned by them.

Emergence of voluntary sector immigrant community support groups

Post-Second-World-War immigration, hostile public attitudes towards it, and the legislation to restrict the flow of migrants, led directly to the emergence of a host of local voluntary organisations opposed to racial prejudice, discrimination and colour bars and seeking to bring about understanding, friendship and reconciliation between races and nations. Grass-roots political pressure for state intervention to put a stop to racialism finally resulted in the creation of a legal framework in which the voluntary sector could play

Race equality in local communities

its part, by taking up everyday incidents of discrimination and abuse.

Campaigning for resources for immigrant areas.

Local authorities, trade unions and community groups campaigned for more national resources to be targeted at districts whose public services were struggling to cope with demand from local people, including black and minority ethnic residents and newly-arrived immigrants. Many race relations organisations originated in urban areas as pressure groups campaigning for the civil rights of New Commonwealth immigrants experiencing discrimination in employment, housing, and service provision. (Some of their older members, however, had a longer pedigree, having been involved before the Second World War in organisations such as the International Friendship League.)

Local organisations improving relations between nations, races, ethnic groups, and communities.	
International Friendship League	1930s
Commonwealth Welfare/Advisory Council	1950s
Council for Racial Harmony	1965
Community Relations Council	1968
Racial Equality Council	(late) 1980s
Racial Equality Partnership	(circa) 1997
Equality and Diversity Partnership	2006
Antecedent organisations have often been transformed by their members into subsequent ones, maintaining a degree of continuity in aim and objective.	

Race equality policy

Government tripartite race relations policy

The government stance on race relations has remained remarkably consistent since 1965, when the then Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, advocated the integration of existing immigrants, a ban on racial discrimination, and more effective immigration control. Successive governments have all sought to tackle the complexity of relations between the majority white ethnic population and more recently-settled black and minority ethnic populations with a set of policies consisting of :

- immigration control to reduce ‘pressure’ or ‘tension’,
- legislation to prevent racial discrimination, and
- geographically-targeted welfare initiatives to alleviate disadvantage and inequality.

A fourth policy: community cohesion

Since 2001, this historic tripartite approach has been supplemented with a further policy aimed at bringing about:

- greater community cohesion by measures to promote common values and to build bridges between different ethnic communities (see Chapter Six).

These goals continue to determine the context in which local race equality work takes place.

Immigration

Employment opportunities: chain migration.

Race and ethnic inequality in Britain is a product of post-Second-World-War migration, a process resulting mainly from economic 'pull factors' and the politically-generated counter-response of immigration control. Immigrants were attracted to Britain by the opportunities for paid employment, sometimes referred to as 'pull factors', which allowed them to improve their lives and those of their family members to whom they often sent remittances, or who followed them when they became established in the new country. The perceived or reported success of the first to arrive encouraged other relatives, friends and neighbours to follow, resulting in what has been termed 'a chain migration', and the eventual emergency in urban areas of Britain of 'ethnic villages' or residential clusters of immigrants from the same sending localities.

Migration encouraged by war, famine and persecution

Other reasons for immigration were 'push factors', such as war, famine and persecution, as exemplified by the arrival of Asians from Kenya in 1967 and from Uganda in 1972, Vietnamese refugees in 1979, the Kurds in 1991, and more recently by asylum seekers from countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, the former Yugoslavia, and Zimbabwe.

Race equality policy

'Push' and 'pull' factors

Both 'push' and 'pull' factors are involved in decisions to migrate. The push of poverty, unemployment, or persecution at home, makes the pull of comparative prosperity, work opportunities, or the prospect of freedom elsewhere, more attractive. Migrations resulting from extreme push factors, such as mass population expulsion, or the threat of genocide, however, differ in important respects from migrations inspired by the promise of improved economic opportunities. The former entail the exodus of whole populations: adults, children and elderly, in search of a refuge or permanent new home, often with the recognition that there will be little chance of return. The latter usually involve adventurous adults exploring opportunities on offer before deciding whether to stay temporarily or permanently, to send for dependants, or to transfer their assets or allegiance to their new country of residence.

Refugee status

The distinction between migration arising from extreme 'push' factors and migration from the 'pull' of economic opportunity is reflected in the separate legal arrangements made, on the one hand, for asylum seekers and refugees and, on the other, for economic migrants (e.g. those with work permits, or seasonal agricultural workers). The 1951 United Nations Convention defines refugees as persons with a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, who are outside their country of nationality and are unable or, owing

Race equality in local communities

to their fear, are unwilling, to return to it. In the United Kingdom, an asylum seeker is someone who has applied for, but not yet obtained, refugee status, while a refugee has been given that status and has leave to stay in the country of refuge.

Three principal waves of immigration

Three main waves of immigration to the United Kingdom are often distinguished: the first, in the 1940s, comprising people displaced from Europe after the second World War, the second, in the 1950s and 1960s, consisting of New Commonwealth immigrants from the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent, and the third, occurring currently, made up of immigrants from countries which joined the European Union in 2004. Immigration has occurred at other times, too, as a result of relatives joining families already resident, and people seeking asylum.

Population of Britain by ethnicity

The 2001 census showed Britain's ethnic mix to be 92.1% (54.85 million) white, 4% (2.37 million) Asian or Asian British, 2% (1.19 million) Black or Black British, 1.2% (0.71 million) mixed, Chinese 0.4% (0.24 million), and Other 0.3% (0.18 million). Britain's Asian and Black population consists in the main of the second wave of post-Second-World-War migrants, relatives and their descendants born in Britain. The race equality movement has always insisted that people born in Britain of immigrant parents are British and that it is absurd to refer to them (as some journalists did) as 'second-generation immigrants'. A majority of the members of ethnic

Race equality policy

communities established by the second wave of migration has now been brought up and educated in Britain and has in turn started its own families. This group of second wave immigrants and their descendants, and its relationship with the majority white population, has traditionally been the main focus of the work of established race equality organisations.

The size of the 'third wave'

By 2005-06, Home Office sources reported a third wave of Eastern European migrants (mainly from Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia) of 427,095 employed people, as well as admitting to the likely presence of between 250,000 to 500,000 recent illegal immigrants.

Immigrants as producers

A buoyant and expanding British economy has continued to require workers, particularly in areas of labour shortage. Jobs requiring specialised skills, or unskilled, seasonal, and poorly-paid work can, in many cases, only be filled by migrant workers. As producers, immigrants have been welcomed as the solution to an acute labour shortage by managers whose interests and responsibilities have been to maintain production or to provide affordable public services.

Race equality in local communities

National origin of immigrants to Britain (Census 2001, plus Home Office 2004-06 figures for Poland)	
Country of origin	Number
India	466,416
Pakistan	320,767
Poland	264,560
Germany	262,276
Caribbean	254,740
USA	155,030
Bangladesh	154,201
South Africa	140,201
Kenya	129,356
Italy	107,002
Australia	106,404
Hong Kong	94,611
France	94,178
Nigeria	88,105
Cyprus	77,156
Canada	70,145
Sri Lanka	67,832
New Zealand	57,916
Spain	54,104
Turkey	53,964
Acknowledgement: <i>The Independent</i> , 23.8.06	

Other features of a migrant workforce

Migrant workers may be attractive to employers for other reasons too. They may be highly motivated, willing to please, and anxious to make the most of the opportunities presented to them. They might agree to work for lower wages and poorer conditions in casual,

Race equality policy

insecure, or seasonal positions, and to take on the unpleasant, poorly-regarded, or low status work, or night shifts, rejected by other employees. They might be ignorant or less aware of their employment rights and benefits, work rules, health and safety regulations, and collective agreements, and might not be members of trade unions. If they have entered the country illegally, they will not be able to seek legal redress and will constantly live in fear of being found out and be prone to intimidation, blackmail and exploitation.

Opposition to immigration

Immigrants as consumers

As consumers of limited social resources, such as housing, health care, and education, however, immigrants and their families have been viewed in a negative light, as exacerbating shortages and competing unfairly with residents who have lived all their lives in an area and see themselves as having a prior claim on the social entitlements of the welfare state. This perception of immigrants as somehow jumping the queue or undeservedly benefiting at others' expense has given rise to social unrest and organised political pressure to end immigration altogether or at least to introduce stringent legal controls over it.

Anti-immigrant riots

Opposition to immigration has at times taken the form of violent street protest and riots, as in the case of the Nottingham riots of August 1958, the London Notting

Race equality in local communities

Hill riots of September 1958, and the Dudley riots of July 1962. In Nottingham, fights between white and black people broke out after a black man was seen talking to a white woman. Later, thousand of white people took to the streets shouting 'let's get the blacks' and 'let's lynch them'. Twenty-four people were arrested, five of whom were sent to prison for three months. In Notting Hill, a series of individual attacks took place on black men. Gangs of white teenagers (referred to as 'Teddy Boys') went 'nigger hunting', armed with knives and sticks. After an open-air fascist meeting, a crowd of white youths ran amok shouting 'get the niggers' and knocking down anyone in their path. In Dudley, a chanting mob of white people, brandishing sticks, chair legs, coshes and bottles, advanced 'like a pack of wolves after their prey' on a street known to house black people. The lawlessness continued for three nights, black people were injured, and 58 people were arrested.

More recent violence

Attacks on blacks and ethnic minority newcomers are not confined to history. Racial harassment and attacks on individuals still take place on a regular basis. On the Caia Park Estate in Wrexham in June 2003, a fight in a public house between Kurdish refugees and local white people escalated into two nights of violent fighting, with children as young as nine seen hurling stones and igniting lines of petrol, as the police struggled to keep law and order. Individual residents were reported as saying they weren't racist but didn't agree with the Iraqis being there, and that they should be 'sent home'.

Race equality policy

Explanations for hostility towards immigrants

From the 1950s, various explanations have been offered for the hostility and antagonisms expressed by sections of the British population towards immigrants. While the first wave of European migrants displaced by the Second World War also reported hostility, the race riots of the late 1950s and early 1960s described above seemed to be of a greater virulence and magnitude. Discriminatory behaviour was explained at the time by three different hypotheses. In the light of the current third wave of migration, they are worth restating.

Immigrant host, colour-class, and stranger hypotheses

Sheila Patterson (1963) described an ‘immigrant-host’ relationship in which ‘colour is only one, albeit an important one, of many factors influencing and complicating a particular immigrant host relationship’. Kenneth Little (1972), basing his views on the Cardiff Bay area, proposed that there was a ‘colour-class’ relationship where, as a result of a legacy of the white colonial domination of empire, white people saw blacks and Asians as occupying the very lowest social class position, and were reluctant to associate with them for fear of jeopardising their own tenuous status. Michael Banton (1957) adopted a ‘stranger’ hypothesis, in which black and Asian immigrants were cast as archetypal strangers, both in appearance and behaviour, in a society where mild xenophobia was the norm. But because black people refused any longer to accept their customary lowly

Race equality in local communities

status, white people had now to agree to accept them as equals.

Arguments for immigration

Proponents of immigration argue that migrants provide an additional workforce fulfilling job vacancies which could not otherwise be recruited to, given the conditions of employment and the wages on offer. At times of economic upturn, labour shortages can be avoided and wage inflation kept down. New migrants are usually young, healthy and economically active, and without dependants. While paying taxes, they draw little from the welfare state in the form of health or welfare benefits and make an overall once-and-for-all contribution to the exchequer.

Arguments against immigration

Opponents of immigration are likely to emphasise that immigrants are in competition with other workers for jobs, a situation likely to be exacerbated by economic recession, and this is likely to keep down wage levels. Industry will also have no incentive to become more efficient, for example, by investing in labour-saving measures. Migration will invariably lead to increased and unbearable pressure for everyone on housing, health, and welfare facilities and, eventually, school places. In addition, the newcomers are often perceived as being sufficiently culturally distinctive from the settled population, to challenge their values, endanger their way of life, and lead to a serious destabilisation of the local community. Disturbances like those described above are cited as reasons for opposing further immigration and arguing that

Race equality policy

communities with widely differing values and cultures cannot live together in peace and harmony.

Enduring history of the immigration debate – Enoch Powell

The debate on the advantages and disadvantages of immigration has continued in much the same form for half a century. In his notorious ‘river of blood’ speech on 20 April 1968, Enoch Powell, the Conservative Party’s shadow defence spokesman, spoke of ordinary people finding ‘their wives unable to obtain hospital beds in childbirth, their children unable to obtain school places, their homes and neighbourhoods changed beyond recognition, their plans and projects for the future defeated’. He went on to describe the policy for integration as a dangerous delusion, unacceptable to immigrants who aimed to preserve and sharpen racial and religious differences with a view to exercising domination over the rest of the population (Powell, J.E., 1969, pp. 281 – 90).

The current debate on ‘the third wave’

Nearly forty years later, as this chapter was being written in August 2006, a similar argument was raging over the effects of admitting migrants from eastern Europe and, in particular, Romania and Bulgaria, countries due to accede to the European Union on 1 January 2007.

Race equality in local communities

In favour of admitting immigrants to Britain

The Director General of the CBI is reported as saying that the migrants have helped with skill shortages across the economy. The organisation, Business for New Europe, including representatives of companies such as Reuters, Carphone Warehouse, Sainsbury, and the London Stock Exchange, argue that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have missed his economic growth targets without the migrants from former Soviet bloc nations. The construction industry indicated that it would have insufficient capacity to complete the government's building programme, including plans for thirty major hospital projects, without new migrant labour. Dr Beverley Malone, General Secretary of the Royal College of Nursing, claimed that the contribution of overseas nurses to the National Health Service was as staggering as it was welcome and the NHS would be struggling without them. (*The Independent*, 23.08.06).

Against admitting immigrants to Britain

At the same time, fears were being expressed over the consequences of admitting any more immigrants. *The Daily Telegraph* (18.08.06) claimed that an unchecked flow of workers from overseas would harm the job opportunities of the young and unskilled, *The Daily Mail* (17.08.06) that unemployment has soared because of thousands of workers arriving from eastern Europe, *The Sun* (18.08.06) that the earnings of British builders and manual workers had fallen by 50% as a flood of European migrants drove down wages, *The Times* (31.07.06) that according to a leaked government report, schools and hospitals

Race equality policy

would struggle to cope with an influx of people from eastern Europe, and the *Daily Star* (24.07.06) that Britain would be swamped by up to 145,000 poverty-stricken migrants from Bulgaria and Romania. John Reid, the Labour Party Home secretary, was reported as being convinced that the British public was worried by the possible strain on the housing and public services if restrictions were not placed on immigrants from the two countries (*The Independent*, 21.08.06).

Stopping immigration, repatriation

Governments are periodically faced with popular ‘moral panics’ over allegedly ‘overwhelming’ immigrant numbers, press hysteria, and agitation by extreme right-wing and racist political groups, to terminate all further migration and to deport or repatriate immigrants and their families already settled in Britain. They have always succeeded in translating popular pressure to stop immigration into proposals for restricting or controlling immigratory flows.

Acts to control immigration

From the 1960s onwards, successive administrations have introduced a series of measures to control and limit immigration: the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1968, the Immigration Rules 1970, the Immigration Act 1971, the Immigration Rules 1980, the Nationality Act 1981, the Immigration Rules 1983, the Immigration Act 1988, the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996, the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, the Nationality Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, and

Race equality in local communities

the rules on Asylum Appeals 2003. These restrictions have occasionally been offset by moves to ease labour mobility, such as the Maastricht Treaty 1992, which gave citizens of the EEC countries the right to move to and live and work in member states.

Are immigration controls racist?

A question often raised is whether sections of the British public are uniformly opposed to all immigrants or are particularly antipathetic towards those who are black and Asian. Government attempts to control immigration in the past have been criticised not for curtailing the flow of migration, but specifically for being racially discriminatory: they obstructed, in particular, the flow of black and Asian people. Is it a mere coincidence that the current wave of migration from Eastern Europe is white? Sarah Spencer (1998, p.83) summed up the issue succinctly: 'The reason that immigration policy has not contributed to an improvement in attitudes towards members of minorities is that the message of immigration policy – that black and Asian people should be kept out of Britain where possible – blatantly contradicts the message of race relations policy, that they are welcome members of British society'.

Adoption of economically-rational immigration policy

Recognising the essential contribution made to the economy by migrant workers, the government published a white paper in 2002 on nationality, immigration and asylum policy, entitled *Secure Borders, Safe Haven, Integration with Diversity in*

Race equality policy

Modern Britain. It proposed that migration should be managed to meet the sectoral needs of the economy and set out the argument that, by allowing limited economic migration, abuse of the asylum system would be reduced, thus restoring asylum as a means of affording protection to the people who needed it.

Five- year strategy for asylum and immigration

In February 2005, the government published its five-year strategy for asylum and immigration. It proposed that the United Kingdom should adopt a rational and managed approach to migration as it was vital to economic growth. The aim was to identify and attract persons who had the most to contribute to the economy by filling gaps in the labour market (including the public services, such as health and education). The system would select migrants who were highly skilled or prepared to take on jobs that could not be filled from the domestic labour force or from the European Union. Employers would, as was previously the case, be expected to try to recruit from the UK and the expanded EU, before recruiting anyone from outside the EU.

Proposals for a points-based system

In March 2006, the Home Office produced its proposals for a points-based system of immigration control which recognised five categories of economic migrants:

- highly skilled individuals,
- skilled workers with a job offer, to fill gaps in the labour force,

Race equality in local communities

- limited numbers of low-skilled workers to fill specific temporary labour shortages,
- students, and
- youth mobility and temporary workers (for a limited time period).

Race relations legislation

In the face of mounting evidence of widespread discrimination against New Commonwealth immigrants and their British-born family members, the second strand of government race relations policy was to enact a series of race relations laws, each acknowledging the weakness of the earlier Act and seeking to strengthen its scope. Since 1965, over the course of more than forty years, there have been six Acts relating to or affecting race relations and providing the operational framework for race equality work at both national and local levels. These are the Race Relations Acts, 1965, 1968, 1976, 2000 (Amendment), 2003 (Amendment Regulations), and the Equality Act 2006. Their provisions and implications are explored briefly below.

The first Race Relations Act 1965

As early as 1950, the Labour MP, Reginald Sorenson, tried unsuccessfully to introduce a private member's bill in parliament to outlaw racial discrimination in public places. It was not until 1965, following the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, that parliament was persuaded to pass its first Race Relations Act. This defined racial discrimination as treating one person less favourably than another on the grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origin, and was

Race equality policy

intended to prevent 'colour bars' in public places. The Act made it a civil offence to refuse a person access on racial grounds to public places, such as hotels, public houses, restaurants, cinemas, public transport, or any place run by a public authority. It also became unlawful to refuse to rent accommodation to people because of their colour. At the same time, incitement to racial hatred was made a criminal offence. While, in the political climate of the time, the Act was a notable achievement, it did not prohibit discrimination in employment and did little to stop it in housing.

The Race Relations Board

A three-member Race Relations Board was set up to oversee the legislation, with a brief to settle grievances through conciliation (rather than by seeking legal redress) but, if it failed, it could refer matters to the Attorney General who could take cases to the County Court. Campaigners against racial discrimination, including members of the Race Relations Board itself, argued that the 1965 Act was ineffective because it failed to tackle systemic discrimination in employment, housing and education by imposing proper legal sanctions.

The Race Relations Act 1968

The 1968 Act extended the law by prohibiting racial discrimination in employment, the provision of goods, facilities and services, housing, trade union membership and advertising, but it still did not deal with government services and functions, including the police. Small residential dwellings, where the

Race equality in local communities

landlord or family members lived in the house, and small businesses with fewer than 25 employees, were also exempted from the provisions. The Act enlarged the Race Relations Board to twelve members and gave it the power to approach the courts directly. The Board investigated complaints, agreed settlements, and started legal proceedings if the Act were breached.

The Community Relations Commission

In addition, the 1968 Act created the Community Relations Commission to promote harmonious community relations by undertaking research, advising the Home Secretary, and making grants to voluntary organisations sharing the same aim, such as community relations councils (which later became race equality councils). The 1968 Act's main limitation was that successful prosecution required not only proof of discrimination but proof of discriminatory intent.

The Race Relations Act 1976

Accepting the inadequacy of previous legislation, the government built on the 1968 Act to ban discrimination in housing, education, employment, vocational training, residential and commercial tenancies, and in the way goods and services were provided. The grounds of colour, race or ethnic or national origin were widened to include nationality. Most significantly, the Act distinguished two forms of discrimination. Direct discrimination consists of treating someone less favourably on racial grounds. Indirect discrimination occurs when persons are made

Race equality policy

to meet a requirement unrelated to race, but which disproportionately affects them as members of a particular racial group. Individual complainants now had direct access to justice through employment tribunals (for employment-related matters), and to County Courts in England and Wales, or Sheriff Courts in Scotland (for goods and services-related matters).

Commission for Racial Equality, 1977

The 1976 Act also created the Commission for Racial Equality, with the three duties of eliminating racial discrimination, promoting equality of opportunity and good race relations, and keeping the race relations legislation under review. The new body replaced the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission. It had powers to approach the courts to enforce the law, to conduct formal investigations of organisations it had reason to believe were discriminating, and to issue legally-enforceable non-discrimination notices.

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000

Following a CRE review of the 1976 legislation and the Macpherson report's criticism of the Metropolitan Police, the Race Relations Act was amended in 2000 to make it unlawful for public authorities to racially discriminate, directly or indirectly, in the exercise of their public functions, and to introduce a general positive duty to promote racial equality and good race relations. In addition, many types of public authority are required to perform specific duties such as publishing a race equality scheme describing how the

Race equality in local communities

organisation intends to go about ensuring its policies eliminate unlawful discrimination, and promote equality of opportunity and good race relations. Most public authorities now also have a legal obligation to monitor the ethnicity of job applicants and employees to prevent discrimination.

Race Relations Act (1976) Amendment Regulations 2003

This change incorporated the European Union Directive on Race (proposed in Article 13 of the 1999 Treaty of Amsterdam) into British law. Indirect discrimination and harassment were given a new legal meaning, a new burden of proof was introduced, and the right given to bring a claim against a former employer.

Equality Act 2006

The Equality Act 2006 created a new body called the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR) to replace and take over the work of the three existing equality commissions (the Equal Opportunities Commission, the Commission for Racial Equality, and the Disability Rights Commission) and, in addition, to take responsibility for promoting human rights and equality in relation to sexual orientation, religion or belief, and age. The CEHR's duties are to promote understanding and good practice on equality, diversity and human rights, promote equality of opportunity between people in the different groups protected by discrimination law, work towards the elimination of unlawful discrimination and harassment, and promote good relations between

Race equality policy

members of different groups and between members of those groups and others in the wider society.

Seven strands of unlawful discrimination

The seven groups in question are defined as classes of person sharing a common attribute in respect of age, disability, gender, reassignment of gender, race, religion or belief, or sexual orientation. As well as establishing the CEHR, the Equality Act makes it unlawful to discriminate on grounds of religion or belief and sexual orientation in the provision of goods, services and the exercise of public functions, and places a duty on public authorities to promote equality of opportunity between women and men and to prohibit sex discrimination and harassment in the exercise of public functions. As with the CRE, under Section 44 of the Race Relations Act, the CEHR is permitted to make grants to organisations pursuing the same aims as itself (Section 17).

Welfare initiatives

The third aspect of government policy relating to race relations were measures taken to help with the integration of new arrivals, to relieve the pressures and tensions their presence was felt to impose on areas where they settled and the public services available to them, and to improve the conditions generally of poor and disadvantaged people – many of them ethnic minorities – living in deprived inner-urban neighbourhoods. The rest of this chapter provides a brief account of significant government initiatives over the last forty years that have been aimed at alleviating the conditions of hardship and

Race equality in local communities

deprivation experienced by different ethnic communities (including whites) in the towns and cities.

The National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants

In 1965, the Home Office White Paper, *Immigration from the Commonwealth*, recommended the establishment of a permanent body, the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigration (NCCI) with a full-time liaison officer to encourage and coordinate efforts to integrate New Commonwealth immigrants. The NCCI promoted the establishment of local committees which appointed Community Relations Officers whose salary was met half by the NCCI and half by the local authority. Today's local voluntary sector race equality organisations, many of which are still funded in part by the national Commission for Racial Equality and their local authority, were born as a consequence of this collaboration.

Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966

In addition to the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 to restrict immigration, and the first Race Relation Act 1965 to outlaw racial discrimination, the third element of government policy was to give increased financial assistance to those areas most affected by the influx and settlement of New Commonwealth immigrants. Urban areas where housing and welfare services were judged inadequate were designated Housing Priority Areas and extra resources were allocated to local authorities to spend

Race equality policy

on them under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966. A 50% rate support grant was provided to pay for extra staff in situations where immigrants with a different language or culture were present. Sometimes community relations councils were able to benefit from the allocation of an education advisory officer post.

Educational Priority Areas

In 1967, the Plowden Report highlighted the fact that many children living in urban areas were educationally disadvantaged because of poor social conditions and run-down schools. Plowden recommended the establishment of a further set of Educational Priority Areas (EPAs) to be identified by a set of factors, one of which was the proportion of children in a school who did not speak English. Under Section 11, extra assistance was given to designated schools and areas in the form of more nursery education, a higher ratio of teachers to pupils, increased salaries for teachers shouldering extra responsibility, and greater spending on projects, books and equipment.

Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant

Following criticism that Section 11 was being used to supplement mainstream education budgets and was failing to reach its intended beneficiaries, this enduring provision was eventually replaced in 1999 by the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant. This resource, which local authorities must bid for, is intended to improve the educational performance of

Race equality in local communities

pupils with English as an additional language and pupils from underachieving minority ethnic groups.

The Urban Aid Programme

In May 1968, shortly after Enoch Powell's river of blood speech, the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, initiated the Urban Aid Programme, which allocated £25 million over a four-year period to be spent on areas with significant educational and housing needs and large numbers of immigrants. The Urban Programme Grant provided 75% of local authority expenditure on approved projects, leaving the local authority to find 25%. In the first phase, 23 local authorities qualified for funding, which was spent mainly on nursery schools, nurseries, and children's homes. The second phase covered all local authorities applying for a scheme meeting identified social needs. The programme was extended for a further four years in 1970 and was used to support a range of projects including community centres, playgroups, nurseries, adventure playgrounds, reception and language training centres, and housing advice centres.

The Urban Programme

Following the Inner Urban Areas Act 1978, the Urban Programme was extensively revised to give inner-city local authorities the power to encourage economic growth in areas known as 'partnership', 'programme', or 'designated'. 'Partnerships' of representatives from central and local government, health and police authorities and voluntary agencies were created in the severely deprived areas of large cities, including Birmingham, Hackney-Islington, Lambeth, Liverpool

Race equality policy

and Manchester-Salford. The Urban Programme lasted until the 1990s but funding was spread thinly across a large number of areas and considered inadequate to meet the increasing demands made on it as unemployment rates (disproportionately higher for ethnic minorities) increased.

Area-based initiatives

Housing and Educational Priority Areas and the Urban Programme were early examples of the area-based approach to urban regeneration which directs resources at neighbourhoods identified by various indices of deprivation, including the proportion of immigrants and/or ethnic minorities living there. As all people living in the area are affected by the policy, funding is not directed specifically to racial or ethnic minority groups but, because they live in these locations, they are likely to be important recipients of the services provided. Where ethnic minorities are heavily concentrated, forming a larger proportion of a local population, there is a danger that even resources allocated on the basis of geographical location will be seen as unfairly benefiting minorities to the exclusion of the white majority, a problem highlighted by the 2001 community cohesion reports. Community development and other projects undertaken by race equality councils and their predecessors, community relations councils, have frequently contributed to the delivery of area-based initiatives of this kind. In September 2006, the Commission for Racial Equality announced that it was conducting a formal investigation into how regeneration projects of this kind were affecting race relations in local communities.

Race equality in local communities

Unemployment in the 1980s

In the late 1970s and 1980s, the decline in manufacturing jobs, particularly in engineering, metal working, textiles and vehicle making, and the restructuring of the economy, led to a rapid increase in unemployment, especially in the north and west and in inner-city neighbourhoods. Despite changes in the methods of recording unemployment (massaging its true extent) unemployment rates rose from 8.1% in 1981 to 11.1% in 1986. For ethnic minorities, they were far higher. Unemployment levels in those areas and for ethnic minorities remained high even when the national economy began to recover. The rising level of unemployment, together with the low wages of unskilled and part-time workers, and the presence of economically-inactive older people, the chronically sick, and single parents on benefits, contributed still further to the poverty and squalor of inner-urban areas.

Rioting as a symbol of the failure of urban policy

The necessity of developing solutions to the emerging urban crisis was further underscored by outbreaks of inner-city rioting in the St Paul's district of Bristol in 1980, in Brixton London, Southall London, Toxteth Liverpool, Moss Side Manchester, and Handsworth Birmingham in 1981, and in Handsworth Birmingham again and Tottenham London in 1985. Unemployment, poverty and anger at mistreatment and racial discrimination involving the police, were all seen as contributing to the alienation of the large numbers of young people of different racial groups

Race equality policy

who participated in the street violence and protest. Youthaid estimated that half of the country's under-18s and a quarter of under-25s in 1984 were out of work, the majority for more than six months. The disturbances, however, were frequently interpreted as 'racial', as well as symbolising the failure or inadequacy of Conservative inner-city policy.

The Manpower Service Commission (MSC)

As the level of unemployment rose in the 1970s and 1980s, the Manpower Services Commission, set up in 1974, developed and expanded various schemes for the young and adult unemployed. Its approach to youth unemployment was based not on an analysis of profound structural economic change but on the assumption that there was a mismatch between young workers' competences and the skills required by employers. From 1978 to 1983, the MSC ran the Youth Opportunities Scheme (YOPS) for young people which, by 1982, was the only source of income for many school leavers.

The Youth Training Scheme (YTS)

YOPS was replaced in 1983 by the Youth Training Scheme (YTS), guaranteeing a year's training, including 13 weeks off-the-job provision, for school-leavers. There were two streams: Mode A, run by employers, and Mode B, made up of a mix of local authority, state, and voluntary provision. Most minority ethnic young people found themselves on Mode B schemes, with little opportunity to gain experience or work in the private sector. In 1990, YTS was replaced by Youth Training, with

Race equality in local communities

responsibility passing in 1991 from the MSC to Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) in England and Wales, and Local Enterprise Companies (LECs) in Scotland.

Role of Community Relations Councils in alleviating youth unemployment.

Heavily involved already in alleviating the disproportionately destructive impact of unemployment on minority ethnic communities, the Community Relations Councils at the time often played a key role in organising YOPs and YTS programmes. In fact, much of local race equality business in the 1980s was taken up with issues of youth unemployment and its negative differential impact on black and Asian school leavers. With other training providers, Community Relations Councils suffered in 1984-5 from the sudden 20% cut in Mode B places imposed by the government when the participation rate failed to reach its predicted level. Their role as training providers for mainly minority ethnic young people faded as unemployment levels fell and the MSC was wound up.

Further development of urban policy

As might be expected, new initiatives in the 1980s aimed at reviving run-down urban areas were concerned with economic regeneration and job creation. Enterprise zones (involving streamlined planning and financial incentives in the form of ten-year local tax exemptions and 100% capital allowances against national taxation), Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) (unelected bodies

Race equality policy

'freed' from local authority and local democratic control), Simplified Planning Zones (with less 'red tape' and initiated by the private sector), and the Urban Development Grant (aimed at persuading financial institutions to invest in inner cities after the riots), were all launched around this time. In the early 1990s, with unemployment still at record levels, the Conservatives launched City Challenge, involving more than thirty local authorities bidding competitively for projects involving partnership with the private sector. Another initiative was the Urban Regeneration Agency (better known as 'English Partnerships') which reclaimed and regenerated derelict land sites. Unlike the UDCs, it was expected to work strategically and in partnership with other public and private agencies. Many of these projects, aimed at improving conditions and reviving the economy impacted directly or indirectly on minority ethnic communities living in inner-urban areas.

Single Regeneration Budget (SRB)

Regeneration activities were frequently and justifiably criticised for being uncoordinated, confusing, and wasteful. The government response was to bring together various programmes in 1994, including the enduring Urban Programme, to form a consolidated urban regeneration fund known as the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), many of whose features were replicated in 2002 in the Regional Development Agencies' single budget approach.

Race equality in local communities

New Deal for Communities (NDC)

The incoming Labour government of 1997 introduced another urban programme, known as New Deal for Communities (NDC), aimed at regenerating small deprived communities (of up to 60,000 people), defined by their poor job prospects, crime levels, educational underachievement, and poor health. Partnerships of public, private and voluntary organisations and community stakeholders were given responsibility for ensuring the projects were delivered to the satisfaction of local residents.

Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU)

The Neighbourhood Renewal Unit (NRU), now part of the Department for Communities and Local Government, was set up in 2001 to oversee the government's strategy for improving conditions in 88 of the most deprived districts in England and to administer regeneration programmes, including New Deal for Communities, the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, and the Safer and Stronger Communities Fund. The NRU professes to attach great importance to involving not only national and local government in the business of urban renewal, but local people, including ethnic minorities directly affected by deprivation.

National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal

The NRU has developed a National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal involving innovative approaches and patterns of investment aimed at narrowing the differences in economic activity,

Race equality policy

housing standards, crime levels, health and educational achievement between the most deprived neighbourhoods and the rest of the country. Improvements are measured against so-called baseline data and floor targets. The National Strategy Action Plan claims to be different from previous area-based programmes because it addresses the immense scale of the problem, including the multitude of severely-deprived neighbourhoods and the full range of attendant problems, not only in respect of the physical infrastructure and housing, but of related levels of unemployment, crime and policing, poor educational attainment, and ill-health. It has also introduced new approaches for empowering local residents and public, private, and voluntary organisations, to work collaboratively, such as Local Strategic Partnerships, and Neighbourhood Management.

Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies (LNRS)

The National Strategy is buttressed at local level by specifically-customised frameworks and local targets for tackling deprivation known as Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies (LNRS) or Community Strategies.

Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF)

Additional resources have been channelled to the deprived areas qualifying for renewal, through the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF), to spend on achieving the national floor targets, as well as local priorities. The Fund aims especially to improve the quality and outcomes of public services in the most deprived areas. It is meant to complement existing

Race equality in local communities

mainstream expenditure on services in areas and for populations in greatest need of increased employment, improved economic performance, reduced crime, better educational attainment, improved health, better housing, and cleaner, safer and greener public spaces. Projects that reduce the disadvantage, discrimination and deprivation experienced by ethnic communities (white, black and Asian) and new migrant communities living in the designated NRF areas should be beneficiaries of NRF expenditure. Funding is also available to encourage and increase community involvement in the renewal process. Currently, the CRE is conducting a formal investigation into regeneration initiatives.

Community Empowerment Fund (CEF)

The government encouraged local communities and voluntary groups to participate in neighbourhood renewal decision-making by providing a Community Empowerment Fund (CEF) to support community and voluntary sector involvement in LSPs in the 88 areas eligible for the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund. The money was disbursed directly to the community and voluntary sectors and the wider community to help them to participate. It was to ensure local people, in particular, minority ethnic and faith communities, women, older people, young people and children, and disabled people were made aware of opportunities for participation and were helped to participate. Along with other discrete funding streams (Community Chest and Community Learning Chest), the CEF has since been incorporated into the Safer and Stronger Community Fund (SSCE) element of the Single

Race equality policy

Community Programme underpinning each area's Local Area Agreement.

Local Strategic Partnerships (LSPs) (2)

Central to the delivery of national and local strategies in Neighbourhood Renewal Areas are Local Strategic Partnerships, as already described in Chapter One. Their key role is to recognise the links between the various facets of deprivation and to encourage joined-up approaches to the services and projects aimed at reducing the differences between the NRF areas and the rest of the country. In 2002, REWM produced a report on promoting race equality and community cohesion through Local Strategic Partnerships. Two traditionally-recognised functions of local race equality work, policy development and community development, are brought together under the umbrella of the LSP, in the shape of public authorities' policies and schemes on race equality, and initiatives to increase local voluntary and community sector representation, including that of ethnic minorities. Local Strategic Partnerships can promote race equality by engaging minority ethnic and race equality organisations in decision-making, supporting projects specifically aimed at improving race equality and community cohesion, and aligning public authority policy and race equality schemes to deliver non-discriminatory local services.

Race equality in local communities

Local Area Agreements (LAA)

In July 2004, the government announced that it intended to enter into Local Area Agreements. These are agreements between national government, local authorities, and other parties, to deliver a set of outcomes aimed at meeting national targets and any local priorities, with each local area deciding on how the agreed outcomes are to be achieved within a pooled budget, and across the full range of policies and services affecting the area and communities within it. Local Strategic Partnerships are seen as playing a key role in negotiating the agreements. The new arrangements, introduced in three tranches from March 2005 to 2007, are intended to improve relationships between central and local government, enhance efficiency, strengthen partnership working, both in deciding priorities and delivering them, and provide a context in which local authorities can exercise 'community leadership'. Within the framework, previously discrete funding streams are consolidated into a set of block grants to achieve national targets and local priorities. (Stronger and Safer Communities, Older People and Health, Children and Young People, Economic Development and Enterprise).

Flexible use of resources

The more flexible use of resources, with fewer funding streams and less bureaucracy, and the greater freedom for local decision-making, accountability and community involvement, are seen as a marked improvement on previous arrangements. Local areas can make use of the flexibility to work across the

Race equality policy

blocks on cross-cutting themes such as race equality and community cohesion. The emphasis remains on widening participation in decision-making and delivery to reflect the diversity of all groups living in an area, including minority-ethnic and faith interests.

Chapter Five

Race equality policy development

Overview. This chapter describes race equality policy development functions in both public and private sectors. Brief accounts are offered of some of the important inquiries into the failure of public services and of the impact these tragic events often had on race relations policy. Arguably, the most influential was the Macpherson report into the death of Stephen Lawrence, which popularised the concept of institutional racism. The report led to the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, obliging public authorities to promote race equality. They are required to produce a race equality scheme or policy identifying the functions or policies that may impact on race equality. After explaining the requirements and implications of the public sector race equality duty, the chapter turns to issues of private sector policy development, citing the Ford Motor Company as an example of poor race relations, before going on to deal with the business case for promoting race equality and managing diversity. The contribution of race equality organisations (REOs) to policy development is emphasised throughout.

The race equality policy function

Most local REOs aspire to develop policy, described in the CRE model constitution as acquainting public, private and voluntary agencies with the realities of racial discrimination and inequality, and persuading them to develop policies and practices that prevent

Developing race equality policy

discrimination and promote equality of opportunity and good race relations. The early race equality movement had to campaign for legislation to make racial discrimination unlawful, and then for the laws to be strengthened, in a climate in which the need for a legal framework and related applied policy to bring about equality of treatment was still very much in dispute. The author recalls members of a local Council for Racial Harmony (later to become Community Relations Council, and then Racial Equality Council) picketing outside a dance hall reputed to have a colour bar, and attending demonstrations pressing for Sikh transport workers to be allowed to wear turbans as part of their uniform. Even today, race equality legislation is still presented as so much unnecessary red tape in a labour market in which market forces are best left to decide the person most suited for the job. Worse and falsely, the legislation is also regarded as ‘a black person’s charter’, giving ethnic minorities privileges over white workers or consumers.

From pressure groups to policy disseminators

In the last forty years, nevertheless, the race equality policy function has shifted from one of articulating the need and campaigning for anti-discrimination policy, to one of transferring or disseminating knowledge, policies and administrative arrangements, derived in the main from a succession of anti-discrimination laws. As a result, REOs have been criticised by radical anti-racists for abandoning their campaigning and policy-making functions in favour of the top-down transfer of government policy initiatives (most recently illustrated from their

Race equality in local communities

detractors' point of view, by their opportunistic acceptance of the government's community cohesion analysis and agenda following the 2001 disturbances in northern towns).

REO policy focus

REOs' policy development function has, in fact, focused on two aspects of the government tripartite policy: the promotional aspects of the race relations legislation, and welfare measures, particularly those aimed at improving the services available to ethnic minorities. While REOs have in the past given advice to individuals on issues of immigration, they have tended to avoid involving themselves in the debates on immigration policy and to downplay the migratory context in which current racial inequalities in Britain were forged and continued to be reinforced.

Criticism of REOs' traditional focus

It remains obvious, nevertheless, that the race equality movement sprang up as a response to the widespread hostility towards the second wave of New Commonwealth immigration in the late 1950s and 1960s: a migration of black and Asian people. One consequence of this legacy is that the policy development engaged in by the REOs is characterised by and, indeed, criticised for its excessive preoccupation with defending the rights of 'second wave' immigrants and their descendants, and for its failure to recognise, adapt to, or serve, the needs of 'third-wave' economic migrants and/or refugees.

Developing race equality policy

Preoccupation with colour and race

Similarly, REOs are widely perceived to be fixated on discrimination based on colour and race (rather than on nationality or national origin), or on the more general denial of human rights, and to restrict their activities to black and Asian clients, rather than to the full range of ethnic and immigrant groups (including white people) who might require their services. REOs' traditional focus on communities that are black or Asian, and of 'second wave' immigrant origin, has also resulted in the accusation that they neglect to undertake anti-discrimination work on behalf of long-established white racial and ethnic groups, such as Gypsies and Travellers, Irish, and Jewish people. In the last five years, most REOs have begun to address these criticisms, to undertake comprehensive needs analyses, and to ensure that their services are directed at a wider range of potential clients.

Raising awareness of race relations law

Since 1965, with the passing of the first Race Relations Act and thereafter with the progressive strengthening of the legislation, REOs have worked within the framework of the law to make local people (usually those immigrants and ethnic minorities most exposed to discrimination) aware of their legal rights. Equally, REOs have pressured those organisations providing goods, services and, after 1968, employment opportunities, to take action to avoid any possibility of their discriminating on the grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origin. REOs' contact with employers and service providers at local

Race equality in local communities

level to ensure a fair deal for the minority ethnic population constituted the basis for their policy work. Of course, REOs could not enforce the law, but they were often in a position to elicit the cooperation of public authorities and companies anxious to avoid the adverse publicity or financial penalty attendant on a discriminatory incident.

Public sector policy focus

Possibly, because of the important role that employment, housing, education and law enforcement play in determining equality of opportunity, REOs tended to focus their policy interventions on public service providers, rather than on the private or voluntary sector. Unlike private companies, where a convincing business case has to be made for change in organisational behaviour, the leadership of many (but not all) public authorities has frequently shared REOs' concern for social justice. Public bodies' willingness to cooperate with REOs has also been reflected in the funding they have sometimes agreed to provide for local race equality projects. Nevertheless, REOs' preoccupation with policy for the public sector has ignored the fact that the vast majority of employees work in the private sector and that there is ample evidence of racial discrimination occurring there.

Public sector race equality policy development

Responding to crisis

REOs' contribution to public sector policy development has often been brought about by the

Developing race equality policy

occurrence of some particularly shocking event, which has had the effect of undermining public confidence (often minority ethnic communities' confidence) in some previously-respected social institution, such as the police, education, mental health, or prison and young offender services. The subsequent scandal, and/or public inquiry and report, have led to various policy recommendations, which local REOs have often campaigned in favour of, or have been involved in implementing. In trying to understand the course of much recent race equality development in the public services, it is instructive to examine the more influential and ground-breaking of these inquiries. A selection of the reports and recommendations of Lord Scarman (1981), Ian Macdonald QC (1989), Sir William Macpherson (1999), Lord Laming (2003), Sir John Blofeld (2003), and Mr Justice Keith (2006) is summarised below. The reports relate in the main to the performance of major public institutions (apart for the Scarman report which deals not only with the actions of the police but with the 1981 Brixton disturbances). Details of other inquiries into community conflict and the breakdown of law and order, however, are provided in the chapter that follows.

The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981: report of an inquiry by the Rt. Hon. the Lord Scarman, OBE (the Scarman report) (1981)

The Brixton Disorders, usually referred to as the Scarman report, is an account of the street disorder that occurred in Brixton, a commercial and residential inner area of South London on 10 to 12 April 1981. The Home Secretary at the time, William Whitelaw,

appointed Lord Scarman to ‘inquire urgently into the serious disorder in Brixton on 10 to 12 April 1981 and to report, with the power to make recommendations’.

The Brixton riot

The Scarman report dealt with the Brixton riots in which a few hundred young people - ‘most, but not all of them, black’ - attacked the police on the streets with stones, bricks, iron bars and petrol bombs, leading to a collapse of law and order and a scale of human injury and property damage ‘comparable to the aftermath of an air raid’. By Saturday evening, 279 policemen and at least 45 members of the public had been injured, large numbers of police and other vehicles damaged or destroyed, and 28 buildings set on fire. The preoccupation of the police in dealing with the riot provided the opportunity elsewhere for widespread looting of Brixton shops.

Lord Scarman

Lord Scarman was born in London in 1911 and went on to become a Judge of the High Court of Justice, Lord Justice of Appeal, and Lord of Appeal in Ordinary. He became chair of four commissions into social and public disorder: Northern Ireland in 1969, the 1974 Red Lion Square riot, the 1977 Grunwick dispute, and the 1981 Brixton disorders, and he was the first senior judge to propose a bill of rights. In his later years, he became increasingly committed to improving life in the inner cities. Originally known as the Charter 88 Trust, the Scarman Trust was set up in 1991, with Lord Scarman as its first chair, to help

Developing race equality policy

young people mobilise their local community assets for democratic involvement and community renewal.

Content of the Scarman report

The Scarman report distinguished between the immediate and the underlying causes of the disorder, describing in some detail social conditions in Brixton and elsewhere where riots occurred (Southall, Toxteth, and Moss Side, and the West Midlands). There were sections on environment, unemployment, housing, leisure and recreation, and the conditions of the black community. Apart from giving a detailed account of the disorder and the general social conditions affecting the inner city community, the report focused on police relations with local communities, policing, and principles of policing, and provided an assessment of the main criticisms levelled at the police. Proposals and recommendations were made in relation to police training, supervision, methods and accountability, more general government policy on ethnic minorities and the inner city, and reform of the law, particularly on stop and search, and sus (suspected persons loitering with intent).

Key Scarman inquiry conclusions

The report found that while the social conditions in Brixton could never justify attacks on the police, arson, or riot, the disorders - which became a riot - could not be fully understood without reference to political, social and economic conditions. These conditions created a predisposition towards violent protest which, if not 'anti-police,' was directed against policemen who were seen as harassing young

Race equality in local communities

people on the streets (Scarman, 1981, p.16). Nevertheless, the report made clear that ‘the direction and policies of the police are not racist’. Scarman ‘totally and unequivocally’ rejected ‘the attack made upon the integrity and impartiality of the senior direction of the Force’. The fault, he believed, lay ‘in errors of judgement and lack of imagination and flexibility, but not in deliberate bias or prejudice’ (ibid p.64). Nevertheless, the police had to carry some responsibility for the outbreak of the disorder. They were partly to blame for a breakdown in community relations, instances of harassment and racial prejudice among junior officers, and a failure to adjust policies to policing a multi-racial society (ibid, p.73). Action had to be taken to make the police more sensitive to and representative of the communities they served.

Recommendations in relation to policing

Examples of the report’s recommendations in relation to the police are as follows. Ways had to be explored of increasing ethnic minority recruitment into the regular police and the Special Constabulary. Scientific methods needed to be developed for screening out police recruits who were racially prejudiced. Police training should be extended to include greater coverage of public order and the development of an understanding of the culture of different ethnic communities. The police probationary period should include time spent in a culturally diverse inner-city area (ibid, pp. 78-84).

Developing race equality policy

Recommendation in relation to Community Relations Councils

Scarman believed that local Community Relations Councils (CRCs) should be at the centre of attempts to foster harmonious race relations, but he was critical of their failure, in his view, to balance the need to keep a dialogue going with authority with the need not to lose credibility with minority ethnic groups. There could be no excuse for the failure of some CRCs to recognise their duty was to foster harmony, not to undermine it. And CRCs should not expect to be recognised as the sole communication channel between official bodies and minority ethnic groups (ibid, pp.110-11).

Murder in the Playground: the report of the Macdonald inquiry (the Burnage report) into racism and racial violence in Manchester schools (1989)

Murder in the Playground, also referred to as the Burnage report, is an account of the events leading up to and surrounding the fatal stabbing on 17 September 1986 of Ahmed Ullah, a thirteen-year-old Bangladeshi student, by Darren Coulburn, a thirteen-year-old white student in the school playground at Burnage High School in South Manchester. The inquiry examined whether there was a racial aspect to Ahmed's death, the extent to which there was a racial dimension to the violence and discipline in Manchester schools generally, and what might be done to eliminate or reduce racial harassment, racial violence, and racism in schools.

The inquiry panel and report

The inquiry, instituted by Manchester City Council, was headed by Ian Macdonald QC, a senior barrister based in London, with expertise in immigration and race relations law. He was accompanied by Lily Khan, a former CRE Commissioner and coordinator for Bangladeshi Homeless Families, Gus John, Director of Education in Hackney, and Reena Bhavnani, an education consultant. The inquiry took evidence in 1987 and presented its report to the City Council in February 1988 but, on the basis of legal advice that the report defamed named individuals, the Council decided not to publish. The *Manchester Evening News* leaked the report's main findings in April 1988, leading eventually to publication in full in 1989. The report ran to thirty-three chapters on themes such as 'murder in the playground', 'racism in Burnage', 'managing Burnage', 'Manchester City Council anti-racist policies'.

Key Macdonald inquiry conclusions

The report reached important conclusions on:

- the need to manage competently and firmly multi-racial environments and institutions,
- the inadequacy of existing methods of community consultation, with recommendations as to how they might be made more meaningful, and

Developing race equality policy

- the dangers of a blind and dogmatic application of multi-cultural and anti-racist policies which were insensitive to the local context.

Importance of managing the multi-racial environment

Burnage High School's management of the stabbing incident and its aftermath was singled out for particularly harsh criticism. Managers had failed to set clear and effective standards of professional conduct, thus undermining the ability of staff to function effectively. They had overlooked the fact that there was more to manage in a school than racism, crucial though combating racism was. Categories such as 'racist' and 'anti-racist' had been treated as fixed and immutable, rather than capable of change through management, with oppositional camps being reinforced rather than reconciled. Managers had ignored the racial polarisation that had occurred at Burnage, the treatment of white students after the murder, the possibility of further racial disorder, and the reality of the experiences of black teachers. The formal management structure had failed the school, which had only got by on the professionalism and commitment of its dedicated staff. The management of a situation in which racism was present required more than a mere formulaic application of a procedure (Macdonald, 1989, pp. 213-14).

Consultation without relinquishing power

The inquiry also concluded that the setting up of Afro-Caribbean and Asian parents' groups, known as Ethnic Minority Advisory Groups (EMAGs) had divided parents along racial lines and caused antagonism, with white parents coming to believe that they had no part to play in the development of anti-racist education, a view that the assessors rejected. The inquiry also thought the Education Department's attempts at consultation with ethnic minority groups were merely a larger scale version of consultation with the EMAGs. Both were examples of those in authority consulting without relinquishing power. Those consulted had no scope to take the department's or school's policies in a direction other than the way it had already decided to go. The agenda were predetermined. The inquiry believed these kinds of consultation should be phased out and replaced by development councils that involved students, teachers, and parents from across the school community.

Inadequacy of 'racism' as a description

The report described the reaction after Ahmed's death of the boy's family, the teachers, pupils, school, city council, education department, and 'community representatives'. The report included a written record of a meeting with community representatives held a day after the killing, kept by John Tummon of Manchester Council for Community Relations, which seemed to show an early insistence that the incident be interpreted as 'racist'. While the assessors accepted the murder was racist, and there was ample

Developing race equality policy

evidence of racism in the school, they felt that this was a partial, incomplete and misleading description, the naïve application of which was to lead to a further undesirable polarisation of the students and surrounding communities. They felt there was nothing contradictory in accepting that, for Asian students, the murder was first and foremost racist and, for white students, it was merely the work of ‘a nutter’ and not racist at all. The pursuit of dogmatic multi-cultural and anti-racist policies at the expense of common sense had led to an increased potential for conflict.

Error of anti-racist policy

The application of moral anti-racist policies had the effect of excluding white students and their parents from responsibility for anti-racist education, with whites perceiving blacks as seeking and receiving special treatment. According to the report, ‘the fundamental error of these morally-based anti-racist policies is that they assume that a complicated set of human relations, made up of many strands, including class, gender, age, size, and race, can be slotted into a simple white versus black pigeon hole... This simple model assumes that there is uniform access to power by all whites, and a uniform denial of access and power to all blacks. Clearly, this is not the case. We do not believe that an effective anti-racist policy can exist unless the other issues are also addressed and dealt with, in particular, class and gender’ (Macdonald, 1989, p.348).

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: report of an inquiry by Sir William Macpherson of Cluny (The Macpherson report) (1999)

The Stephen Lawrence inquiry, also referred to as the Macpherson report, is a thorough and detailed analysis of the actions and investigations undertaken by the police and other agencies in the aftermath of the fatal stabbing of Stephen Lawrence, a black teenager, by a gang of white youths on 22 April 1993. On the 31 July 1997, the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, announced to parliament that he was asking Sir William Macpherson of Cluny to inquire into ‘the matters arising from the death of Stephen Lawrence on 22 April 1993 to date, in order particularly to identify the lessons to be learned from the investigation and prosecution of racially-motivated crimes’ (Macpherson, 1999, p.6).

The Macpherson inquiry panel and report

In addition to William Macpherson, the inquiry panel consisted of Tom Cook, Dr Richard Stone, and Dr John Sentamu, the then Bishop of Stepney. The report of 335 pages, with a further tome of 17 appendices, contained 47 chapters, the final one consisting of 70 recommendations. The report began with a description of Stephen Lawrence’s murder, followed by accounts of the nature of institutional racism, evidence of various witnesses, the suspects, the initial response of the police, the first investigation, the arrests made, interviews, family liaison, the review of the case, the second investigation, and meetings with various police officers.

Developing race equality policy

Defining institutional racism

Chapter Six of the Macpherson report discussed the nature of racism as it might have affected the police investigation of Stephen Lawrence's death. The approach it adopted has impacted heavily on much current race relations policy, and resulted shortly afterwards in the amendment of the Race Relation Act 1976. The opinions of various experts and agencies were given on how the context in which the investigation took place might be described as racist. The Commission for Racial Equality, for example, stated that 'if racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs, or practices, the institution is racist, whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racial intentions'. The CRE defined institutional racism as 'organisational structures, policies, processes and practices which result in ethnic minorities being treated unfairly and less equally, often without intention or knowledge' (ibid p.26).

Macpherson definition of institutional racism

For its purpose in investigating the matters arising from Stephen Lawrence's death, the inquiry panel settled eventually on the following much-quoted definition. Institutional racism is: 'the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping

which disadvantage minority ethnic people' (ibid. p.28).

The role of institutional racism in the police investigation

Perhaps the most curious failure of the chosen definition in the context of the copious material that follows, is the emphasis on the unwitting nature of the racism, when some of the evidence at least seems to bear the alternative interpretation of a conscious intent. Nevertheless, the inquiry found that institutional racism played an important part in the Metropolitan Police Service investigation of the murder, especially in the treatment of the Lawrence family, and of Duwayne Brooks, the surviving victim, and in the failure of the police officers to treat the murder as a racially-motivated crime requiring urgent attention.

Institutional racism in institutions other than the police

The report expressed the view that every institution should examine its policies, practices and outcomes to ensure that no section of the community was disadvantaged. There had to be an unequivocal acceptance of the problem of institutional racism before it could be addressed with the support of minority ethnic communities themselves. Institutional racism was a problem for the whole organisation – not a label to be applied to individuals. Organisations had to examine whether they were acting fairly, whether their services reached all communities they were intended for and met their needs, and whether the

Developing race equality policy

same professional standards were being applied consistently in every situation.

Macpherson report recommendations

Most of the Macpherson report's seventy recommendations applied to the police, but four dealt with education and the role of local authorities. The following bullets summarise the more notable and significant proposals:

- A ministerial priority should be established to increase trust and confidence in policing among minority ethnic communities (1).
- Racist prejudice and disadvantage should be eliminated and fairness demonstrated in all aspects of policing (2).
- Standards in Police Service inspections should be introduced to improve the achievement and quality of policing (5).
- The membership of police authorities should reflect the cultural and ethnic mix of local communities (7).
- The full force of race relations legislation should apply to all police officers, with chiefs of police made vicariously liable for the acts and omissions of their officers (11).

Race equality in local communities

- A racist incident should be defined as one which is perceived to be racist by the victim or any other person (12) and be understood to include both crimes and non-crimes in policing terms.
- Steps should be taken to encourage the reporting of racist incidents and crimes.
- Designated, trained family liaisons officers should be made locally available (23).
- Guidelines for handling victims and witnesses should be developed (29) and contact established with minority ethnic communities to assist with victim support (30).
- The police and CPS should recognise and include reference to evidence of racist motivation at all stages of prosecution (34).
- Racism awareness training with the police services should be reviewed to ensure a positive evaluation of cultural diversity and a full understanding of good community relations are seen as essential to professional policing (48).
- Racist words and acts by police officers should lead to disciplinary proceedings (57).

Developing race equality policy

- Serious complaints against police officers should be independently investigated (58).
- Policing plans should include targets for the recruitment, progression and retention of minority ethnic staff (64).
- Schools should record all racist incidents, report them to parents/guardians, school governors, and LEAs, and publish numbers annually (68).
- Local authorities should implement community and local initiatives to promote cultural diversity and to address racism (70).

The Victoria Climbié Inquiry: report of an inquiry by Lord Laming (January 2003)

The Victoria Climbié inquiry described in detail the circumstances leading to the death on 25 February 2000 of Victoria Adjo Climbié, a young girl from Abidjan, Ivory Coast, living in London. Her great aunt, Marie-Therese Kouao, and Kouao's male friend, Carl John Manning, were convicted of her murder on 12 January 2001 and sentenced to life imprisonment. Victoria arrived in London from France on 24 April 1999. Less than a year later, she was admitted to North Middlesex Hospital covered in bruises, deformed, malnourished and hypothermal. She died from lung, heart and kidney failure shortly afterwards. The post-mortem examination revealed evidence of 128 separate injuries to her body, showing she had

Race equality in local communities

been beaten with a range of sharp and blunt instrument. She had spent her last days living and sleeping in a bath in an unheated bathroom, bound hand and foot inside a bin bag, lying in her own urine and faeces. Manning said Kouao hit Victoria on a daily basis with a shoe, a coat hanger, and a wooden cooking spoon, and struck her on her toes with a hammer.

Victoria Climbié inquiry's terms of reference and composition

The inquiry into Victoria Climbié was set up on 20 April 2001 by the Home Secretary with terms of reference which included establishing the circumstances of death, identifying the social, health and police services sought or required by or in respect of Victoria, Kouao and Manning, and examining the way in which authorities discharged their functions and co-operated with one another. The inquiry panel consisted of Lord Laming, Dr Nellie Adjaye, a consultant paediatrician, John Fox, a police detective superintendent, Donna Kinnair, a nurse and health visitor, and Nigel Richardson, an assistant director of a children and families local authority department. Evidence gathering was completed on 31 July 2002.

Victoria Climbié's journey

The report charts Victoria's journey from Ivory Coast to France and the United Kingdom, the first warning signs of abuse, visits to hospital, visits from a social-worker, contact with a church where the pastor formed the view that she was possessed by an evil spirit, the final four months of her life, and the results

Developing race equality policy

of her post-mortem examination. In answering the question what went wrong, Lord Laming pointed out that Victoria was known to three housing departments, four social services departments, two police service child protection teams, a specialist centre managed by the NSPCC, and had been admitted to two different hospitals because of suspected deliberate harm.

Cross-systems failure

The reality was that these services knew little, or nothing more, about Victoria at the end of the process than they did when she was first referred, and that one social services department formally closed her case on the day that she died. Laming believed that the extent of the failure to protect the child 'was lamentable. It required nothing more than basic good practice being put into operation. This never happened' (Laming, 2003,p.3). The death was a gross failure of the system, showed evidence of widespread organisational malaise, poor management, lack of professional skills, and a totally inexcusable state of affairs. He was also convinced that it was not just 'structures' that were the problem but the skills of the staff who worked in them. The single most important change required was the drawing of 'a clear line of accountability from top to bottom, without doubt or ambiguity about who is responsible at every level for the well-being of vulnerable children'(ibid, pp. 3-6). A list of 108 recommendations on child protection followed.

The issue of race in relation to Victoria

One section (16) of the report explored the question of whether, if Victoria had been white, she would have been treated differently. Outside of the inquiry, prominence had been given to the fact that Victoria's murderers and a high proportion of the staff who had had contact with her were black. Did this mean that racism had not played a part in her case? Ratna Dutt, director of the government's Race Equality Unit, was quoted as follows: 'There is some evidence to suggest that one of the consequences of an exclusive focus on 'culture' in work with black children and families is that it leaves black and ethnic minority children in potentially dangerous situations, because the assessment has failed to address a child's fundamental care and protection needs'. Laming kept wondering whether the failure of the professionals to protect the child might have been partly due to their losing sight of the fact that, whatever her cultural background, she had the same needs as any other seven-year-old girl. In the course of the inquiry, social and health professionals had indeed made remarks indicating assumptions about the culture of the home, for example, the importance of discipline, respect and obedience in African-Caribbean families: which might have led them to a greater tolerance of abuse. 'The focus may have shifted from Victoria's fundamental needs because of misplaced assumptions about her cultural circumstances' (ibid, pp.345-6).

Developing race equality policy

Fear of being accused of racism

The report also pointed out that the professionals might have modified their response to the evidence in front of them out of fear of being thought racially insensitive or racist. One of the doctors involved in the case had remarked 'I was aware that as a white person I had to be sensitive to the feelings of the people of all races and backgrounds, both clinically and with professionals. Maybe some social workers felt they knew more about black children than I did'. Cultural heritage, Laming made clear, should never take precedence over standards of childcare embodied in law. Each child, irrespective of colour or background, had to be treated as an individual requiring care. There could be no excuse for failing to take adequate steps to protect a vulnerable child, simply because the child's cultural background somehow made it inappropriate. A child was a child, regardless of his or her colour, and she had to be kept safe (ibid. pp.346-7). By highlighting the incompetence of agencies and staff in the basic skills of child protection and the dangers of providing spurious cultural justifications for unacceptable treatment, the Victoria Climbié inquiry provided a clear steer away from an earlier preoccupation with multi-cultural and culturally-sensitive social work training and practice.

***Independent Inquiry into the death of David Bennett
(Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire Strategic
Health Authority, December 2003)***

The inquiry investigated the death of David Bennett, a 38-year-old black Caribbean man suffering from schizophrenia, at the Norvic Clinic, Norfolk Mental Health Care NHS Trust, on 30th October 1998. Involvement in a fight with another patient over the use of a telephone, during which he was racially abused, led to his being moved to another ward, where he struck a nurse. He was restrained by other nurses and in the course of the struggle that ensued, collapsed and died.

Inquiry composition and terms of reference

Set up by Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire Strategic Health Authority after consultation with the Department of Health, the inquiry was undertaken by Sir John Blofeld, the chair and retired High Court judge, Professor David Sallah from the University of Wolverhampton, Professor Sashi Sahidharan, consultant psychiatrist, Dr Richard Stone, a former GP with experience of race equality work, and Mrs Joyce Struthers, a member of the Community Health Council. The inquiry's terms of reference were extensive and included examining the care and treatment David Bennett was receiving at the time of the incident, the suitability of his treatment, the extent to which it corresponded with statutory obligations, the degree to which professional judgement had been exercised, and the adequacy of communication with family members. The report gave an account of the course of David Bennett's mental illness, his

Developing race equality policy

treatment and psychiatric care, his last months at the clinic, and the events leading up to and surrounding his death. It also explored issues such as racism in mental health care, mental health diagnoses, medication regimes, the management of challenging behaviour, secure accommodation and family contact. (*Independent Inquiry*, 2003, pp.3-4).

Tackling racism in the mental health services

The report made 22 recommendations to the Secretary of State for Health and the Strategic Health Authority, many of them aimed at improving the way the mental health services responded to racism. People working in these services should receive training in cultural awareness and sensitivity. Managers and clinical staff should be taught to tackle overt, covert, and institutional racism. There should be ministerial acknowledgement of the presence of institutional racism in the mental health services and a commitment to eliminate it. A new national appointment was needed to oversee the improvement of mental health services for ethnic minorities. All mental health services should have a written policy dealing with racist abuse and ensure that their staff were familiar with it: racist abuse had to be addressed immediately it occurred. Efforts had to be made to recruit, retain and promote minority ethnic staff. New strategies should be developed for patients suffering from schizophrenia who did not respond positively to medication. Unlike the Victoria Climbié inquiry, the report seemed less concerned with general systems failure, focusing instead on the failure of the mental health service to tackle racism.

Report of the Zahid Mubarek Inquiry, chaired by the Honourable Mr Justice Keith (June 2006)

The Zahid Mubarek inquiry investigated the attack on Zahid Mubarek, an Asian teenager, at Feltham Young Offender Institution on 21 March 2000, the day he was due to be released. Another young prisoner, Robert Stewart, with whom he shared a cell for six weeks, beat him about the head with a wooden table leg. When prison officers entered the cell, Zahid was barely conscious. His head swelled and he fell into a coma, dying in hospital a week later from his injuries. Months earlier, Robert Stewart had bragged about committing the first murder of the millennium. After the attack on Zahid, the police discovered that he had a violent past, questions had been raised about his mental health, and he professed extreme racist views. He was convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. The fact that he was a violent racist was known to prison officers at Feltham. Not surprisingly, the question was asked of how he had ended up sharing a cell with Zahid Mubarek.

History of the independent public inquiry

Even before Zahid died from his injuries, the Prison Service decided to conduct its own investigation into the attack, to be carried out by Ted Butt, a senior prison service investigating officer. On 17 November 2000, the Commission for Racial Equality announced it would conduct a formal investigation into racial discrimination in the prison service, including the circumstances leading to Zahid Mubarek's murder at Feltham. The Metropolitan Police investigated the events on 21 March 2000 for the purpose of Robert

Developing race equality policy

Stewart's trial but also to find out whether prison service employees should be prosecuted for manslaughter on the basis of gross negligence.

Mubarek family campaign

The Mubarek family felt that only an independent public inquiry would fully reveal the circumstances surrounding their son's death and wrote asking for such an investigation to the minister of state. When their request was turned down, they launched proceedings for a judicial review of the minister's decision. Mr Justice Hooper ruled that a public investigation had to be held to satisfy the obligations imposed by Article 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Home Secretary appealed against the decision to the Court of Appeal which overturned the original ruling. The family then appealed to the House of Lords which restored Mr Justice Hooper's original decision, thus forcing the Home Secretary, David Blunkett, on 29 April 2004, to announce a non-statutory public inquiry into the murder of Zahid Mubarek at Feltham Young Offender Institution, West London.

Mubarek inquiry's terms of reference

The inquiry's terms of reference were to investigate the death of Zahid Mubarek, and the events leading up to the attack on him, and make recommendations about the prevention of such attacks in the future. The inquiry team had seventeen members including the chair, advisers, counsel, and legal, communications and office support.

Why did Robert Stewart attack Zahid Mubarek?

The inquiry could provide no definitive reason for the attack. Stewart said he did it to get out of Feltham, which he loathed, a view echoed in one of his letters. It could have been an attempt to copy and rival a murder committed by a friend of his called Travis. It could have been his virulent racism fuelled by his time at Feltham, or by watching the film *Romper Stomper*. It might have been because he hadn't himself been given bail and did not want a 'Paki' like Zahid to be released before him. He may have had no motive and just felt at the time like attacking the person in his cell.

The Mubarek inquiry and racism

Although the inquiry was about attacks on prisoners in their cells, the issue of racism was central. Zahid's killer was a racist and racism may have played a part in the selection of the victim. The inquiry had to investigate whether explicit racism on the part of prison officers had been the reason for Zahid sharing a cell with Robert Stewart. It was also necessary to explore the extent to which racism might have unwittingly played its part. The Prison Service, and Feltham in particular, had already been judged institutionally racist both by a Prison Service investigation and the CRE.

Developing race equality policy

The 'Gladiator' allegations

In May 2004, the CRE had received an anonymous telephone call alleging the Feltham prison officers were playing a game called 'Coliseum', involving putting prisoners who were likely to quarrel with one another in the same cell and betting on the outcome. The inquiry concluded that, while the possibility that Stewart had been put in the same cell as Zahid to see what would happen could not be excluded, no evidence existed to support the allegation.

Overt racism in the treatment of minority ethnic prisoners

The earlier prison service investigation into Feltham found that a few staff engaged in overtly racist behaviour, but that by no means all racism was overt. Ethnic monitoring revealed, for example, that a disproportionate number of minority ethnic prisoners had had force used on them to restrain them, prisoners frequently displayed racist attitudes, and minority ethnic staff had to put up with racist banter. The CRE's investigation revealed a prison service culture of treating race relations as something separate from the basic operational requirements of prison work. A series of focus groups held in 2001 by Hounslow Racial Equality Council revealed that some officers referred to minority ethnic prisoners as 'monkeys' or 'black bastards' and said they should be sent back to their own country (ibid, pp. 644-45).

Mubarek inquiry conclusions

The inquiry noted that the morale of the staff at Feltham was low, that the institution was being asked to do too much with too few resources, and that the inmates got a raw deal and were kept for too long in their cells in overcrowded conditions. There had been a rapid turn-over of governors and there were too few staff, too many prisoners, too little investment, and a supposedly militant branch of the Prison Officers' Association. While violence in prisons, especially attacks on prisoners in their cells, had been the main focus of the report, it was obvious that attacks of this kind were more likely to occur in overcrowded prisons which were performing badly (ibid, p.650).

Mubarek inquiry recommendations

The inquiry made 88 recommendations for reducing the risk of violence in cells. One central goal of the prison service should be to eliminate enforced cell-sharing. Wings holding convicted and unconvicted prisoners together should be kept to a minimum. Establishments should have strategies for combating violence, including a cell-sharing risk assessment. The computerised system for the flow of information (the National Offender Management Information System or NOMIS) had to be speedily implemented. Skills in prison work should be improved and officers encouraged to rise above misplaced loyalty to their colleagues and to report wrongdoing. The report contained proposals for improving the way mentally-disordered prisoners and the risks they posed could be identified. And in regard to race equality, a five-year action plan had been produced by the prison service

Developing race equality policy

working in partnership with the CRE (ibid., pp. 641-49, 651-66).

The limitations of single-case investigations

Single-case investigations leading to recommendations for wholesale institutional reform have been criticised for focusing on and drawing lessons for services from what are often rare and unusual events and, therefore, neglecting more frequent and obvious manifestations of destructive disadvantage or discrimination. The Mubarek report, for example, pointed out that homicides in custody in England and Wales were relatively rare (26 prisoner-on-prisoner homicides in the 12 years 1990 to 2001, with 12 occurring in a shared cell). These figures might be compared with the far larger number of prisoners committing suicide (759 cases in the same period) (Keith, 2006, p.66). Nevertheless, shocking or unusual events of the kind described above have had a profound influence on policy development in relation to police, social work, mental health and prison and young offender services, especially in relation to institutional racism and how it might be eradicated.

Institutional racism versus general systems failure and poor professional skills

The inquiries summarised above have tended to vacillate between acknowledging the importance of dealing with issues of discrimination in service provision by tackling institutional racism on the one hand, and recognising the self-evident need to grapple with the systemic and large-scale failure of traditional national institutions (including the poor professional

Race equality in local communities

skills demonstrated by their workers) on the other. While undoubtedly there is considerable unfairness of treatment on racial grounds, it is clear to investigators that the more serious problem is that of service users receiving inadequate and indeed hazardous treatment at the hands of regimes which, in the cases of Victoria Climbié, David Bennett, Zahid Mubarek and others, result periodically in death. Put another way, no amount of race equality policy or training by themselves is likely to prevent further tragedies of this kind occurring. What is needed is systemic reform of the services in question. Race equality interventions are relevant only in as much as they contribute to overall general service improvement which, of course, they do, by challenging the inadequacy of the status quo. This is not to say that better systems and improved professional skills in respect of race equality do not have an important part to play in bringing about a general reform and improvement of the services in question.

Policy development following the Macpherson report

In regard to race equality policy, arguably the most influential of the events described above was the bungled handling of the murder in 1993 of the black teenager, Stephen Lawrence. The Macpherson report of 1999 severely criticised the Metropolitan Police's investigation of the case, and condemned it, and policing generally, as symptomatic of 'institutional racism'. The report led to the CRE reviewing the Race Relations Act and the government amending the Act along the lines proposed. Public authorities not only were prohibited, as previously, from discriminating in employment and service provision,

Developing race equality policy

but were given a new legal duty actively to promote race equality.

The importance of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000

Since the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 came into force in April 2001, REO policy development for the public sector has taken on a new and distinctive form. The next section of this chapter, therefore, is taken up with explaining in more detail the requirements that the Act has placed on major public authorities, and the role that REOs might be expected to play in ensuring the provisions of the Act are fully implemented.

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 requires public authorities to promote race equality in relation to their policy, service delivery and employment practices. It places a general duty on a wide range of public authorities to promote race equality. All authorities listed in schedule 1A of the Act (in reality, most major service providers) in carrying out their functions are required to have due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between people of different racial groups.

The general duty

The aim of this general duty is to make the elimination of discrimination and the promotion of equality of opportunity and good relations central and

Race equality in local communities

integral to the way public functions are performed and services are provided. Indeed, the adequacy of the services themselves is to be judged on whether they cater fairly for all sections of the population which need them. The general duty is not an option: it is obligatory and must be exercised proportionally in relation to all relevant functions, with a reasonable equilibrium maintained between the three objectives of eliminating discrimination, increasing opportunity, and improving relations. Public authorities are expected to identify which of their functions affect the most people, examine how those functions relate to race equality, assess their racial discriminatory, opportune, and relational effects, and consider and make the changes needed to ensure equal treatment.

Specific duties

To ensure the general duty is met, the Secretary of State has also imposed on a further list of public authorities, various other specific duties in the areas of policy-making, service delivery, and employment. These specific duties can be regarded as the means of achieving an end state of racial equality and consist of more detailed steps, measures, or arrangements that an organisation must take or make to meet its general duty. Specific duties relate to policy and service delivery and employment.

The CRE Code of Practice

In 2002, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) produced a statutory *Code of Practice on the Duty to Promote Race Equality* in which the specific duties are set out and explained in detail. The Code's aim is

Developing race equality policy

to help public authorities to adopt good practice and to eliminate racial discrimination. This publication is an essential reference tool for REO staff advising public authorities on policy development. Public authorities listed in Appendix 2 of the CRE Code of Practice (for example, the police, county, borough and district councils, NHS Trusts, the armed forces and the Housing Corporation) are required to publish a document called a race equality scheme. Educational institutions are expected to produce a similar document called a race equality policy, but see the CRE Code for details. Authorities listed in Appendix 3 of the Code are also bound by an ‘employment duty’.

The race equality scheme (RES)

A race equality scheme (RES) is a timetabled and realistic plan, setting out an authority’s arrangements for meeting the general and specific duties. By publishing a RES, the public authority becomes accountable for its proposal for meeting the duty. The Race Equality Act, the accompanying Statutory Duties Order 2001, and the CRE Code specify, in some detail, the form and content of a race equality scheme. The scheme should include:

- a list of functions and policies (including proposed policies) that are assessed as being relevant to the general duty to promote race equality.
- arrangements for assessing and consulting on the likely impact of its proposed policies on the promotion of race equality.

Race equality in local communities

- arrangements for monitoring its policies for any adverse impact on the promotion of race equality.
- arrangements for publishing the results of assessment, consultation and monitoring
- arrangements for ensuring public access to information and services.
- arrangements for training staff in connection with the general duty and specific duties

Employment duty

Most public authorities must also monitor their staff and applicants for jobs, promotion and training by racial group. If the organisation has more than 150 full-time staff, it must also monitor by racial group the number of staff who receive training, are subject to appraisal, are involved in grievances or disciplinary action, or terminate their employment. Monitoring outcomes have to be published annually.

Partnership working

The CRE Code of Practice emphasises that listed public authorities should take into account their general duty to promote race equality, and any specific duties, when they work with other public, private, or voluntary organisations. A public authority such as a Council, working within a partnership, would need to seek agreement from its partners to

Developing race equality policy

arrangements for planning, funding and managing any joint work aimed at meeting its statutory race equality duties. The Code makes it clear that public authorities should refer in their schemes to the functions they perform in partnership with other service providers.

Impact assessment

One key element of the RES are the arrangements for assessing the impact of policies and functions. The CRE Code of Practice describes the process of assessing impact as ‘a systematic way of finding out whether a policy (or proposed policy) affects different racial groups differently’. In an accompanying non-statutory *Guide for Public Authorities on the Duty to Promote Race Equality*, the CRE distinguishes three possible types of impact assessment: (i) an initial assessment based on data already available to an authority, (ii) a partial assessment, building on an initial assessment, outlining risks and benefits, possibly accompanied by an expert opinion, and (iii) a full impact assessment, including the results of external consultation and evaluation of the policy and its impact in practice.

Consultation

‘Consultation’ plays a major role in arrangements for assessing the likely impact of a public authority’s policies. The CRE Statutory Code explains consultation as the views on policies or services from staff, colleagues, service-users, or the general public. There are different kinds of consultation appropriate to different circumstances. Examples include

Race equality in local communities

meetings, focus groups, reference groups, citizens' juries, surveys and questionnaires.

Role of consultation in decision-making

The role of consultation in decision-making, public participation, and in public policy formation generally, is itself the subject of much research and debate. Arnstein (1969) famously developed the concept of a ladder of participation with rising steps from consultation through partnership and delegation to citizen control. She saw consultation very much as a kind of tokenism, less adequate than the next step of coopting local people onto local committees, or the next of developing partnerships, where power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power-holders.

Consultation and race relations legislation

Consultation in the context of race relations legislation, however, is seen very much as a means of information-gathering on the effect of a policy, to ensure that people are not differentially or adversely affected. Its role as a comparator of effect can be better understood in terms of the Northern Ireland situation with its strongly polarised communities. This is where, in all probability, the concept of impact assessment through consultation with different communities originated. The limitation of the exercise is obvious: individuals on the receiving end of discrimination are not always aware that they are being discriminated against, directly or indirectly, or that they are the recipients disproportionately of

Developing race equality policy

shoddy services. Very often they have never known any better.

Reviewing the RES

The list of functions and policies integral to the RES and, therefore, the RES itself, should be reviewed every three years (from 31 May 2002). Any public authority required to produce a RES should have reviewed its first attempt and published a revised version by June 2005. Very little information is available at the time of writing about the quality and effectiveness of the second generation of RESs, but they should be available for examination on each authority's website. RESs do not have to stand alone and can form part of a more general equality strategy or improvement plan, providing it meets the statutory requirements.

Mainstreaming measures of race equality performance

Most public authority service providers already have in place procedures for measuring their performance in relation to the services they provide. Local authorities, for example, have their performance assessed against national performance indicators and standards specified under section 4 of the Local Government Act 1999. These Best Value Performance Indicators (BVPIs) are meant to provide for a rounded view of a broad range of local services, their quality, the efficiency with which they are delivered, and the experience of the service user. In planning and delivering race equality, the authority's performance should also be measured. Economically,

Race equality in local communities

it makes no sense to introduce a new system for managing race equality performance separate from existing approaches. In recognition of this, an additional element (BV2b), relating to whether a local authority has a satisfactory RES in place, has been added to the list of BVP indicators. The BVPI framework is due to be replaced after 2008-09.

A framework for inspectorates

In recognising that there is only realistic way of monitoring the many different public authorities' performances in promoting race equality, the Commission for Racial Equality has produced a framework to assist inspectorates in assessing whether the authorities they inspect meet the statutory public duty. It is suggested that the framework be adapted to the templates and methodologies which the various inspectorates already use for their inspection regimes. The aim is to make sure that the inspections of the public duty form part of the full range of mainstream inspection work. The framework, in two related columns, sets out the evidence required in a race equality scheme to show compliance with the duty to promote race equality, together with the outcomes that an authority is expected to achieve.

REWM's research into RESs

In December 2002, Race Equality West Midlands investigated how local authorities had responded to the legislation requiring them to produce RESs. The local authorities sampled had interpreted and undertaken the exercise in very different ways:

Developing race equality policy

- Functions and policies relevant to the promotion of race equality had been conflated with the assessment of the policies' adverse impact.
- Assessment had been undertaken in different ways along a scale from almost intuitive to sophisticated social scientific research.
- Consultation on impact had been interpreted as applying either to functions and policies generally, or more specifically only to proposed policies.
- Assessment of the likely impact of proposed policies had sometimes been understood as a process prior to or discrete from consultation.
- A distinction had occasionally been made between assessment informally arrived at and a more methodologically-exacting approach referred to as 'impact assessment'.
- Consultation had sometimes been understood to mean consultation with those regarded as the main beneficiaries of the duty to promote race equality, namely ethnic minorities only.
- 'Monitoring' was understood sometimes to mean 'performance monitoring' and sometimes 'ethnic monitoring'.

Race equality in local communities

The Schneider-Ross evaluation of the public duty

The Commission for Racial Equality commissioned Schneider-Ross, Equality and Diversity Consultants, to undertake an independent evaluation of the response of public authorities to the new legal duty to promote race equality. The report concluded that, while progress had been made across all sectors, implementation had been patchy and there was a need to assist those who had made least progress. More practical advice and guidance should be given to help organisations fulfil the spirit of the legislation. There was considerable difference between public sectors in the progress made on monitoring the impact of policies. For example, a high proportion of central government and parts of criminal justice had reached the implementation stage, but education was far less advanced. RESs sometimes failed to make a connection between assessment and monitoring, on the one hand, and the development of objectives and actions, on the other, while the need to relate impact and performance targets with Best Value and other performance management systems was not always recognised.

Audit Commission report on improving services to local communities (2004)

Aware of the difficulties being experienced, the Audit Commission produced a report in 2004 to assist public services in meeting their statutory race equality duty and in progressing along ‘the journey to race equality’. In recognition that what is meant by ‘the promotion of race equality’ is not always or easily grasped, the report began by describing the

Developing race equality policy

experience of people of minority ethnic origin. One in six of them had experienced racial discrimination, abuse, or harassment when contacting a public service. Minority ethnic people felt that assumptions were made about them because of the way that they dressed, their names, and the colour of their skin. Overall, people of minority ethnic origin were more likely to be dissatisfied with public services than whites, and public services were more likely to fall short of expectations, although the reasons for the differences in satisfaction between groups were complex. Nevertheless, the public service issues that were of concern to the minority ethnic population were no different from many of the issues that concerned white people, such as the need for better health, education and public transport, less crime and more employment opportunities. In common with the rest of the population, ethnic minorities thought that public services needed to improve, but especially in relation to council and health services (which were felt to be inefficient and slow) and customer care (which was felt to be poor and impersonal).

Overall service improvement by meeting minority ethnic need

The report argued that services would be improved overall if the concerns of minority ethnic communities were addressed. Most of their needs and aspirations were the same as those of the white population, but they needed to be fully understood, and any specific requirements reflected in the way the service was delivered. The Audit Commission identified a set of race equality outcomes whose achievement would

Race equality in local communities

improve the quality of life for minority ethnic communities. These were:

- influence over decision-making.
- access to services and information (with services tailored to specific needs, including physical location, cultural competence, language and translation).
- employment (including retirement, progression and retention of staff).
- positive community relations (shared community knowledge, understanding, values, principles and respect for others).
- community-wide trust and confidence (that there is fair treatment).
- service outcomes (difference in outcome is explored, understood and addressed).

Public sector response to race equality promotion

A further section of the report examined the question of how well the local public sector was responding to the drive for race equality. Five stages were identified:

Resisting: where there is no understanding of the importance of race equality, with the focus of work on

Developing race equality policy

producing a scheme or policy.

Intending: where it is asserted that race equality is important but where there is little understanding of the extent of the change required.

Starting: where there is a better understanding of local issues expressed with a high level vision, but where delivery is reactive and led mostly by the availability of funds.

Developing: where there is an understanding of the issues and intended outcomes but with a need to prioritise action.

Achieving: where there is a clear vision, prioritisation of improvement, and achievement is recognised by peers, and advice regularly sought.

Barriers to change

For public services there were two main challenges: (i) to mobilise staff, members and non-executive directors to develop a locally specific, realistic, but aspirational, vision, and (ii) to understand and tackle

Race equality in local communities

institutional behaviours that obstructed the delivery of the vision. Main barriers to public authority progress were listed as: race equality given a low priority, confusion over the meaning of 'mainstreaming', lack of resources, difficulty connecting with minority ethnic communities, and too many, or too few, targets.

Factors conducive to change

The key factors highlighted for bringing about change were: leadership, culture and rationale, vision, priorities and outcomes, engaging local minority ethnic communities, capacity (tension between race equality and other priorities), working with others (a focal point being the LSP), and managing performance (using existing business planning and performance management systems).

How REOs can assist public authorities in meeting their race equality duties

The Commission for Racial Equality currently has the legal responsibility for enforcing the duty of public authorities to promote race equality, but this will shortly pass to the Commission for Equality and Human Rights. Local REOs are seen as having an important role to play in making the procedures involved in performing the general and specific duties effective. They may offer advice and guidance to public authorities. They should expect to be consulted on the impact of authorities' functions and policies. They have a role to play in scrutinising and monitoring RESs for any adverse impact on race equality. Public authorities have increasingly turned

Developing race equality policy

to REOs to assist them with public consultation, impact assessment, training in respect of the race equality duty and the dissemination of information. In many cases, this has led to a significant extension of REOs' policy development function.

REOs as the subject of RESs

REOs, however, may themselves be the subject of RESs, the monitoring of service delivery, and impact assessment. When public authorities provide or withdraw funding for local race equality services, they are expected to assess whether that policy affects racial groups differently and to what degree. In other words, local service level agreements might be one of the means of promoting race equality and should, therefore, be monitored and assessed for any impact brought about by the contribution, or otherwise, of the delivery agency. Despite being in the voluntary sector, an REO, if funded by and providing services on behalf of a public authority, is arguably a proper subject for assessment.

REOs' role in the drive for service improvement

To be seen as having any relevance in policy development and implementation, REOs must engage wholeheartedly in the drive for general service improvement for all ethnic groups by working in partnership with public authorities, Local Strategic Partnerships, and the private and voluntary sectors. Increasingly, REOs are assisting in the successful implementation of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act by helping with public consultation, impact assessment, training, and information dissemination.

Race equality in local communities

A recent REWM survey showed that public authorities expected this service from their local REO, particularly if they were funding it. REOs do not receive funding from the CRE for this work, implying a presumption that public authorities themselves must pay for this service.

Private sector race equality policy development

The duty to promote race equality is not applicable to the private sector

The Race Relations Act 1976 prohibits private sector organisations from discriminating in the provision of goods, services, employment, vocational training on the grounds of colour, race, ethnic or national origin and nationality, but private sector bodies are not bound by the amendment of 2000 requiring race equality to be promoted positively. This duty applies only to listed *public* authorities.

Role of REOs in relation to the private sector

While REOs recognised the importance of providing race equality policy advice and assistance to business and industry in their locality, a REWM survey (2001) showed that only a small minority was working with individual firms or in partnerships in the private sector, although most REOs expressed a willingness to become involved. Contact with private employers often came about as a result of REOs pursuing the cases of employees who had asked them for help with complaints of discrimination. Only rarely did employers follow up these incidents with requests for assistance in improving their personnel procedures,

Developing race equality policy

etc. A further issue was the perceived need for the private sector to pay for this kind of consultancy. REOs found themselves in competition with private consultants who invariably specialised in the human resource field and had the edge with slick and well-targeted marketing of their services. Competition of this kind also prevented the REOs making headway in selling their services as race equality trainers to either private or public organisations.

Racism in the private sector

In the private sector, as in the public, various cases of racial discrimination, harassment and abuse have from time to time made newspaper headlines and affected policy development. The well-published cases, many of them shocking in the behaviour and attitudes they reveal, have to be situated and understood against a backdrop of the torrent of complaints about racial discrimination being pursued and adjudicated on in employment tribunals (approximately 2,500 a year). Space constraints make it impossible to offer more than one example of the systemic racism in the private sector: the notorious case of the Ford factory at Dagenham.

Ford Motor Company

History of poor race relations

In 1997, the Ford Motor Company had to pay out more than £70,000 in compensation to seven Asian and black Caribbean workers at Dagenham who had been turned down for jobs in the truck fleet where pay was almost double the shopfloor average, but where

Race equality in local communities

fewer than 2% of the workforce were from ethnic minorities. Overall, 45% of the work force at the Dagenham plant in Essex were from ethnic minorities. The factory had been known in the past as a recruiting ground for far-right political parties. In September 1999, an employment tribunal heard that Sukhjit Parmar, an engine plant worker, had been subject to a four-year campaign of racist abuse, culminating in threats to his life. Bill Morris, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, said it was the worst case of racist discrimination his union had ever come across. The Ford Company admitted to racial discrimination, harassment and victimisation, and announced a programme of measures to eradicate workplace racism.

Ford anti-racism strike, 5 October 1999

Two weeks later, 1,300 Dagenham workers staged a strike to protest at systematic racism at the plant, causing a shutdown in the production of Fiesta and Mazda cars. The unofficial strike, covertly backed by the shop stewards, was supported by Asian, black and white workers, who wore stickers on their overalls demanding the sacking of a manager alleged to be racist. A spokesperson for the company claimed to be unaware of the reason for the action, insisting there was a policy of 'zero tolerance' towards racism at the plant. Workers, however, were reported as saying racist attitudes and behaviour were widespread and that the factory was like a tinder box needing only a spark to ignite it. Shop stewards said they had lost all confidence in local managers to resolve what they called 'endemic racism', accusing them of turning a

Developing race equality policy

blind eye to repeated incidents of racist abuse and bullying. Union leaders had sought to persuade local managers to hold a joint investigation into matters at the plant based on the Stephen Lawrence inquiry's notion of institutional racism. They believed that unless structures were put into place which the staff had confidence in, there would be more wildcat strikes. They wanted the Commission for Racial Equality to launch an immediate inquiry into events in Dagenham. The crisis at the factory resulted in Jac Nasser, Ford's global president, flying in from Detroit to take personal control and signing a comprehensive agreement with the unions to stamp out the racism.

CRE involvement

Three months later in January 2000, the CRE notified the Ford Motor Company that it was proposing formally to investigate it after examining the Sukhjit Parmar tribunal case. Following the company's legal response, however, it decided that it would suspend the investigation, providing Ford entered into an agreement involving strict terms. The company agreed to a diversity and equality assessment review (DEAR) of its race equality practices to be completed by April 2001, to work with the CRE on a strategy and action plan to implement the required changes identified by the review, to install a fast-track procedure to deal with incidents and complaints of discrimination, and to develop a framework for corporate leadership and accountability for delivering the outcomes. Regular meetings were held to review progress, including a meeting between the chair of Ford Europe and CRE commissioners.

Race equality in local communities

Race equality means business

There is no shortage of advice on how to increase race equality and improve race relations in the private sector. For example, the Department for Education and Employment has issued a short guide for small employers entitled *Equality Pays. How equal opportunities can benefit your business*. The Commission for Racial Equality, has produced a *Race Relations Code of Practice in Employment*, as well as a race equality standard for employers, entitled *Racial equality means business*. The latter is premised on the assumption that, in addition to legal and moral reasons, there is a strong business case for racial equality and that achievement of the standard will enhance the quality of the employer's performance, products and services.

Advice on race equality in employment

Apart from the CRE and its regional offices and hubs, various kinds of advice on matters of race equality and employment can be obtained from the national Race Relations Employment Advisory Services (RREAS) and the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS), and, of course, local REOs.

The business case

The 'business case' for promoting race equality in employment runs as follows. It is important to use people's talents to the full. Unlike an organisation with a homogenous workforce, one with a wide range of abilities, experience, and skills is more likely to be

Developing race equality policy

responsive to new ideas and possibilities. It is important to make decisions and select staff on objective criteria. Selection criteria which do not reflect the skills and experience needed for a job produce inefficient as well as unfair decisions. It is important to become an 'employer of choice'. Organisations benefit from a reputation as desirable employers because even in a recession there are skill shortages and talent is a critical competitive resource. It is important to understand customer need. A diverse workforce is a potential source of information about existing and potential customers and can contribute to the success of marketing and service delivery strategies. It is important to be able to operate internationally. Organisations with a diverse and multi-talented workforce can penetrate new markets in countries where their employees have connections. In addition, equality in employment contributes to social stability, makes a company more attractive to investors, customers and clients, and prevents costly discrimination cases brought by employees or customers. Employment Tribunal involvement results in adverse publicity and damage to staff relations and development.

The employer race equality standard

The CRE standard (*Racial Equality means business*) is defined as 'a level of achievement or quality widely recognised as the best, or difficult to better, which serves as a comparison, or as an example to be emulated'. Using the standard would help organisations make full use of the contribution of their staff, customers and clients in meeting their goals, and coping creatively in a rapidly changing and

Race equality in local communities

increasingly competitive environment. The standard was compatible with other management development initiatives such as Investors in People (IIP) and the Management Charter Initiative (MCI). How the standard was applied would, of course, depend on the sector, the size of the organisation, what systems were already in place, and financial and labour market conditions.

Implementing the race equality standard

The standard provides a checklist of the action needed for an organisation planning and implementing a race equality programme, under the headings: commitment, action and outcomes. It proposes, for example, that an organisation should:

- have a written racial equality policy.
- make a high-level public commitment to equality of opportunity.
- communicate its policy to employees, applicants, outcomes, clients, shareholders, suppliers, and external organisations.
- have an action plan establishing targets and timescales, allocating responsibility and resources, with measures of outcome.
- consult with employees and the wider community.
- collect information on the ethnic origin of staff, applicants, etc.
- have procedures in place to deal, for example, with discipline, grievance, redundancy, and racial harassment or discrimination.
- provide training on the action plan for managers and other staff.

Developing race equality policy

Checklist of good equal opportunities practices

Various ways have been devised for increasing opportunities in employment for those currently denied them, among them flexible working, equality targets, and positive action training (see below). A concise checklist of good equal opportunities practices is given by the Department for Education and Employment. Companies are asked whether they:

- know about and observe the law.
- recruit from all sections of the community.
- identify the best available person for the job.
- consider flexible working arrangements.
- ensure that all employees have equal access to training opportunities.
- let their employees know they are an equal opportunities employer.
- include equal opportunities statements in job advertisements.
- provide a clear and simple complaints procedure.
- review their practices.

(DFEE (undated), *Equality Pays*, p.1.)

Flexible working

Flexible working arrangements refer to practices such as part-time working, job sharing, working from home, flexible hours, fixed-term appointments, and adapting work patterns to cultural or religious needs. They may enable a company to attract and retain capable employees who, because of domestic

Race equality in local communities

responsibilities, disabilities or cultural requirements, would not otherwise be able to make a contribution.

Equality targets

Another way of promoting equality in employment is to set equality targets. These provide an employer with the means of measuring improvements in implementing the company's equal opportunity policy. The target relates to the percentage from an under-represented group which a company wants to have in its workforce by a given date. It is a numerical goal which should be aimed at within the means permitted by law, that is, by encouraging the interest of underrepresented groups in the job, but always selecting on the basis of merit. A quota is a number or ratio of ethnic minorities, or women or men, which is recruited to on the basis of race, or sex, rather than on merit alone. Quotas of ethnic minorities are currently unlawful under the Race Relations Act.

Positive action training

Section 37 of the Race Relations Act allows positive action training to be provided by employers for members of racial groups who are under-represented in particular jobs so that they can compete on an equal footing with fellow job applicants at job interview. Trainees cannot be already employed by the employer or be guaranteed a job at the end of their training. The training itself has to be planned to help people compete on an equal footing to enter a particular occupation in which the group to which they belong is currently underrepresented.

Developing race equality policy

Managing diversity

The business case for promoting non-discriminatory practices in the workforce and, indeed, exploring what might positively accrue from having a multi-racial and otherwise varied workforce, has in recent years been developed into a new specialised field of management, now frequently referred to as 'the management of diversity'. It is based on the premise that most modern workforces consist of employees who differ in terms of their sex, age, background, colour, race, disability, personality, and workstyle. Race becomes only one of a large set of variables and is thus subtly deemphasised in the management task, which is to harness the full mosaic of individual differences in an environment in which all are valued and fully utilised in pursuit of the company's goals. While managing diversity involves eliminating discrimination in favour of a fully-rational utilisation of employee resources, it is, in addition, about identifying and realising to the full, through staff development techniques and innovative team-building, the organisation's human resource potential.

Paradigm shift

The conceptual shift from an equal opportunity policy paradigm to one of diversity management entails a greater emphasis on an economic rather than a moral justification for racial equality of treatment. It also represents a departure from a mass political response backed by law in support of the rights of a disadvantaged population as a whole to one conceived as a rational corporate choice based on naturally-

occurring individual differences that can add value to the business.

Managerial idealism

It is impossible to disagree with the ideal goal of valuing people and empowering them to work to their full potential. The difficulty, of course, lies in assuming that it is possible in all employment situations to achieve this and always being able to demonstrate a causal link between human resource realisation and company success (measured in terms of profitability). Currently, the majority of employees does not, nor is likely, to report a personal realisation of creative potential in the course of its working life. Nevertheless, the terms ‘workforce diversity’ and ‘diversity management’ are increasingly deployed in relation to equality policy in both the public and private sectors.

Differences between public and private sector policies

This chapter, already longer than those preceding it, can, of necessity, only serve as a brief taster of race equality policy development. It is important to recognise differences in approaches to race equality promotion in the public, private and voluntary and community sectors, of which the last is not dealt with here at all. For the public sector, much of it bound by the duty to promote race equality positively, there is moral and political incentivisation to improve practice in a context where the services provided are often limited or poor for many of the recipients, by no means all of them from minority ethnic groups. In the private sector, the appeal of equal opportunity has

Developing race equality policy

always to be justified in economic terms. The business case has to be made. Can economic benefits really be gained from workforce diversity? What are the costs of any disruption arising from racial conflict? One view is that most advances in the private sector (as well as in the public) have come about not because of changes in employment law, or the development of policy, but as a result of a buoyant labour market leading to vacancies and skill shortages that could only be filled by immigrants, ethnic minorities, or currently economically-inactive women or older people. For the private sector, a business case invariably has to be made for race equality policy development and implementation.

Chapter Six

Urban race relations, community cohesion, and ethnic conflict

Overview. The government's long standing tripartite race relations policy consisting of immigration control, anti-discrimination legislation and geographically-targeted welfare initiatives was described in Chapter Four. Chapter Six provides accounts of a fourth and emerging strand of policy which has come to be referred to as 'community cohesion strategy'. There are four parts, the first an introduction to the British sociology of urban race relations developed by John Rex and Robert Moore and John Rex and Sally Tomlinson. This is followed by an account of the evolution of government community cohesion policy, through a series of reports, and including the development of measures of the cohesiveness of local communities. Following this, various criticisms of community cohesion concept and policy are set out. The chapter concludes with a section on the study of British urban ethnic group conflict and violence – the reverse side of cohesiveness – an eightfold typology of community conflict.

Forty years of the British sociology of urban race relations

Before explaining the development of community cohesion policy, it is important once more to situate current race and ethnic relations and the measures taken to ameliorate them in the context of the various

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

waves of immigration to the urban and mostly industrial areas of Britain since the Second World War.

Studies by Rex and Moore and Rex and Tomlinson

Two studies, in particular, of the sociology and social policy of race relations in the city, both set in Birmingham in the West Midlands, have been seminal to an understanding of the processes leading to ethnic competition, separate living, conflict, and integration. The first was *Race, Community and Conflict*, by John Rex and Robert Moore, published in 1967, and focusing on the area of Sparkbrook on the south-east side of the City of Birmingham. The second was *Colonial Immigrants in a British City*, subtitled importantly, *a class analysis*, by John Rex and Sally Tomlinson, published twelve years later in 1979, and focusing on Handsworth.

Race, Community and Conflict, John Rex and Robert Moore, 1967

Race, Community and Conflict analysed the social forces fashioning the lives of the new and established communities of Birmingham. Rex and Moore argued that in the course of the development of city life, various groups, defined by their relationship to property, became separated from one another and created their own community life styles.

Classes and property

An upper-middle class possessed property and the capacity to live without community and

neighbourhood support. A lower-middle class had access to inferior housing and other social facilities and aspired to an upper-middle-class life style. A working class acquired security 'in communal collective and neighbourly institutions fashioned in the course of struggle against economic diversity' (Rex and Moore. 1967, p.8). A further development occurred when the lower-middle classes, including white-collar people and better-off artisans, left the centre of the city for suburbia, in imitation of the life of the upper-middle class. Their deserted homes then became occupied by the city's social rejects and newcomers, who 'lack the defensive communal institutions of the working class, but who defend themselves and seek security within some sort of colony structure' (ibid, pp. 8-9). This last group did not enjoy an autonomous community life of its own but recognised its place at the back of the queue for a suburban life style. In other words, the city shared to some extent 'a unitary status value system'. The last category saw itself as temporarily resident and in a transitional state. Community institutions evolved here as a means of providing short-term security and a defence against racism, until some kind of movement outwards could be made (ibid, p.9). Rex and Moore predicted that any attempt to segregate the inhabitants of this area was bound to create conflict and lead eventually to riot.

The effect of public authorities on the 'colony'

Two other city features were significant: the presence in the city of public agencies exercising social control and providing welfare, and a social support network of kin and neighbours. The longer newcomers resided

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

in the city, the less they were likely to depend on their 'colony' and the more they came to rely on the city's institutions and their immediate families. This had a number of consequences for immigrants in the 'twilight area'. Not only were they constrained to live in a tight-knit community, perhaps even more tightly-knit than their rural community of origin, but they also became part of an urban society where they had new rights and obligations as citizens.

The city's status system

As part of this, they signed up to the city's status system and to the competition to enter more prestigious sub-communities, although not all would, or were meant to, succeed. In this competitive context, discrimination on the basis of race or origin acquired greater significance and had to be resisted both individually and collectively. It was also important for the city as a whole, and for life in the neighbourhoods where immigrants lived, that conflicts of interest were contained and managed. Group ties of sufficient adequacy to provide a minimum of emotional support had also to be retained. Community life in the 'immigrant quarter' or 'twilight zone' resulted from achieving a balance between these various imperatives.

Task for race relations research

The task for race relations research was to find out 'who lives there, what primary community ties they have, what their housing situation, economic position and status aspirations are, what associations they form, how these associations interact, and how far the

Race equality in local communities

various groups are incorporated into urban society as citizens' (Rex and Moore, 1967, p.11).

Focus on structures affecting individual lives

Rex and Moore fused perspectives from urban sociology and the sociology of race relations to provide a new and original analysis of the forces giving rise to racial separation. The emphasis was firmly on the social, economic and political structures and systems affecting the lives of individuals. The two determinants of the structure of race relations in Birmingham were identified as the systems of housing allocation and of job allocation, although the Sparkbrook study mostly focused on the ownership and control of housing.

Housing classes

On the basis of their access to housing, residents of the city divided into three classes or categories: owner occupiers, tenants of private landlords, and tenants of the council (Rex and Moore, 1967, p. 36). People's associations, interests, lifestyles and positions in the urban social structure were determined by their membership of one of these classes. Owner occupiers had to have a certain amount of capital and level and type of income. By virtue of their newcomer status and kind of occupation, immigrants found it difficult to obtain mortgages and were largely excluded from the class of owner-occupiers. Council house tenancies could only be obtained on the grounds of need and length of residence. Selection was also based on domestic standards as assessed by Housing Visitors. Tenants were not allowed to take lodgers. Most

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

immigrants were excluded on the grounds that they did not meet the length-of-residence criteria, but were also rejected on the judgement of the Housing Visitors. The research team did not believe that 'the Housing Visitor was so free of prejudice that a coloured skin is not taken to imply low domestic standards' (Rex and Moore, 1967, p.27). If immigrants' standards were judged low, they were only ever likely to be admitted to inferior properties. Whole-house private tenancies were in short supply because of demolition. Landlords were in a position to select tenants according to their preferences and, as nearly all landlords letting whole houses were white, minority ethnic immigrants were unlikely to gain access to tenancies of this kind. The last of four accommodation options was that of owning or living in a lodging house. A tenant in a lodging house had to pay a high rent and accept overcrowded conditions, lack of privacy, and an absence of the choice of neighbour.

Three separate socio-economic systems

The three housing classes corresponded to the operation of three separate socio-economic systems: accommodation allocated through (i) a free market in housing, modified by a credit system of mortgages, giving building societies bureaucratic control over selection, (ii) a welfare system, using various bureaucratic criteria to select tenants on the basis of need, and (iii) a free market in the residential space provided by lodging houses for those who were unable to qualify for the other categories.

City Council responsibility for ghettoisation

By restricting the conversion into lodging houses of larger properties to certain districts, the City Council was effectively restricting the dispersal of new arrivals and laying the foundation for immigrant-dominated areas, or 'ghettoes'. Certainly, New Commonwealth immigrants' choice of accommodation was severely constrained by the operation of the three systems of housing allocation.

Role of housing allocation in ethnic relations

The Sparkbrook study provided a detailed description of housing allocation, ownership and control, making it abundantly clear that individuals and groups came to act against New Commonwealth immigrants at various stages in their search for accommodation. The strength of the analysis was to show how these separate acts, resulting in discriminatory outcomes, were generally expressions of competing sectional interests (Rex and Moore, 1967, p.35), which combined as a total system or 'catch 22' to exclude Irish and New Commonwealth immigrants from mainstream housing provision, thus forcing them to live in the 'twilight zones', where they were then blamed for the poverty of their own condition.

Early example of institutional racism

This is one of the earliest and most convincing examples in British sociological literature of what has since come to be referred to as 'institutional racism'. This kind of systemic discrimination did not exist in isolation. The study also highlighted the action of the

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

Housing Visitors who, on the basis of their stereotypical judgements, used their discretion to make offers of various types of housing: low density pre-war council houses, post-war council flats or houses, good houses taken into council ownership, patched houses awaiting demolition, or houses awaiting demolition which had not been patched. The researchers found no case of West Indian or other minority ethnic applicants being offered a council-built house.

Concentration leading to a cycle of discrimination

The study also drew attention to the way the consequent concentration of New Commonwealth immigration in poor-quality housing was likely to result in white people assuming that immigrants preferred and chose that kind of housing, and indeed were the primary cause of the poor conditions in which they found themselves. This kind of cycle or spiral of prejudice and discrimination needed to be recognised in policy-making and had to be broken.

Colonial Immigrants in a British City, John Rex and Sally Tomlinson, 1979

A decade later in the study of Handsworth (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979), the elements of social structure implicated in the study of ethnic conflict had been extended beyond the focus on housing allocation to include consideration of the City's employment, education, and political systems.

Dual labour market

In regard to the labour market, one consideration was the extent to which, in comparison with others, members of an ethnic group could obtain a job in the first place, and then, of course, what kind of job they were able to obtain. Rex and Tomlinson point to the possibility of the emergence of a dual labour market. One part was open to persons, with contracts, who had regular hours, trade-union protection, welfare benefits, and good wages. The other had irregular hours, short-term or part-time employment, poor or non-existent trade union protection, few welfare benefits, low wages, and a relationship with the employer based on immediate utility. The work force was divided between an organised working class that had secured a contractual relationship with those running the economy, and an 'underclass' which had no economic security and viewed work merely as necessary to survival (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979, p.16). The hypothesis was that a dual labour market of this kind also represented an ethnic division, with new migrants being either unemployed or part of an occupational underclass. Racial discrimination in employment was likely to operate systematically to confine ethnic minorities to lower and more poorly-paid positions, with a knock-on effect on their role as consumers, particularly of housing.

The role of education in allocating life chances

Jobs and housing are two important ways of allocating life chances in urban society. The other, of course, is education. Not only do schools provide for public socialisation of children into society, but they

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

act as selection agencies, determining who knows what and who does what in later life. As Rex and Tomlinson put it, schools decided ‘whether each particular child enters the ruling, the ruled, or intermediate sections of society’ (*ibid*, 1979, p.24). No study of an urban area would be complete without an assessment of the role of education in the socialisation, and status and occupational allocation, of the children of minority ethnic groups. The authors point out that ‘in the final quarter of the twentieth century in Great Britain, education has a class-selective role more complex than ever before’ (*ibid*, p.27). Irrespective of its complexity, the role of the education system for minority ethnic social mobility remains crucial.

The role of politics

To complete the picture, the Handsworth study also explored the politics of minority ethnic communities. Four related aspects were mentioned: the existence or non-existence of a Civil Rights Movement claiming equal rights in a shared value system, the development of paternalistic initiatives by British political parties, the emergence of individual ethnic group politics insisting on its own identity and campaigning for justice without assimilation, and the growth of white political organisations hostile to ethnic minorities and immigration (*ibid*, p.30).

Working class, underclass and third world revolution

With these four parts – housing, employment, education, and political systems – in place, Rex and Tomlinson went on to analyse their empirical data,

summarising their findings in a memorable chapter entitled 'Working Class, Underclass and Third World Revolution'. They concluded that it was likely to take many years for the minorities to be absorbed into the white working class and to achieve equal rights (ibid, p.275), a prediction that appears to have been justified some twenty-five years later.

Rex and Tomlinson on the possibility of ethnic integration

It may surprise some readers to learn that the reports on Bradford, Burnley and Oldham (2001), the debates they triggered on the degree of community fragmentation in northern towns, and subsequent government initiatives to promote 'community cohesion' had been preceded twenty years earlier by the findings of the Handsworth study which dealt in far greater sociological sophistication with the quality of the relationships developing between black Caribbeans, Asians, and their white working-class neighbours. As stated in the preceding section, Rex and Tomlinson concluded that it was most unlikely that the black and Asian ethnic population would be absorbed within a generation, or acquire equal rights with whites (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979, p.279). The differences, it was pointed out, were not simply quantitative, but qualitative and structural, with the immigrant situation being characterised by a different kind of position in the labour market, a different housing situation, and a different form of schooling. Minority ethnic groups had succeeded in gaining

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

access to some employment, housing and schooling, but were, nevertheless, still stigmatised as a threat to social stability. In almost the same terms as those used more than twenty years later by the authors of the community cohesion reports (who were either oblivious of their work, or unable to recognise its implications), Rex and Tomlinson wrote of ‘the increasing polarisation... between the West Indian and Asian minorities on the one hand and the British cultural, social and political organisations on the other’ (ibid. p.276).

Community cohesion

Emergence of community cohesion policy

Current community cohesion policy was developed as a government response to the outbreaks of violence and destruction of property in three northern towns in the spring and summer of 2001. As made clear above, earlier sociological studies of urban race relations appeared to play no part whatsoever in its conception or development. Three separate reports on the state of inter-ethnic community relations in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham were used as evidence for two further national reports: that of the Independent Review Team, chaired by Ted Cante (which made use for the first time of the term ‘community cohesion’ in its title), and that of the Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion, chaired by John Denham (which revealed the government’s concern at the scale of the disorders and their destructiveness).

Race equality in local communities

The issue of integration

The initial reports on Bradford, Burnley and Oldham shared much in common and set the scene for the subsequent national community cohesion policy. All three were primarily concerned with the issue of integration between white and minority ethnic communities. Their depiction of the situation in terms of the sharp division between and separation of ethnic groups in all major fields of public life: housing, work, education and out-of-work activity, made it clear that they were preoccupied not with racial inequality as such, but with positive ethnic intermixing and interspersion. Racial equality was only part of the equation: in the northern towns, fostering good race relations had to be pursued in its own right.

Cohesion and Muslim communities

The reports also had another premise in common, which if not over-emphasised, was clearly understood. The most numerous minority ethnic group in all three locations was Pakistani, constituting 14.54 per cent (67,998) of the total population of Bradford (467,665) 4.94 per cent (4,423) of the total population of Burnley (89,542) and 6.33 per cent (137,753) of the total population of Oldham (217,273). Coupled with the Bangladeshi population (a further 4.52% (or 9,821) of the population of Oldham), this distinctive Muslim community from the Indian subcontinent was clearly the reference of all assertions relating to the failure to integrate, or the desire to self-segregate, or remain separate. While there was some reference to communities in the plural

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

choosing to keep themselves apart, few of the recommendations or measures in themselves were aimed at the white population and its values, although political extremists were singled out for attention.

Community pride, not prejudice, making diversity work in Bradford, chaired by Sir Herman Ouseley (July 2001)

Published in July 2001, the report on race relations in Bradford (West Yorkshire) entitled *Community pride, not prejudice, making diversity work in Bradford*, was written before the April 2001 outbreak of inter-ethnic violence and destruction of property in the district. The Race Review Team, commissioned by Bradford Vision, a regeneration initiative representing key local agencies, was chaired by Sir Herman Ouseley, former chair of the Commission for Racial Equality. The team set out to address the question of why community fragmentation along social, cultural, ethnic, and religious lines was occurring in the Bradford District.

Community fragmentation

The report assumed from the start that Bradford was experiencing increasing polarisation, segregation, and fragmentation along ethnic lines. The Race Review Team's terms of reference specified the need for greater understanding as to how to build bridges between communities. The report was centrally preoccupied with how to bring about a greater degree of integration between ethnic groups whose relations with one another were deteriorating. Issues of ethnic inequality were a secondary issue.

Race equality in local communities

Deteriorating community relations

The report claimed there were growing racial, ethnic, religious, and class divisions among Bradford's population. It was predicated on the view that relationships between different communities were deteriorating. White people apparently thought that their needs were neglected in favour of Muslims, in particular Pakistanis, who were given preference over them. Members of the Muslim community, on the other hand, believed that Islamophobia and racism were blighting their lives and that they were treated unfairly by decision-makers.

Self-segregation

According to the Ouseley report, different communities were seeking to protect their identities and cultures by discouraging and avoiding contact with other communities and institutions. This 'self-segregation' was driven by fear of others, the need for safety from harassment and violent crime, and the belief that it was the only way to retain cultural identity and faith. The white community perceived minority ethnic religious leaders (presumably mostly Muslim) as the advocates of segregation. Different ethnic groups were segregating themselves and retreating into 'comfort zones' made up of people like themselves. Their children went to separate schools.

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

Role of public funding policies

Funding regimes had failed to incorporate specific objectives to bring about social interaction and integration. The Review Team felt that local leaders had contributed to community division by their reluctance to challenge the perceived norms of allowing social and economic programmes to develop along self-styled single cultural and faith-dominated tracks, leading to comfort zones, segregation, and ghetto formation.

Evidence base

What evidence was there to support the view not only that ethnic groups in Bradford were polarised but that the situation was a result of preference and choice (self-segregation) and was getting worse? The report drew heavily on the views of local people: individuals from different ethnic groups, voluntary organisation, local and regional employers, public services and young people and the vulnerable and disaffected. It provided a long list of their concerns, with the disclaimer that they had not emanated from the review team. The comments appeared, nevertheless, to have been selected carefully, and some of the Race Review Team's recommendations were based on them, indicating a degree of concurrence or approval at least. From a social scientific point of view, however, the use of the diverse opinions of local people, who had 'spoken out', to underpin the report's more significant claims was methodologically most unsatisfactory. Was there really sufficient evidence to justify the assertion that ethnic communities self-consciously chose to be segregated, as opposed to

finding themselves in a decision field determined by the housing, education and job markets, or fears about security? If the communities from the start had always lived separately, what evidence was there for assuming the situation in Bradford was deteriorating? Did the young share the views of their elders?

Attitudinal focus

Another assumption, reflected in the recommendations of the Ouseley report, was that the solution to fragmentation lay in educational and attitudinal initiatives, rather than in government intervention in the housing and employment markets. The softer approach, involving the adoption of 'British values' exemplified by, for example, citizenship ceremonies, has now become an integral part of government strategy.

Task Force Report on Burnley, chaired by Lord Clarke (2001)

In Burnley, a task force of fifteen people was set up to make recommendations after violence broke out between whites and Asians during the weekend of 23rd to 25th June 2001. Chaired by Lord Tony Clarke, the Task Force distinguished between the immediate trigger of violent conduct and damage and the deeper reasons behind Burnley's racial and ethnic division. The primary emphasis was on producing an action plan to tackle the housing crisis, poverty and deprivation, ethnic divisions and distrust in Burnley. Criminal acts had been followed by deliberate attempts on the part of both white and Asian groups to stir up racial confrontation.

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

Segregation

To explain ethnic divisions, the report made extensive use of the concept of segregation in housing, education, employment and other social contexts, in a general situation of long-term economic decline. The high levels of prejudice and distrust in Burnley were attributed to the absence of opportunity for white and minority ethnic groups to mix.

Housing market failure

The Task Force took the view that the disturbances in Burnley could be explained at a more profound level by the collapse of the housing market. Burnley had a large surplus of housing, much of it in a poor state and unfit for occupation. Ethnic minorities with large families were housed in smaller, older, privately-owned property, inadequate for their needs, while demand from whites for social housing was falling. The physical and environmental decline associated with both these processes had created a context in which disadvantaged communities felt neglected, a situation further exacerbated by the obsolescence of much terraced housing, falling house prices, and increased vacancy rates. The report concluded that, for many people, the equity in their home was their major source of wealth after a lifetime of work. The collapse of the local housing market had increased social exclusion, threatened social cohesion, and made some of the poorest communities even poorer after a decade of economic growth. The social costs of allowing these trends to continue were likely to be severe.

Race equality in local communities

Employment policy contribution to segregation

The report claimed that statutory and voluntary organisations had contributed to racial segregation through their employment policies by colour matching whites to work with whites, and Asians to work with Asians. It also mentioned the perception by the white community that the local authority spent its money predominantly on Asian areas, when much of the funding was geographically restricted and could not be spent elsewhere.

Role of economic deprivation

The Task Force thought that the level of economic deprivation made it much more difficult to bring about racial harmony. In addition, there were few opportunities for white and minority ethnic groups to mix. Chances of integration outside of the workplace were remote. Schools in or near predominantly Asian areas were virtually all Asian and, in white areas, virtually all white. Communities remained separate and segregated, both at home and in school. The report was concerned about ethnic communities living separate or segregated lives and of the absence of opportunities for them to integrate or mix to reduce levels of prejudice and misunderstanding. One major obstacle to achieving greater integration lay in different ethnic groups' access to housing and their respective housing market situations. Unlike the Ouseley report on Bradford, the emphasis in Burnley was not so much on the sharing of values but on ensuring equal access to decent housing. This issue has been taken up by the Government's housing

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

market renewal strategy, rather than in community cohesion initiatives.

Oldham Independent Review: One Oldham, One Future, chaired by David Ritchie (December 2001)

An independent inquiry chaired by David Ritchie, a civil servant, with a panel of six other expert members, was set up to review the racial attacks, rioting and the activities of the British National Party, which took place in Oldham in the run-up to the General Election of 7 June 2001. The resulting report, *Oldham Independent Review: one Oldham, One Future* (11 December 2001) made extensive use of the concept of social integration, seen as requiring respect for cultural diversity, but involving greater degrees of residential, educational and social mixing, and a recognition of the need for improved communication between communities through the medium of English, greater education in cultural awareness, more prosperity, and a safer environment.

Self-segregation: lack of shared values

The panel was sceptical as to whether communities currently wanted to have much to do with one another and concluded that the main cause for residential segregation was the preference, both within the white and the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities for people 'to live with their own kind'. This concept of self-segregation, retarding the process of integration, clearly echoed the theme of the Ouseley report.

Absence of community relations strategy

The panel severely criticised Oldham's lack of strategic direction and any vision for future development, and its failure to face up to the deep-seated issues of segregation in the town: 'there has been no real evidence of the parties coming together to form a strategy for community relations within the town'. There was no forum in Oldham where people could openly discuss, in an unthreatening environment, the issues of race relations, including the stereotypes and myths about other communities, or be consulted about and involved in decision-making on issues connected with race and diversity.

Proficiency in English, school segregation

In regard to education, the report provoked controversy on account of the importance it attached to people from the Indian sub-continent achieving proficiency in English. It also criticised local faith secondary schools for having no Muslim pupils and recommended that 15 to 20 per cent of places be made available to pupils of non-Christian background. Like those on Bradford and Burnley, the report suffered from a lack of evidence to support its assertion that Oldham's residential and other segregation was self-inflicted. There was simply insufficient data to attribute 'blame in equal measure to all parties' for the town's poor, segregated race relations.

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

Community Cohesion, report of the Independent Review Team, chaired by Ted Cantle, (2001)

The spring and early summer 2001 disturbances in Oldham, Burnley and Bradford led the Home Secretary to set up a Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion Review Team (CCRT). Chaired by Ted Cantle, the CCRT of eleven, at least half from ethnic minorities, sought the views of local residents and community leaders in the towns affected, as well as other urban areas, including Birmingham, Leicester and Southall. The report, entitled *Community Cohesion, a report of the Independent Review Team*, was issued to the Home Office Ministerial Committee on 28 November 2001 and published in December 2001.

Polarisation and 'parallel lives'

Although aware of the existing physical segregation of ethnic groups on housing estates and in inner city areas, the CCRT was surprised at the depth of polarisation of other aspects of daily living, with separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, and social and cultural networks. The separation resulted in people leading 'parallel lives' which seemed not to touch at any point.

Institutional failure

There was a widespread failure running through most institutions, including voluntary organisations and political parties, to debate the issues raised by ethnic polarisation and to find solutions to it. The CCRT

Race equality in local communities

concluded that there was an urgent need to promote community cohesion and a greater sense of citizenship based on common principles and made 67 recommendations to be considered by a range of agencies. The press focused on the proposal that church and faith leaders should voluntarily limit the faith intake in independent and state sector schools by offering at least 25 per cent of places to other faiths or denominations in order to ensure a better mix of cultures or ethnicities.

Cantle report definition of community cohesion

The Cantle report was seminal in introducing a more general concept of community cohesion into what had hitherto been an exploration of the issues facing communities fragmented along ethnic lines. Community cohesion was defined from the outset as common values and a civic culture, social order and social control, social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities, social networks and social capital, and place attachment and identity (p.13). Community cohesion was about helping micro-communities to gel or mesh into an integrated whole. Divided communities needed help to develop goals and shared vision (p.70).

Prioritisation of shared values

The main emphasis of the Cantle report was on sharing ideas, such as the value of cultural pluralism, or the development and dissemination of the principles of a new citizenship to bring about cohesion. Far less attention was devoted to the existing socio-economic structural or institutional

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

divisions that resulted in fragmentation and ethnic polarisation. The focus on shared values led the report to recommend that the granting of British citizenship should involve fluency in English to facilitate full participation in society, as well as a formal pledge of allegiance.

Criticism: blaming the victims of discrimination

The report has been criticised for holding ethnic minority communities responsible for poor community relations as a consequence of their lack of fluency in English and failure to come to terms with, or commit themselves to the British way of life, thus losing sight of the reciprocal, or two-way nature of the integration process.

Contact theory of race relations

The report also adopted the view that the fear and ignorance of different communities (and presumably prejudice and discrimination) was a result of the lack of contact between ethnic groups. The solution, in the form of a local community cohesion plan, lay in the promotion of cross-cultural contact between different communities at all levels, the fostering of understanding and respect, and the ‘busting’ of myths.

Building Cohesive Communities, report of the Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion, chaired by (John Denham) (2002)

The Inter-Departmental Ministerial Group on Public Order and Community Cohesion, chaired by John Denham, was announced in the Home Secretary’s

Race equality in local communities

statement on 10th July 2001 to the House of commons, following the serious disorder in Bradford in early July. It was asked to report on action to minimise the threat of further disorder and to build strong, more cohesive communities. Entitled *Building Cohesive Communities*, the Denham report drew extensively on the preceding reports on Bradford, Oldham and Burnley and Cattle's national report, and stressed the need to make community cohesion a central aim of government.

Need for local responses

The Ministerial Group distinguished between the roles of central government in empowering and enabling local communities and the need to fund and implement solutions at local level, rather than to have them externally imposed. It highlighted the features shared by the areas that suffered disturbances. Participants were overwhelmingly young men: white and minority ethnic and local to the areas. The neighbourhoods involved were some of the most deprived in the country, with significant Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities.

Choosing to be separate?

While acknowledging that there was nothing intrinsically wrong about people exercising choice in where they lived and who with, the Ministerial Group believed that geographical segregation was likely to reduce opportunities for different communities to collaborate and might be symptomatic of other concerns (for example, fear of racist attack). The report also placed less emphasis than Ouseley on the

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

concept of self-segregation, raising the question of whether the segregation observed resulted from choice, or a real and damaging lack of choice about housing, jobs and schools. It recognised the difficulty of distinguishing between cause and effect in the development of segregated communities.

Denham report's contribution to community cohesion policy

The Denham report developed community cohesion policy in two ways. Firstly, it separated the role of central government in pursuing a unifying national civic identity from that of the policies and decisions to be made and implemented at local government level. Secondly, it gave a list of the factors it believed led to community fragmentation, together with a set of policy recommendations offered as a solution. This list, with recommendations, subsequently led to the definition of community cohesion provided in the Local Government Association report.

A Place for Us All, Learning from Bradford, Oldham and Burnley, Commission for Racial Equality (2002)

In 2002, the Commission for Racial Equality published *A Place for Us All, Learning from Bradford, Oldham and Burnley*, a report examining the factors leading to the disturbances in the north of England. Accepting the findings of Sir Herman Ouseley's report, that ethnic groups lived a segregated existence in housing, education, work and everyday social intercourse, and that communities were fragmented along racial, cultural and faith lines, the

Race equality in local communities

Commission proposed various practical policies that could be adopted to remedy the situation. The report dealt in turn with residential separation ('a sense of place'), the quality of housing ('a place to live'), ethnic segregation in education ('a place to learn'), community safety, including racist incidents ('a safe place'), employment prospects ('a place of opportunity'), and regeneration strategies ('a place of neighbourhood renewal'), each chapter making reference to conditions in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley.

Distinction between 'segregation' and 'congregation'

An important distinction was made between 'segregation' and 'congregation'. The Race Relation Act applies only to enforced segregation and not to what is termed 'congregation', where people from a particular group choose to live or work together. While acknowledging the right to congregate, the CRE pointed out that for many people from the ethnic minorities, choice was constrained by social and economic factors, as well as by the fear of exposure to discrimination and harassment.

CRE definition of a cohesive society

The CRE offered the following definition of a cohesive society. It was one where there were:

- shared values that could be upheld despite other differences between groups; a sense of belonging, and an acceptance that this meant different things for different groups.

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

- an intolerance of racial discrimination and harassment.
- people shared pride in the place where they lived.
- respect for people's lifestyles, as long as these did not infringe on others' rights.
- genuine opportunities for everyone in education, employment, health, and civic and democratic activity.
- national and local leaders who tackled inequality and respected differences in background and outlook.

This list was similar to the one provided in the Local Government Association guidance (see below), but placed greater emphasis on racial justice, diversity, intolerance of racial discrimination and harassment, and respect for others' lifestyles.

Role of race equality organisations

As examples of what might be done to bring about greater contact, various schemes developed for Northern Ireland and ethnically-diverse urban neighbourhoods in the USA were described. 'Social seams' needed to be created by locating inclusive attractive facilities, such as good schools, shopping centres, clubs and social centres, in places where people from different communities in adjacent neighbourhoods could access them. Youth and community facilities, designated for people from all backgrounds, could be sited on the borders of segregated areas. The role of race equality councils and Local Strategic Partnerships was also mentioned, with the recommendation that the government, with

the CRE, should consider funding a network of local community organisations to bring together people from different ethnic groups and faith communities.

Local Government Association guidance (LGA) on community cohesion (2002)

Published by the Local Government Association in May 2002, the guidance was jointly produced by the LGA, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Home Office, Commission for Racial Equality, and the Inter-Faith Network for the United Kingdom, and supported by the Association of Police Authorities, Department for Education and Skills, Employers' Organisation for Local Government, and the National Youth Agency. It was designed to assist local authorities and Local Strategic Partnerships to strengthen and build community cohesion. The approach was unapologetically atheoretical, setting out to offer 'practical steps' for authorities and their partners to build community cohesion into their policies and delivery of services. Following publication of the Cattle and other reports, it was assumed that the challenge was to translate an understanding of the issues raised by them into practical action to improve the situation on the ground.

LGA definition of community cohesion

The guidance claims that community cohesion included, but went beyond, concepts of race equality and social inclusion. A cohesive community was one where:

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

- there was a common vision and sense of belonging for all communities.
- the diversity of people's different backgrounds and circumstances was appreciated and positively valued.
- those from different backgrounds had similar life opportunities.
- strong and positive relationships were being developed between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, schools, and within neighbourhoods.

While promoting good race relations was part of bringing about community cohesion, the guidance made clear its remit was far broader and extended to other groups distinguished by wealth, age, belief, gender, and disability.

Community cohesion through shared vision

The guidance stressed the importance of developing a shared vision of the kind of place people wanted their locality to be, because, if they shared such a vision, they were more likely to interact, understand, and value differences positively. The theme should be 'unity in diversity': that integration and cultural pluralism were compatible. The vision should then be turned into action by, for example, the development of a conflict resolution strategy, a programme of 'myth busting', a series of events to foster cross-cultural contact, and the development of festivals and celebrations involving all communities. Each local

Race equality in local communities

authority was expected to assess how it was performing in relation to the various themes of community cohesion, asking questions such as: are we clear about the regeneration needs and aspirations of all sections of our community? The 2001 census data was considered crucial to this baseline assessment. While the existence of community fragmentation and the need to foster cohesion were taken for granted and as unproblematic, local agencies were still expected to acquire a detailed understanding of their local communities and the degree of cohesiveness, by the use of census data and by establishing local aspirations.

Absence of theoretical underpinning

LGA proposals were not, however, derived from any appreciation of the need for a theory of, or research into, the social, structural, or institutional forces underpinning ethnic separation and polarisation. Indeed, it was made clear that the social divisions that should be of concern to authorities were far broader than those of ethnicity and race. As a result, the guidance consisted not of a strategy for clinical, tightly-coordinated, controlled, particular and effective interventions, but of a piecemeal presentation of worthy recommendations to be delivered simultaneously by a number of different agencies, albeit urged to work in partnership. There was also an emphasis on marshalling and coordinating those various activities and initiatives already in train which appeared to have a bearing on issues of diversity, race and community, in the hope that more of the same would do the trick.

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

Community cohesion activity confined to the remit of local authorities

By focusing on the practical action that might be taken by local authorities and Local Strategic Partnerships, 'community cohesion' was redefined in terms only of those actions that lay within the power or remit of local government. The possible limitations on local authorities' ability to tackle the more intractable structural problems of community fragmentation, such as the depressed Burnley housing market, went unacknowledged. One of the most useful messages of the LGA's guidance, however, was of the dangers of working in 'silos' and of the central importance of coordinating and improving policy implementation and service delivery through working in partnership.

Building a picture of Community Cohesion: A Guide for Local Authorities and their partners (2003)

The guide, *Building a picture of Community Cohesion*, was produced in June 2003 by the Home Office Community Cohesion Unit, with contributions from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, the Local Government Association, the Commission for Racial Equality, the Audit Commission and the Improvement and Development Agency. It was based on the recognition that 'local agencies need a detailed understanding of the nature of the communities they serve in order to assess how well equipped they are to build community cohesion' (p.6).

Measuring community cohesion

Race equality in local communities

The guide set out a list of ten indicators for local authorities and their partners to use to measure community cohesion locally in order to provide a baseline assessment and, therefore, the means of monitoring the success of local community cohesion policies and programmes. As with all its social policy initiatives, the government was concerned that public money was being spent wisely and that any action embarked upon achieved its intended outcome and provided added value. Community cohesion strategy, from the outset, was to be subject to these same expectations. Each of the community cohesion indicators provided in the guide had a title, a definition, and a justification of relevance. The following list gives a flavour of the exercise:

- The percentage of people who felt that their local area was a place where people from different backgrounds got on well together.
- The percentage of respondents who felt they belonged to the neighbourhood.
- Local people's key priorities for improving the area.
- The percentage of adults who felt they could influence local decisions.
- The percentage of people who felt local ethnic differences were respected.
- The number of racial incidents recorded by the police
- Comparative levels of severe deprivation.
- The percentage of pupils in an area achieving five or more GCSEs at Grades A-C in local secondary schools.

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

- The percentage of unemployed people claiming benefits.
- The percentage of people from different backgrounds who mixed with other people from different backgrounds in everyday situations.

Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society: the Government strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion (IOSS) (2005)

With a foreword by Charles Clarke, the Home Secretary, the Government's 2005 strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion was produced by the Home Office Race, Cohesion, Equality and Faith Directorate. The Home Secretary emphasised that the strategy was not about putting all people from minority ethnic communities in one category and those from the majority into another, but of identifying and responding to the specific needs of different communities. The strategy was in two related parts, one dealing with improving life chances in education, the labour market, health, housing, and the police and criminal justice system, and the other dealing with measures to build a cohesive society.

Cohesion as inclusion, common opportunities, and mutual expectation

A cohesive society was more than a society that offered equal opportunities to individuals. It required a number of social conditions to help people from all backgrounds 'to come together and develop a sense of inclusion and shared British identity defined by common opportunities and mutual expectations on all

Race equality in local communities

citizens to contribute to society' (p. 11). This did not just apply to minority ethnic groups. Inclusion had to involve the majority community when it felt excluded or left behind by social change.

Promoting belonging and cohesion

The government would promote a sense of common belonging and cohesion among all groups by ensuring:

- Young people from different communities grew up with a sense of common belonging. (Action would be taken to improve opportunities for young people from all backgrounds to learn, socialise and volunteer together, to develop a British identity alongside other cultural identities, and to develop citizenship, education and religious education (to improve understanding of all faiths) in schools.)
- New immigrants were integrated. (Action would be taken to promote a sense of belonging among immigrants, including citizenship ceremonies, and practical help in adapting to life in the UK.)
- People had opportunities to develop a greater understanding of the range of cultures that contribute to Britain's strength. (Action would be taken to bring people together through participation in programmes of sport and the arts, including a citizenship day, and

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

to help faith and ethnic communities promote understanding and dialogue.)

- People from all backgrounds had opportunities to participate in civic society. (Action would include help for people from disadvantaged backgrounds to be active in their communities.)
- Racism was unacceptable. (Action would focus on reducing racially-motivated incidents, dealing effectively with hate crimes, addressing racist attitudes amongst offenders, providing support for victims of hate crime, and helping schools deal with racist bullying, etc.)
- Extremists who promoted hatred were marginalised. (Action would be taken to enforce recently-introduced legislation on incitement to religious hatred, to strengthen the skills of those in local government to tackle racism and extremism, and to support faith communities by offering training for religious leaders.)
- Community leaders were trained to resolve tensions.
- Housing and regeneration programmes supported cohesion.
- Good practice on helping people from different communities to come together would be disseminated.

Role of REOs

REOs, as part of the voluntary and community sector, with their long tradition of bringing ethnic minority communities together and mediating between them and public authorities, are obvious candidates for the local delivery of the government community cohesion strategy. At the time of writing, the two CRE priority areas for REO funding were integration and conflict resolution. Public authorities on the other hand (as, for example, the first community cohesion reports suggested) may have contributed to community fragmentation. REOs, with the appropriate strategic guidance, might be expected to perform all or most of the following tasks relating to ethnic cohesion and integration:

- Research, map, monitor and measure ethnically-differentiated community cohesion across their local area of benefit.
- Monitor the activities of the racist far right with a view to marginalising extremists who stir up racial hatred.
- Help young people from different ethnic groups grow up with a sense of common belonging.
- Help immigrants, especially refugees, to integrate into local communities.
- Help people from all sections of society to understand and celebrate the contribution made by a range of cultures in Britain.
- Increase opportunities, through various creative projects, for all groups, especially

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

those whose voices are not normally heard, to participate in civic life.

- Work to ensure that racism is unacceptable at all times, anywhere.
- Generally, to promote cohesion at local level by all available means.

Institute of Community Cohesion

In 2005, the Institute of Community Cohesion (rapidly abbreviated to I CoCo) was established under the leadership of Ted Cante, former chief executive of Nottingham City Council and chair of the Independent Review Team (which coined and popularised the expression ‘community cohesion’). The objective was to develop a new approach to race, diversity and multiculturalism, and to focus on building positive and harmonious community relations, by disseminating best practice and evaluating local cohesion programmes. The Institute, based on four Midlands universities (Coventry, Warwick, De Montfort, and Leicester), aspires to become the recognised international centre of expertise on community cohesion. By 2006, Ted Cante had published *Community cohesion, a new framework for race and diversity* (2005) and the institute had produced reviews of cohesion for Oldham and Sandwell local authorities.

Commission for Integration and Cohesion

National concern over integration and cohesion grew substantially after the London tube bombings on 7 July 2005. It was reinforced by press stories of the large numbers of asylum seekers and refugees, illegal

immigrants, and economic migrants from Eastern Europe, particularly Poland and Lithuania, entering the United Kingdom. Questions were also being asked about the wisdom of established multi-cultural policies. Were they contributing in any way to the social fragmentation identified by the community cohesion reports? The decision to replace the Commission for Racial Equality, the national agency with a specific brief to promote good race relations, with the multi-equality-strand Commission for Equality and Human Rights, added to the government's anxiety as to whether enough was being done, or being seen to be done, to bring Britain's increasingly diverse communities together. On the 24th August 2006, Ruth Kelly, the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, launched the Commission for Integration and Cohesion (CIC), with a brief to report by June 2007 on proposals for tackling extremism and improving community relations.

Questioning multiculturalism

The Commission for Integration and Cohesion was not a permanent agency like the CRE, EOC, DRC or CEHR, but a group of eleven commissioners who would gather evidence by means of a programme of consultation and public meetings and events across England. At the launch, the Secretary of State said the CIC had to engage with the argument of Trevor Phillips (the chair of the CRE) that support for multiculturalism might encourage separateness and should be abandoned in favour of efforts to create greater social homogeneity. The new chair of the CIC, Darra Singh, Chief executive of Ealing Council in

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

London, said that he intended to build on the work of Ted Cantle, by working closely with the Institute of Community Cohesion, collating best practice from the towns and cities across the country that were doing well on the integration stakes, and developing a tool kit for others to use.

Criticisms of community cohesion concept and policy

Cultural consensus versus confluence/conflict of interest

In the social sciences, the term ‘social cohesion’ is regularly used as a synonym for social order, and is closely associated with what has come to be called the cultural approach to explaining order in society. The cultural approach emphasises the importance of establishing shared norms, values, and beliefs, to create and sustain social order. In the terms of Talcott Parsons, the American sociologist, ‘the stability of any social system is dependent on the degree of integration of a set of common value patterns’ (Parsons, 1951, p.42). This approach contrasts with what has come to be called the conflict or plurality of interest approach, in which society is seen as consisting of groups with different interests in a hierarchical power structure, where groups become allies in one situation but opponents in another. Cultural diversity is regarded as the inevitable consequence of social divisions, especially economic ones, and the different opportunities, occupations, lifestyles and choices available to the groups that make up the population. With this scenario, society does not survive on the basis of shared values, but on

Race equality in local communities

the changing alliances between interest groups. If conflict becomes extreme, the power of the state will be needed to enforce the peace. This model of perceived differences of interest leading to sporadic outbreaks of violence accords more closely with the 2001 disturbances in the northern towns.

Confusing Gemeinschaft with Gesellschaft

German writers on the sociology of community, such as Ferdinand Toennies, (1855-1936) have distinguished between 'Gemeinschaft' (usually translated) as 'community', and 'Gesellschaft', as 'association'. Gemeinschaft communities are seen as cohesive and homogeneous because they are based mainly on kinship and share common norms and religious values. These relationships are replaced in modern urban industrial societies, such as contemporary Britain, by Gesellschaft associational relationships characterised by a large-scale division and hierarchy of labour, individualism, and competitiveness. The earlier cohesiveness of closed rural societies, with their social, religious and ethnic status hierarchies is replaced by an openness and new opportunities for the social mobility of individuals and their nuclear families in the labour market and the political sphere. The proponents of community cohesion, so this criticism goes, are harping back to an imaginary golden age characterised, in reality, by community intolerance and religious bigotry. It is rather the complex division of labour, individualism, and competitiveness of modern society, and the absence of traditional kinds of community cohesion, that enable different ethnic communities and religious groups to relate together as individuals in order to

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

bring about a tolerant multi-racial society, unconcerned with differences apart from those of marketable skills.

Focus on good relations rather than on social justice

Gideon Ben Tovim, senior fellow in sociology at the University of Liverpool and leader of the Labour group on Liverpool City Council, produced one of the first and most incisive critiques of community cohesion policy. He warned of the 'forced integration lying behind the naïve assumptions of the 'community cohesion' approach to regeneration, with its threat to a range of local minority group projects and other area-based initiatives'. Ben Tovim saw the Cattle report, in particular, as embodying a number of dangerous assumptions which might be summarised as: (i) an emphasis on 'blaming the victim', (ii) a diversion away from issues of racial equality and discrimination, (iii) amnesia in relation to the history of post-war race relations, (iv) a preoccupation with cultural differences, rather than with institutional racism, (v) a focus on integrationist policies, interpersonal relations and inter-group activities between communities which are defined in cultural terms, and (vi), in relation to policy, a discouragement of area-based initiatives in favour of more diffused 'thematic approaches'.

New version of Tebbit's 'cricket loyalty test'

The suggestion that new citizens make a declaration of allegiance played into the hands of the extreme right. The underlying assumption was that the victims of discrimination were to blame for not adopting the

Race equality in local communities

British way of life: yet another version of Norman Tebbit's 'cricket loyalty test'. The focus on community cohesion merely served as a distraction from racial inequality and injustice, the central features of British race relations. For Ben Tovim in Liverpool, the key issues had been and remained, not questions of language, newness, and cultural polarisation, but the 'colour bar' and 'the long-standing racist exclusion from the mainstream of Liverpool institutions'.

Blaming the powerless for the choices they are not in a position to make

The suggestion that minority groups are consciously and actively rejecting British values and opportunities for integration and are seeking to keep themselves separate and exclusive is regarded by the race equality specialist as a dangerous and unevidenced overgeneralisation. Such a view transfers, in whole or in part, the responsibility for rejection and segregation away from the white community and its decision-makers to the relatively powerless minority: those who, in truth, are merely on the receiving end of social processes over which they have no control. The Denham report subsequently raised the question of whether choice is involved, or whether the observed segregation is the result of a lack of choice about housing, jobs and schools.

Residential choice (recent REWM research)

Recent REWM research showed a great deal of variation between different areas of the country in levels of ethnic integration and separation, as well as

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

variation in 'the index of dissimilarity'. In more detailed area studies of ethnic clusters in the West Midlands, the research showed that areas of mainly-white ethnic concentration, as well as areas of mainly-black and minority ethnic concentration, were closely associated with poverty and deprivation, whereas more ethnically-integrated neighbourhoods tended to be relatively more prosperous. These findings were taken as evidence that the persons living in poor areas had not chosen to live there to be with members of their own ethnic group, but because they did not have the means to buy property or live in more prosperous areas.

Failure to address the economic structures, processes and inequalities responsible for segregation.

The first part of this chapter explored the system of housing, job and educational distribution that governed the life opportunities of the various ethnic groups (including the white majority) in the inner city. Another telling criticism of government community cohesion policy is that it has deliberately turned away from any consideration of hard economics or structural intervention, towards softer social, relational and attitudinal solutions. The Local Government Association guidance contained no radical proposals for encouraging greater integration in housing, jobs, or education. (School admission policy was specifically excluded.) Proposals were not so much aimed at reducing existing involuntary segregation, but at increasing the opportunities for voluntary congregation.

Race equality in local communities

Projecting the responsibility for public service failure onto the community.

It can be argued that it is not local communities that are fragmented and in need of measures to improve their cohesion, but government departments and local public services which do not collaborate with one another and provide services that vary in quality, are delivered unevenly and unfairly according to geographical area, social class, ethnic group, gender, etc., and result in unequal and divisive consequences. Thus, the perception of community fragmentation is nothing more than a projection onto a community of national and local government and public authority failure to deliver effective and inclusive services and outcomes, and a useful rhetorical device for avoiding the blame. If the communities have become fragmented (so another version of the argument goes), then this must have occurred gradually over time. Politicians at national and local level could have intervened but chose not to. This is why schools over time have become segregated along racial lines.

Diffusion and deracialisation

After the first set of reports dealing with perceived racial and ethnic fragmentation, policy on community cohesion became increasingly inclusive of other possible dimensions of difference: gender, disability, religion or belief, age, and sexual orientation. With the focus on the Muslim community, religion had perhaps always been conceived as an issue, but the extension of the concept to include consideration of measures to tackle other social categories brought with it increased complexity. Put simply, the multi-

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

strand or multi-dimensional approach to cohesion, as an alternative to one directed at addressing the specific division between ethnically-defined communities, is thought to have led to a loss of policy focus and the diversion of attention away from ethnic and racial issues, leading to their neglect.

Community conflict

The 'war on terror'

Community cohesion policy was not only a response to rioting in the northern towns, but to terrorism overseas and at home. Public anxiety about community fragmentation and conflict increased substantially with the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York on 11th September 2001, and the subsequent 'war on terror' in Afghanistan and Iraq. Paranoia about Islamic fundamentalism and the enemy within was fuelled by the news of British-born Muslim combatants fighting British troops and ending up, like the so-called 'Tipton Taliban,' imprisoned in Guantanamo Bay,

London tube bombing

Against the background of a deteriorating internal situation in Iraq, on 7 July 2005, a group of bombers attacked the London tube and buses, killing 56 people and injuring 700. A further attack, in which explosives failed to detonate, took place two weeks later on 21 July 2005. Of great concern to many people was the realisation that the young men responsible had been born, brought up, and educated

Race equality in local communities

in urban Britain. The government, police, and all in the race equality movement, were not only concerned at the level of ideological alienation motivating the suicide bombers, but at the potential for a racist backlash against Muslims from the general public. Although this did not occur on any significant scale, increased racist attacks on Asian property, including mosques, were widely reported.

Plot to blow up trans-Atlantic flights

On 1 September 2005, television news broadcast a video message from the London suicide bomber, Mohammed Sidique Khan, from Dewsbury, West Yorkshire, who killed six people on a train at Edgware Road. He denounced democratically elected government for perpetuating atrocities against Islam and vowed to avenge 'his people'. A year later on 10 August 2006, the Home Secretary announced that a plot to detonate explosives on trans-Atlantic flights had been discovered and people had been arrested, most of them British Muslims. At the time of writing, approximately 20 people had been charged with terrorism-related offences. The media speculated as to why young British Muslims had chosen to engage in terror, the number of them engaged in subversion, and of the dangers of a 'fifth column'.

Racist far-right parties

A resurgence in the activities of extreme right-wing political parties, most notably the British National Party, poses a serious threat to local race relations and community cohesion. The British National Party (BNP) campaigns on a programme of nationalism, an

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

end to immigration, restrictions on asylum seekers and refugees, voluntary resettlement of immigrants in their country of ethnic origin, deportation of criminal illegal immigrants, the abolition of the Race Relation Act, withdrawal from the European Union, a crackdown on crime, restoration of flogging and the death penalty, and the protection of British industry from unfair competition from international capitalism.

BNP electoral success

Since 2001, the BNP, has been polling significant votes in national and local elections, its success underscoring the need to take preemptive political action to prevent a significant deterioration in race relations and a rise in incidents of racial conflict and harassment. In the June 2001 General Election, the BNP won 16.4% of the vote in Oldham West, and 11.3% in Burnley. In local council elections in May 2002, the BNP's best results were in Burnley, where for the first time three of its candidates were elected as councillors. In October, in the Stoke-on-Trent Council mayoral elections, the BNP candidate received 8,213 first preference votes (18.7% of the vote) and came in third place in front of Conservative and Liberal Democrat candidates. In the May 2003 local council election, thirteen BNP candidates were elected, five of them in Burnley, making it the second largest party, with eight council seats. In the June 2004 local council elections, fourteen BNP candidates across the country were elected, with four seats won in Bradford and three in Epping. At June 2004, the BNP had 21 councillors on major authorities. In the May 2005 General Election, the BNP averaged 4.2% in the constituencies where it stood, its best

performance in Barking, with 16.9% of the vote. In the May mayoral election in Stoke, the BNP received 19% of the total vote, and came in only 4335 votes behind the second-placed candidate. In May 2006 local elections in the wards where it fielded candidates, the BNP's average share of the vote was just over 18%. The number of BNP councils in the UK increased from 20 to 48. Most of the BNP gains were of seats won from the Labour Party. The increase in the number of BNP councillors was the largest experienced by that party since it first started to win seats in 2002. Its best results were in Barking and Dagenham, where it won 11 seats.

The growing importance of conflict resolution studies for race equality practitioners

There has been a growing recognition in recent years of the importance to race equality practitioners of acquiring and improving conflict resolution skills in a context characterised by apparently increasing incidents of inter-ethnic and inter-faith conflict. The study of ethnic conflict, of course, is merely the contrary of ethnic cohesion or peace. Factors leading to the new emphasis on conflict resolution have been:

- the riots in Bradford, Burnley, and Oldham.
- increased awareness of incidents of racial harassment and violence.
- incidents of terrorism by Muslim extremists and the dangers of indiscriminate backlash.

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

- tension created by the influx and dispersion of asylum seekers and refugees.
- conflict in Handsworth Lozells, Birmingham in October 2005, between ethnic minority communities, in particular, between black Caribbeans and Pakistani Asians.
- the electoral success of the racist British National Party, with accompanying racial provocation and tension.

British urban ethnic group conflict and violence

In February 2006, in response to demand, REWM produced a working paper on urban ethnic group conflict and violence, subtitled *instruments for conflict management and resolution*. Background research involved a survey of British urban ethnic group conflict in the sixty or more years since the Second World War. An initial list of forty significant conflicts between 1948 and 2006 was compiled. It soon became apparent that incidents were far more frequent than originally assumed and that they varied immensely in type and aetiology. If strategies were to be developed for improving ethnic relations, then it was first necessary to understand the many different manifestations of ethnic conflict that had occurred at various times and locations from the first wave of post-Second-World-War migration to the tube bombing of 2005. This involved studying the parties, their purposes, primary movers, primary targets, social, economic and political contexts, sequences of events, consequences and effects, and causes.

Classification of conflict

The study resulted in an eightfold classification, on the understanding that some instances of conflict were composed of more than one type or mutated from one form to another. The eight types were as follows:

(i) *Inter-ethnic conflict*

This is violence between neighbouring ethnic communities, as in the 2005 Birmingham Lozells conflict between black Caribbeans and Asians.

(ii) *Anti-newcomer conflict*

This is violence directed towards newcomers, often black or minority ethnic, as in the 1958 Nottingham and Notting Hill disturbances, described in Chapter Four.

(iii) *Anti-authority conflict*

This is antagonism towards the police and other authorities, as in the 1981 London Brixton disorders described in Chapter Five.

(iv) *Anti-racist conflict*

This is protest against the presence of racist extremists a neighbourhood which, because of the intensity of feeling generated against the racist threat, deteriorates into violence directed not only at the extremists, but sometimes at the police, who are seen as protecting the extremists and, therefore, to be on their side. Examples include the 1976 Birmingham

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

Handworth disorder, when the National Front demonstrated in support of Robert Relf held in Winson Green prison, the 1979 London Southall disturbances, when a large Anti-Nazi League counter-demonstration against a National Front election meeting ended in widespread violence, and the 1993 South East London anti-racist and anti-fascist march diverted by the police away from BNP headquarters.

(v) *Loss of control*

This is the degeneration into disorder of a mass gathering, such as a political demonstration, rally, or meeting, or a cultural or recreational event, for example, a sports match, a festival, a dance, club or party held, for instance, in a public house (possibly after a deliberate provocation, assault, brawl, or street fight), which occurs when the organisers lose their grip on the situation. Examples include the 1985 London Broadwater Farm disturbance, where the community leaders were shouted down, and the disturbances which followed the 1976 and 1977 London Notting Hill Carnival. Loss of control, including loss of control by the forces of law and order, is present in many of the other examples, especially those involving the organisation and mobilisation of large numbers of people on what are initially peaceful demonstrations.

(vi) *Turf war*

This is conflict between ethnically-characterised gangs for control of business or territory. While few instances fit this category exclusively, or can be described solely as a turf war between rival gangs,

there is a suspicion that elements of rivalry for commercial and territorial control have helped to frame many conflicts.

(vii) *Terror backlash*

This is a vengeance-seeking backlash against an ethnically or religiously-attributed outrage. The two most recent obvious examples are the 2001 terrorist attack in New York on the World Trade Center, in which 2,473 lost their lives (so-called 9/11), and the 2005 London tube and bus bombings, resulting in 52 deaths (so-called 7/7) which, in turn, led to a large increase in racially and religiously-motivated crime against people perceived to be Muslim or Asian. Terror-backlash conflict could lead theoretically to mass revenge attacks on people perceived to be associated with terrorism but, in practice, has resulted in the main in a rash of scattered attacks by small gangs on isolated individuals.

(viii) *Anti-blasphemy*

This is protest against perceived insult to god, the sacred, or religious practice or belief. Examples are the 1989 London Hyde Park demonstration by Muslims against Salman Rushdie's book, *The Satanic Verses*, the 2004 protest outside the Birmingham Repertory Theatre by Sikhs against the play, *Behzti*, and the 2006 demonstrations at the Danish Embassy by Muslims against cartoons portraying the prophet, Mohammed.

Mediated conflict

Incidents of urban ethnic group conflict, particularly those judged unusual, spectacular, or newsworthy in some way, will be reported in the mass media, thus providing them with regional, national, or international publicity. The horror of events, such as the 11 September 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Center, are rapidly drawn to the attention of millions of people world wide. One effect of this is to provide the opportunity for the kind of violent backlash described in the typology above. A backlash might take different forms: (i) a spontaneous mass uprising and attack against those perceived to be the perpetrators of the outrage, or to be associated with them (for example, when, after the assassination of Indira Ghandi, mobs in New Delhi attacked and killed Sikhs), or (ii) a rash of scattered attacks against individuals or people (for example, assaults on people of Asian appearance after the attack on the World Trade Center). Both these reactions can be termed mediated conflict, allowing a distinction to be made between unmediated primary incidents, the former usually characterised as being ‘uni-local,’ and mediated secondary incidents, the latter often ‘multi-local’ in the sense of being triggered by media dissemination in more than one place. Many conflicts, in fact, are mediated, and partly blamed for this reason on reporting in the media. Note, for example, the widespread rioting in 1981, with Lord Scarman accepting that disturbances in Birmingham Handsworth, and Wolverhampton, had a substantial ‘copy-cat’ element.

Explaining conflict

The eight-fold typology is not only a way of classifying the descriptions of conflict, but also of suggesting, albeit in summary form, a limited number of reasons, explanations, or causes for the events under examination. Thus the name ‘anti-blasphemy’ can be understood as explaining the motivation for the violence displayed by the demonstrators at the Birmingham Repertory Theatre in 2004. Previous attempts to explain British urban ethnic group conflict, particularly serious and major public disorders, have tended to focus on the ‘anti-authority’ events of the 1980s and, more recently, on the 2001 northern disturbances, which have been construed essentially as ‘inter-ethnic’ or ‘inter-communal’. In practice, conflicts are more varied and multi-faceted than either of these approaches might suggest. There is no single kind, or paradigm case, of ethnic group conflict, but a number of different kinds, or paradigms, each with its own prevailing causal pattern.

Cause and structural intervention

Recognition that there are different reasons, explanations, and causes for urban ethnic group conflict and violence is essential before it is possible to examine effects and outcomes, and to develop and apply strategies for intervention, management, prevention, resolution, or alleviation. But insights developed from the sociology of urban systems, described at the beginning of this chapter, provide one useful way of approaching the deeper causes of ethnic conflict, and intervening to balance the processes and

Race relations, cohesion and conflict

interests at work. The current cultural value approach reflected in many of the community cohesion analyses and initiatives is unlikely to make much of a difference.

Chapter Seven

Supporting communities and promoting good race relations

Overview. Race equality organisations provide community support to communities to increase opportunity and improve relations between racial groups. This is undertaken in the main by engaging in a series of community-based development projects supported by grant aid and formulated as work plans presented as a set of outcomes, milestones, and outputs. Most projects are targeted at disadvantaged minority ethnic groups living in inner urban areas. Increasingly, they are designed to encourage integration and community cohesion and to prevent ethnic conflict. Many are seen as an attempt to intervene in and break the cycle of deprivation. Frequently developed in partnership with public sector providers, projects often aim to improve minority ethnic access to public services. In recent years, there have been attempts to extend REOs' community support projects to benefit new immigrants and other excluded and emerging groups. The section on housing was co-authored with Jameel Malik, Strategic and Regeneration Manager, Hull City Council.

REOs as community-based project managers

The CRE model constitution for race equality councils (RECs) contains a section on 'mode of operation' in which one of the functions of the organisation is described as supporting local organisations concerned with promoting equal

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

opportunity and good relations by providing them with appropriate information, advice and assistance. This clause has traditionally been seen as the licence for voluntary sector race equality organisations to undertake community development work through mounting a wide range of local community-based projects, the majority aimed in the past at ethnic groups living in the REO's area of benefit. Indeed, because money and other resources have been available for area-based initiatives (see Chapter Four), REOs have often expanded their work in this area and have begun to view themselves (as well as being regarded by others) primarily as organisations managing community-based projects. REOs' community-based projects may contribute to the elimination of discrimination and the promotion of equal opportunity, but they have in recent years become identified mainly with initiatives aimed at improving race relations and community cohesion.

REO project characteristics

The main characteristics of REO projects to improve community relations are set out and then explored below. In general, REO projects:

- have been supported by grant aid from sources such as urban regeneration funds and the National Lottery.
- are now almost always formulated in terms of outcomes.
- in the main, provide facilities to disadvantaged ethnic minority groups and individuals resident in inner urban areas.

Race equality in local communities

- are organised to provide generic community advice, guidance and support, or to improve the access to, take up of, and outcomes for, specific public services.
- in line with CRE policy, often prioritise projects to encourage integration and prevent inter-community conflict.
- are increasingly designed to support the government strategy to increase race equality and community cohesion by improving life chances and building cohesion.
- now tackle issues of conflict prevention, including measures to marginalise extremism.
- have frequently been developed in partnership with public service providers.
- are often conceived as an effort to break the cycle of deprivation.
- aim to improve minority ethnic access to services such as employment, housing, health, education and youth work, and the police.
- are adapting slowly to meet the needs of new 'third wave' migrants and traditionally-excluded groups.
- are struggling to provide relevant services in rural areas to counter rural racism.
- are not yet sufficiently engaged in work with deprived white communities.
- are beginning to recognise the potential of the emerging mixed-race population.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

Impact of grant aid

National Lottery funding for voluntary and community groups

The focus on community development work has been facilitated by the greater availability of grant aid to undertake this function. It has proved far more difficult to attract funding for policy development with public authorities, assistance to complainants of discrimination, or educational work with the public. In recent years, too, the National Lottery has made available funding streams for community development, such as the Community Fund and, more recently, the Big Lottery, Reaching Communities, and the Young People's Fund. The funding has encouraged voluntary and community organisations to embark on community projects of various kinds. National Lottery funding programmes have prioritised equal opportunities and work with ethnic minority communities. Some REOs, alone or working in partnership with other bodies, have received limited grant aid from the Single Regeneration Budget and the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund.

CRE Getting Results funding under Section 44 of the Race Relations Act 1976

In 2002, the CRE changed its method of distributing grant aid under section 44 of the Race Relations Act. Originally, it had funded race equality officer posts and then moved to a system of making annual grants to REOs for approved organisational work programmes. Known as *Getting Results*, the 2002 annual grant regime was outcome-based and initially

Race equality in local communities

required organisations making applications to submit only community-based project proposals. This was later modified in the realisation that some local race equality organisations also provided case work services for individuals who had experienced racial discrimination. Funding for policy development, however, was expected to come from those public bodies which required that service. For 2007-08, the CRE continued to focus its funding on promoting good race and ethnic relations in local communities.

Projects presented as outcomes

CRE's preferred project design format

As with other community project funders, the CRE expected the projects it funded to adopt a particular format, perhaps the most significant feature of which was the insistence on identification and achievement of outcomes. To comply with funding requirements, organisations were obliged to plan their work as a series of outcomes designed to meet the needs of the local community.

Outcomes, milestones and outputs

An outcome is defined as a change that the organisation's activities are intended to bring about over a given period. To bring about that overall change, the organisation is expected to break down and sequence its activities into a series of stages which have come to be referred to as milestones. The various activities contributing to the outcome should also be conceived and set out in a way that allows them to be quantified (enumerated) and measured.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

Activities described in this way are referred to as outputs.

The SMART work plan

Assembled systematically together, outcomes, with supportive milestones and outputs, constitute the work plan, whose effectiveness is judged on whether it is SMART, an acronym for five attributes: specific, measurable, attainable, realistic and time-bound. An important consideration is whether the planned project is needed and is feasible, and can be delivered on time and to cost. The organisation has to demonstrate from the start that it has the capacity to mount the project and, at completion, that it has managed to do so successfully and to plan. It should be able to produce evidence (measures) to show that the outcomes have been achieved in full, particularly if it wishes to avoid claw-back of funds originally allocated on the promise of achievement, or to continue receiving funds in subsequent years.

Reasons for introducing outcome-based funding

Prior to the introduction of outcome-based funding, REOs were expected to submit an annual work programme setting out as stages the tasks that would be carried out during the forthcoming year. Work programmes were of uneven quality, many of them repeating the tasks that had been performed in previous years. Some plans were hopelessly non-specific and aspirational e.g. 'to make a significant contribution to promoting race equality in (a particular location)'. Critics felt that while organisations were expected to evidence their

activities e.g. to keep account of numbers seeking advice, far too little attention was being paid to organisational effectiveness, achievement, and added value for money. For evidence-based decisions to be made, measures of improvement in the quality of opportunity and relationships in the area of benefit had to be introduced. The carefully named *Getting Results* grant regime was intended to bring about such a change.

Criticism of the outcome model

The outcome model of project design and delivery is increasingly required by funding bodies and has been adopted across the voluntary and community sector, provoking questions as to the suitability of its application to certain kinds of activity, and its long-term effect on organisations and intended beneficiaries alike. For example, are continuous processes, such as providing advice, guidance and education, best expressed in terms of outcomes, milestones and outputs? And is it sensible to formulate all projects only in terms of outcomes that are quantifiable? Do any effective measures of race equality and race relations improvement exist? Do current measures measure what they set out to measure and what difference does the measure make to the way the endeavour is conceived and set into motion? From REOs, the criticism has been more mundane. Most believe that the core costs of sustaining a small voluntary organisation extend beyond the grant allocated to deliver a specific outcome. With outcome-related funding, of course, expenditure on core staff, administrators, office running costs, and rent, should be included in the

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

costing of the outcome but, in reality, the amount the funder is prepared to pay for the outcome falls below the true cost of delivery.

Dealing with disadvantage

REO projects targeted at urban ethnic minorities

Most REOs have now adopted the outcome model to deliver their traditional community support work. While there is still considerable variation between the projects mounted by REOs, they still share in common the fact that much of their work is targeted at minority ethnic communities, groups and individuals resident in inner urban areas who have been assessed as experiencing high levels of deprivation, disadvantage and discrimination (sometimes referred to as ‘the three ds’). Conversely, few projects involve, or aim to provide facilities for the more prosperous white or minority ethnic population living in the suburbs.

Justification for minority ethnic focus

The focus is felt to be strategically justified by the fact that the minority ethnic population is clustered in Britain’s conurbations and cities, namely Greater London (47.6%), the Midlands (13.6%), and a number of the northern industrial cities and towns, a settlement pattern first established by the second wave of migration in the 1960s. More precisely, 67% of England’s ethnic minorities compared with 37% of the white ethnic group live in the 88 most deprived local authority districts (Census 2001). In addition, most REOs were set up in areas of original minority

ethnic settlement, are sustained by these communities, and continue to provide services to them. The orientation towards projects supporting disadvantaged minority ethnic communities, however, impacts on REOs' ability to deliver community-cohesion bridge-building activities or to cast themselves as impartial mediators in disputes between minority ethnic and white communities.

Generic community work versus service improvement projects

REOs' community support projects vary considerably in kind, as this chapter goes on to demonstrate. From time to time, attempts have been made to clarify their purpose, rationalise their relationship to constitutional objects, and to classify them into types. One view is that REO projects fall into two broad categories: (i) generic projects providing for a broad sweep of a particular community's needs, from advice on job applications to health and child care matters, and (ii) specific projects relating to access to provision, or improvement, of a particular service, for example, employment, housing, education, health, and policing. Examples of projects of both kinds can still be found but, over the last twenty years, there appears to have been a growth of projects specialising in a single aspect of service provision.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

Examples of generic and specialist projects

Generic project

The project aims to empower members of the local ethnic community by:

- establishing their needs for a wide range of services,
- providing information, advice and guidance on job opportunities, accommodation, basic training and other issues,
- developing a community association and centre,
- increasing the involvement of local people in the decision-making processes that affect their lives.

Specialist Project

The Race into Work project targets advice and guidance at young people from minority ethnic communities on employment, training, and educational opportunity, as one of the strands of the area regeneration strategy.

Integration

The CRE priority area of integration

For 2007-08, as for 2006-07, the CRE specified its main priority areas to be integration and inter-community conflict prevention and resolution (CRE, August 2006, p.5). In its funding guidance notes (August 2006), the CRE explained that an integrated society is one where diversity is celebrated, but where difference does not mean division, and where all have the same life chances and say in decision-making. Integration is certainly not about everyone being the same or having to subscribe to one set of values. The CRE believes that integration can only be achieved if ‘there is *equality* for all sections of the community, *interaction* between all sections of the community’, and *participation* by all sections of the community’. (CRE, August 2006, p.5). Voluntary and community organisations, including REOs, are invited to apply for funding to run a project to help promote integration. As long as the project had a clear outcome, it could focus on just one of the elements of integration, or more, if that was felt necessary. Various community projects aimed at promoting integration were offered as examples.

Examples of equality projects

A suitable project to promote equality might be one that:

- increased employment opportunities for people from ethnic minorities currently underrepresented in a particular field,

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

- reduced the possibility of racial discrimination or harassment by encouraging community safety partnerships to focus their resources on areas with high levels of racially-motivated crime.
- provided support for people who had experienced discrimination in employment or services.
- provided support for victims of the criminal offence of racial harassment (ibid, p.6).

Examples of participation projects

A project encouraging greater participation might be one that:

- promoted the active involvement of ethnic minorities in public life, for example, by running activities encouraging voter registration.
- encouraged greater ethnic minority involvement in civic life, for example, by running a project to encourage people to become school governors or to serve on a committee of a Local Strategic Partnership.
- persuaded people to volunteer for community service (ibid, p.6).

Examples of interaction projects

With a reminder that people are not confined to work, or have friends only within their own ethnic community, the CRE offers as examples the following projects for encouraging integration:

Race equality in local communities

- opportunities for people of different racial and ethnic groups to learn about each other and form bonds.
- using human contacts to break down stereotypes and reduce tension and suspicion.
- bringing people together to talk, work and socialise positively.

Examples of REO integration projects

Development of measures of integrative capacity

This project extends work on piloting and improving ways of measuring ethnic integration and integrative capital at local level, applying the measures and indicators to relations between different ethnic groups (including white) and developing indices of integration and conflict potential.

Preventing community fragmentation through Local Area Agreements

This project evaluates the arrangements within Local Area Agreements made by local authorities and others to identify neighbourhoods and situations at risk from community fragmentation, to promote community cohesion and to support the improvement of race and ethnic relations. It disseminates findings and examples of good practice through Local Strategic Partnerships, Black and Minority Ethnic Empowerment Networks, and local authorities.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

Community Cohesion

Local government action guide, 2004

Chapter Six describes how the concept of community cohesion has evolved since 2001. In specifying action to promote community cohesion, the Local Government Association *action guide* (2004) underscored the importance of developing close working relationships with Local Strategic Partnerships, minority ethnic communities, faith communities, the voluntary and community sector, the media, and the police. A section on working with the voluntary and community sector mentioned that ‘in some areas local race equality councils can act as representative bodies for the local community organisations’, but otherwise, there was little reference in the document to the role that REOs might play in efforts to promote community cohesion. The guide represented a stage in the development of cohesion policy when promoting good ethnic relations was seen as only one among a number of other measures to deal with community divisions. Voluntary sector and minority ethnic networks were seen mainly as facilitating greater community involvement and participation, not as providing expertise in ethnic community relations.

Government community cohesion strategy, 2005

The government strategy on building community cohesion was refined again in the Home Office publication *Improving Opportunity, Strengthening Society* (2005), under the headings:

Race equality in local communities

- helping young people from different communities grow up with a sense of common belonging,
- helping immigrants to integrate into British communities,
- helping people from all sections of society to understand and celebrate the contribution made by a range of cultures in Britain,
- increasing opportunities to participate in civic life,
- helping to ensure that racism is unacceptable,
- marginalising extremists who stir up hatred, and
- promoting cohesion at local level.

Community cohesion projects

REO community cohesion projects are virtually indistinguishable from CRE priority-area integration projects for encouraging interaction between people of different racial and ethnic groups, but are mentioned again here to emphasise how they have arisen from government community cohesion initiatives. While varying immensely in target group and scope, community cohesion projects undertaken by REOs aim to create a common vision and sense of belonging, increase the appreciation of ethnic diversity within communities, promote equality of opportunity, and develop a strong and positive relationships between people from different ethnic groups in the workplace, schools and neighbourhoods. Projects often start with an attempt to measure current levels of cohesion in order to establish a baseline

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

against which the success of subsequent activities can be assessed.

Impact of community cohesion policy on REO projects

Community cohesion policy has affected REO community support projects in four ways. It has shifted emphasis away from work aimed at eliminating discrimination and increasing opportunities, towards that of promoting good relations between different communities, now broadened beyond the racial or ethnic, to include religious or faith communities. Against the background of the conflict in 2001 in northern towns, it places greater weight than ever before on conflict prevention. In addition, an ambiguity has been introduced as to the range of social divisions to be addressed. Does a community cohesion project have to include action on gender, age, disability, and sexual orientation, albeit within an overall context of racial differentiation?. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, projects providing services to only one ethnic group have been replaced by projects aimed at building bridges between different ethnic communities. One condition for CRE *Getting Results* funding 2007-08 was that any project had to benefit at least two ethnic groups. Applications were, however, welcome from organisations traditionally working with one community who were seeking to widen their remit to include people of other ethnic categories.

Race equality in local communities

Examples of REO community cohesion projects

Baseline Survey

One REO administered a questionnaire to establish the state of local attitudes and relationships in a neighbourhood and then devised a series of activities to address the negative aspects.

Mapping exercise

One REO undertook a mapping exercise of existing social provision for black and minority ethnic communities, and of their involvement in local decision-making relating to service delivery.

Bringing communities together

The climax of the project was a large well-attended multi-cultural festival bringing diverse communities together in a day of activities including drama, dance, music, and displays. The project involved information dissemination, establishment of networks, training sessions and awareness-raising events, involving over 14,000 people over the three-year project life.

Conflict prevention and resolution

The CRE priority of inter-community conflict prevention and resolution

The CRE priority of inter-community conflict prevention and resolution is seen essentially as

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

another dimension of work to encourage integration, but within the far less promising context of inter-ethnic conflict, tension and mistrust. No actual examples are given by the CRE of possible projects of this kind, although they would need to identify and diffuse tension in a given location and work towards longer-term prevention. Organisations intending to engage in conflict prevention should ask whether there is a need for this kind of work in their area, they have the expertise to undertake the work, they are seen as sufficiently influential or as neutral, they are in a position to involve the police and other authorities, and they are equipped to display a model or mechanism to improve and sustain relations over the longer term.

Conflict prevention projects

Chapter Six outlined the various kinds of ethnic group conflict and violence in Britain, and how the 2001 northern riots led to new measures to manage and resolve conflict. REOs have responded in different ways to ethnic and faith conflict occurring in their neighbourhoods. Most are represented on community safety partnerships and community cohesion forums operating in their locality, and are consulted by front-line agencies, such as the police and local authority departments, when tensions become apparent in and between local communities. REOs have developed various projects aimed at preventing conflict and improving relations between ethnic and faith communities, for example:

- forming alliances and setting up networks of community contacts that can

Race equality in local communities

be activated at any sign of rising tension and used to allay false rumour, give an accurate and reliable account of what is going on, and provide authoritative leadership on how to resolve the presenting problem.

- developing a mediation service for parties that are in actual or potential dispute.
- establishing discussion, dialogue and debate between community groups on matters they are known to disagree about, misunderstand, or interpret in different ways.
- in partnership with the police and different community groups, monitoring instances of racial violence and hate crime and discussing ways of reducing instances.
- running courses on the principles and practice of resolving urban ethnic group conflict.
- working with schools, identified by reported incidents of racial bullying or gang fights, to bring groups of students known to be in conflict together for dialogue in a controlled educational environment.

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Examples of REO conflict prevention and resolution projects

Monitoring tension

The REO has developed a community network for monitoring the state of local ethnic community relations, and reports regularly to the community safety partnership whose members include the police and local authority.

Settling gang fights

Following reported gang fights in an area, white and Asian Muslim, 11-to-16-year-olds were brought together to explore the reasons for the conflict and to make the case for peace.

Resolving disputes between new immigrant groups

Trained facilitators ran workshops for community leaders to establish a dialogue between Polish and Czech Roma residents on an estate who had been in dispute with one another.

Marginalising extremism

Safe Communities Initiative

The government's community cohesion strategy (Home Office, 2005) recognises that extremist political and religious organisations could undermine efforts to bring about inclusion and could generate

fear. Legislation by itself, making offences of incitement to racial and religious hatred, is recognised as insufficient to combat the extremists. Effective local community leadership is crucial – a role voluntary and community organisations are well placed to perform. As part of the strategy of marginalising extremism, the CRE was given the role of developing a capacity-building project known as the Safe Communities Initiative. Together with material produced by REWM reporting on far-right electoral activity (REWM, RED 13, July 2005, RED 19, June 2006) and giving advice to local authorities and voluntary organisation (REWM, RED 18, March 2006), the Safe Communities information pack (CRE, March 2006) is a useful guide to the kind of projects that contribute to tackling organised racist activity it contains nine case studies, including action initiated by REOs.

CRE advice on countering the racist far right

The CRE identified five key issues in tackling the activities of the racist far right:

- strong leadership from local authorities.
- partnership work and sharing of information.
- communication strategies to neutralise far-right rhetoric and to build links with local media.
- building of alliances between different sections of the community, including minority ethnic and faith groups.
- rapid responses to community tensions.

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(CRE Safe Communities Initiative, March 2006).

REWM advice on countering the racist far right

In the introduction to *From BUF to BNP, chronology of racist extremism*, nine practical steps are offered to deal with the racist far right:

- teaming up and collaborating with other anti-fascists and anti-racists.
- identifying local threats and local issues leading to tension.
- gathering information about the values, policies and pedigree of extreme-right groups and individuals.
- raising awareness of local communities to the dangers posed by the extreme right to race and community relations.
- liaising with mainstream political parties operating in the area.
- developing political and electoral tactics.
- establishing relations with the local media and rebutting immediately hostile racist propaganda.
- keeping in close touch with the police and local authority.
- forming a broad united front of political parties, faith groups, trade unions, voluntary and community associations, other organisations, and individual local people, against the racism of the extreme right.

Race equality in local communities

Examples of REO projects to marginalise extremism

Both examples are extracted and summarised from the CRE's Safe Communities Initiative information pack (March 2006).

Marginalising extremism in Stoke on Trent

North Staffordshire Racial Equality Council (REC) saw the rapid rise of the far right and associated racist activity as a threat to racial equality in the area. Two local authorities had councillors from far right parties. This coincided with a rise in reported racist incidents, greater Islamophobia, and the fallout from aggressively-negative reporting on refugees and asylum seekers, and ethnic minorities more generally, by some sections of the media. An action plan was drawn up to coordinate active local campaigning against the far right, and to refute publicly the untruths being peddled by far-right groups about asylum seekers, refugees and other racial equality issues. The REC also produced reports comparing far-right activities with electoral performance.

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Marginalising extremism in Peterborough

Peterborough saw a sharp rise in reported racist incidents since 2001, with mounting tensions between settled communities and newcomers – both asylum seekers and migrant workers – and greater activity from far-right political parties. Peterborough Racial Equality Council set up Peterborough United Against Fascism (PUAF) to respond to the negative effect that the far right was having on local community stability, and to stop far-right groups from making significant in-roads in local elections. PUAF's aims were:

- to make sure any public march or demonstration planned by far right groups was opposed by the whole community;
- to make information on far right activity in Peterborough readily available, and to share it with stakeholders; and
- to help local organisations and communities take on racist far-right activity.

Holocaust remembrance

In 1998, a task force for international cooperation on holocaust education, remembrance and research was set up by Swedish, United Kingdom and United States governments (later widened to include Germany, Israel, Poland, the Netherlands, France, and Italy). Following widespread consultation, the British Prime Minister announced that there would be an annual Holocaust Memorial Day on 27 January each year, with approximately £0.5 million a year of funding plus a further £1.5 million for a Holocaust Educational Trust, to pay for two students from every school in the United Kingdom to visit Auschwitz.

Race equality in local communities

The aim of Holocaust Memorial Day

The aim is to:

- remember all victims of the Holocaust and Nazi prosecution (Jews, Roma and Sinti (Gypsies), East European civilians, Russian prisoners of war, trade unionists, communists, political opponents, disabled people, Jehovah's Witnesses, gay men and lesbians, and black Germans),
- reflect on those affected by more recent atrocities in Cambodia, Rwanda, Bosnia and Kosovo.
- educate people about the dangers of anti-Semitism, racism and all forms of discrimination.
- ensure that the horrendous crimes, racism and victimisation committed during the Holocaust are neither forgotten nor repeated anywhere in the world.

The role of REOs in Holocaust remembrance

This is an important annual opportunity for REOs to join with local community groups (particularly those with a history of persecution by the Nazis), schools, and other appropriate agencies, to spread the message about the horrors of racism and genocide, and how they must never be allowed to regain a hold on society (see Newman, 2002). David Lammy, junior minister of culture, in charge of Holocaust Memorial Day, has suggested that the history of slavery could be commemorated in the same way, starting in 2007,

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

the two-hundredth anniversary of Britain's abolition of the slave trade (not slavery) in 1807 (*The Guardian*, 17.10. 2006).

An example of an REO Holocaust remembrance project

Anne Frank exhibition

One REO helped to organise an exhibition of the life of Anne Frank, a young Jewish woman who died in the Holocaust (see Anne Frank House, 2003), accompanied by talks and an art competition at secondary schools in the neighbourhood.

Partnership projects

Partnership projects to improve services to ethnic minorities

Chapter One described how race equality might be promoted through Local Strategic Partnerships which brought communities together with service providers. Local Strategic Partnerships have established thematic sub-groups, bringing together agencies responsible for delivering different aspects of services, such as housing, education, health, and community safety. The realisation that service users are not concerned with who delivers the service as long as it is adequate and meets their needs, nor are interested in the demarcation lines between organisations, has contributed to a far greater willingness in recent years

to explore partnership options, including joint projects between public authorities and REOs.

Three types of public authority service

Many public authorities provide three types of service: (i) for the general public (used by all ethnic groups), (ii) for residents of particular geographical areas (impacting on clustered ethnic groups), and (iii) for specific ethnic categories, although the last constitutes a small proportion of total provision. The tripartite approach is often characterised within the organisation as (i) main-stream provision, (ii) area-based initiatives, and (iii) special programmes and projects. Historically, most public authorities have provided ethnically-undifferentiated services directed at all user groups, who live in a particular area of deprivation, irrespective of their race or ethnicity. More recently, recognising that undifferentiated services run the danger of 'institutional racism' (by not taking into account the specific requirements of particular ethnic user groups, thus denying them the services they need), public authorities have been more inclined to experiment with specially-targeted programmes and projects. Partnership with the voluntary sector, including REOs, helps providers to identify, consult with, and access groups previously excluded from service provision, thus contributing to the achievement of official targets. Many projects aimed at improving public service provision to minority ethnic groups in the field of employment, housing, education, health, are now likely to include some element of partnership work with voluntary and community sector organisations.

Intervention in the cycle of disadvantage and deprivation

Chapter Six explored the urban systems, identified by Rex and Moore (1976) and Rex and Tomlinson (1979), of employment, housing, and education, that operate collectively to create and sustain a state of racial deprivation and inequality in city life. The effects of low-wage employment or unemployment on families' quality of life and housing choice, on standards of health, and the education of their children, is often referred to as a cycle of deprivation, making it difficult for those caught within it to escape its effects. Race equality community development work is frequently conceived as a set of interventions aimed at helping families or individuals break free from the deprivation cycle at critical points in their lives. Such interventions might be made to help them gain employment, improve or acquire suitable accommodation, make the most of education or training opportunities, lead more healthy life styles, or stay out of trouble with the law. REOs' projects, accordingly, can be grouped in terms of the point of intervention in the cycle of deprivation, or of the effects on the particular urban system they are meant to address.

Employment

Minority ethnic economic disadvantage

Minority ethnic groups have significantly higher rates of unemployment than white people (15% compared with 6.4%). Unemployment rates for people of black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origin are three times worse than the rate for white people. Young people from ethnic minorities are far more likely to experience difficulties in the transition from school and further and higher education into employment. For example, black Caribbean graduates are twice as likely as white graduates to be unemployed six months after leaving university. Even in employment, research shows that the ethnic minorities are far more likely than their white counterparts to be found in low-level and low-paid jobs. These differences between minority ethnic groups and the rest cannot be explained away by age, qualifications, or where they live. Racial discrimination, intentional or unintentional, remains a significant contributory factor. The problem of economic disadvantage is compounded when a high proportion of residents in an urban area is unemployed, on benefit, or earning low wages.

REO projects relating to economic activity

REOs have responded to ethnic economic disadvantage by engaging in a range of projects with varying aims, for example:

- helping people without jobs become accustomed to the idea of employment,

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

and to prepare themselves for interview and the demands of the workplace.

- raising young people's career aspirations and understanding of what employers are likely to expect of them, sometimes by pairing a young person with a mentor.
- assisting in recruiting ethnic minorities for access courses usually arranged in partnership with college or employer, to prepare them to apply for an occupation, where currently people of minority ethnic origin are unrepresented.
- in partnership with other agencies, encouraging minority ethnic individuals to consider the self-employment option, work up a business proposition, and set up their own business.
- setting up forums of local employers to encourage them to take on work placements and trainees and to consider a wider range of potential employees.
- working with minority ethnic businesses in a local area on ways of helping people find work and of diversifying their current work force to include employees from a greater range of ethnic groups.
- training company staff responsible for personnel functions, including recruitment, on the importance of operating fair and impartial personnel procedures and avoiding racial stereotyping.
- improving the job prospects of the local ethnic minority community by helping them on a one-to-one basis to access

Race equality in local communities

education, training, and jobs. Clients are offered a range of options (including New Deal).

Example of an REO employment-related project

Putting 'the wow factor' into construction-related careers

This project is aimed at increasing employment and training opportunities for ethnic minorities in construction. The project has supply-side, and demand-side aspects. On the supply-side representatives of five secondary schools with large ethnic minority student populations and a college providing construction-related qualifications, two large Registered Social Landlords (RSL), careers and connexions officers, and local construction firms, create a partnership to build a bank of potential employees, with the aim of facilitating entry to employment in the construction industry. On the demand-side, the LSP housing thematic partnership adopts a policy for delivering regeneration benefits from 'work and service' contracts with the aim of providing training and employment opportunities in construction for ethnic minorities. This approach is embedded in ALMO procurement contracts and tender briefs.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

Education

Minority ethnic educational underachievement

The 1985 Rampton/Swann Report showed that ethnic groups differed significantly in their school examination results, with black Caribbean children performing particularly badly (Swann, 1985). These differences have been apparent ever since. Even though performance at GCSE has improved overall, students from particular minority ethnic groups have not shared equally in that improvement. Black Caribbean, black African, Pakistani and Bangladeshi youngsters are performing particularly badly compared with white, Indian, and Chinese.

School exclusion and bullying

Black Caribbean students are also four times more likely to be excluded from school than their white counterparts, which has a marked negative effect on their chances of academic achievement (Osler, 1997). Young people sometimes experience bullying at school. For those from a minority ethnic background there is sometimes an extra element of racism, ranging from verbal abuse to physical assault. Little learning is likely to take place in such an atmosphere of fear and intimidation.

Effect on employment opportunities

One consequence of low achievement, exclusion, bullying, and poor schooling, is that badly educated groups and individuals will find it difficult to obtain and hold down jobs requiring qualifications or further

Race equality in local communities

training, and will be confined to a particular type and level of insecure, poorly-paid employment. A job market permanently stratified along ethnic or racial lines has to be avoided at all costs.

REO projects relating to education

REOs have developed a range of projects to meet particular minority ethnic educational and training needs, for example:

- assisting in the organisation of black supplementary schools, study support and homework clubs, at evening or weekends.
- providing community language programmes, usually in partnership with a local education authority.
- running youth and community programmes involving sport, dance, music, and other creative activities, for minority ethnic young people, often in association with minority ethnic community associations, schools and the youth service, and sometimes including an intensive summer away-programme.
- promoting and mounting black history projects, including exploration of 'roots', ancestry, ethnic culture and history.
- arranging mentoring schemes for young people from different ethnic communities.
- running competitions, ceremonies and other celebratory events to encourage educational achievement.
- joining with local minority ethnic community associations to organise support groups for minority ethnic parents, and to

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

- involve them in school decision-making and activities.
- developing joined-up projects involving local schools, the police, Youth Offending Service, and local authority youth and community workers, in anti-bullying programmes, including work with victims and perpetrators.
- organising projects and festivals to make ethnic groups aware of their own and others' culture.

History of race equality policies in education

The English and Welsh education system has responded to the presence of the minority ethnic population in four policy phases: assimilationism, multiculturalism, anti-racism, and equality of opportunity. Assimilationist policy is founded on the assumption that the sooner newcomers adapt to the British way of life, the sooner any problems associated with their arrival will disappear, but is extended by a recognition that certain limited special provision, such as language support, would assist in the assimilation process.

Multi-cultural education policy

Multi-cultural policy assumes that the education system fails to meet racial minority need by ignoring differences of culture. It is derived, very obviously, from a child-centred model of education emphasising the importance of building on family values. Signs of the development of a multi-cultural curriculum are unsurprisingly found mainly in primary education.

Race equality in local communities

Despite the controversy and debate, multi-cultural policy is far less apparent in secondary, further and higher education.

Anti-racist education policy

Anti-racist policy is based on the belief that there is widespread racial discrimination in society and in education, that this affects racial minority performance, and that the remedy lies in the recognition of the endemic nature of that racism and the development of a practice that counteracts its effects. Ample evidence has been collected of the racist attitudes of both white staff and students, but it is less easy to demonstrate that racism, as such, is responsible, in whole or in part, for the poorer educational performance of (some) minority ethnic groups.

Racial equality of opportunity policy

Racial equality of opportunity policy assumes that measures need to be taken to extend provision and improve opportunities for racial groups underrepresented or underperforming in particular sections of the education system. There is usually an acknowledgement of the existence of wider social disadvantage, as well as of specifically educational disadvantage, and attempts to remove obstacles to study by, for example, the racial monitoring of participation and performance, and special programmes developed for targeted groups, including counselling and other support. Much of this action is set out in schools' statutory race equality policy under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. Most

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

educational projects run by REOs, often in partnership with schools, are now best described as contributing to the implementation of race equality of opportunity policy, but traces of earlier multi-cultural and anti-racist policies can still be found.

Examples of REO education projects

Black boys

This is a local partnership project involving black Caribbean families, primary schools, teaching assistants and carefully selected mentors aimed at early intervention (with infants) to improve the educational performance of black children, especially boys.

Twinning Schools

The project involves undertaking an assessment of the ethnic composition of local secondary schools, followed by a selection of two with the highest and two with the lowest percentage of ethnic minorities. The four schools identified develop twinning arrangements involving pupils from the twinned schools participating in exciting summer projects.

Anti-racist workshops

Secondary schools agreeing to participate in the scheme nominate young people to participate in a series of workshops in which issues of drugs, religion and racism are explored. Young people are offered experience of volunteering, employment, youth work, civic activities, race equality, neighbourhood

involvement, all requiring them to mix with people of other races.

Housing

Housing inequalities

The English House Condition Survey (EHCS) (2003) is undertaken every five years and assesses the overall condition of the housing stock. The survey reported:

- Of 21.1 million dwellings in England, 7 million are considered non-decent. Of these non-decent homes, 5.6 million fail to provide an adequate level of thermal comfort, 2 million are in disrepair, 0.9 million are unfit, and 0.5 million require modernisation (some homes falling into more than one category).
- Some 6.7 million households live in non-decent homes. Of these households, 5.2 million are in the private sector and 1.5 million are social tenants.
- Many vulnerable people live in non-decent homes: people who rent privately, people who live alone, ethnic minorities, and families with no-one in full-time employment.

Minority ethnic housing inequality

The national evidence base on BME housing (Harrison and Phillips, 2003) identified differences between the conditions of particular ethnic

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

populations. It found that the Indian populations, when compared with white were more likely to be owner occupiers, in overcrowded households, living in poor housing, and dissatisfied with their home and wanting to move. Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations were also disadvantaged when compared with white, and were less likely to be owner occupiers, more likely to have lower incomes, particularly likely to be overcrowded, to live in poor housing, and be dissatisfied with their home and wanting to move. The black population was relatively disadvantaged compared with white and Indian, but less disadvantaged than Pakistani or Bangladeshi populations. Compared with the white, the black population was least likely to be in owner occupation. It was more likely to be overcrowded, to live in poor housing, be dissatisfied, and wanting to move.

REO projects relating to housing

REOs have responded to the race equality policy needs of public authorities in the field of housing by working in various ways in partnership with:

- Registered Social Landlords (RSLs).
- Local Government Housing Teams.
- Arms Length Management Organisations (ALMOs) and Large-Scale Voluntary Transfer companies (LSVTs).
- Private developers.
- Homelessness charities.
- Housing Advice Centres.
- Citizens Advice Bureaux.

Examples of REO housing projects

New-build homes to meet BME needs

The project involves working in partnership with the local council, a housing developer and a Registered Social Landlord to build new homes ensuring ethnic minorities:

- are consulted and have homes built to complement their lifestyles.
- benefit from local training/employment opportunities arising from the development.
- benefit from local business opportunities in procuring the development.

Housing advice and reducing homelessness

The project involves working in partnership with the local council and key voluntary sector organisations to establish an independent advice centre for ethnic minorities to provide:

- welfare benefits advice and advocacy service.
- advice on various home ownership products.
- consultation on local regeneration schemes.
- information and signposting to housing agencies.
- a reporting centre for racial discrimination and harassment incidents.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

Health inequalities

For health professionals, ‘health inequality’ refers to the inequalities between socio-economic strata in key areas such as life expectancy and infant mortality. Their priority is to narrow the gap between those with the lowest life expectancy and the national average. The gap is caused principally by premature deaths from cancer, circulatory diseases and respiratory diseases, with the over-50s most at risk. Action to narrow this gap is aimed at addressing cancer and circulatory disease mainly among manual workers, improving the life expectancy of the over-50s by reducing smoking, changing lifestyles, involving poor diet, obesity and hypertension, and improving homes to remove the risks of cold and damp and accidents. The four main killers are cancer, coronary heart disease and strokes, accidents, and mental illness.

Minority ethnic health inequality

Within this context, there are differences in health between minority ethnic and white populations. A significantly higher proportion of people of Asian ethnic origin than of other ethnic groups dies from heart disease. Black Caribbeans are particularly vulnerable to strokes. Babies of women born in either the Caribbean or Pakistan have higher perinatal mortality (deaths around the time of birth) rates. Suicide rates among young Asian women and the rates of diagnosis of schizophrenia among young people of black Caribbean ethnic origin are higher than the national average. In regard to diabetes, people of Asian ethnic origin die from diabetes at a

Race equality in local communities

rate of four to six times the UK average, while black Caribbeans have rates up to double the UK average. Pakistani and Bangladeshi men and women were more likely than people of other ethnic groups to report that they were not in good health.

Other ethnic minority features affecting health

Compared with the white population, ethnic minorities:

- are less aware of the barriers to good health.
- generally smoke less (with the exception of Bangladeshi men who smoke more).
- visit their GP slightly more often, but make less use of optical and dental services.
- are less aware of the part played by the paramedical professions.
- experience difficulties in communicating with health service personnel.

REO projects relating to health

Usually working in close partnership with their local Primary Care Trusts, REOs have an important part to play in narrowing the health inequality gap, particularly as it affects disadvantaged rural areas and minority ethnic communities. In particular, they are able to:

- involve minority ethnic groups in identifying and assessing their health needs and explaining why existing services are inadequate or failing.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

- disseminate information and health promotional materials on health matters to minority ethnic communities.
- build the capacity of minority ethnic groups to make known their health requirements.
- identify specific gaps in provision (eg sickle cell and thalassaemia support) and investigate to what extent the communities affected can make a contribution.
- review health promotional materials to check whether they are suitable, culturally, linguistically, and religiously.
- recommend ways of improving access to, and the quality of, particular health services.
- encourage minority ethnic groups and individuals to play a part in advisory and decision-making forums in the NHS.
- undertake various projects designed to meet particular ethnic groups' health and social care needs in fields such as family support, child care, care for the elderly and infirm, and people with disabilities.

Examples of REO health projects

Improving Asian family diet

The project aims to improve health by raising the awareness of Asian women of healthy eating and the dietary requirements of family members.

Health and social care project

The aim is to work towards equal, accessible and suitable health and social care services to meet minority ethnic needs. Training is offered in first aid, nursing studies foundation, volunteering and communication skills. Community volunteers visit the Primary Care Trust, hospitals and social services. Members of local communities are involved in reviewing mental health services to identify gaps and propose remedies. An audit of the equal opportunities policies of residential/nursing homes has been undertaken.

Community safety

Ethnic minorities are more likely to be the victims of crime (and their fear of crime is greater) than white groups. They are at greater risk of burglary and theft from their vehicles. People of black Caribbean and of Indian ethnic origin are more likely to experience 'theft from the person', while Pakistanis and Bangladeshis are more prone to robbery. It is estimated that one third of the minority ethnic population has suffered from racially-motivated crime, but less than half of racial incidents is reported to the police. Racist crime and incidents, in the form of abusive language, personal threats, damage to personal property and physical attack, occur on a frequent and regular basis: they are not rare or unusual phenomena.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

REO projects relating to community safety

Especially since the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 introduced new offences of racially aggravated violence, harassment and criminal damage, REOs have responded by developing partnership projects to support victims of race hate crime. Projects of this kind are described in more detail in Chapter Nine. REOs are heavily involved, however, in many kinds of community safety and crime reduction partnerships, programmes and projects.

They have helped to:

- encourage the reporting of racial incidents to the police and other agencies.
- find victims legal advice and language support.
- make complaints against the police themselves when their conduct has been unacceptable.
- set up meetings with minority ethnic groups where there is complaint and concern about racial harassment, attacks, and crime generally.
- contact refugee groups to check whether they are being racially harassed or subject to unacceptably poor treatment by public authorities.
- increase collaboration with the police and participation in community safety partnerships.
- provide feedback on policies and procedures relating to crime prevention, racial harassment and attack, and victim support.

Total institutions, command structures

REOs are concerned to prevent racial discrimination, harassment and violence in any public institution, but, as the inquiries mentioned in Chapter Five make clear, some of the worst manifestations of institutional racism have been found in those organisations described by social scientists as ‘total institutions’, or as having ‘command structures’. A total institution is ‘a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life (Goffman, 1961, p.11). Examples are prisons, youth offending institutions, mental hospitals, and army barracks. Command structures are systems of supervisory control where, within a framework of inflexible rules, people in authority determine the conduct of lower ranks who are allowed minimal autonomy in the decisions that affect them. Control is exercised through a combination of remunerative, normative and coercive sanctions. Examples of command structures can be found in the armed forces, police and fire services (derived from Etzioni, 1961). It is widely recognised that oppositional staff and inmate sub-cultures, sometimes virulently racist, have tended to emerge and flourish within these contexts. Total institutions and command structures are a marked feature of the criminal justice system and often bring with them particular problems of inequality in treatment.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

REO collaboration with criminal justice agencies

REOs have responded to the race equality policy needs of public authorities in the field of criminal justice by working in various ways in partnership and on projects with:

- prisons in their locality.
- the Probation Service.
- the Youth Offending Service.
(These are now known collectively as the National Offender Management Service - NOMS).
- the Police Service.
- the Crown Prosecution Service.
- Her Majesty's Court Service.

Examples of REO criminal justice projects

Prison lay-visiting

The REO helps publicise prison lay-visiting to, and to recruit prison lay visitors from, minority ethnic community groups.

REO contribution to training programmes

The REO contributes to training programmes organised for the police, probation, youth offending, and prison services, by describing some of the cases they have become involved in and the ways they have tried to resolve them.

Community service activities

The REO helps to organise community service involvement from Pakistani young offenders to reintegrate them into their community, with activities in the mosque, such as painting, decorating, and gardening. The project focuses not so much on the young offender as on securing support for rehabilitation and integration from Muslim community groups, businesses, and mosques.

The needs of ‘third wave’ immigrants and other excluded groups

Projects for new immigrant groups

As pointed out above, REO services have been fashioned historically in response to the presence of ‘second-wave’ New Commonwealth immigrants and their descendants and have only recently been developed and extended to meet the needs of new client groups against a background of global population movements, continuing migration, newly emerging ethnic groups, the ‘war on terror’, press hysteria about asylum seekers, refugees and illegal immigrants, and much else. Actual and potential new race equality service users include:

- migrant workers.
- asylum seekers and refugees.
- illegal immigrants.
- Gypsies and Travellers.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

- minority ethnic people living in isolated rural areas.
- deprived white communities.
- mixed-race people.

REOs have begun to develop innovative community support work and projects to tackle the discrimination and hostility experienced by new immigrants and other excluded and emerging groups.

Migrant workers

The Home Office White Paper: *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* sets out the government's wish to permit controlled economic migration to alleviate the difficulties encountered by employers in recruiting suitable workers. Migrant labour is seen as easing recruitment difficulties and skill shortages, and helping to deal with illegal working. Migrant workers can enter the United Kingdom legally under a variety of schemes: work permits, seasonal agricultural workers, working holidaymakers, as European Union (EU) residents, domestic employees, au pairs, and as people with UK ancestry. Entry for migrant workers is being eased with the introduction of a Highly Skilled Migrant Programme and amendment of the Immigration Rules to allow certain postgraduate students to switch to employment. The TUC has warned of the routine exploitation of migrant workers (even when they have work permits) in agriculture, food processing, catering and construction. The report (Mach 2004) revealed that they were often accommodated in overcrowded conditions, paid less than half the rate for British workers, and suffered from disproportionately high rates of industrial injury.

Race equality in local communities

By 2005-06, Home Office sources reported a third wave of Eastern European migrants (mainly from Poland, Lithuania and Slovakia) of 427,095 employed people.

REO involvement in work with migrant workers

In rural areas, in particular, REOs, where they exist and have the resources to do so, have become involved in activity to protect migrant workers from exploitation by unscrupulous employers, and against exposure to abuse and physical attack. REOs have also responded to far-right propaganda and inaccurate or unsympathetic media coverage by drawing attention to the essential work being undertaken by migrant workers in many different sections of the local economy.

Asylum seekers and refugees

The difference between an asylum seeker and a refugee

Asylum seekers are people who have applied for asylum and whose applications are under consideration, or who have received a refusal but have not yet returned to their home country. Refugees are people who have applied for asylum and have been given 'recognised refugee status', 'exceptional leave to remain', or 'indefinite leave to remain', in the United Kingdom. Key legislation governing their status and the official approach to their treatment are: the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996 (which sought to speed up the asylum process to deal with bogus claims and immigration racketeering, and to restrict

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

social security payments), the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 (which aimed to reduce the flow of applicants, ease the financial burden on councils, and relieve housing and social pressure in the South East by a scheme of dispersal), and the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 (dealing with the control and removal of unsuccessful asylum applicants and introducing a cash voucher system, English language and citizenship tests, citizenship ceremonies, a prohibition on asylum applicants working or undertaking vocational training but entitlement to further education, and proposals for accommodation centres).

Characteristics of asylum seeker and refugee groups

Asylum seekers and refugees are among the most economically-disadvantaged groups in the United Kingdom and are the victims of prejudice and discrimination, often inflamed by sensational and frequently inaccurate media reporting. The Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, showed asylum seekers in the study area originated from 67 different countries with the main countries of origin being Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkey, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Albania. The majority was aged between 21 and 44, a third was women, and approximately half had previously been employed in professional occupations, as managers, or in skilled trades.

REO involvement in refugee support

Recognising the need to extend their services to refugee communities, REOs have made contact with local refugee support groups and, usually through partnership work with them, have begun to address problems of the harassment of and attacks on refugees and the inadequate or inconsiderate treatment they receive from public authorities or landlords. Some REOs have provided 'surgeries' at refugee community associations. There is widespread cooperation to counter far-right campaigning and activity in areas of refugee settlement. In the West Midlands, the Strategic Partnership for Asylum and Refugee Support has produced a regional strategy to help integrate refugees and asylum seekers.

Illegal immigrants

Because of their illegal status, this category of migrant workers is hard to detect or enumerate and likely to suffer from even worse exploitation than migrant workers who are legally resident. Illegal workers will be reluctant to make their presence known for fear of being detained or deported. The highly-publicised deaths of twenty-one Chinese cockle-pickers on the sands of Morecambe bay are a stark example of the hazards faced by illegal migrant workers. Many thousands of illegal workers are thought to be working in agriculture, in the hotel, bar and restaurant trades, and prostitution. The Home Office recently admitted that it did not know how many illegal immigrants had entered the United Kingdom but estimated the figure to be between

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

250,000 and 500,000, the higher figure the most likely.

REOs and illegal immigrants

There is an urgent need for the race equality movement to develop a policy position that recognises the reality of the presence of illegal immigrants and the appalling exploitation that accompanies their situation. It has been suggested that in the light of the authorities' inability to get to grips with issues involved, REOs should campaign for an amnesty, as was declared recently in Spain. In the meantime, the issue remains of how best, if it all, REOs might contribute within the law to solving some of the local problems thrown up by illegal immigration.

Gypsies and Travellers

Gypsy and Traveller sites and accommodation

Gypsies and Travellers deserve special attention as a pariah group that experiences extreme inequality and discrimination in regard to accommodation, health, education, and freedom to conduct their daily lives and business without intervention. In regard to their accommodation, there is a severe shortage of permanent or transit sites, with two out of every ten Gypsy and Traveller families officially defined as homeless. Neither do they have security of tenure on council sites, where rent for pitches is proportionately higher than for council houses. In contrast with those made by members of settled communities, Gypsy and Traveller applications for planning permission on private sites are usually rejected.

Gypsy and Traveller health

The health of Gypsies and Travellers is poorer than that of the lowest UK socio-economic status group. They have a higher infant mortality rate, and a life expectancy ten years less than the settled community for men, and twelve years less for women. They often face difficulties registering with GPs. In education, Gypsy and Traveller children are identified as those most at risk, with only twenty per cent of children of secondary school age attending school. Those who do attend nearly always give cause for concern.

Ethnic Gypsies and Travellers protected under race relations legislation

Gypsies and Travellers who identify themselves to be ethnic or racial groups are legally classified as racial groups and protected by the Race Relations Act. Occupational Travellers or New (Age) Travellers, however, do not qualify. The CRE has recently produced a *Gypsy and Traveller Strategy for England and Wales (2003)*, focusing on the promoting of good race relations, improved service provision, leadership, monitoring and the reporting of racist incidents. The CRE's Safe Communities Initiative information pack (2006) also contains a useful briefing on Gypsies and Irish Travellers. The CRE wishes to see public authorities providing suitable, readily available and well managed accommodation for Gypsies and Travellers, whether on public or private sites, permanent or transit. Inclusive education, health care and other public services need to be made available,

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

with public authorities playing an active role in identifying and eliminating the discrimination faced by Gypsies and Travellers.

Protecting Gypsy and Travellers from discrimination: the need for greater REO involvement

With some honourable exceptions, REOs have not on the whole developed projects to tackle the widespread prejudice and discrimination experienced by Gypsies and Travellers. Hostility towards Gypsies and Travellers, while often given as an example of rural racism, is also found in the urban areas where they reside or visit. If REOs are to respond to the challenge, they have to work together with other agencies and community groups already involved in supporting Gypsies and Travellers. In 2004, under *Getting Results*, the CRE funded a number of non-REO projects, including the Irish Traveller Movement in Britain, precisely because so few REOs were involved in this important work.

An example of an REO Gypsy and Traveller project

REO engagement with Gypsies and Travellers

The REO regularly visits Gypsy and Traveller sites in the locality and makes them aware of racial discrimination and the options and services available to them if they believe they are experiencing discrimination.

Rural racism

Inadequacy of race equality services in rural areas

Ever since the publication of Eric Jay's seminal report, *Keep them in Birmingham* (1992), there has been a growing awareness of the problems faced by isolated black and minority ethnic individuals and families living in rural areas. Being dispersed, the black and minority ethnic population lacks the support structures available to larger communities. Appropriate customised services simply do not exist but there is also a lack of awareness of what is available. Because of the apparently unwelcoming attitudes of local white residents, black and minority ethnic people find difficulty in developing a sense of belonging to their local community. Officials often behave in a colour-blind way and are unable to appreciate the difficulties encountered by ethnic minorities who, in the rural context, stand out as targets for racists. Black and minority ethnic needs are simply not recognised and often do not reach the policy agenda. Finding themselves always in a minority, black and minority ethnic people frequently lack the confidence to ask for advice or to make demands of local agencies.

Providing services to racial harassment victims in rural areas

Garland, Chakraborti and Sandal (2002) reported that of the respondents to their questionnaire, 70 per cent reported racial harassment, 11 per cent on a daily basis, 82 per cent low-level verbal abuse or name-

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

calling, and 40 per cent unnecessary staring. Their report recommended that:

- agencies should nominate a trained member of staff whose job description should specifically include the provision of guidance for black and minority ethnic communities.
- agencies should have clear policies and procedures on services for victims of racism, including mediation.
- levels of service take-up should be racially monitored.
- agencies should use interpreting and translation where necessary.

Tackling rural racism, building on existing contact patterns

In a recent consultation on race equality provision in Warwickshire, a key message was the need to develop access points or communication links, not just in the larger county towns, but in more isolated rural settings. It was essential to take into account and build on the existing contact patterns and routes already established for community, shopping, and worship, when considering service provision. Networking with minority ethnic community organisations in the nearest towns also needed to be encouraged.

Rural racism: more action needed

The Community Development Exchange (CDX), Federation for Community Development Learning (FCDL) and NACVS recently held a conference

Race equality in local communities

entitled *Connecting black and minority ethnic people in rural areas - are we doing enough?* in which many of the issues facing black and minority ethnic people living in rural areas were discussed. Some race equality services in rural areas (e.g. North Wales and Herefordshire) have acquired considerable expertise in serving ethnic minority families and individuals dispersed and isolated in large sparsely populated areas, but, in general, facilities are not well developed. Information technology may have an important part to play.

An example of a project to ameliorate rural racism

Rural and urban school exchanges

The project involves twinning schools in rural and urban areas, with a view to arranging exchanges, workshops, sports competitions, drama about local culture, and one-to-one discussions between students as part of the citizenship curriculum.

Deprived white communities

Bridge-building between majority white and minority ethnic communities

In response to the disturbances in 2001 in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley, the CRE report (2002), *A Place for Us All* drew attention to the fact that racial equality funding for community groups tended to be given in response to the particular needs of minority ethnic communities. Where community

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

fragmentation was an issue, there was also a need to fund projects that brought majority white and minority ethnic communities together and established links between them. The CRE saw race equality councils as playing an important role in this respect. The report gave details of cross-community projects in Northern Ireland and the United States.

Need to include deprived white communities

In the course of the debate on community cohesion, it soon became obvious that projects needed to be developed for alienated white communities convinced that their needs had been neglected in favour of ethnic minorities living in neighbouring areas - a campaigning issue seized upon by racist far-right parties. If racism is mainly a problem for the majority white population, as many in the race equality movement believe, it raises the question of why so little of the work of local REOs is directed at raising awareness, establishing links, and undertaking cross-cultural projects with white communities. This has to be an REO priority for project development.

Responding to the presence of the mixed-race population

Growth in size of the mixed-race population

The growth in the number of trans-racial partnerships and people of mixed race is another dimension of the changing pattern of ethnic relations in Britain. Half of British-born Caribbean men with a partner and a third of British-born Caribbean women with a partner live with a white person. Mixed partnerships are on

Race equality in local communities

the increase, and are far more common than among African Americans in the USA. Although mixed marriages are less common among South Asians than among Caribbeans, about one in five British-born men of Indian or African Asian origin has a white partner and the equivalent figure for women is one in ten. Very few Bangladeshis and Pakistanis have entered mixed relationships.

Significance of the mixed-race presence

People of mixed race constitute a rapidly-growing minority, unrecognised in much of the literature on ethnicity in Britain and in developments of race relations policy. In the 1991 census, a person descended from more than one ethnic or racial group was advised to tick one of the eight other boxes provided (eg. White, Black Caribbean, Indian, etc) or to enter a description under 'any other group'. By 2001, however, in recognition of the growing significance of this category of people, the census included a choice of four boxes under the generic heading, 'mixed'. The significance of the growth of the mixed-race population for race relations in Britain and for the work of REOs has yet to be fully assessed.

Supporting communities, promoting good relations

Examples of REO projects for mixed-race people

REO mixed-race 'bridge-building' capital

The project brought mixed-race young people together to form a forum of young people to explore their understanding of different cultures, and their capacity to access and build bridges between different ethnic communities. Objectives included the distribution of mixed-race people's views and experiences to produce a mixed-race manifesto, and the creation of new cultural syntheses.

Multiple heritage voices

This project has encouraged young people with a multiple heritage background (mixed-race) to discover the history behind their heritage. In the first part of the project, young people took part in a three-week summer scheme and participated in 'heritage hunt' workshops, drama and art sessions, aimed at complementing their knowledge of national and multiple identity.

Chapter Eight

Race equality law, human rights, and the Equality Act 2006

Overview. This chapter explores the framework of civil and criminal law as it affects race relations and the impact on REOs of the shift towards generic equality work. The concept in law of direct and indirect discrimination and victimisation are outlined as part of a general account of the civil law: the Race Relations Act 1976, the Human Rights Act 1998, and Equality Act 2006, and the European Employment and Race Directives. In regard to criminal law, the main offences relating to race are explained, especially those set out in the Public Order Act 1986, the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, and the Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006. The final section deals with the provisions of the Equality Act 2006 (setting up the Commission for Equality and Human Rights) and their likely effect on local voluntary-sector bodies providing services relating only to race equality. REOs are faced with the choice of either specialising and developing still further their expertise in race equality promotion, or of reconstituting and repositioning themselves as generic multi-strand equality and diversity bodies. Pressures for economy and rationalisation make the latter option the more likely outcome, with a potential risk to race relations.

Race relations within the framework of law

Race relations in Britain are regulated by laws that determine how people should behave towards one another, and specifically how they should behave towards one another as members of different racial or ethnic groups. All the work of REOs takes place within the framework of law, although only a fraction of REO activity is related to law enforcement or the assertion of individual rights under the law. Nevertheless, the objects of Race Equality Councils: ‘to work towards the elimination of racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups’, are derived directly from section 43 of the Race Relations Act which sets out the statutory duties of the Commission for Racial Equality.

Civil and criminal law

Race relations span the two traditional categories of law, civil law and criminal law, and blur the distinction that is frequently made between them, that is, that civil law deals with disputes between individuals, while criminal law deals with acts that are harmful to the community. The Race Relations Act is a clear example of civil law originally intended to deal with activities regarded as harmful to the community, such as the imposition of a colour bar, or discrimination in accommodation and the work place.

Civil law

Civil law governs the rights and duties between citizens, including contractual relations entered into in

Race equality in local communities

employment and the purchase of goods and services. In civil cases, the person adversely affected or 'injured', traditionally referred to in England and Wales as 'the plaintiff' (but now called 'the claimant'), engages in the legal process to bring an action against the person seen as responsible, traditionally referred to as 'the defendant' (but now called 'the respondent'), in a civil tribunal or court, with the intention of getting a decision and a remedy, such as financial compensation, or an injunction to prevent any repetition of the offending behaviour. Most cases brought under the Race Relation Act are dealt with in Employment Tribunals, if they relate to employment matters, or in County Courts, if they relate to the provision of goods and services.

Composition of relevant civil courts

The Employment Tribunal is made up of three persons: an experienced solicitor or barrister, who chairs the proceedings, a person appointed after consultation with employer organisations, and a person appointed after consultation with trade unions. At County Courts designated to hear race discrimination cases, a judge normally sits with two assessors who have 'special knowledge and experience of problems connected with relations between persons of different racial groups', but a lone judge can hear the case if both sides agree to this arrangement.

Criminal law

Criminal law governs situations where the person accused of breaking the law has caused an 'injury',

Race equality law and human rights

not just to another individual, but to the community as a whole, and where prosecution is undertaken by the state which in the United Kingdom, is pursued in the name of the head of state: the queen or 'regina'. Criminal law deals with offences such as murder, manslaughter, assault, rape, theft, burglary and criminal damage. The purpose of criminal prosecution is not to obtain compensation for the victim, but to punish the perpetrator.

Composition of relevant criminal courts

Minor criminal offences are dealt with in a Magistrates' Court, which usually consists of three unpaid lay magistrates (Justices of the Peace or JPs) advised by a legally-qualified clerk. In busier courts, a paid full-time legally-qualified magistrate presides over two lay magistrates. Magistrates' Courts also deal with the preliminary proceedings of some serious cases prior to their progressing to Crown Court. There are also Juvenile Magistrates' Courts with specially-trained JPs for young people aged under 17. The Crown Court has a judge and jury, and tries serious criminal offences. (With the exception of some libel cases, civil courts, in contrast, do not have juries.)

Difference between civil and criminal cases in burden of proof

In civil law, the 'burden of proof', or the amount of evidence required to prove the case, is achieved on the 'balance of probabilities' – which of the two sides presents the more credible account. In criminal law, the case against the defendant has to be proved

Race equality in local communities

beyond reasonable doubt. Theoretically, therefore, victims of racial discrimination are more likely to obtain justice through the civil, rather than criminal courts, but of course, discriminatory acts of different kinds are processed along alternative civil or criminal channels.

Race relations and civil law

As outlined in Chapter Four, since 1965, there has been a series of Acts relating to, or affecting, race relations, and providing a framework for local race equality work. Currently, the key civil statutes that concern REOs are the:

- Race Relations Act 1976
- Human Rights Act 1998
- Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000
- European Employment Directive 2000
- European Race Directive 2000
- Race Relations Act 1976 (Amendment) Regulations 2003
- Religion and Belief Regulations 2003
- Sexual Orientation Regulations 2003
- Equality Act 2006
- Employment Equality (Age) Regulations 2006

Each of these is explained more fully below.

Race equality law and human rights

The Race Relations Act 1976

By far the most significant legislation for REOs is the Race Relations Act 1976. It resulted in the establishment and consolidation of the current national network of voluntary-sector community relations and race equality bodies funded by the Commission for Racial Equality under the Act's section 44. The individual casework undertaken by REOs is also based on the Act (see Chapter Nine).

Unlawful racial discrimination

The Race Relations Act makes it unlawful to discriminate directly, indirectly, or by victimisation, on grounds of colour, race, nationality, or ethnic or national origins. A 'racial group' means a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, nationality, or ethnic origin, and reference to a person's racial group refers to any racial group into which she falls. Racial grounds are those of colour, race, nationality, or ethnic or national origins. There are three principal fields in which discrimination is unlawful: in employment, the provision of services, and public functions.

Employment-related discrimination

An employer is prohibited from discriminating on racial grounds in choosing to whom to offer employment, in varying the terms of employment, in the opportunities for promotion, transfer, training, or other benefits, facilities or services, in dismissing employees, or subjecting them to other detriment. The Act covers employment, vocational training, the

Race equality in local communities

award of qualifications, membership of a trade union or professional association, and partnership arrangements.

Discrimination in relation to goods, facilities, services, and premises

Public providers are not allowed to discriminate by refusing, or deliberately omitting to provide, or providing inferior goods, facilities, services, or premises. They cannot refuse access to, or use of, a place which members of the public would normally be admitted to. They cannot discriminate in hotel or boarding house accommodation. Racial discrimination is forbidden in banking and insurance, education, entertainment, recreation, refreshment, transport, travel, or services provided by any profession, trade, local, or other, authority. Landlords or managers of property cannot discriminate in lettings. Discrimination in housing, planning control, and membership of clubs and associations, is also prohibited.

Discrimination in public functions

The Act makes it unlawful to discriminate in the provision of public functions, for example, in policing, running prisons and detention centres, collecting taxes, customs and excise, detaining mental patients, holding public office, and in the control of immigration (the last with exceptions).

Race equality law and human rights

Types of racial discrimination

The Race Relation Act 1976 makes essential distinctions between three kinds of unlawful discrimination: direct, indirect, and victimisation, each of which has important implications for REOs' race-specific casework.

Direct discrimination

According to legal definition, direct discrimination occurs if a person is treated less favourably on racial grounds where the treatment meted out is prima facie racial in nature and it can be shown that a person of a different racial group ('the comparator') would not, in the same or similar circumstances, have received the same treatment. Less favourable treatment in this context also includes segregation by racial group. Possible examples of direct discrimination are as follows:

- A doorman refuses to admit a black Caribbean to a night club on the grounds that the place is full, but a few minutes later is seen to admit a number of white men and women.
- An employer advertises a post for which a black Caribbean woman with an English first and second name applies. When called for interview she is told the post is filled. The same post is readvertised a few days later.

Race equality in local communities

- Three suitably-qualified Asian doctors apply for a hospital consultancy post, but the post is readvertised and eventually a white doctor, with apparently no more experience or better qualifications, is appointed.
- Two couples on holiday together try to secure hotel accommodation. The first couple – a black man with a white woman – arrive at reception first and are told the hotel is fully booked. The second couple – both white - arrive five minutes later and are allocated a room.

Direct racial discrimination on the basis of someone else's race or colour

'Direct' means the reason for the discrimination is straight-forward: it is for reasons of race. But the discrimination is still 'direct', even when the discrimination is not against the race of the person being discriminated against, but against someone else. In other words, if a discriminator D discriminates against the complainant C because of the race of a third party, P, then D's conduct still amounts to racial discrimination against C. An example might be as follows:

- A white hotel proprietor refuses a hotel room to a white man when it is realised he is accompanied by a black woman. In this case, the proprietor is discriminating against the white man on racial grounds and the white man is entitled to bring

Race equality law and human rights

proceedings of direct racial discrimination against the hotel proprietor.

Indirect discrimination

Indirect discrimination occurs when a condition or requirement (since amended to 'a provision, criterion or practice'), not in itself racial discriminatory, is applied, which has the effect of placing members of a particular racial group at a disadvantage because, proportionately to other groups, they are less able to comply with it. Under the Race Relations Act, indirect discrimination is unlawful unless it can be justified on non-racial grounds. To prove indirect discrimination, it is not necessary to prove intent to discriminate but only that discrimination occurred. Possible examples of indirect discrimination are as follows:

- A language or academic requirement is required for a job not needing it, making it more difficult for a member of an ethnic group to apply for or secure the post.
- A company operates an employment policy of only recruiting from among the families of those employees already working for it.
- A landlord offers tenancies only to people who have been born locally, or who can demonstrate they have lived for twenty years in the area.

Race equality in local communities

- An employer insists that all reception staff must be bilingual in English and an Asian community language, but refuses to accept evidence of bilingualism in other languages.

Victimisation

Under the Race Relation Act 1976, victimisation occurs when persons are treated less favourably than others because they have made an allegation of racial discrimination or given evidence on their own or another's behalf. If the unfavourable treatment is a result of the allegation, but the allegation is shown to be false and made in bad faith, then the claim of victimisation will not be upheld. An example is as follows:

- A manager is no longer invited to meetings with fellow managers on the grounds that she cannot be trusted. She has recently given evidence at an Employment Tribunal in support of an employee alleging discrimination by a fellow manager.

Intentions and motives

The key issue is whether persons have received less favourable treatment because of their race. If they have, then the intentions or motives of those responsible are not relevant. They may not be personally prejudiced or have intended to discriminate, as the following example illustrates:

Race equality law and human rights

- An employer interviews and appoints a new clerk who is of Asian ethnic origin to the busy general office. The white employees learn of the appointment and object to it, telling the employer that they will disrupt work if the decision is not rescinded. The employer withdraws the job offer to safeguard the business.

In the case of indirect discrimination, where a provision, criterion or practice is in operation that excludes people of a particular racial group, managers may not have considered or realised its effects prior to a case being brought. This failure to recognise effects has no bearing on the merits of the case, although no compensation may be awarded if there was no intention to discriminate.

Discrimination, not prejudice, is unlawful

It is worth pointing out that racial prejudice, xenophobic attitudes and racist beliefs are not against the law, which can only be invoked if these are translated into unlawful discriminatory acts. From this discussion, it should be obvious that prejudice, as an attitude, and discrimination, as an act, do not always coincide. Individuals or groups may be prejudiced without discriminating, or discriminate without being prejudiced. A person without prejudice might be frightened or intimidated into discriminating, a prejudiced person may obey the rules forbidding discrimination (for example, in the disbursement of wages), and an unprejudiced person may follow a discriminatory procedure unaware of its

discriminatory effects. These observations are relevant to the consideration of institutional racism as defined in the Macpherson report (1999), and discussed in Chapter Five.

The Human Rights Act 1998

The Human Rights Act 1998, which came into force in 2000, enables people living in the United Kingdom to claim their rights under the European Convention on Human Rights in UK courts and tribunals, instead of having to go to the European Court in Strasbourg. The Act underpins this by requiring all public authorities in the UK to act compatibly with Convention rights. The European Convention on Human Rights is a treaty of the Council of Europe adopted in 1950 and ratified by the UK in 1951. Its intention was to give binding effect to the guarantee of the rights set out in the 1948 United Nations Declaration on Human Rights by protecting rights and fundamental freedoms and promoting the values of a democratic society.

The Articles

The rights are set out as a series of Articles, as follows:

Article 2: the right to life.

Public authorities, such as the army, police, prison, or hospital, must not cause a person's death. In some situations they have an obligation to protect life.

Race equality law and human rights

Article 3: the right to freedom from torture and inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Ill-treatment relates to both mental and physical suffering. Whether ill-treatment qualifies as torture or inhuman treatment depends on its duration, severity, or the vulnerability of the victim.

Article 4: the right to freedom from slavery, servitude and forced compulsory labour.

Article 5: the right to liberty and security of person.

People have the right not to be arrested or detained, except where the detention is authorised by law. This does not just apply to police arrest, but covers all aspects of detention, including medical or psychiatric reasons.

Article 6: the right to a fair and public trial within a reasonable time.

Anyone charged with a criminal offence has certain rights, including the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty.

Article 7: the right to freedom from retrospective criminal law and no punishment without law.

A person may not be convicted of an act which was not a criminal offence at the time it was committed.

Article 8: the right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence.

Race equality in local communities

This covers matters such as disclosure of private information, monitoring of employees' phone calls and emails, carrying out body searches, and restrictions on entering a person's home. The right is limited by the need to protect public health and safety.

Article 9: the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

People have the right to hold whatever thoughts, positions of conscience, or religious beliefs that they wish, and to manifest their religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice, or observance.

Article 10: the right to freedom of expression.

Freedom of expression guarantees the right to comment in conversation or speeches, publish books, articles or leaflets, broadcast, produce art, or use the Internet.

Article 11: the right to freedom of assembly and association.

People have the right to peaceful demonstration and to join, or choose not to join, trade unions.

Article 12: the right to marry and found a family.

The Strasburg Court has decided that this does not require a state to grant transsexuals or homosexuals the right to marry.

Article 14: the prohibition of discrimination in the enjoyment of the Convention rights.

Race equality law and human rights

People should be able to enjoy the Convention rights without discrimination on grounds such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth, or other status. 'Other status' has been interpreted to mean, among other things, sexual orientation, marital status, illegitimacy, status as a trade union, military status, and conscientious objection.

The Protocols

The Articles have been supplemented by four Protocols: the right to peaceful enjoyment of possessions and protection of property, the right of access to education, the right to free elections, and the right not to be subjected to the death penalty.

Implications for race equality work

The Human Rights Act underscores individual rights, which can now be directly asserted in UK courts and tribunals. It protects individuals, while acknowledging the wider public interest. Non-discrimination (Article 14) is a central plank of human rights law and provides a legal basis for arguing that racial discrimination is a violation of fundamental rights and freedoms. The Human Rights Act has implications for race equality work, but it is an aspect of the proposals for the work of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights which remains relatively undeveloped. Significantly perhaps, the CEHR White Paper (DTI, May 2004, p.31) emphasises the need to pursue human rights

Race equality in local communities

issues not through the courts and tribunals, but through the promotion of a culture of respect for human rights in the form of advice and guidance for public services. It sees human rights primarily as an issue of service access, and assertion of rights by, for example, the elderly and people with disabilities. Currently, there is public scepticism as to the capacity of the CEHR, as a national agency close to government, to take on the issues involved, as governments themselves are regarded as major suspects in the violation of human rights. Local REOs, nevertheless, might be in a position to assist in developing a local human rights culture.

The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 (2)

The provisions of the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 have already been explained in Chapter Five. The amendment makes it unlawful for a public authority to discriminate in carrying out its functions. It imposes a duty on most public authorities to eliminate unlawful discrimination, as well as positively promote equality of opportunity and good relations. Certain authorities have to publish a race equality scheme or policy. If a public authority fails to comply, the Commission for Racial Equality can serve a compliance notice enforceable through the County Court. Most, if not all, of the institutional discrimination that the Act aims to eliminate through the application of management techniques, such as the race equality scheme, will be direct, but it is doubtful that the techniques can have much impact on situations arising as a result of the total management

Race equality law and human rights

failures exemplified by the horrific cases described in Chapter Five.

The European Employment Directive 2000

The European Employment Directive prohibits discrimination, direct and indirect, on grounds of religion and belief, sexual orientation, disability or age, in employment (selection, recruitment and promotion), vocational guidance, training or retraining, dismissals, pay, membership of unions, or professional associations. Its provision on religion or belief and sexual orientation had to be implemented by December 2003 and on age and disability by December 2006. The Directive has resulted in subsequent legislation with important implications for the future direction of stand-alone race equality work, in relation to religion and belief, sexual orientation, and age (see below). A significant feature of this Directive, however, is that it is confined to employment. It does not cover goods and services and expressly excludes differences of treatment based on nationality.

The European Race Directive 2000

In June 2000, the European Union's Council of Ministers approved a Directive prohibiting discrimination, both direct and indirect, on grounds of racial and ethnic origin across a range of areas from employment to 'social protection', and access to goods and services. Harassment and instruction to discriminate are recognised as forms of discrimination. All member states were required by July 2003 to take measures to ensure their national

legislation complied with the Directive, which set a minimum standard but blocked any attempt to reduce any existing national legislation of a higher standard to the EU minimum. For non-lawyers, the changes that needed to be made to the Race Relations Act were somewhat technical, but involved redefining indirect discrimination, the burden of proof, and racial harassment, and strengthening legal sanctions. To ensure compliance with the Directive, the government passed the Race Relations Act 1976 (Amendment) Regulations 2003 (see below).

The Race Relations Act 1976 (Amendment) Regulations 2003

The 2003 amendment redefines indirect discrimination by replacing the phrase ‘condition or requirement’ with ‘provision, criterion, or practice’. This has the effect of extending the provision of the act to consider the indirect discriminatory effect of a greater range of informal as well as formal practices. In addition, the amendment makes it much clearer that harassment on racial grounds is unlawful. Harassment occurs when a person’s actions or words are not welcomed and violate another person’s dignity, or create an environment that is intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating, or offensive. Previously, racial harassment had not been explicitly mentioned but had been treated as a form of direct discrimination. The amendment also establishes that when a claimant makes a prima facie case for racial discrimination or harassment, the Employment Tribunal will uphold the complaint in the absence of a satisfactory explanation from the respondent, who now has to provide evidence to support any denial.

Race equality law and human rights

Previously, too, people could only bring cases if they were being discriminated against or harassed. It has now become unlawful to discriminate or harass someone even after the relationship is at an end. The amendment also removes previous exemptions from the Act, of which the decision to make it unlawful to discriminate against a person in relation to employment in one's own home is the most significant for REOs.

The Religion and Belief Regulations 2003

The Religion and Belief Regulations came into force in December 2003. They prohibited direct and indirect discrimination, harassment and victimisation in the field of employment and vocational training on the grounds of religion, religious belief, or similar philosophical belief. In the explanatory notes, 'belief' is explained as collective worship, clear belief system, or profound belief, affecting a way of life or world view. An example of direct religious discrimination would be the failure to promote employees because they were Catholic, or Muslim. Indirect discrimination might occur if employees were refused time off for prayer or were forced to wear a company uniform at odds with prescribed religious dress. A balance would have to be struck between a dress code determined by the need for a corporate image or health and safety reasons and the right of employees to dress at work in accordance with their religion. The recent dismissal of a teaching assistant for wearing a veil in the classroom context is a case in point. Note that these regulations do not extend to discrimination in goods and services, a gap finally plugged by the Equality Act 2006.

The Sexual Orientation Regulations 2003

The Sexual Orientation Regulations (SOR) which also came into force in December 2003 offer statutory protection for gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and heterosexuals in the field of employment and vocational training. Sexual orientation is defined as an attraction towards a person of the same sex (gay men and lesbians), the opposite sex (heterosexuals), or both sexes (bisexuals). Like the Religion and Belief regulations, the Sexual Orientation Regulations recognise direct and indirect discrimination towards, and harassment and victimisation of prospective, existing, and ex-employees. The regulations cover only the field of employment and vocational training and give no protection in relation to discrimination in the provision of goods and services. Perhaps the prohibition of harassment at work on the basis of a person's sexual orientation is the most relevant aspect of this legislation. It is unlawful to engage in unwanted conduct that violates a person's dignity or creates an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating, or offensive environment.

The Equality Act 2006

The Equality Act 2006 consists of five parts, the first establishing the Commission for Equality and Human Rights, the second prohibiting discrimination on grounds of religion or belief, the third setting out the means to outlaw discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, the fourth amending legislation in relation

Race equality law and human rights

to sex, disability and race discrimination, and the fifth dealing in the main with repeals of the previous legislation.

The Commission for Equality and Human Rights: vision

Most significantly for REOs, the Equality Act 2006 sets out the duties and powers of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR) and the arrangements for the dissolution of the Commission for Racial Equality, the Disability Rights Commission, and the Equal Opportunities Commission. The new corporate body is expected to exercise its functions to encourage and support the development of a society in which:

- people's ability to achieve their potential is not limited by prejudice or discrimination,
- there is respect for and protection of individuals' human rights,
- there is respect for the dignity and worth of each individual,
- each individual has an equal opportunity to participate in society, and
- there is mutual respect between groups based on understanding and valuing of diversity and on shared respect for equality and human rights.

Race equality in local communities

Duties and powers of the CEHR

The CEHR's duties are grouped into five categories: equality and diversity, human rights, groups, monitoring the law, and monitoring progress. It also has powers to provide information and advice, issue codes of practice, conduct inquiries, make grants, and cooperate with other agencies in pursuit of human rights, make investigations into whether unlawful discrimination has occurred, enter into agreements, and make applications to the courts for an injunction restraining persons from committing unlawful acts.

Equality and diversity duties

The CEHR's equality and diversity duties are to:

- promote understanding of the importance of equality and diversity,
- encourage good practice in relation to equality and diversity,
- promote equality of opportunity,
- promote awareness and understanding of rights under the equality enactments,
- enforce the equality enactments,
- work towards the elimination of unlawful discrimination, and
- work towards the elimination of unlawful harassment.

Race equality law and human rights

Human rights

Duties in relation to human rights are to promote awareness, understanding and protection of human rights and of their importance, to encourage good practices, and to persuade public authorities to comply with the Human Rights Act 1998 (section 6).

Groups

The groups to which the Equality Act refers are persons classed by any of the following: age, disability, gender, gender reassignment, race, religion and belief, and sexual orientation. In exercising its powers, the CEHR is required to promote understanding of the importance of good relations (and to encourage good practice in regards to relations) between members of different groups and between members of those groups and others. It must work towards the elimination of prejudice against, hatred of, and hostility towards members of these groups, to enable them to participate in society. The Act specifies that the CEHR should pay particular regard to groups defined by reference to their race, religion, or belief.

Monitoring the law and monitoring progress

The CEHR is required to monitor the effectiveness of equality and human rights law and advise the government accordingly. It also has to monitor the progress it is making towards realising its vision, by identifying changes, targets and outcomes, and the factors by which results might be measured (performance indicators).

Race equality in local communities

CEHR grant-making powers (section 17)

The CRE had the power under section 44 of the Race Relations Act to give financial or other assistance to organisations, such as REOs, which promote equality of opportunity and good race relations. The Equality Act 2006 repeals Part VII of the Race Relations Act, which contains section 44, and replaces it with section 17, which allows the CEHR to make grants to other agencies to help it promote equality and diversity, human rights, and good relations within and between groups. REOs have been told that CRE *Getting Results* funding will cease after 2007-08, but it is not yet known (October) what alternative funding arrangement will be made.

Discrimination on grounds of religion or belief

The Equality Act 2006 makes it unlawful for a person to discriminate against others on grounds of their religion or belief in the public provision of goods, facilities or services. This applies, in particular, to access to and use of public places, hotel or boarding house accommodation, banking, finance, or insurance facilities, entertainment, recreation, refreshment, transport and travel, and the services of a profession or trade. For the purpose of the Act, 'religion' is defined to include 'lack of religion', and 'belief' to mean 'lack of belief'. A belief is a religious or philosophical belief. A person can be discriminated against under the Act merely by being thought to belong or to subscribe to a religion or belief. There are a number of important exceptions relating to educational establishments, their curriculum and acts

Race equality law and human rights

of worship, and religious organisations and charities providing benefits only to members of a particular religion.

Equality Act 2006 – other provisions

Part 3 of the Equality Act 2006 permits the Secretary of State to make regulations (similar to those already worked out for religion or belief) to prohibit discrimination or harassment on grounds of sexual orientation. Proposals to outlaw sexual orientation discrimination in the provision of goods and services were due to be introduced in April 2007. At the time this guide went to press, proposals had been put out to consultation. Part 4, reflecting the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, imposes a statutory duty on public authorities positively to promote equality of opportunity between men and women, and for persons with disability, obliging public authorities to produce schemes or policies setting out not only their plans for race, but for gender and disability issues, too. The CEHR is expected to produce a code of practice to deal with sex discrimination similar to the one the CRE produced for race.

The Employment Equality (Age) Regulations 2006

The age regulations were made in April 2006, coming into force in October 2006. A person discriminates against persons on grounds of age if they are treated less favourably than others on account of their age or a provision applies to persons not of the same age group which puts persons of that age group at a particular disadvantage, and it cannot be shown that

Race equality in local communities

the treatment or provision, criteria, or practice is a proportionate means of achieving a legitimate aim. An 'age group' means a group of persons defined by reference to age, whether by reference to a particular age, or a range of ages, or apparent age. Harassment on grounds of age is also included, and is defined as unwanted conduct which has the purpose or effect of violating a person's dignity, or creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating, or offensive environment. The regulations make discrimination unlawful in employment and vocational training.

Race relations and criminal law

The original Race Relations Acts defined racial discrimination as a civil offence, and until recently most legal action in this field was pursued through Employment Tribunals and, to a lesser degree, through the Crown Courts. Those REOs specialising in legal advice and case work with individuals were constantly made aware of the difficulties of pursuing cases of criminal damage, intimidation, harassment, and bullying of minority ethnic clients, where there was clear evidence of racial motivation on the part of the perpetrators. It proved extremely difficult at the time to persuade the police to take cases of this kind seriously. More often than not, they were dismissed as neighbour disputes with complainants advised to take civil action on their own behalf. Even in cases of serious criminal assault and property damage, the police were reluctant to become involved and refused to recognise that incidents had a racial dimension to them. For many minority ethnic families, however, the consequences of these forms of discrimination in

Race equality law and human rights

the community were far more damaging than racial discrimination in employment and service provision.

Relevant criminal legislation

Only in the 1990s did government begin to take seriously the widespread problem of racial crime and to introduce more customised legislation to deal with it. It had always been possible to prosecute cases of criminal damage and assault but not to give added weight or consideration to any racial dimension of the case. Currently, various Acts are relevant to criminal prosecutions aimed at reducing serious racism in local neighbourhoods and improving race relations. The most obvious are the:

- Protection from Eviction Act 1977 (meant to deal with evictions from accommodation that interfere with the peace or comfort of the occupier).
- Telecommunications Act 1984 (making it an offence to send grossly offensive or threatening messages).
- Public Order Act 1986 (dealing with incitement to racial hatred).
- Malicious Communications Act 1988 (again, dealing with offensive or threatening messages).

Race equality in local communities

- Football Offence Act 1991 (prohibiting racist chants at football matches).
- Housing Act 1996 (Section 144) (allowing for the eviction of tenants who are found guilty of causing nuisance).
- Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (prohibiting a person from a course of conduct that amounts to harassment of another. Harassment is defined as alarming or causing distress to a person, and includes speech, but conduct must occur on at least two occasions).
- Crime and Disorder Act 1998 (introducing the concept of racially-aggravated offences, as well as Anti-Social Behaviour Orders or ASBOs).
- Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 (prohibiting a diverse range of anti-social acts).
- Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 (making it an offence to stir up hatred against people on racial or religious grounds).

For action to be taken under these Acts, REOs have to ensure incidents are reported to the police for investigation and that there is sufficient evidence for the Crown Prosecution Service to mount a prosecution. Three acts considered important to the work of REOs are explored in more detail below.

The Public Order Act 1986

The Public Order Act 1986 makes offences of acts intended or likely to stir up hatred, and of the possession of racially inflammatory material. Racial hatred is defined as 'hatred against a group of persons in Great Britain defined by reference to colour, race, nationality (including citizenship), or ethnic or national origins. Acts likely to stir up racial hatred are:

- using threatening, abusive, or insulting words or behaviour.
- displaying, publishing, or distributing written material which is threatening, abusive, or insulting.
- publicly directing, presenting or performing a play which uses threatening, abusive, or insulting words or behaviour.
- distributing, showing, playing or broadcasting a recording of visual images or sounds which are threatening, abusive, or insulting.
- possessing racially-inflammatory material.

For a guilty verdict, there must be an intention to stir up racial hatred, or, having regard to all the circumstances, racial hatred is likely to be stirred up.

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 introduces the concept of racially-aggravated offences. An offence is racially aggravated if, at the time of the offence is committed, or immediately before or after, the offender demonstrates hostility towards the victim based on his or her membership of a racial group, or the offence is motivated, wholly or partly, by hostility towards members of a particular racial group. A racial group is a group defined by reference to race, colour, nationality (including citizenship), or ethnic or national origin. Racially aggravated offences defined under the act are:

- malicious wounding or grievous bodily harm,
- actual bodily harm,
- common assault,
- criminal damage,
- abusive or insulting words or behaviour intended to cause or provoke unlawful violence,
- threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour, or displaying signs likely to cause harassment, alarm, or distress,
- conduct on at least two occasions amounting to harassment of another person,
- conduct on at least two occasions that causes another person to fear that violence will be used against them.

Race equality law and human rights

A racially-aggravated offence attracts a more severe sentence.

The Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003

The Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 prohibits a diverse range of activities: premises where drugs are being used or from which noise is coming, anti-social behaviour by tenants in social housing, truancy and school exclusion, intimidation by groups of people in public places, trespassing, and growing high hedges, which have little more in common than they can all be broadly classed as 'anti-social behaviour'. The Act operates by making a succession of amendments to other acts of which those to the Housing Act 1996 and the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 are probably the most relevant to race relations issues. Social landlords are required to formulate and publish their policies on anti-social behaviour, making it incumbent on them to deal with instances of racial harassment among tenants. As an amendment to the Crime and Disorder Act 1998, parenting orders have been introduced, enabling conditions to be imposed on parents in relation to the truancy or exclusion from school, or the criminal and anti-social conduct, of their children. This obviously has implications for dealing with racist behaviour and bullying by young people. In addition, intimidatory gatherings of young people can be dispersed to their place of residence, and noisy premises, causing a public nuisance, can be closed down.

The Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006

The Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006 amends the Public Order Act 1986 to include acts intended to stir up religious hatred. Religious hatred is defined as 'hatred against a group of persons defined by reference to religious belief or lack of religious belief'. As with racial hatred, it covers:

- the use of words or behaviour,
- display of written material,
- publishing or distributing written material,
- public performance of a play,
- distributing, showing, or playing a recording,
- broadcasting, or including a programme in a programme service, and
- possession of inflammatory material.

The Act is intended to protect all groups of people defined by their religious beliefs or lack of them, but does not set out what is meant by a religion or religious belief. It includes religions such as Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Rastafarianism, Baha'ism, Zoroastrianism and Jainism, as well as branches or sects within a particular religion. It also includes groups defined by their lack of religious belief, such as atheists and humanists. The Act is also intended to protect any group which does not share the particular religious beliefs of the perpetrators. In its passage through the Lords, the Bill was amended from prohibiting

Race equality law and human rights

‘threatening, insulting, or abusive behaviour’, to read only ‘threatening behaviour’. The prosecution has to show intention to foment religious hatred, rather than merely intention or recklessness, as originally proposed.

Possible effects of the Race Equality Act 2006 on race equality promotion.

Landmark of New Labour achievement?

The Equality Act 2006, it has been suggested, is a landmark of New Labour achievement in a wider European context. The integrated legal framework aims to foster equality of opportunity for individuals as employees and consumers. This is an important manifestation of the European social democratic project and contrasts vividly with the fading socialist vision of a collective, egalitarian society under the leadership of the working class, in which productive property is held in common and the extremes of wealth are eradicated. Now, the inequalities of social class and wealth go unmentioned. The CEHR was referred to jokingly at the BFOREC conference as New Labour’s alternative to Clause Four.

Reasons for the legislation at this time

This kind of legislation is intended to deal with the disruption to traditional social relationships arising from rapid technological change, liberalisation of trade, economic development, growth of the work force, demographic changes including ageing, demand for new sources of labour, skill shortages, population movement, and immigration. It aims to

Race equality in local communities

remove, where politically feasible, all unnecessary obstacles experienced by the categories of people singled out for legal protection to accessing the labour market or to being treated on equal terms as consumers of goods and services. The principle is one of equality of access and opportunity, not one of equality of income, wealth, social conditions, outcome, or lifestyle. In this context, so-called 'diversity', or social difference, is to be welcomed or celebrated as long as it does not result in loss of opportunity or choice, infringement of others' rights, social disruption, or a break-down of law and order. This is the degree of self-expression and latitude that comes with the free movement of capital and labour within the European Union.

Likely impact of the legislation on the general population

The perspective of individuals who are meant to benefit from equality and human rights is, as might be expected, largely positive, although not without its downside. Many depend for their economic wellbeing on direct access to the labour market and, in Western Europe, all are involved in the cash-based consumer society. Nevertheless, there are considerable numbers of people: the very young and very old, carers of children and the sick, disabled and mentally ill, for whom labour market opportunities are not an option. The problems of these groups cannot be addressed only by labour market regulation in the form of anti-discriminatory employment legislation.

Restricted scope of the legislation

Race equality law and human rights

Despite the growth of legislation in support of equality and diversity, it is worth reflecting for a moment on the restricted scope of the kinds of discrimination and inequality that are unlawful. On the REWM induction programme, newly-appointed race equality workers were asked to draw up a list of other social inequalities that affected people's lives, but that were not the subject of anti-discrimination legislation. They produced the following: social class, income, employment status, pension, wealth/poverty, property ownership, caste, difference in physical attributes (e.g. size, eyesight), intelligence, level of education, literacy, health, and criminal record. This list should be borne in mind when considering the scope of efforts to bring about equality and their chances of success.

Race now one of seven categories of (in) equality

The Equality Act 2006 had the effect of replacing three commissions, dealing respectively with three separate dimensions of inequality, with one body responsible for seven (in)equality dimensions: age, disability, gender, gender reassignment, race, religion or belief, and sexual orientation. The race equality movement, with the single national commission of the CRE, suddenly found itself considered alongside, and on a par, with six other dimensions of inequality, with the prospect of having to compete for attention and resources within the context of a CEHR having to balance its responsibilities for a whole set of equalities and rights. REOs faced the daunting challenge of having to adapt to the radical changes

that this new scenario would inevitably bring to their work at local level.

The Equalities Review

Despite the speed of a legislation, how the seven strands might be accommodated within the one commission remained something of a journey of discovery. The establishment of the CEHR (to come into being in 2007) and political pressure for a symmetrical Equality Act giving equal legal protection to all the different groups for which the CEHR had been made responsible (rather than the uneven arrangements obtaining under existing law) led to the setting up of an Equalities Review to consider how equality and fairness could best be combined, delivered, measured, and legally enforced. The Equalities Review Team was invited by the Prime Minister to consider especially those areas of inequality which were not the product of pure economic disadvantage, although the Team itself felt it was unrealistic to suppose that socio-economic disadvantage could be omitted from any review of this kind.

The Equalities Review interim report

In Spring 2006, the Review Team produced an interim report for consultation, proposing a different approach to the multi-strand analysis of inequalities: one which recognised that chronic and persistent inequalities leading to penalties were the product of two measurable dimensions. The first, 'vulnerability', is distinguished by membership of a social group defined by class, race, gender, and so forth. The

Race equality law and human rights

second is based on the Team's finding that, while many persistent and unjust inequalities are disproportionately associated with some vulnerable groups, it often takes a specific life event or trigger episode in a field, such as education, employment, or health, to help identify a target for action against inequality. The Equalities Review exercise is being conducted in parallel with a Discrimination Law Review, seen as a prelude to the production of a new overarching Equalities Act. There are no obvious clues in the interim report to the Equalities Review's implications for the future of REOs, except perhaps in the 'life cycle' and 'trigger episode' analysis. The final report is due by February 2007.

Opposition to proposals for the CEHR

The decision to replace the CRE, dealing only with race, with the generic CEHR, dealing with six major dimensions of inequality as well as human rights, created anxiety within the race equality movement. The CRE, cautiously supportive of the Green Paper, rejected the White Paper proposals. Minority ethnic groups, led by the 1990 Trust, argued that the CEHR would result in an inevitable neglect of discrimination against black and minority ethnic people. The rising community cohesion lobby, conscious of urban racial tensions, particularly in relation to Muslims, raised the question of the adequacy of CEHR arrangements for promoting cohesion.

CRE opposition to the CEHR

The CRE subjected the White Paper on the CEHR, *Fairness for All* (DTI, May 2004), to three tests: was

it right in principle, would it work in practice, and was it better than existing arrangements? The CRE concluded that it failed all three tests and went on to make a number of observations, of which the following offer a flavour. It was simplistic to suggest that all forms of discriminatory treatment were similar or were susceptible to similar remedies. One important difference between race and religion or belief and other equality strands, for example, was the extent to which inequality arose from the fact that people lived in, or were part of, identifiably separate communities. The CEHR would provide unequal services because it would have to administer nine anti-discrimination and human rights laws, which would result in the creation of a hierarchy of equality areas. There needed to be a unifying act bringing all the legislation together in a compatible and consistent manner before the CEHR was set up.

CRE unequivocal rejection of the CEHR proposals

The CRE commissioners went on to ‘unequivocally reject’ the CEHR proposals on the grounds that they would weaken the cause of equality overall and race equality specifically, reduce the CRE and its successor body’s impact and authority, and destroy existing capacity to reduce conflict within communities and to deal with the rise of racism. The government responded by strengthening some of the powers of the CEHR (as suggested by the CRE) and promising that fears relating to grant aid for local race equality work were unfounded. Some time later, in response to anxiety over the community cohesion agenda, it announced the creation of the Commission for Integration and Cohesion (see pp. 247-49). The

Race equality law and human rights

CRE also negotiated an arrangement to join the CEHR some two years later (2009) than the other commissions but, in the event, the appointment of the incumbent CRE chair, Trevor Phillips, to the post of chair of the CEHR promised to ease the process of transition.

The BFOREC position on the CEHR

The race equality movement responded individually and collectively to consultation on the White Paper (DTI May 2004), mostly asking for clarification on how the proposed CEHR would relate at regional and local level to REOs, how the work of REOs would be affected, and whether grant aid to REOs would still be available. As the Bill passed through parliament, the British Federation of Race Equality Councils (BFOREC) sought and received reassurance from ministers that RECs were not at risk and funding for local race equality work would continue for the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, it was apparent that very little consideration had been given to the impact of the legislation on local specialist equality promotion agencies, such as the RECs, and that there would be no statutory CEHR sub-committee for race as there would be for disability. BFOREC made its position clear on the serious risk the CEHR proposals posed to local race equality and community cohesion promotion.

Possible impact of the CEHR on REOs

The possible impact of the CEHR on REOs and local race equality work remains one of uncertainty and

intense speculation, with little or no guidance from the DCLG to date (November 2006, eight months after the Act). In July 2005, REWM produced a report on the likely implications for REOs of the CEHR (RED 14) and acknowledging the national and local pressures already bearing down on REOs to rationalise and economise on their services by exploring the feasibility of multi-strand approaches. The report considered whether and how the four main functions of traditional RECs (see Chapter Two) could be adapted to multi-strand equality work and the possible consequences of doing so. The main points are summarised below.

Multi-strand policy development

REOs play a significant role in developing policy to ensure that people from different racial groups are consulted and treated fairly in their dealings with authorities of various kinds. Local authorities (a subset of public authorities) already work to a common Equality Standard. Most REOs try hard to ensure public authorities in their locality are in compliance with the duty to promote race equality under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, and, in the case of local authorities, operate to the Equality Standard and comply with Best Value Performance Indicators. Race Equality Schemes (RESs) have now been extended to cover gender and disability, too. In offering advice to public authorities, REOs remain particularly strong on issues of community consultation and the assessment of impact on ethnic minorities. It is more widely than ever accepted that service users have a key role to play in the service improvement drive. The question for

Race equality law and human rights

REOs is whether they possess, or can acquire, the necessary expertise and professional reputation to develop policy or give advice in relation to the other policy strands.

Multi-strand community support

REO functions of promoting community participation, cohesion and good relations between people of different racial groups, including improving their quality of life, could easily be broadened to those of promoting community participation, cohesion and good relations among different communities, and between those communities and the wider society (as suggested by the White Paper, DTI, 2004). Nevertheless, the function of improving ethnic community relations has always been integral to the work of REOs. The concept of community cohesion, too, originated in an analysis of the deep racial and ethnic divides besetting certain northern towns. Not until community cohesion policy was rolled out nationally, did it acquire its multi-strand diversity dimension and consequent shift of focus away from race relations, thus undermining its original purpose. Community tension and conflict continue overwhelmingly to be related to perceived differences of colour, race, ethnicity, national origin and religion, raising the question of whether REOs should continue to concentrate their efforts on race (and possibly religious) relations. Communities generally are fractured along lines of social class, race, culture and, to a lesser extent, religion. While considerations of age, gender, disability, and sexual orientation may play a part in social exclusion and isolation, the

elderly, the young, women, disabled, and LGBT alike, are members of all local residential communities. In regard to the possibilities of community disintegration, relations of race and religion, together with the social class differences associated with them, are uniquely in need of attention and intervention. REOs should consider very carefully any decision to jettison their specialist work on promoting good relations between racial groups, community cohesion, and resolving conflict between different racial and religious communities. They have a clear competitive advantage over other agencies in the public, voluntary and community sectors in promoting positive relations between ethnic communities. The consequences of relinquishing this advantage in favour of a less specific generic equality approach need careful consideration.

Multi-strand casework and complainant aid

Could REOs take on casework relating to discrimination on grounds of race, age, gender, disability, religion or belief, and sexual orientation? The concept of the CEHR has undoubtedly helped in bringing out the similarity between the various laws relating to the different strands of equality, the argument for consolidating those laws, and for rationalising access to, and provision of, legal aid. The extension of an REO's brief seems perfectly feasible, providing it already has experience of, and is undertaking, race equality casework. The symmetry between race, religion or belief, sex, and sexual orientation employment law may lead to an easy organic development of multi-strand casework services. An extension of function along these lines,

Race equality law and human rights

however, raises a question about REOs' specialist status. If they were to take on these other types of discrimination case, in what way would their services differ from those of Citizens Advice Bureaux and local law centres? The answer might lie in their specialising in discrimination law, particularly in regard to employment. In recent years, however, fewer REOs have offered legal information, advice, guidance, and case work services, and less still resource-hungry Employment Tribunal (ET) representation. There is a strong argument for rationalising ET support at a regional level.

Multi-strand public information and education

REOs might broaden their training remit beyond training in race and ethnic relations and sound equality practice to include diversity issues and human rights, and be well positioned to raise public awareness on these matters. It is difficult to accept, however, that they have the same knowledge and expertise as other specialist agencies in areas other than race, culture and religion. Other organisations already exist to raise public awareness and change behaviour in regard to issues of age, gender, disability, sexual orientation, and human rights. It might well be argued that REOs would be better advised to retain, develop and market their core competence in race and ethnic relations and promoting race equality.

REOs potential to become multi-strand equality organisations

Race equality in local communities

Some functions, such as legal casework for complainants of discrimination, are more susceptible to the adoption of a multi-strand equality approach. Other functions in the area of community support, such as the promotion of good relations between racial groups or the improvement of the health and quality of life of minority ethnic communities, are fundamental to the work of REOs. Attempts to adopt a multi-strand equality approach in this field are likely to be counterproductive and result in a deterioration of focus on community cohesion and on the promotion of race equality and, possibly, the eventual disappearance of specialist agencies able to deal with specifically-ethnic conflict resolution. Put more directly, unless the unique contribution of REOs to race equality and inter-ethnic community cohesion is recognised, the creation of the CEHR, with its emphasis on rationalising the framework of discrimination law, and uncritical attempts to emulate and reproduce structures like it at local level, may lead to the neglect and eventual collapse of the unique, organically-developed, and socially valuable local race equality movement.

Models for local multi-strand equality work

The preceding observations have not lessened the pressure from public authorities and those concerned with the future funding of REOs to explore the possibilities for moving towards multi-strand equality arrangements at local level. It is generally seen as desirable and inevitable that the considerations of economy and bureaucratic simplification that brought about the CEHR will be reproduced in some form at local level. In the absence of official guidance,

Race equality law and human rights

various ways of adapting to the national changes are already being explored and are at various stages of development. Proposals range from a cautious and gradual extension of current work to the creation of entirely new organisations. One REC in the West Midlands has already reconstituted itself as a Centre for Equality and Diversity, but the scope for success in this kind of venture is limited by the competition from other voluntary sector agencies also concerned to retain and promote their particular equality expertise. Responses, to date, can be classified as unitary and single tier, or binary and two tier. They are summarised briefly below.

Unitary models

- Spontaneous partnership arrangements. An REO enters into formal or informal partnership arrangements with other equality interest groups to mount specific projects, e.g. support for minority ethnic gays and lesbians, and minority ethnic elderly.
- Lead equality agency. An REO takes on the lead role in bringing other single-strand equality organisations together to work in partnership on common projects.
- Stretched REO. An REO gradually widens its remit, taking on, for example, religion or belief casework, or developing joint projects with women's groups.
- Specialist or focused REO. An REO pares its functions to focus on a core business of

Race equality in local communities

promoting good relations between different racial, ethnic or faith groups, community cohesion, and community conflict resolution.

- Future-proofed REO. An REO conducts business as usual, but simultaneously adopts generic aims and objects to allow it to undertake multi-strand work as the need for it unfolds.
- Generic legal casework agency. An organisation specialising in race equality casework and complainant aid decides to broaden its remit to deal with a full range of unlawful discrimination cases.

Binary models

- Second-tier umbrella organisations. An additional second-tier umbrella forum of equality organisations is set up to coordinate the work of a first tier of autonomous single equality interest groups.
- Second-tier commissioning agency. A local agency is created, proactively and strategically, to plan, coordinate, drive and commission work across the seven strands. It operates to a comprehensive local equality strategy and plan. It might also be associated with the second-tier umbrella forum described above.
- Binary arrangement. An REO continues to focus on race equality and community

Race equality law and human rights

cohesion work, but creates a parallel generic or multi-strand equality body with a separate constitution to develop and accommodate multi-strand initiatives.

Chapter Nine

Doing race equality casework

Overview. Race equality organisations undertake two main types of case work with individuals. They help people who complain that they have been discriminated against in cases that qualify for legal intervention under the provision of the Race Relations Act 1976. REOs also provide support to victims of criminal behaviour who have been racially intimidated, harassed, bullied, or attacked. This chapter is intended to describe REO case work from the point of view of experienced front-line race equality case workers and has been deliberately coauthored with Maxine Edwards, projects coordinator, at the Birmingham Racial Attacks Monitoring Unit, and Stephanie Lehnert, caseworker, at the West Midlands Discrimination Advisory Service. The aim is to give a flavour of the range, complexity, demand and importance of race equality case work in particular, and to make the case for resources to be channelled into services that support the victims of unlawful discrimination. It takes many years of experience to become a skilled and successful case worker. Simply reading this chapter won't do. A background in law is helpful, but competence and confidence are mostly acquired on the job. Three kinds of race equality casework are described: casework for (i) complainants of discrimination in employment and (ii) of discrimination, in the provision of goods and services, and (iii) for victims of racial harassment in the community. It is a misconception, incidentally, to assume that all those experiencing racial discrimination and harassment

Doing race equality casework

are from ethnic minorities: a small proportion of those approaching REOs for assistance is white.

Race equality service provision

Community Relation Councils and their successor bodies, the RECs, were always expected to give information and advice to individuals, originally to New Commonwealth immigrants, who needed to access employment, housing, education, and health facilities. In this process, it became obvious that many individual clients had encountered obstacles that appeared to be related to their colour, race or national origin. Increasingly, REOs took up the cause of minority ethnic clients whom they believed were being discriminated against. Their role was to achieve justice for individual clients and also for any other members of the client's racial or ethnic group who might be treated in the same way. Anti-discrimination casework not only provided a necessary and much-appreciated service for individuals, but also informed REOs' approach to policy and community development. Many experienced race equality officers continue to see individual casework as the bedrock of race equality activity, ensuring that the organisation never loses sight of the personal psychological and social damage inflicted by the many objectionable manifestations of racism, and providing the reason for their daily endeavours. This view explains the continued opposition of some community groups to organisations set up only as 'strategic' bodies, rather than to offer face-to-face services to clients, hence the cynical 'they don't do casework: they're strategic'.

The front-line experience

Newly-recruited race equality caseworkers nearly always remark on the variety and complexity of the cases brought to them by clients. Clients present themselves and tell their story because they know they have a problem with which they need help. They recognise that they are, or have been, on the receiving end of unpleasantness, and that they have come off badly and need the situation to change. But they do not always understand or formulate the presenting problem as a readily-recognisable instance of discrimination, racial or otherwise. They are often relieved to have discussed their experience with a sympathetic listener and to get the matter off their chest. When a caseworker begins to repeat back to them their account, now more formally set out in legal language, they often admit to enlightenment, confessing that ‘the scales have fallen from their eyes’. This is not to say that they did not sense there to be unfairness on racial grounds beforehand, or that the caseworker put the idea into their head, but only that they had never encountered the framework of discrimination law, the formal concepts of evidence or of comparative treatment, and had never had their experience set out and systematically assessed in this way previously.

Client motivation

Clients who ask for advice are variously motivated. Most are distressed individuals who have been through very difficult times and are usually at their wits’ end. Many of them simply want to be able to share their experiences and have someone to listen.

Doing race equality casework

Many of them are at a loss as to how to deal with the situation they find themselves in, how to conduct themselves, and what to do next. Some clients come with a burning desire to avenge whatever injustice has befallen them or their friends and family. Often, there is a certain loss of perspective and contributory fault is denied. Clients need to be handled with patience and understanding. Some will have been reading up on issues on the internet, the local library, and the tabloid press, and may have inflated ideas as to the result they can achieve and, more importantly, the amount of compensation they can win, and are not always receptive to a voice of reason. These clients have to be dealt with carefully and any decision explained to them. Very few clients arrive with over-exaggerated claims and false stories with an aim to make money. As they are rare, these individuals are hard to spot straight away and the defects of the case may only become apparent later on. It is important that every client is taken at face value and is made to feel believed. It is for clients to decide what they want to do with their case but the REO's responsibility to explain the options open to them.

Troublesome clients

All clients must be taken equally seriously. In order to establish the validity and the details of a claim, the interviewing needs to be detailed and extensive. All relations with clients have to be recorded and assessed. Dealing with so-called 'serial litigants' is difficult. They are invariably well-read and have an inflated notion of the merits of their case and the compensation they think they will receive. They will not be happy with the REO unless and until they are

Race equality in local communities

in the middle of legal proceedings and will not want to listen to anything the REO might have to say about lack of evidence and merit. Often, they will complain about how their case has been handled by the REO. It is vital that all dealings are carefully noted and that the case and related evidence is evaluated carefully.

Recording the presenting problem

As previously indicated, REOs are approached for different reasons, and the presenting problems are many and varied. Caseworkers usually keep a brief record of each case on an initial in-house 'registration' or 'referral' form, which will contain details of the client's name and contact details, special requirements (eg., interpreter, disability requirements), racial or ethnic group, name and contact details of the perpetrator, short description of the presenting issues/incident, and involvement with other agencies, including any referral agency. Any immediate or emergency requirements will also be noted and attention paid to meeting them. From this first encounter and registration, the caseworker should be able to ascertain whether the client's problem falls within the remit of the REOs discrimination or other casework, and whether it is able to offer assistance itself, refer elsewhere, or explain why it is unable to help.

Direct approaches, referrals and referral onwards

Individual clients approach REOs directly, either by coming to the office or telephoning to make an appointment. Alternatively, they may have been referred by other agencies which believe the REO is

Doing race equality casework

better placed to deal with their concerns. The referral arrangement is often formalised with another agency, such as the local authority housing department or ALMO, paying a grant to the organisation to deal with a number of similar-case referrals on its behalf. REOs themselves may choose to refer clients onwards to other agencies which may have more dedicated or expert facilities to deal with a particular kind of case, e.g., victim support, or tribunal representation. Whether approaching an REO directly or referred by others, clients are likely to be interviewed by a race equality case worker and an initial or basic record made of their case.

REO responsibility to clients

Prior to taking on a case, REOs should endeavour to enter into a formal agreement with the client setting out carefully and specifically the nature of the services they are offering. The agreement should also outline the remit and limits of the work and under which circumstances the REO can withdraw. It should include the rights of clients to service provision and complaints, and the duties of clients, that is, what is required of them. The REO needs to explain these terms of engagement to the client and ensure they are understood and signed. It might also be necessary to include reference to confidentiality and data protection. A complaints procedure needs to be readily available for the client. It is important that the REO is aware of its own legal rights and obligations as well as of those of the client.

Community Legal Services quality mark

The two main quality assurance frameworks are the Community Legal Services quality mark and the Commission for Racial Equality's core standards. Generally, there are three standards to the quality mark. These standards are information, general help (general help including casework) and specialist help. REOs have to determine to what level their advice service extends. The application form comes with detailed and helpful guidance and workbook. The workbook, while not difficult, is onerous and time-consuming to complete but, once completed, enables an REO to be sure that all the requirements have been complied with. The staff and the CLS have proved friendly and helpful to basic queries. The use of the CLS logo shows clients and potential funders that REO advice meets the necessary standards. REOs will also receive referrals from other agencies confident that the clients they refer will be properly looked after. According to the CLS, the quality mark 'may give you an advantage when applying for funding. You will have an independently assessed quality standard that shows you provide a well-managed service'.

CRE core standards

The Commission for Racial Equality has also developed a set of standards to ensure that REOs provide sound legal advice and that complainant aid is well managed, with 'accountable and transparent structures'. Operating under the core standards framework is useful when dealing with clients, potential funders, and referral agencies to convince

Doing race equality casework

them of the quality of the work. Compliance is a prerequisite for CRE funding.

The range of race equality casework

While wide-ranging, most casework undertaken by REOs relates in some way to the civil or criminal law dealing with racial, and more recently religious, discrimination and harassment. Casework can be classified into three main categories:

- discrimination in employment,
- discrimination in the provision of goods and services,

(commonly referred to as casework under the Race relations Act 1976), and

- racially-motivated harassment in the community,
 - including housing
 - and education,

(commonly referred to as victims support, or support for victims of racial harassment).

RECs have tended to specialise in individual casework for complainants of discrimination in employment and goods and services, whereas racial harassment and discrimination advice, guidance and support agencies or networks (RHNs), have been set up with the express purpose of tackling racially-motivated crime in the community. In practice, clients approach both kinds of organisations with

cases relating to civil or criminal law, often involving elements of both.

Casework under the Race Relations Act 1976

Discrimination in employment

When a client alleges discrimination at work, the caseworker must try to establish the circumstances and the course of events and to take preliminary notes which can at a later stage be developed into an account of the incident. The caseworker has to arrive at an assessment of whether an unlawful act of discrimination took place and whether sufficient evidence is available or can be obtained to give credence to the allegation.

Four stages of REO involvement

It is usual to distinguish between four separate stages of REO involvement: providing information (e.g., the name of an appropriate referral agency, or of where to obtain an ET1 form on which to make a claim), giving advice (e.g. on the merits of the client's case), undertaking casework (e.g. helping the client complete out the ET1 and setting out the complainant's case in writing), and representing the complainant's case at Employment Tribunal or County Court.

Exhausting internal procedures

One of the caseworker's first tasks is to check whether complainants have tried to resolve their issues with employers through any internal channels available to them by, for example, invoking the

Doing race equality casework

grievance procedure. Generally, claims for racial discrimination cannot be brought until a matter has been raised as a grievance with the employer, who is allowed 28 days to respond. It is important to exhaust internal procedures before recourse to law, not only to allow all parties a chance to resolve the issue, but to avoid the consequences of an Employment Tribunal hearing which frequently prove stressful and distressing to the individuals involved and damage irrevocably the employer/employee relationship (if this has not already occurred). Proceedings can be stayed, on request, pending the outcome of internal procedures and negotiation conducted by the REO on behalf of the complainant.

Reaching a settlement

Often complainants pursue their cases in order to obtain financial compensation from their employer. It is worth bearing in mind that they have often lost their jobs, are out of work, and are struggling to make ends meet. The role of the REOs becomes one of obtaining the maximum compensatory award for their client, even though they personally might wish to expose publicly the full extent of the employer's discriminatory behaviour at Tribunal, in order to prevent the possibility of any repetition. Employers, on the other hand, are likely to make an assessment of their culpability, the compensation they may have to pay, the legal costs of defending the action, and the effects of the adverse publicity incurred by media reports, whether or not their case succeeds. In this context, REOs often find themselves negotiating a legally-binding financial settlement in which the client enters into a binding agreement to keep secret

Race equality in local communities

the terms of settlement. The success of REOs' complainant aid work, therefore, is invariably translated into an annual total of the amount of compensation paid out to the clients, rather than to the number of Tribunal cases they bring which succeeds.

Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS)

ACAS is a statutory body set up to resolve disputes arising out of employment-related issues before they reach an Employment Tribunal. Copies of ET1 and related documents are sent to the ACAS conciliation officer who will contact the parties in dispute in an attempt to reach a settlement prior to the full ET hearing. The parties, however, are under no compulsion to speak to ACAS officers. If ACAS manages to negotiate an agreement between the parties, the ACAS officer will draw up a form COT3 which constitutes a binding agreement. ACAS has also produced a Code of Practice on disciplinary and grievance procedures which, while not binding on employers, is admissible as evidence at ET. REOs retain cordial relations with and respect for their ACAS colleagues.

Working with trade unions

If the client is a member of the trade union, effort has to be made to involve the trade union representative and the facilities that the trade union has to offer. Sometimes clients will contact the REO because they are not satisfied with the advice or support they have been given by the union. It is always a good idea for the REO to make contact with the trade union

Doing race equality casework

representative to discuss the case and to make sure the work is not being duplicated. Given the limited resources available, REOs should not take on cases that can be dealt with elsewhere, but not all trade unions identify or provide adequate support to their members in these circumstances, sometimes because they also have to support members against whom allegations of discrimination are being made. While REOs are usually appreciative of trade union officials' efforts on behalf of their members, it is often apparent that they lack the necessary skills in legal representation. Some of the worst abuses, of course, occur in non-unionised small businesses which refuse to take seriously their duties as employers. In addition, only a minority of REO clients turns out to be paid-up members of trade unions.

Employment Tribunal proceedings

When internal procedures have been exhausted and it has proved impossible to reach a negotiated resolution, an REO will advise a client to take a case to an Employment Tribunal (ET). In this context, the client is referred to as 'the claimant' and the employer as 'the respondent'. Employment Tribunals deal with claims for unfair or constructive dismissal, redundancy payments, unpaid wages, as well as discrimination on grounds of race, sex, disability, and now, sexual orientation, religion and belief, and age. The Employment Tribunal adjudicates on all claims of racial discrimination in employment. Claims are made by the claimant on form ET1 in paper format, which can be obtained from the Employment Tribunal office, the Employment Tribunal Service website,

Race equality in local communities

Jobcentre Plus, or Citizens Advice Bureaux. REOs usually keep a stock of them, too. The forms are fairly straightforward and self-explanatory and come with guidelines on how to fill them in. They have to be sent to the Employment Tribunal office which will send a copy to the employer with an ET3 response form which has to be returned within 28 days. The Tribunal will also check the legitimacy of the claim and, if there is any doubt, arrange a preliminary hearing.

Deadlines

The deadline for presenting a claim to an Employment Tribunal is three months less one day from the day the discriminatory act occurred or, in the case of continuous and ongoing discrimination, the day of the last event. In some cases, the deadline can be extended. In order for the claim to be considered, an individual who is still employed needs to have written a formal letter of complaint according to the complaints procedure outlining the details of his or her complaint. The claim must be received by the Tribunal within the time limit. The Tribunal can consider even a claim that is out time if it believes it just and equitable to do so.

Filling in an ET1

The ET1 form requires the following details:

- the claimant's details.
- the respondent's details.

Doing race equality casework

- employment details (claimant's dates of employment commencement, job, hours of work, pay, (and, if relevant, date of termination).
- details of discrimination in employment, including recruitment, training, promotion and dismissal, or of victimisation.
- details of any representative appointed, including their organisation.
- an equal opportunities monitoring form.

RR 65 questionnaire

A race relations questionnaire (RR65 or section 65 questionnaire) can be used by the claimant to ask relevant and important questions of the employer about the alleged discriminatory conduct and to obtain their version of the facts. This is done before legal proceedings are started. The deadline for this is three months from the date of the last discriminatory act. The claimant can send it within 21 days after having sent the ET1. The information received can help a claimant to decide whether or not to bring a case. If the respondent does not respond, or does so in an evasive or ambiguous way, it is open to the Tribunal to draw adverse inference. The RR65 gives a great deal of scope for requesting information. The information gathered can be used as evidence in the proceedings and as pressure to reach an early settlement. The Tribunal has the discretion to allow late questionnaires. Other information gathering procedures are requests, orders for further and better particulars (when questions need to be asked about matters already raised in the RR65, ET1 and ET3),

requests for documents (when respondents hold documentary evidence that will assist the claimant's case) and requests for answers to written questions (similar to requests for further particulars). The Tribunal decides whether it orders the respondent to produce the information if the respondent does not respond to a reasonable request.

Case management discussion and pre-hearing review

The next step in the tribunal proceedings will be a case management discussion (CMD). In this usually short hearing presided over by only the chair, the practicalities of the case, the basis on which the case was brought, the number of witnesses, and the various deadlines are discussed. The discussion sets out when, for example, documents have to be exchanged and a bundle produced, and when witness statements have to be exchanged. Often, if a client is represented, the Tribunal will arrange for a CMD by phone. The various parties will either have been given the relevant telephone number and code to call or will be called in time by the clerk. Sometimes, one of the parties, or indeed the Tribunal, see the need for a pre-hearing review (PHR) to establish a matter pertinent to the case, e.g. whether the court has jurisdiction to hear the case, or whether the case was brought within the requisite deadlines. Such a PHR can be heard either by a chair sitting alone or by full panel. It can be necessary to prepare a bundle and call witnesses, but directions for this would have been given in the CMD. The procedures are fairly informal and are managed by the chair. The parties can represent themselves, be represented by a solicitor, or a lay representative, or by any individual of the

Doing race equality casework

parties' choosing. Each party is responsible for paying the fees of their representative even if they win.

What happens at Tribunal

If the case is not settled, it eventually comes to Tribunal. After registering with reception, all parties usually wait in the designated waiting rooms, where they will be called by the clerk who will check the names of the parties and the names of any visitors and witnesses. The clerk will also receive additional documents. One at a time, the clerk will take the parties to the room in which the hearing is to take place. As mentioned above, a case management discussion is presided over usually by a chair sitting alone. Pre-hearing reviews are either presided over by one chair sitting alone, or by a panel of three. A full hearing is always conducted with a full panel. The panel consists of one full-time chair and two experienced lay persons, with backgrounds in employee and employer relations respectively. The chair conducts and manages the meeting. At the beginning, the parties might be required to outline their position. The complainant and witnesses are interviewed and cross-examined, followed by the respondent and any witnesses. The parties usually finish with closing statements. Throughout, it is necessary to remain civil and polite and to suppress strong emotions even in the face of what the client may consider to be glaring injustice, lies and unfairness.

Race equality in local communities

Outcomes

There are three remedies that the Tribunal can order: a declaration of discrimination by the respondent, an order of compensation for actual financial loss and injury to feelings, and recommendation that the respondent takes steps to ensure that the discrimination does not occur again.

Cost

A claimant does not generally have to pay the respondent's costs incurred for case preparation and the hearing. Costs are a possibility, however, if the Tribunal makes an order against the claimant or if either party acted vexatiously, abusively, disruptively, or otherwise unreasonably, or if the bringing of the case is misconceived.

Discrimination in the provision of goods and services.

Proceedings relating to discrimination in the provision of goods and services have to be brought before the County Court. Claims should be brought in the Court in the district in which the defendant lives or carries out business. Selected County Courts hear cases on racial discrimination. Applications are made on form N1, one for each defendant, with a copy of the particulars of the claim. This has to be sent along with the appropriate fee. The forms are available at the Court, as are leaflets about the proceedings and fees. The Court manages a strict timetable, so it is

Doing race equality casework

vital to have all the preparations made for a hearing before proceedings are brought.

Deadlines

County Court deadlines differ from those for the Employment Tribunal. There is a six month deadline (less one day) for lodging cases of discrimination at a County Court. The claim must be received by the Court within the time limit. The Court can consider a claim out of time, if it is just and equitable to do so.

Exhausting internal procedures

While there are no specific requirements as to what to do before proceedings start, it is advisable to send a letter of claim or complaint to the defendants before starting proceedings so that they can investigate the matter and make proposals to avoid litigation.

Legal aid

Legal aid can be available for claims in the County Court if the financial means test is satisfied and the case has a reasonable prospect of success. Legal aid does not cover a solicitor representing at the small claims court, but may be able to pay for help with the preparation of the case. A solicitor may be able to give advice on eligibility for legal aid.

Claim process

The defendant has to send an acknowledgment of the claim within 14 days of the service of the claim form. After this is filed, the defendant must offer a defence

Race equality in local communities

within 28 days of the claim form being served. The Court will send copies to the claimant. The time limits for submitting a defence can be extended in certain circumstances. The Court will then send an 'allocation' questionnaire to both parties which must be completed and returned with the appropriate fee. The judge will allocate the case to the appropriate track and notify the parties of this decision and what must be done to prepare the case for trial.

The three tracks

There are three tracks in the County Court depending on the value and complexity of the claim, among other matters. Generally, the small claims track deals with claims of no more than £5,000. The fast track is the track for claims between £5,000 and £15,000, where the trial is likely to last longer than a day. Finally, the multi-track deals with all other cases. A discrimination claim worth less than £5,000 might be dealt with under fast or multi-track procedures if the case involves complex legal issues, and a claim for more than £5,000 can be dealt with in the small claims track if all parties agree and the judge approves. The small claims track is the simplest and most informal way of resolving disputes in the County Court and can be attended without professional help. For the other two tracks, advice (and representation) from a solicitor or other advisor is advisable. The parties can represent themselves, be represented by a solicitor, a race equality caseworker, or any individual of the parties' choosing. Each party is responsible for paying the fees (if any) of their representatives even if they win.

Doing race equality casework

Form N157

Form N157 is sent out if a case is allocated to the small claims track, and outlines what needs to be done for the final hearing, 'directions' and the time, date and place of the hearing. The 'directions', are similar to those given in a case management discussion at tribunal, in that they indicate the documents and witness statements that need to be sent in before the start of the case.

What happens at County Court

As with the Tribunal, the judge can decide on a preliminary hearing, if, for example, either of the parties has no reasonable prospect of success. At County Court, the judge can decide to deal with the claim without a hearing, unless either or both parties object. The hearing itself is public and the proceedings of the hearing are managed by the judge. Usually, the claimant states their case to the judge and then the defendant puts their point forward. The judge can ask questions of the parties involved and any witnesses. At the end, the judge comes to a decision and informs the parties of the reasons for the decision. The Court will produce an order or judgement setting out the decision.

Outcomes:

If the case succeeds, a County Court can make: a declaration that discrimination has occurred, an order for compensation (damages) for financial loss and

Race equality in local communities

injury to feelings, and/or an injunction that the defendant stop discriminating against the claimant. If a case is withdrawn before the hearing, a notice of discontinuance can be served upon the defendant and a copy sent to the court. In this case, the claimant would have to pay the costs incurred so far. The court can waive this under certain limited circumstances.

Costs

There are fees to start the case and a fee on allocation and these have to be paid unless an individual is subject to fee exemption or remission. If the claimant wins the case, the defendant has to pay all the court fees and any damages. The defendant may also be ordered to pay towards the travelling and overnight expenses of the claimant and the witnesses. If the claimant loses, they may have to pay the travelling expenses of the defendant and the witnesses, and any loss of earnings incurred by the defendant. Unless the Court decides that the claimant has acted unreasonably, the claimant will not have to pay the defendant's legal costs.

Support for victims of racial harassment

The nature of racially-motivated harassment

Racially-motivated harassment consists of offensive behaviour, including verbal, non-verbal, and physical conduct as perceived by the victim, or a third party, or witness. Racial harassment can occur between members of the public, for example, between neighbours, between members of the public and employees, and between members of the public and

Doing race equality casework

any other public or private body. It takes on a variety of forms usually falling into three categories: verbal abuse, physical abuse, and damage to property.

Verbal abuse

Verbal abuse consists of threatening, abusive, or insulting words or behaviour used within sight or hearing of a person, with the intent of harassing, or causing alarm or distress. It includes nuisance telephone calls and the distribution of intended racially-inflammatory materials.

Physical abuse

Physical abuse consists of common assault. It occurs where the perpetrator uses a degree of force, whether intentionally or carelessly, to the body of another person, without lawful excuse. The police can only prosecute for common assault when there is sufficient evidence.

Damage to property

Damage to property includes making graffiti, damaging front doors, breaking windows, puncturing tyres, scratching and denting car body-work, putting substances through letterboxes, and throwing paint.

The barrage of racial harassment

Racial harassment often consists of a constant barrage of anti-social incidents aimed at the victim, such as repeated door-knocking, verbal abuse (face-to-face or in telephone calls), bullying of children on their way

to and from school, the dumping of rubbish outside the home, in the garden, or through the letter box, tampering with or damaging cars, blocking driveways, damaging residential property, arson attempts, racist graffiti, threatening behaviour, abusive notes or letters, persistent noise or banging, and malicious complaints.

The number of racist incidents

Human Rights Watch 1997 estimated that the number of racist incidents reported to the police in the United Kingdom represented only a fraction of the actual rate because many victims did not report crimes against them to the police. Estimates of the real figures indicated that approximately 32,500 violent assaults and 26,000 acts of vandalism were racially motivated, or 18% of all crimes against ethnic minorities. It is important to recognise that by no means all racially-aggravated offences are targeted against ethnic minorities – white people are victims, too. In 2005, more than 7,000 people were charged with racially-aggravated offences, nearly 90% of cases resulting in conviction. Despite the London tube atrocities, there were, by comparison, very few religiously-aggravated offences, with only 43 people charged and 41 convicted, and only 6 linked to the July 7 bombings.

The legislative context

The number and range of anti-social acts that constitute harassment point clearly to the need for a multi-agency intervention strategy. Racially-motivated harassment in the community has to be tackled in a collaborative way by the police, local

Doing race equality casework

authority environmental health, social housing, local education authority, and victim support agencies. The various Acts mentioned in Chapter Eight, such as the Race Relations Act 1976 and Amendments 2000, Housing Act 1996, Protection from Harassment Act 1997, Crime and Disorder Act 1998, and Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003, provide the legal framework for agency intervention.

Voluntary sector support for victims of racial harassment

Role of REO casework

A voluntary sector REO is well-placed to provide an independent case-work and advisory service for victims of racially-motivated harassment in the community, and to monitor the adequacy of the support available from public authorities. The REO's autonomy tends to elicit a more user-friendly and effective response from the statutory agencies, and to reassure victims that their cause will be taken up without fear or favour. The detached position of the REO also helps it to highlight the inevitable discontinuity of service that occurs between different public authorities, and to assist them to develop a more complete and seamless approach.

Role of the caseworker

The caseworker dealing with racial harassment and attacks has to ensure that steps are taken to safeguard the victim, evidence is gathered to help mount prosecution, emotional support is provided to the victim, and accurate case work notes are kept and

Race equality in local communities

cases tracked. In performing these tasks, it is essential to adopt a multi-agency approach, liaising carefully with others involved, such as the police, local authority, educational welfare, and housing agencies. The main tasks of the caseworker are described briefly below.

Safeguarding the victim

The caseworker needs to establish whether the victim is in any immediate danger and what if any assistance is required and/or can rapidly be provided. If the victim makes telephone contact or visits the office, three urgent matters have to be dealt with. Have the police been contacted? Is there physical injury? Is the property secure? The victim should be encouraged to report the incident as soon as possible to the police, stressing that they believe the incident to be racial. Victims do not always wish to contact the police for fear of reprisal or because they have no confidence in the way the incident will be handled. The caseworker can make them aware that there are other ways of reporting crime through independent reporting agencies or self-reporting forms. The victim should be told to keep a record of all calls made to the police or other reporting agencies and of any allocated log or crime number. If there is physical injury, the victim should be persuaded to seek immediate medical attention from their GP or the nearest accident and emergency unit. If the injury is serious, an ambulance may need to be called. The victim should be advised to ask the doctor for a comprehensive medical report. If property is involved, it is important for it to be made secure. The caseworker needs to establish whether the attacker is still present or is likely to

Doing race equality casework

return and whether doors can be closed and locked. If the property cannot be secured immediately, then the victim should be helped to contact friends, family, or a facility for the homeless. If victims are council or housing association tenants, they should be advised to ring the emergency repairs service or their local housing office.

Gathering evidence

If a successful prosecution is to be brought against the perpetrators of a racially-motivated crime, evidence of their behaviour has to be gathered. One way of doing this is to encourage the victim to keep a diary of the incident (the caseworker might provide the diary sheets). The victim should also record the names or description of the perpetrators, names and addresses of witnesses, the names of the authorities contacted at the time (noting the name of the person involved and any incident or log number). If the victim is unable to read or write in English, or has learning difficulties, the record could be tape-recorded and transcribed and translated at a later date. The caseworker will also keep case notes and attempt to build a file containing crime numbers, witness statements, photographs, video or audio tapes, visual evidence (e.g. official documentation by a registered agency of physical harm or damage to property, medical documentation (including medical certificates and self-certificate of time off work), supporting letters, and any written abuse (hate mail sent to the victim, or petitions).

Supporting the victim emotionally

Race equality in local communities

The key to supporting victims is to show interest in the issues they raise, listening carefully and sympathetically, and taking them seriously. Allowing people space to describe any unpleasant and often frightening experience helps them to interpret it, to put it in perspective, and eventually to deal with it. Caseworkers can support clients on a one-to-one basis, or collectively by establishing a self-help group. Sometimes, REOs are able to organise regular home visits to provide support for families. REOs have also developed volunteer victim-support training schemes and enlisted volunteers to offer companionship and emotional support to victims. The formation of self-help groups is another way of sustaining victims by providing them with a safe environment in which they can share their experiences and increase the number of their social contacts.

Keeping systematic case-work files

The caseworker needs to keep track of the REO's cases, of which there can be many, all at different stages. These stages can be variously classified, for example, as initially registered, ongoing, or closed. The casework involves coordinating what is often a somewhat disjointed multi-agency response. It can never be assumed that the victim, or any single agency, has all the relevant information. Other agencies have to be contacted in order to complete or update the picture of what has occurred or is still going on. The client, too, may prove difficult to contact, particularly if, as a result of the harassment, it has been necessary to change address or keep secret

Doing race equality casework

the venue at which the victim is staying. The REO has to provide clients with information about its work and the service it offers, with emergency contact details, complaints procedure, and legal information. The client might find it helpful to be given a list of available council and community services and information on benefits or debts. Other useful information are guidelines on home and fire safety, as the victims of racial attack are far more at risk. The caseworker should guide clients through the support pack to ensure they are familiar with the important information it contains. The caseworker has a vital role to play in enhancing victims' knowledge of their rights and the resources that can be drawn upon in times of trouble. The caseworker can, in fact, be seen as the centre of a communication web linking the various agencies, supportive community groups, and the victims and their friends and families. Communication can be enhanced by providing an interpreting service for non-English speaking victims, and ensuring regular letters are sent out, and telephone or email contact retained.

Policy issues arising from casework

Caseworkers have to be aware of how to make complaints against statutory authorities if they fail to provide proper protection against racial harassment, attack, and damage. Most organisations have established complaints procedures but they are not always up to the job of teaching lessons to managers on how to improve what has turned out to be an inadequate performance. Caseworkers are often in a position to draw attention to these lessons and campaign around them. In relation to community

Race equality in local communities

safety, incidents of attacks, analysed by place and time, can often inform crime reduction and community safety partnerships and lead to new and more effective crime reduction strategies. Local housing forums also provide an opportunity to work with housing officials to develop safer neighbourhoods and accommodation. Joined-up approaches and collaborative working through the Local Strategic Partnership enable REOs to influence policy and procedure at a strategic level to reduce the incidents of racial harassment and attack overall.

Risk assessment

In dealing with vulnerable clients, REOs may wish to undertake an assessment of risk to the client, to the case worker, or to any other party. The assessment should include the views of all the individuals involved in the case, as well as of public authorities and professional bodies providing support. A risk assessment is a formal, usually written, exercise undertaken to protect people who are vulnerable to harm or injury from their environment as a result of their personal, social or economic circumstances, which include any injury, assault or illness they have sustained as a result of racial harassment. The assessment aims to predict behaviour or events which could cause (further) harm to the individual, in order that preventive action can be taken. Key questions to be asked when making a risk assessment are:

- What risk?
- Who is at risk and how seriously?
- How has the risk been identified?
- When are people most at risk?

Doing race equality casework

- Where are people most at risk?
- When does the risk become dangerous?
- Who is responsible and accountable for the risk being taken?
- How should the risk be managed?
- Can the agency deal effectively with the risk?
- How should the agency staff be trained to deal with the risk?

Where there is risk of racial harassment, risk assessments are usually undertaken in conjunction with other agencies. They normally include four sections: risk to self, risk to others, risk to property, and risk analysis. The assessment should make clear any recommended action and who is responsible for taking it.

Support plan

A victim support plan is a formal assessment of a victim's needs, accompanied by a statement of the supportive action to be provided by the caseworker and possibly other workers attached to the case, together with outputs and deadlines. It should show how the various needs of the client are going to be met to improve their quality of life. The plan spells out:

- the barriers inhibiting personal development.
- the need or reason for support.
- objectives arising from support needs, such as language skills or adequate accommodation.

Race equality in local communities

- the timescale for achieving the objectives.
- the caseworker responsible for providing support.
- review dates.

The support plan should be SMART (specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and timed).

Collective responses to racial harassment

Mediation

REOs often become involved in attempts to mediate in racial and ethnic conflict in the community. Mediation aims to ensure that the socially destructive aspects of racial harassment are addressed without recourse to legal action. Mediation services are usually provided free and confidentially to the respective parties to the dispute. They aim to improve communication and to create a forum for neighbours to meet and learn about one another, and to provide the opportunity for perpetrators to make amends. Mediation is meant to be a positive approach to combating anti-social behaviour and conflict and promoting good relations. It does, however, require the following preconditions:

- a mediator experienced in mediation techniques.
- agreement to mediation by victim and perpetrator.
- an opportunity for both parties to air their grievances.
- agreement of both parties to abide by any settlement.

Doing race equality casework

- procedures to monitor the settlement.

Advantages and disadvantages of mediation

Mediation has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are that:

- cases can be resolved rapidly.
- cases can be resolved without the need for lengthy and expensive legal action.
- the threat of ongoing antagonism is reduced.
- pre-existing neighbourhood disputes can be resolved.
- Perpetrators' intransigence can be exposed if agreement is breached.

The disadvantages are that:

- its success depends on both parties' voluntary commitment alone.
- there are insufficient sanctions to guarantee both parties' compliance.
- it can be used by perpetrators to avoid prosecution.
- it may result in lip-service, or increase animosity, if not carefully handled.

Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (ASBOs)

The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 introduced Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, or ASBOs, which have been operative since April 1999. They are civil orders protecting the public from behaviour that causes, or is likely to cause, harassment, alarm, and distress. The

Race equality in local communities

order is not a criminal penalty and is not intended to punish, but prohibit the offender from undertaking specified anti-social acts or entering specified geographical areas. An order can be made against persons aged 10 or over, prohibiting anything that is necessary to protect others from anti-social behaviour. It cannot be terminated without the consent of both parties. If breached, an ASBO results in a criminal offence punishable by 6 months imprisonment, or a fine of up to £2000.

Acceptable Behaviour Contract (ABC)

An Acceptable Behaviour Contract, or ABC, is a written agreement to abide by certain conditions between a person involved in anti-social behaviour and an agency whose role is to prevent such behaviour. An ABC usually involves a young offender, but parents of children must sign the contract and are held accountable, with breaches resulting in ASBOS, public order offences, eviction, or other action.

Injunctions

An injunction is a court order instructing an individual or organisation to do or not to do something. It is a way of controlling anti-social behaviour and can be used when specific legal requirements are disregarded. Social housing injunctions and possession orders can be used to restrain tenants who engage in racial harassment. Injunctions can be obtained to restrain breach of tenancy (tenancy agreements usually have clauses prohibiting nuisance, which includes harassment),

Doing race equality casework

trespass on property, and damage to property. Breach of injunctions can lead to perpetrators being evicted from their homes and facing criminal conviction.

CEHR support for discrimination casework

The CEHR has been given the power to support individuals who seek to bring cases under discrimination legislation. As with the CRE, the CEHR will provide direct case support to a limited number of individuals. Cases will be selected for support on the basis of whether they raise a question of principle, affect large numbers of people, or indicate the need for legislative change. So far, the CEHR has set up a website and helpline to provide information and advice on unlawful discrimination. It has yet to be decided whether the CEHR will provide financial support for voluntary agencies undertaking individual casework for complainants of discrimination in employment and the provision of goods and services, or the victims of certain kinds of criminal harassment.

Chapter Ten

Explaining race relations

Overview. The current state of race and ethnic relations can be explained in different ways, in common-sense terms, or by using scientific terminology and methods. The chapter describes the criteria by which an explanation might be judged scientific and the way explanations offered by REOs can be made more scientific, offering by way of a warning the awful example of nineteenth-century so-called scientific racism, but questioning whether, according to modern criteria, it was in any way scientific. After the UNESCO statement of 1950 on race, biologically-based explanations for race relations were effectively abandoned in favour of social scientific interpretations. Eleven recurring social scientific explanations for contemporary British race relations, which currently underpin most REO interventions, are described in turn. REOs are expected to explain race relations to others, a function they undertake by offering educational programmes and by making use of the mass media. REOs' relationship with the media is briefly explored: should REOs transform themselves into media hubs?

The need to explain race and ethnicity

Throughout history, when separate populations previously living apart come into conflict with one another, explanations are generated from all sides for the self-evident differences in appearance, dress,

Explaining race relations

aggressive intent, behaviour, language, diet, habits, rituals, and religious practices. Contact with strangers immediately challenges an established community's taken-for-granted daily practices, even more so, if the contact is seen as a threat, real or imaginary, to a traditional way of life. These common-sense observations indicate the extensive field of possible explanations for historical and contemporary race, ethnic, and religious relations. What follows, of necessity, is a limited and partial selection of the kinds of common-sense and so-called 'scientific' explanations currently deployed, disputed, or detested, in the daily discourse of race equality work.

The social construction of explanations

In race equality work, as in other areas of life, explanations are built up from the field of perception, terms, and concepts, into explanations. The explanations offered are often embedded theoretically in a pre-existing matrix of culture which affects the elements that are perceived as significant, selected and interpreted. It is important to be aware of this continual 'social construction' of reality which, for most of the time, determines and sustains the types of explanation available to race equality workers and makes them blind or unreceptive to alternative interpretations. The concepts of race and ethnicity are fundamental to REO endeavour, defining as they do the subject matter of their attention. The boundaries of these concepts, as well as the way ethnic labelling changes over time, are explored briefly below.

The meaning of 'ethnic group'

In sociology, an 'ethnic group' is defined as a group perceived by its members as sharing social characteristics, such as historical origins, common background, extended kinship, language, religion, and neighbourhood. Ethnicity is a subjective, self-selected identity, capable theoretically of being shed or changed by all or some of the group members. 'Ethnicity' is frequently contrasted with and distinguished from 'race' on the grounds that it is a self-assumed label to which the group members themselves lay claim.

The meaning of 'racial group'

A 'racial group', on the other hand, is defined by reference to its members' appearance (their phenotype), or their line of descent, or biological or genetic make-up (their genotype). The so-called 'scientific racism' popularised in the second half of the nineteenth century divided human kind into three great races, White or Caucasoid, Black or Negroid, and Yellow or Mongoloid (but see more below). A racial group is usually distinguished from an ethnic group on the grounds that it is defined by others on the basis of independently establishable or objective criteria, irrespective of its members' wishes.

Unease at the use of the term 'race'

Sociologists who object to the categorisation of people by race, and deny that race has any relevance to the study of society, insist that the term 'race' be placed in inverted commas, or that it be avoided

Explaining race relations

altogether in favour of ‘ethnic relations.’ Irrespective of the legitimacy of any reference to ‘race’, sociology in this field involves examination of the causes and consequences of the socially-constructed categorisation of social groups according to their so-called ‘race’. In Britain, too, the law relating to relations of this kind is known as the Race Relations Act, and the work of REOs defined, too, in terms of ‘race’ rather than ‘ethnicity’. Nevertheless, the general unease about the legitimacy of the term, coupled with awareness of the racial genocide facilitated by political ideologies based on spurious racial classification, has resulted in an all-too-ready tendency to substitute the term ‘ethnicity’ for ‘race’ in most British contexts. Elsewhere, in the USA, for example, a distinction is still maintained between the two terms.

Census 2001 amalgam of categories

The general confusion, or deliberate obfuscation, of ethnic and racial categories is exemplified by the Census 2001. The original ‘ethnic’ categories used in the census, as well as those recommended by the CRE, allowed some scope for ethnic self-identification, but were largely decided on by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) after much discussion and piloting. The result is a complex amalgam of colour or racial categories. (e.g. white and black), national origin or nationality categories (e.g. British, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Chinese), geographical categories, (e.g. African, Asian, and Caribbean), and dual categories (e.g. White and Black Caribbean). Significantly, one traditionally-accepted racial group, Jewish, and at

least one racial group recognised in law, Ethnic Gypsy, are not included, although a further question, on religious affiliation, which would have identified adherents to Judaism, was also asked. This classificatory system, altered significantly since the Census 1991, illustrates the socially-constructed and politically-negotiated nature of the definition, explanations and assumptions on which REO work depends.

Changing labels: the black Caribbean example

There is plenty of movement and fluidity, not only in the choice of name adopted by members of ethnic groups, but in the separation, coming together, and formation of new groups or categories. People of Caribbean ancestry or descent, who first came to Britain in the 1950s, were first referred to by the white British population as 'coloured' or 'West Indian'. By the late 1960s, as a result of consistent campaigning, they called themselves 'black' and insisted that others did too. By asserting their African origins, by the 1980s, the alternative label 'Afro-Caribbean' was widely used, but by the 1990s, this had been rejected in favour of 'African-Caribbean'. By 2001, to make the distinction between black people from the African sub-continent and black people from the Caribbean, as well as between both these groups and those who preferred to think of themselves as British, three new labels were made available: 'Black African', 'Black Caribbean' and 'Black British'. Currently, there are claims on 'Black English', 'Black Welsh,' and 'Black Scottish'.

Explaining race relations

Census 2001 Ethnic Categories

A	White <ul style="list-style-type: none">• British• Irish• Any other White background (write in)
B	Mixed <ul style="list-style-type: none">• White and Black Caribbean• White and Black African• White and Asian• Any other Mixed background (write in)
C	Asian, Asian British <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Indian• Pakistani• Bangladeshi• Any other Asian background (write in)
D	Black or Black British <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Caribbean• African• Any other Black background (write in)
E	Chinese or other ethnic group <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Chinese• Any other (write in)

Formation of new ethnic groups: Bangladeshi, Mixed Race

New groups have been brought about by political upheaval and nation-building elsewhere, as when, in 1971, East Pakistan seceded from West Pakistan to form Bangladesh, and create a new 'Bangladeshi' nationality and ethnic category. Another ethnic group, people categorised as 'mixed' in the Census 2001, has come into being as a result of the growing numbers of inter-ethnic (and inter-racial) families with mixed-race children. This new grouping has already emphatically rejected earlier pejorative labels, such as 'half-caste', 'half-breed', and 'mulatto', but is still in search of a name. Current contenders are 'mixed race', 'mixed heritage', 'dual heritage', and 'multiple heritage'.

More on explanation

In understanding what it is to explain something, it is helpful to draw distinctions between (i) the reality of experience, sometimes referred to as 'the material world' or 'the field of perception' or 'observables', eg. 'the man in the turban driving the bus', (ii) words corresponding to that reality and used to refer to its immediate aspects, sometimes called 'terms', eg 'the man', 'the turban', and 'the bus', (iii) more general and abstract expressions drawing attention to a common feature or relational elements of the reality, or the words used to describe it, often called concepts, eg. 'colour', 'race', 'nationality', 'hostility', and (iv) explanations or theories, usually made up of combinations of words and concepts, aimed at

Explaining race relations

revealing the significant connections, causes, and purposes at play in the material world.

Explanation as argument

An explanation is a set of words (an account) aimed at explaining something. It is often conceived in two parts in the form of an argument in the philosophical sense. An explanation's premises (or its explanans) are the reasons given for accepting a conclusion, and its conclusion (or explanandum) is what is asserted on the basis of the premises. Premises may be accounts of events, states of affair, or so-called initial conditions, eg. 'people from the New Commonwealth migrated to a country of white people', or generalisations: 'attitudes of racial superiority arose from running the empire'.

Classifying explanations

Explanations can be classified in different ways. In the field of race relations, it is useful to distinguish common-sense or every-day accounts from explanations purporting to carry social scientific status, although there is probably a continuum between the two, and they are not always easy to separate. In philosophy, explanations are often classified into the following types:

- Causal explanations provide a reason for something happening or recurring. The implication is that because a first thing occurs, a second thing follows from it, providing all necessary and sufficient conditions are met. For example, 'why did a riot break out at that

Race equality in local communities

particular time?’ ‘Why is there a continuing flow of migrants from poorer countries to Western Europe?’

- Functional explanations are given in answer to questions such as ‘what are the advantages of a black skin?’ (They are not the same as explanations for why the condition (ie. black skin) came about or evolved in the first place.)
- Purposive explanations answer questions of why an individual or group took action or made a decision, by describing the agent’s intention, motive, purpose, aim, or anxiety, and relating it to what the agent expected to be the consequence. For example, ‘the gang stabbed the boy to reaffirm their control over the neighbourhood’.
- Historical explanations consist of long accounts of a sequence of events leading up to the occurrence requiring explanation. Examples can be found in the histories of race relations and in novels on multicultural matters (eg Zadie Smith’s *White Teeth*, or Andrea Levy’s *Small Island*). These kinds of explanation probably amount to no more than a sequence of causal and purposive statements.
- Deductive explanations are those where the conclusion follows logically or deductively from the premises, consisting of either generalisations or specific conditions, or both. Sometimes they come across as self-evidently tautological. For example, nineteenth century scientific racism

Explaining race relations

explains the colonial domination of the white nations in terms of their racial superiority.

- Probabilistic explanations are based on showing that it is probably or likely that something will occur. Thus, for example, given current statistics about the educational performance of black boys nationally, it is probable that, in any particular school, black boys may perform less well than boys from other ethnic groups.

All these kinds of explanation can be found in the reports, inquiries, research, and debate about race equality interventions and priorities.

Science and racial explanation

Scientific perspectives on race relations

Both the natural and social sciences have been brought to bear to explain racial difference and race relations. Among the natural sciences, anatomy, biology, ethnology, physical anthropology, physiology, and socio-biology, have contributed to the way 'race' has been understood, treated as salient and responded to. Among the social sciences, economics, history, politics, psychology, social anthropology, social geography, social policy, social psychology, and sociology, have all provided insight into why and how racial and ethnic groups differ and relate to one another. Race equality officers, as professionals, are expected to draw on the insights provided by science, especially social science, in the course of their work. It is important, therefore, to recognise the features that are said to single out

Race equality in local communities

scientific explanations from others, and to select them in preference to non-scientific or common-sense accounts.

Identifying an explanation as scientific

To qualify as scientific, explanations are required to possess some or all of the following features. They should be:

- empirical, in that experience in the form of sensory evidence provides the ultimate test of any proposition's truth. The explanation has to be capable of being tested, directly or indirectly, through observation.
- relevant, in that the explanation must be relevant to the fact it intended to explain, that is, the fact should be deducible from the proposed explanation (hypothesis). An explanation which is not relevant to the fact it is meant to explain, simply fails to explain it, and fails to fulfil its intended function.
- testable, in that there must be a possibility of making observations to prove or disprove the explanation (hypothesis).

Explaining race relations

- falsifiable, that is to say that a proposition's scientific credentials are best demonstrated by examining whether it is capable of being falsified, or shown to be false. According to Karl Popper (1902 – 1994) the essence of science is whether it makes predictions that could, in principle, serve to falsify it.
- compatible or consistent with other well-established scientific explanations (hypotheses). Ideally, any system of scientific thought must be internally consistent and without self-evident contradictions.
- predictive, in the sense that the explanation allows a range of observable facts to be inferred from it. A powerful explanation is one that not only explains a lot but is able to predict outcomes across a range of phenomena.

How do common-sense explanations differ?

A common-sense explanation usually lacks the scientific features listed above. It frequently consists of an account of events which reduces the listener's curiosity or puzzlement. As with the scientific, a common-sense explanation will only succeed in doing this if it is relevant. It also helps if it is true. But the

explanation might also refer to non-empirical and non-verifiable entities. With no available test of truth, and no way of refuting an assertion, adherence to a belief can easily become little more than prejudice or dogma. Typical reasons given for holding on to these kinds of belief are: 'we've always believed that', 'that's how we've always done things', and 'everyone knows that won't work'. Unscientific beliefs are those that are held independently of any evidence to support or undermine them. By way of contrast, scientific explanations are meant to be advanced tentatively and provisionally only as hypotheses, always subject to refutation by a counter-instance. This, of course, is the ideal. In reality, the scientific paradigms and ideas of earlier years continue to endure, retained by both scientists and members of the general population, long after they have been proved false and unreliable. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the study of race relations.

Circular arguments: mistaking a description for an explanation

Often common-sense explanations are offered not to improve understanding of relationships, causes, purposes, or the course of events, but to reassure those who have been on the receiving end of adverse consequences. In these circumstances, a mere description of events, or summing up of process or consequence, serves to answer how and why. A common-sense reassurance of this kind, however, describes, rather than explains, in terms of the various senses of explanation set out above. As argument, the conclusion consists of a repetition of the premises, in a logical sense formally true, but shedding no further

Explaining race relations

light on cause or purpose. It is often described as a circular argument, or ‘begging the question’ (‘*petitio principii*’). The mistaking of description for explanation is a feature of common-sense discourse and occurs regularly in dialogue about racial matters. Describing an incident as ‘racist’ or attributing racial motives to individuals may be a useful labelling or classificatory exercise, but reveals little else. Consider the following example of ‘begging the question’: ‘According to Macpherson, the police are institutionally racist. When Carl and Leroy were arrested they were beaten up at the police station. Around here, everybody black knows what to expect if they are arrested. They can expect to suffer abuse because the police force is institutionally racist’.

Common sense and science

The distinction between common-sense explanations and scientific explanations leads on to the recognition that many common-sense explanations arise as oversimplified or imperfectly understood versions of scientific concepts and theories. Likewise, science has refined and adapted the common sense hypotheses about physical and social phenomena to fit in with its own paradigms and purposes. Rudolf Carnap (1981–1970) described this latter process as ‘explication’. It consists of replacing a vague, opaque, or otherwise inadequate pre-theoretical concept (the explicandum) with a more adequate one (the explicatum) (see Schilpp, 1963). This approach is frequently adopted in social science. For example, Allport redefines prejudice – thinking ill of others without good cause – as ‘a hostile attitude towards a person who belongs to a group simply because he/she belongs to that

Race equality in local communities

group and is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group' (Allport, 1954, p.7).

Making explanations for race relations more scientific.

Campaigners for race equality have always insisted that their work be based on evidence, partly in acceptance of the value of the correspondence theory of truth and of science, and partly in recognition that this is an important and sometimes only way to tackle racial prejudice and myth. Race equality workers want 'the facts' about a case, prior to evaluating the situation and making prescriptive recommendations. While seeking to be scientific in their practice, their approach is probably more accurately described as 'scientistic': making use of and believing in the methods associated with science. Professional race equality work, then, is expected to display a number of features. For example:

- Distinctions should be made in most race equality discourse between descriptions which have the property of being true or false, evaluations which attribute worth to a context, and prescriptions which offer a guide to action.
- Words and descriptive statements have to be precise in their references to reality and avoid vagueness (which occurs

Explaining race relations

when the range of things they refer to is poorly specified), ambiguity (when they have multiple, equally possible meanings), and opacity (when words are used as if there is some specific entity in the real world that corresponds directly to them, when there is not, eg. 'race relations', 'institutional racism' and, best of all, 'community cohesion') (Lachenmeyer, 1971, pp. 30-34).

- Wherever possible, when it makes sense to do so, an attempt should be made to quantify or measure as precisely as possible the social phenomena under examination.
- Researchers should progress beyond mere descriptions of observable social phenomena towards providing causal, probabilistic, purposive, or historical explanations.
- Wherever possible, some kind of comparative method should be employed, for example, in the study of educational performance, comparing the achievement of children

Race equality in local communities

belonging respectively to at least two ethnic categories.

- Wherever possible, hypotheses should be open to the test of sensory evidence, and be capable of verification (or falsification).
- Race equality research should be disposed towards debunking common-sense assumptions, prejudices, and myths about race.

The emphasis, whenever possible, should be on relevant evidence. Most REO projects are set up to achieve outcomes. A usual requirement is to be able to provide evidence to show that the outcome has been achieved. All too often, projects are constituted as self-fulfilling prophecies, making it impossible to show whether they have succeeded or failed, a useful justificatory system to wheel out for project funders, but scarcely an example of the application of a scientific approach to community development!

Scientific racism

The ideas of a so-called 'scientific' racism emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were based on the observation that the human race divided into three main racial groups, which differed profoundly from one another. The groups' racial characteristics were deep-seated and enduring, and explained much, if not all, about their respective ways of life and prospects for social development. One of the early Chambers' Encyclopaedias (c1857) made

Explaining race relations

Blumenbach's zoological and anatomical classification of the races accessible to a wider audience. He divided the human species into five varieties: the Caucasian, the Mongolian, the Ethiopic (African), the American, and the Malay. To give an authentic flavour of the science of the time, here are extracts relating to the three main varieties of human kind.

‘The characters of the Caucasian variety are: a white skin, varied by a florid tint or inclining to brown; hair black, or of a light colour, generally soft and waving. The face oval and straight, with expanded forehead, and generally large skull, narrow nose, and small mouth. The moral feelings and the intellect are of the highest order...

The Mongolian variety has skin commonly of a sallow or olive tint, and in some cases nearly yellow; the hair is black, long and straight, seldom curling; the beard usually scanty; the iris, black; the nose is broad and short, and the cheek-bones broad and flat, with salient zygomatic arches; the skull is oblong, but flattened at the sides, so as to give the appearance of squareness; and the forehead is low. In intellectual character, the Mongolians are by no means defective, but they are more distinguished for imitative than inventive genius. This faculty, at the same time, renders them highly susceptible of cultivation. In many cases, however, tribes of this variety have arrived at considerable proficiency in literature and the arts. Their

Race equality in local communities

moral character is decidedly low. The Turkish and Mongol Tartar tribes have been great conquerors in past times, and have often even vanquished the Caucasians, but in most cases their victories have only been temporary.

The Ethiopic (African) variety has black skin and woolly hair, constituting the well-known features of this race. The forehead is low and retreating and the lower part of the face projects like a muzzle; the nose is thick and flat, and the lips thick...'

The Encyclopaedia went on to describe how Cuvier, still proceeding on physical appearance and structure, reduced the primary varieties to three: the Caucasian, Mongolian, and Ethiopian, holding the American and Malay to be only sub-varieties of the Mongolian. The 'science' involved here, incidentally, is ethnology, described as a palaeontological science, analogous to geology, that deals with the effects of physical influences, and reveals the racial affinities, population movements and migrations before the existence of written records.

Count Arthur de Gobineau, 'father of racism'

Count Arthur de Gobineau (1816 – 82), a Frenchman, known as the 'father of racism', is attributed with the invention of the theory of social development based on racial competition (much in the same way as Marxism focused on class struggle). He promoted a belief in hierarchical principles and an elite morality in contrast to the egalitarian 'representative'

Explaining race relations

philosophies that were gaining ground in Europe at the time. He held that only superior Aryan stock possessed a true civilising potential and a proper conception of honour, but that this breed was becoming debilitated by miscegenation, involving degenerate white elements in Europe and lesser black races beyond. What was left of the racial elite could do little more than maintain a dignified defiance against the rising tide of inferior racial groups. His ideas were taken up enthusiastically in Germany, and developed by Richard Wagner, Houston Chamberlain and Alfred Rosenberg, and were later to influence Adolf Hitler. In the United States, similar ideas with negrophobic obsessions were popularised by Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard.

Nazi racial ideology

In his infamous book, *Mein Kampf*, Hitler set out clearly his racist theory of an Aryan race destined to conquer and subjugate other races to satisfy its racial requirements: 'No boy and no girl must leave school without having been led to an ultimate realisation of the necessity and essence of blood purity... By mating again and again with other races, we may raise these races from their previous cultural level to a higher stage, but we will descend forever from our own high level' (Hitler, 1974, p.389). The political implementation of this racial belief resulted in the 1935 Nuremberg Laws aimed at protecting 'German blood and honour' by banning marriage to Jews and people of mixed race, and eventually the persecution, rounding up, and extermination of all members of the Jewish race, and the sterilisation of the mixed-race population.

Eugenics

Ideas deriving from earlier theories of scientific racism developed in a variety of different ways. Sir Francis Galton (1822 – 1911), Darwin's cousin, argued that important mental characteristics, such as intelligence, were inherited in the same way as physical features, and that a hierarchy of talent existed both within and between races. He believed that those who achieved social eminence and status did so largely on the basis of their intellectual superiority. Those with the greatest endowment among the higher stocks had to resist competition from the inferior within their own population as well as from outsiders. Success could only be achieved through reproduction at a faster rate than that of lesser stock. His aim was to encourage the improvement of the nation's population, physically, mentally, and morally. The word 'eugenics', coined by Galton in the 1880s, means 'the science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also those that develop them to the utmost advantage'. The state had to be persuaded to adopt a eugenicist policy because 'civilisation' was thought to shield the idle upper classes, while making it easier for the lowest social classes to reproduce excessively.

Eugenic policies

Eugenic arguments became increasingly popular in the early twentieth century and were taken up by many groups, including the campaigners for birth control, such as Marie Stopes (1923). The

Explaining race relations

assumption that various 'higher human qualities', such as intelligence, were found in greater abundance in the upper social classes, that there was a danger of their being diluted through intermarriage or through the more rapid rates of reproduction among less worthy representatives of human stock, were of obvious concern to politicians anxious to preserve the British way of life, standards, genetic endowment, and social order. The early intelligence test developed by Alfred Binet and Cyril Burt (see Ballard, 1920), were intended to address this anxiety, by developing a scientific way of objectively identifying those with a high intelligence quotient (IQ) early in life and ensuring they were selected to receive the most appropriate education.

The race and intelligence debate

In 1971, HJ Eysenck, Professor of Psychology at the University of London and author of many popular psychology books, published *Race, Intelligence and Education*. Basing his works on the research findings of the American, AR Jensen, he argued that the intelligence quotient (IQ) of 'negroes' was significantly less than that of white people, and that the difference was more likely to be explained by race than by their restricted opportunities in life. Any genetic difference in intelligence might, he suggested, be explained by the manner in which black slaves were originally selected, which could have favoured the less intelligent: 'if, for instance the brighter members of the West African tribes which suffered the depredation of the slavers had managed to use their higher intelligence to escape, so that it was mostly the duller ones who got caught, then the gene

pool of the slaves brought to America would have been depleted of many high IQ genes' (Eysenck, 1971, p.46). Conscious of the political controversy likely to be kindled by his restatement of a traditional racial belief (which he clearly believed was supported by evidence from psychology), he argued that 'facts, of course, are one thing; deducing social policies from these facts is quite another... It could just as well be argued that negroes required and should be provided with a better system of education to remedy these defects insofar as that was possible'...(p.10). Note the expression, 'defects'.

'Intelligence' and racism

Despite the careful suggestion that the races are merely intellectually different, the underlying assumption is clearly hierarchical. Race equality workers are still likely to meet people, often but not always to the right of the political spectrum, who overtly or covertly believe that black people as a group lack intellectual ability, and are better suited to practical, menial tasks. It is often difficult to say whether beliefs about negro intelligence are common-sense assumptions taken up and given respectability by scientists, or arise from older scientific hypotheses living on as powerful subterranean ideologies, impervious to all evidence to the contrary.

Sir Keith Joseph's reaffirmation of eugenics

The Conservative, Sir Keith Joseph, in 1974, showed that the Galtonian legacy of eugenic thinking had survived in political circles when he claimed that 'the balance of our population, our human stock is

Explaining race relations

threatened' and that the nation was moving 'towards degeneration' because young mothers from unskilled and semi-skilled social backgrounds were giving birth to an undue proportion of children. These views are significant because they show that not only minority ethnic people, but people of low social standing, are viewed as inferior and as a threat to the existing order of society. Attention should always be paid in race equality work to the complex relationship between race and class.

Was scientific racism scientific?

Nineteenth-century racism, based on the science of ethnology, set out to study, examine, probe, measure, record, and then arrive at a classification of its human subjects, in the same way as the early geologists were attempting to classify and understand rocks, entomologists insects, and zoologists animals. In this sense, it was empirical. What was different about Blumenbach's and Cuvier's hypotheses, however, were their extension beyond physiological observation to include intellectual and moral attributes, for which very little supportive evidence appeared to be available, unless it was taken for granted in the golden age of European global empires. There is then a major question of relevance: is the study of physiology in any way connected to, supportive of, or relevant to the assertions about intelligence or morality? From a superficial point of view, scientific racism appears to be testable and falsifiable, open to refutation by the presentation of counter-instances, for example, superior intellectual and moral behaviour on the part of other racial groups. A closer examination within historical

Race equality in local communities

context, however, shows it to be a closed and tautological belief system, dismissive of any contradictory evidence. For example, the fact that Turkish and Mongol Tartar tribes had conquered Caucasians is met with the comment that their victories were only temporary. Scientific racism was not scientific in any modern acceptable sense. It was a theory that explained almost everything about race relations (a total world picture or ideology) and was imbued with a built-in protection against falsification. As for its predictive power, it did not acquit itself well in forecasting the rise of Japan and China as world powers, or in concluding that Caucasian moral feelings were of the highest moral order in the light of subsequent colonial wars and genocide. It would not have been able to provide a convincing explanation for the triumphs of Chinese civilisation, or the ruins of Angkor Watt, Zimbabwe, or Machu Picchu. It is salutary to realise that the social application of this 'scientific' hypothesis resulted in a far greater death toll than the science that led to the creation of the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

UNESCO statement on race, Paris, July 1950

Despite its occasional brief resurfacing on more recent occasions, scientific racism was officially nailed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) in 1950, when a group of eminent international scientists, constituting the Committee of Experts on Race Problems, drafted and agreed 'the statement on race'. They were responding to the fact that in the previous decade more than six million human beings had lost their lives because of the belief that they belonged to

Explaining race relations

an inferior race. 'The horrible corollary to this barbarism is that it rested on a scientifically untenable premise. On this the scientists of the world are agreed'... (Montagu, 1972, p.X). The statement effectively demolished the myth that race determines mental aptitude, temperament, or social habits. The fifteen sections of the first UNESCO statement on race were formally summarised thus:

- 'In matters of race, the only characteristics which anthropologists can effectively use as a basis for classifications are physical and physiological.
- According to present knowledge, there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same.
- Historical and sociological studies support the view that genetic differences are not of importance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of Homo sapiens, and that the social and cultural changes in different groups have, in the main, been independent of

Race equality in local communities

changes in inborn constitution. Vast social changes have occurred which were not in any way connected with changes in racial type.

- There is no evidence that race mixture, as such, produces bad results from the biological point of view. The social results of race mixture, whether for good or ill, are to be traced to social factors.
- All normal human beings are capable of learning to share in a common life, to understand the nature of mutual service and reciprocity, and to respect social obligations and contracts. Such biological differences as exist between members of different ethnic groups have no relevance to problems of social and political organisation, moral life and communication between human beings.
- Biological studies lend support to the ethic of universal brotherhood....Man is born a social being who can reach his fullest development only through interaction with his fellows. The denial at any point of this social

Explaining race relations

bond between man and man
brings with it disintegration’.

(Montagu, 1972, pp.11-12.)

It is comforting to believe that the work of REOs
derives from and is built firmly on this declaration.

Expanded meaning of racism

The term ‘racism’ is no longer only used to describe the set of beliefs that races exist, that they are different in significant ways, that the differences between them are of superior to inferior, and that they occur in some sort of rank order. In sociological literature, the meaning of ‘racism’ has been extended to cover beliefs, procedures, acts and outcomes, including:

- personal attitudes, cultural values, belief systems, ideology (as evidenced in language and reports on racial beliefs and opinions).
- institutional procedures, organisational processes, or habitual personal or group acts (requiring the identification of racially-discriminatory mechanisms).

Race equality in local communities

- racially-differentiated social, economic, or political effects or outcomes.

Racism can now be defined as beliefs, acts, or institutional procedures that help to create or perpetuate disadvantages for some ethnic groups and advantages for others.

Social scientific explanations for race and ethnic relations.

After the Second World War, explanations for race and ethnic relations were no longer sought among the natural sciences, such as biology, genetics, or physical anthropology, but in the social sciences, such as social anthropology, psychology, and sociology. The social sciences highlighted the tremendous plasticity of human nature and the role of learning, socialisation and culture in the formation of group attributes and relationships. Explanations in contemporary race and ethnic relations are now drawn exclusively from the social sciences.

Psychological explanations

In the 1950s, most studies of race relations in Britain made extensive use of the concept of 'prejudice', drawn from the discipline of psychology, rather than sociology. It left the impression that discriminatory acts were the result of mental attitudes manifested by a deviant minority with pathological personalities. The eminent South African sociologist, John Rex, later repositioned the approach to British race relations in a social context, interpreting racist beliefs

Explaining race relations

or prejudices as a rationalisation of behavioural strategies for realising group interest in a conflict over scarce urban resources (Rex, 1970, pp.117-8). Nevertheless, explanations deriving from psychology remain common in the study of race relations and in race equality circles. Sociologists are critical of psychology's worrying habit of neglecting or deemphasising the social and economic determinants in much contemporary race relations literature in, for example, discussions of the nature of prejudice, racism, Britishness, multiple identities, or 'identities in Britain' (see some sections of The Runnymede Trust, 2000). For reasons of practical relevance and space, this chapter now explores the range of sociological explanations used by race equality practitioners.

Sociological explanations for race and ethnic relations

The term 'sociology' is derived from the Latin 'socius', meaning 'companion', and the Greek 'logos', meaning 'study of', which together provide the definition: 'the study of the way people relate or behave as companions' or, in another words, 'the structure of social relations', of which race and ethnic relations form an integral part. The discipline of sociology has been developed to provide a broad range of theories for explaining race and ethnic relations. It tries to account for institutional procedures and racially-differentiated outcomes, acts of discrimination, cultural differences, and individual behaviours. Sociological theories of race are characterised by a typical field in which they are applied, specialised terminology, and a set of

Race equality in local communities

explanations for particular racial or ethnic relationships and outcomes. These give rise to policies for intervention based on the explanations provided and aimed at ameliorating the racial and ethnic issues at stake. Race equality workers should be familiar with the main kinds of sociological theories of race and ethnic relations and the approaches to intervention that appear to derive from them. At considerable risk of oversimplification, sociological explanations used in race equality circles can crudely be subsumed under eleven categories as follows:

- cultural deprivation or disadvantage.
- family pathology.
- failure to assimilate.
- political cultures of opposition.
- prejudiced people and their characteristics.
- legacy of empire, ideologies of racial superiority.
- separateness and segregation.
- institutional cycles.
- expression of economic and other interests.
- perception of ethnic competition.
- maintaining control/sustaining exploitation.

Each of these is explored briefly below by outlining the gist of the explanation, its indicative terminology (by which it may usually be identified), its common

Explaining race relations

field of application, and examples of approaches to intervention.

Cultural deprivation or disadvantage

Theories of cultural deprivation or disadvantage are based on the assumption that the social and economic conditions of racial and ethnic minorities (as well as those of the white working class) lead to the emergence of a lifestyle and culture which make it difficult for these groups to succeed in a competitive social, educational, and economic environment dominated and defined by the white middle class. In this context, a combination of social environmental factors prevent minority ethnic groups performing to the same level as the white majority. For example, it is suggested that families are forced to live in overcrowded conditions, are single parent, are poorly educated or illiterate, see no value in academic education, do not speak English well or in standard form, speak in a 'restricted code', or are not prepared to 'delay gratification'. Terms associated with these theories are 'deprivation', 'disadvantage', 'underachievement', 'special needs', or 'learning difficulties'. Theories of this kind are often used to explain educational outcomes, but can also be found in relation to health, employment, and crime. Policy responses include ethnically-targeted educational, training, or youth programmes, zoned regeneration, housing, or health projects, and community development and empowerment initiatives.

Family pathology

Family pathology theories explain the comparatively poor social performance of minority ethnic groups in terms of the inadequacy of their family or kinship structures, or the effect of the migratory process in detaching individuals and nucleated families from traditional community support networks. The results are seen in high rates of school failure, truancy, exclusion, and drop-out, unemployment or underemployment, fecklessness, criminality, and mental illness. Examples include the absence of a stable male role-model in a single-parent black Caribbean household dependant entirely on the mother's wages, or the suicide rates of Asian-born women isolated and abused in male-dominated households. Typical terminology includes 'the black family', 'single mothers', 'absent-father syndrome', 'women's oppression', 'forced marriages'. This kind of explanation is increasingly coming to the fore to explain black Caribbean boys' poor school performance in relation to other ethnic groups. Policy intervention includes mentoring schemes for black Caribbean boys (where black men are encouraged to act as mentors), or the US Million Man March, where black men were persuaded to take responsibility for their families and to commit to stopping the scourge of drugs, violence and unemployment. Various schemes have also been set up to help Asian women learn English and join mutually-supportive friendship or health promotion networks.

Explaining race relations

Failure to assimilate

Difficulties encountered by immigrants or ethnic minorities are attributed to their failure to adjust to the British way of life and their reluctance or refusal to be assimilated. If they are to fit in, and be accepted as neighbours, so the explanation goes, newcomers and their descendants must conform to the norms and values of the host community, by learning English and familiarising themselves and acting in accordance with the habits, customs, institutions and expectations of British people. Hostility on the part of white people is seen as a consequence of ethnic minorities' inability or outright refusal to meet reasonable expectations. Indicative terminology includes 'language problems', cultural differences' 'failure to adjust', 'rejection of the British way of life', 'parallel living', or 'too greater tolerance of multi-culturalism'. Following the 2001 community cohesion reports and Al Qaeda terrorism, initiatives to encourage assimilation (invariably referred to as 'integration') have now become part of government policy, manifested in citizenship classes, tests and ceremonies. Other policy initiatives include community cohesion projects, English classes for speakers of other languages, and various projects targeted at Asian women.

Political cultures of opposition

Political cultures of opposition are assumed to develop in a context in which minority ethnic groups recognise their social and economic opportunities are restricted by the power structures of class-based white society. Minority ethnic groups find themselves

excluded by prejudice and discrimination in all the main systems affording or indicating upward social mobility, such as education, employment, and housing. They respond to this treatment by challenging the political and cultural values of mainstream society, developing alternative oppositional political and cultural values. Signs of this rejection in radical, rebellious, or revolutionary collective action by minority ethnic groups are interpreted by mainstream white society as a threat to the status quo and a justification for its initial reticence to include them, leading to further discrimination, further minority resistance, and a spiralling decline of conformity to dominant norms and values. Indicative terminology includes 'youth sub-culture', 'opposition', 'rejection', 'alienation', 'culture of resistance', 'fragmentation', 'insubordination', 'alternative lifestyle', 'breakdown of order', 'dangers of multiculturalism', and, more recently, 'Muslim extremism'. Variations on the theme of oppositional culture are used to explain school misbehaviour and exclusion, poor educational performance, gang formation, behavioural deviance, the lifestyles of the unemployed, major inner-city disorders, such as the Brixton and Toxteth riots of 1981, and terrorist attacks. Community empowerment initiatives, supplementary schools, special youth projects, cultural and self-help programmes aimed at the 'conscientisation' of minority ethnic groups, are all examples of policy intervention to alleviate the effects of oppositional culture.

Explaining race relations

Prejudiced people and their characteristics

The primary focus of the previous four explanations has been on the characteristics of immigrant or minority ethnic groups. Theories relating to the characteristics of prejudiced people turn the spotlight the other way, recognising that hostility towards ethnic minorities is a result of the attitudes, personality, and behaviour of the white majority population (usually described, however, as a 'tiny proportion'), who view outsiders, people of other races or, more generally, all foreigners, as a threat to them personally, to their interests, or to the British way of life. Their hostility can be explained with the help of a variety of mostly psychological or social psychological theories, but also sociological ones. It might be due, for example, to authoritarian or emotionless parenting, status insecurity, personal or sexual inadequacy displaced onto the weak, visible, and vulnerable, downward social mobility, or a perception of a threat to social standing or economic interest. Thus, white racism, for example, might be explained as a psycho-pathological response to the experience of downward social mobility in a relative context in which minority ethnic groups are seen as doing well or better, despite minimal input of effort. Examples of common terminology indicating the presence of these often inexplicitly -stated theories are 'prejudiced person', 'white racist', 'authoritarian' or 'inadequate personality', and 'extremist bigot'. Theories of prejudice are frequently used, for instance, to account for individual experiences of overt prejudice and discrimination, expressions of racial hatred, or the size of the vote for racist political parties. Possible examples of policies deriving from

these kinds of explanation are laws against incitement to racial hatred, public education programmes, and expressions of hatred treated as examples of the ignorance or madness of a tiny minority. Experienced race equality workers will undoubtedly have come across racist bigots who appear to be profoundly mentally disturbed, thus giving credence to psychological explanations of this kind.

Legacy of empire, ideologies of racial superiority

Explanations based on the legacy of empire still occasionally appear in race relations discourse, but nowadays less frequently and less convincingly than in the immediate post-colonial period. The argument is based on the historical fact that Britain has a long history of hierarchical social class relations internally and imperial relations with its colonies externally. In the course of ruling the working-class masses at home and the populations of the Caribbean, India, and Africa abroad, the ruling class developed a strong belief in its right to rule by virtue of its self-evident elevated position and others' servility. The white working class also came to share in this delusion, viewing itself as an 'aristocracy of labour' in relation to colonial people. As an extreme example, the only way the cruel treatment of black chattel slaves in the Caribbean could be justified was by denying them an equal status as human beings. The legacy of these hierarchical relations, perceptions and justifications has survived and is the explanation for the persistence of pervading white British attitudes of racial

Explaining race relations

superiority. Indicative terms are ‘colonial attitudes’, ‘racial superiority’, ‘white man’s burden’, ‘master/slave mentality’, and ‘paternalism’. This type of explanation has been used to explain the racism to be found in school and among white teachers, and the ethnocentrism of the school curriculum. It is also mentioned in relation to the extreme backward-looking nationalism of racist far-right political parties. Examples of policy intervention based on these analyses are some black history projects emphasising the need to recognise black heroes and black achievements, and some race awareness training aiming to expose ‘colonial attitudes’.

Separateness and segregation

‘Separateness’ and ‘segregation’ explanations for poor ethnic relations occur so frequently in race equality promotional work that they are often taken for granted and rarely challenged. The underlying assumption is that groups that live apart and do not share circumstances in common will develop and show hostility towards one another, although the argument is usually presented in a more sophisticated form. For example, groups which do not mix socially and are rarely in contact are unable to recognise the characteristics they share in common and come to assume their attitudes, values, and way of life are different, and perhaps, that the other party is deliberately (and obtusely) choosing to remain separate. The situation will be exacerbated in a society which is hierarchically stratified, with one group possessing far less power, status, wealth (and in a market economy, purchasing power) than another, and living in a separate neighbourhood. Thus, racism

Race equality in local communities

is a byproduct of a group's physical, social and psychological isolation from another, and leads to further misunderstanding and reduced opportunities for collaboration. Terms indicating the presence of this kind of theory are 'lack of contact', 'people don't mix', 'limited opportunities for social interaction', 'group boundaries', 'social fragmentation', 'segregation', and 'ghettoisation'.

Theories of separateness and community cohesion projects

The theory of separateness or separate living was central to the analysis of the 2001 disturbances in the northern towns and led directly to the government community cohesion policy. It purported to explain the assumed increase in intercommunal distrust and conflict that had resulted in the violent outbreaks. In effect, poor race relations were consequences of residential segregation (and not the other way round). A stronger version of the argument claimed ethnic minorities (in particular) were choosing to live apart, another form of the 'failure to assimilate' theory. Most community cohesion policy initiatives are based on this kind of analysis, for example, the summer projects aimed at bringing together students from mainly-white and mainly-Asian schools.

Institutional cycles

Normal institutional operations ('institutional racism') are felt to be based on historical patterns of class and racial exploitation ('legacy of empire') that are reproduced in the mother country in the employment of immigrant workers from the colonies, and lead to a

Explaining race relations

vicious cycle of discrimination and injustice. Once discriminatory practices, introduced to benefit the privileged, are in place, the process repeats and reproduces itself, without the need for reinforcement. Normal institutional practice, for example, in education, employment and consumption, is related to the system of economic stratification, as well as to long-standing cultural values. Business as usual ensures that the inequalities of race and class will recur spontaneously over long time periods, unless deliberate steps are taken to break or interrupt the cycle. Indicative terms are 'institutional racism', 'vicious cycles' or 'spirals', 'business as usual', and 'self-fulfilling prophecies'. These theories are widely applied, especially to explain the enduring lowly status of particular minority ethnic groups in a highly-stratified society. John Rex's sociology (see Chapter Six) provides an important example of the application of systems theory to an inner-city environment. Policy intervention is based on recognition that a cycle needs to be broken in at least one of the major systems that allocates opportunities, especially education, or employment. Legislation, in the form of the Race Relations Act 1976 and its Amendment 2000, can be seen as an effective way of accomplishing this.

Expression of economic and other interests

Economic and other interest theories attribute the antagonism of racial groups to natural rivalries over wealth, power, status and other factors (such as sexual partners). Immigrants and minority ethnic groups, so the argument runs, are in competition with the white working class for scarce jobs, housing, and public

services. The availability of a migrant workforce may saturate the labour market and undermine the wage levels of organised labour. Real shortages in accommodation or public services may be exacerbated by the presence of a new workforce. These theories accept the hostility expressed towards new or expanding minority ethnic groups as a possible rational (if misguided) defence of group interest, real or perceived. An alternative response might be to recruit new workers into trade unions to combine collectively for better wages, improved conditions, and expanded services. Indicative terms are 'ethnic competition', 'pressure on the welfare state', 'discrimination in employment', 'colour bar' and 'immigration control'. Policies based on theories of economic interest include immigration control, anti-discrimination legislation, minimum wage legislation, expansion of social housing provision, and service-improvement drives. Further examples of policies deriving from this kind of analysis are restrictions on immigration, issuing of work permits, dispersal policies, reception centres, house-building programmes, anti-discrimination legislation, and union organisation of migrant labour.

Perception of ethnic competition

The perception of ethnic competition can be entirely different from the reality as assessed by objective measures, for example, levels of unemployment, job vacancy rates, maternity facilities, housing voids, school places, etc. Majority white fear of competition may arise from a variety of factors, such as narrow local or sectional experience, ignorance, or the uncritical acceptance of long-standing traditional

Explaining race relations

stereotypes. These views may be exaggerated or reinforced by media reporting, distortion and misrepresentation, and deliberate campaigning by racist political parties. The rational explanations afforded by economic interest theories are politically mediated and transformed into irrational propaganda, with the capacity to incite people to racial animosity and violence. Thus, perceptions of the imaginary competitive threat posed by outsiders to traditional ways of life, jobs, health, availability of accommodation, and personal safety, may be amplified to hysterical proportions and lead to hostility, disorder and potentially, persecution, expulsion, or extermination. Indicative terminology used in relation to emotive explanations and propaganda of this kind is 'swamping' 'overcrowded island', 'alien way of life', 'whip hand', 'health risk', 'influx of cheap labour', and 'home-grown terrorists'.

Responding to subjective perceptions of ethnic competition

Policy responses include stringent controls on immigration, compulsory dispersal, repatriation programmes, isolated and contained reception centres, 'protective' barriers erected between neighbouring ethnic enclaves, and legislation to ban ethnically or religiously distinctive dress, and the teaching of community languages to bring about assimilation. More positive approaches might involve stringent legislation to outlaw incitement to racial or religious hatred or racist political campaigning, the development of media codes for reporting racist incidents, or ethnic quotas placed on educational institutions to encourage ethnic mixing.

Maintaining control/sustaining exploitation

Control or exploitation theories suggest that a dominant class or ruling elite benefits from the disagreement between subordinate groups because it assists it in controlling them and keeping them in their place. This category of theories is commonly referred to as 'divide and rule' and is widely believed to have been used extensively in colonial times to facilitate exploitation. But according to control-for-exploitation theory, the practice of 'divide and rule' continues. If minority ethnic groups can be isolated and intimidated through discriminatory practices, the threat of physical force or, more simply, continuous vilification in the media, then they may be persuaded into accepting lower wages or poorer conditions (without any recourse to legal or political redress). Thus, the minority ethnic or migrant workforce is seen as a new internal form of colonisation and exploitation, where the colony is re-established within the territory of the metropolitan power. For hints of this kind of theory, suitably modified and disguised, see Rex and Tomlinson's *Colonial Immigrants in a British City* (1979). Indicative terminology might be 'migrant labour', 'illegal immigrants' 'trafficking', 'segregated' or 'stratified workforce', and 'internal colonisation'. Examples of policies pursued to alleviate pernicious exploitation of this kind might be gang-master legislation, laws on people trafficking, employment legislation, amnesties for illegal immigrants, the minimum wage, the right to vote, and encouragement for minority ethnic workers to join trade unions.

Explaining race relations

The need for REOs to explain and justify their work

All these explanations, variations on them, and still others, singly or in combination, are available to make sense of British race and ethnic relations. It is important for REO workers to be familiar with the different theories commonly used and be able to justify on sociological or social psychological grounds the reasons for their project designs and intervention strategies. Above all, the explanations offered by REOs should be based on objective evidence, gathered and formulated in accordance with scientific or scientific principles. REOs should always be able to explain and justify convincingly the actions they take to promote race equality and community cohesion. This becomes even more important when they find themselves under attack from racist far-right political parties, or from the popular press, dismissive of the need for a 'race relations industry'. REOs also have to maintain an appropriate programme of public information and education relating to their aims and functions. That programme must be based on social scientific understanding and a programme of relevant research into the state of local race and ethnic relations and the effectiveness of the REO's intervention strategy.

Explaining race relations to others

Explanations and justifications

Explanations are statements or sets of statements which enable what has to be explained to be logically inferred. Acceptable explanations must appear to be relevant and true. Most people like to believe that the

assertions they make are factually based and true, and thus often make use of 'watered-down' versions of social scientific theory. In reality, the explanations they give are likely to be partially selected, dogmatically asserted, and generalised beyond the context for which they were originally conceived. Justifications refer to the reasoning aimed at inducing an audience to accept moral or political values and courses of action. They reassure, convince, or persuade people of the rightness of a belief or action. Explanations often describe cause or function, but do not carry with them the implication that this is a satisfactory, or morally and politically acceptable, or desirable course of affairs. Explanations can easily be converted into justifications, however, by the presumption of an evaluative connotation. When REOs enter the public realm to explain race relations, it becomes almost inevitable, as they are asked to assess and evaluate a situation and make suggestions for improvement, that their explanations will assume, or be seen as assuming, the function of a justification. The public education function of REOs invariably extends beyond scientific analysis and explanation to (moral) judgement and prescriptions for action.

Explanations misrepresented as justifications

It is disarming to realise that social scientific explanations can be wilfully misinterpreted as justifications, and indignantly rejected as excusing or condoning morally reprehensible behaviour. Thus, explanations suggesting that underlying factors such as unemployment and urban deprivation played an important part in the 1981 riots in Brixton, Toxteth, and Moss Side, were dismissed at the time by

Explaining race relations

government on the grounds that they incriminated the majority of law-abiding unemployed people who had not resorted to what were wholly unacceptable attacks on the police and private property. A necessary explanation was deliberately interpreted as a sufficient one. In the same way, attempts to explain Muslim attitudes to Islamic extremism in terms of the Palestinian situation and the 'war on terror' raging in Afghanistan and Iraq, were interpreted as coming close to justifying the London tube bombings and insulting all Muslims, an overwhelming majority of whom remained model citizens. REOs often have to deal with deliberate misrepresentations of this kind.

REOs' education and public information function

REOs, nevertheless, have an important function of maintaining programmes of education and public information about the facts of racial discrimination, racial inequality, and race relation, especially for the localities in which they operate. Their public educational and awareness-raising activities take a variety of forms. Traditionally, REOs have informed the public about their work by holding general meetings, distributing an annual report, and publishing newsletters. The local press is in the habit of asking them for comment on race relations and minority ethnic issues, especially when things have gone wrong. Some REOs have developed good relationships with local newspapers, radio stations and reporters. Increasingly, REOs have their own websites and now post many of their reports and other materials online. REOs often make a distinction in the exercise of this function between:

Race equality in local communities

- developing educational projects, often in collaboration with local schools and colleges, to promote better interracial understanding and good citizenship.
- cultivating the mass media to ensure sustained positive coverage of race relations and to counter misinformation, misrepresentation and bias.
- public campaigning against particular manifestations of racial injustice and for the positive promotion of multiculturalism.
- organising and promoting local events to bring together ethnic communities to celebrate diversity.
- advertising REO services.

Aspects of the first two activities are examined next.

REO educational projects

REOs have a history of working with primary and secondary schools and colleges on race and community relations programmes, often relating to the National Curriculum and spanning a range of subjects, such as religious education, acts of collective worship, history, English, geography, and, more recently, citizenship. Advice is given on cultural, religious, relational and language issues, with some REOs having dedicated education posts, funded by grants from educational sources.

Citizenship education

The development of citizenship education, with a curriculum covering community involvement,

Explaining race relations

equality and diversity, has led to an increase of requests for inputs from REOs. Following the final report of the advisory group on *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* (Crick report) QCA (1998), citizenship became a new National Curriculum subject in secondary schools in England from September 2002. Citizenship was already being taught with Personal, Social and Health Education in primary schools. At Key Stages 1 and 2, citizenship is non-statutory, but at Key Stages 3 and 4, it is a statutory requirement and a foundation subject in the National Curriculum, assessed at the end of Key Stage 3. The purpose of citizenship education is to develop 'the knowledge, skills and values relevant to the nature and practices of participative democracy, to enhance the awareness of rights and duties and the sense of responsibilities needed for the development of pupils into active citizens, and... establish the value for individuals, schools and society, of involvement in the local and wider community'.

Citizenship curriculum content

The curriculum covers concepts, values and skills. Concepts relevant to REOs are equality and diversity, fairness, justice, the rule of law, individual and community, power and authority, rights and responsibilities. Values include belief in human dignity and equality, concern to resolve conflicts, the practice of tolerance and commitment to equal opportunity and human rights. Skills include the ability to cooperate and work effectively with others, to appreciate other perspectives and tolerate other points of view. At Key Stage 2, for example, pupils

Race equality in local communities

should know about local communities, including the main faiths and ethnic cultures. At Key Stage 3, they should understand discrimination law, the Declaration of Human Rights, and the meaning of terms such as 'prejudice', 'xenophobia', and 'discrimination'.

Public Information and the mass media

Mass media are the means by which messages are conveyed to mass, socially-mixed, and widely-dispersed populations. A distinction is sometimes drawn between mass media (a message sent from one place to many other places, such as a broadcast television show), interpersonal media (a message from one place to another place, such as a telephone call), and network media (messages which allow permutations of messages to be sent from and to single or many places, like the internet). In the last twenty years, there has been a complete transformation of the media through a rapid expansion of terrestrial, satellite and cable television channels, and universal access to cheap electronic technology, with more and more people possessing mobile telephones and personal computers. As early as 1964, the sociologist, Marshall McLuhan, pointed out developments in communication: printing, telephone, and radio, were changing society in profound and significant ways. Few experienced race equality workers would doubt the important role the media play in regard to race relations. But far greater attention has to be paid to their implications for race equality promotion.

Explaining race relations

Theories of the effect of the mass media

The most common view of the effect of the mass media on society (and on race relations) is that it more or less accurately reflects what is going on and what at least a majority of people is thinking: what might be termed a 'mirror' theory. It is just a short step to argue from this analysis that most of what is written is objective, balanced and fair, or alternatively, that one biased report is balanced out by another biased in the opposite direction. If the media merely reflect reality, then they are unlikely to play a significant part in changing the way ethnic groups relate objectively in communities. An alternative view, held by sociologists such as Stuart Hall (Hall, 1995), is that the media create meanings and organise them into systems or codes which readers, listeners, and viewers make use of in interpreting and explaining to themselves what is happening. Theories of this kind can be referred to as 'pressure' or 'railroad' theories. The media select out what they think is 'newsworthy', link events to one another, and offer their audience a limited number of ways of interpreting the narrative. In other words, they offer a carefully selected set of events and a taken-for-granted key or ideology with which to make sense of the presentation. Although the mass media-driven ideology will be dominant (or 'hegemonic'), it will not be the only available way of interpreting the events. Race equality officers are likely to have a different take. Nearly all have reported an experience of frustration at being unable to influence the reporting of racial incidents, or the direction of spin put on them, once a story appears in the press.

Race relations and the press

Social scientists have studied the way race relations issues have been written about in the press. Hartman and Husband (1974) found that articles referring to race were mostly about immigration, crime, legislation and discrimination, and many of the headlines contained words like 'murder', 'hate', 'threat', 'stop', 'ban', and 'bar', indicating violence or hostility. They came to the conclusion that the press projected an image of white society in which the minority ethnic population was seen as a kind of aberration, problem, or oddity, rather than as an integral part of British society. Van Dijk (1991) also found that civil disturbances were nearly always defined not only in terms of the action of young or unemployed people, or of the deprived urban environment, but of black people, even though a third of participants was white.

Race relations and the media

Solomos and Back (1996) studied the changing stereotypes of race and race relations in the media and popular culture from the late nineteenth century onwards. In the 1950s, the preoccupation was with the size of the 'influx' of black people coming to Britain and beginning to outnumber whites in places such as Birmingham. In the 1960s, blacks were presented as welfare scroungers coming to exploit Britain's generous welfare system and contributing nothing in return. In the 1970s, the emphasis was on the criminality of black people, with the emergence of the stereotype of the black mugger, while in the

Explaining race relations

1980s, the cause of the urban rioting was attributed overwhelmingly to black people living in inner-city areas. Two key features continued to stand out. Black people were seen as undermining British culture, and the cultural and racial characteristics of black people were always treated as incompatible with the British way of life. However, there had been important changes, such as television programmes featuring black people (such as the *Cosby Show*) and increasing use of multicultural images (such as the Benetton advertisements). These analyses all suggest that the media plays a key role in framing people's perceptions and interpretations of race relations and in influencing and determining public policy.

Explaining race relations through the media

Because race equality officers will from time to time be expected to comment on and interpret race relations, they should prepare themselves in advance to offer informed, authoritative, and professionally-responsible comment on their local patch. They need to be familiar with all relevant demographic data, such as the size of the major ethnic groups living in the area, relevant points of cultural difference, and the background of needs and issues concerning local communities. They also have to be clear about the pattern of explanation to adopt, the social scientific evidence supporting it, and the likely challenges if it does not accord with the dominant media interpretation of what is going on. Where REO and media positions are far apart, the REO storyline will either be ignored or omitted completely, or categorised as a symptom or cause of the presenting issue itself. At such times, a realisation of the power

Race equality in local communities

of the media to influence the course of race relations and events can be overwhelming and intimidating.

Community contact versus media communication

It has been suggested that REOs and other voluntary organisations with a major public information and educational function are wedded to an outdated model of community development and politics, based on the primacy of face-to-face contact and interaction. Modern society, however, is characterised by individualised, privatised, and essentially competitive personal relationships (see *Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft*, Chapter Six) where traditional door-to-door policies, public meetings, and community-based decision-making, play an ever-decreasing role in comparison with the power of mass communication and the media. Personal electronic communication and the media, often over large distances and internationally, are increasing in significance over conversations with neighbours, friends, and family members, living in close geographical proximity. Public service providers (e.g. Primary Care Trusts) have turned with some success to interpersonal and network media to communicate directly with clients, following disappointment with attempts to increase the take-up of services by working with and through community groups.

REOs as mass communication and media hubs

From the proceeding comments, the following line of argument can be developed. REOs should pursue their functions mainly through the enthusiastic take-up of new media, employing staff with expertise in

Explaining race relations

public relations, marketing and programme-making skills, and devoting most of their attention to persuasive and effective public education. The reason race equality officers feel so ineffective when faced with adverse and hostile media propaganda is precisely because they have failed to prepare themselves or other organisations to engage with the increasingly-influential world of mass communication. Future REOs must become media hubs with a main objective of promoting race equality directly through the new media now available to them, or indirectly, by trying to establish the hegemony of their paradigm in the press and broadcasting. Is this the way forward?

Discussion questions

The scope of local race equality work

1. Is local race equality work fully and adequately described in terms of the three objectives of eliminating racial discrimination, promoting equality of opportunity, and encouraging good race relations?
2. Why is it unlikely that race equality workers will work themselves out of a job?
3. How does race equality promotion in the public sector differ from race equality promotion in the private sector?
4. How does the work of dedicated voluntary-sector race equality organisations differ from the work of minority ethnic voluntary and community organisations?
5. Why should race equality organisations relate closely to their Local Strategic Partnership?

Local race equality organisations and their functions

6. Distinguish the six main categories of race equality organisations. Why have race equality partnerships begun to replace race equality councils?

Discussion questions

7. What are the constitutionally-explicit functions of race equality councils? Do they adequately describe the current functions of race equality councils?
8. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of membership organisations.
9. Why might a local race equality organisation choose to register as a company limited by guarantee or as a charity?
10. Why are current funding arrangements for REOs considered inadequate? Would these problems be resolved if REOs became social enterprises?

Working for a local race equality organisation

11. What five categories of person work for REOs? What are the advantages of taking on (i) consultants, and (ii) volunteers?
12. What are the effects of fixed-term contracts on race equality organisations and their work?
13. What knowledge, skills and experience are essential for work in voluntary sector race equality organisations?
14. What are the advantages to REOs of having staff trained in modern management skills?
15. Why do REOs fail? What factors are critical to their success?

Race equality policy in social and historical context

16. What was the government's tripartite race relations policy and why was it adopted?
17. What are the arguments for and against immigration control? Are immigration controls invariably racist?
18. In what ways has race relations legislation been strengthened since 1965? What was seen as its primary function then? What is it now?
19. What is an area-based initiative? Is an area-based initiative an adequate or appropriate response to urban and ethnic disadvantage and discrimination?
20. What role might (i) the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund, (ii) the Community Empowerment Fund, (iii) Local Strategic Partnerships, and (iv) Local Area Agreements, play in a local race equality promotion strategy?

Race equality policy development

21. What, if anything, is wrong with REOs' traditional policy focus?
22. Why is recent race equality policy development in Britain described as 'a response to crises'?

Discussion questions

23. Is there any difference between 'institutional racism', as defined by the MacPherson report, and 'indirect discrimination' as defined by the Race Relations Act 1976?
24. Were the deaths of (i) Ahmed Ullah, (ii) Stephen Lawrence, (iii) Victoria Climbié, (iv) David Bennett, and (v) Zahid Mubarek, the result of institutional racism or of general systems failure and poor professional skills?
25. What is (i) a race equality scheme and (ii) an impact assessment?

Urban race relations, community cohesion, and ethnic conflict

26. According to Rex and Tomlinson, what are the three main social systems determining racial and ethnic opportunity in urban areas?
27. Why has community cohesion become the fourth strand of race equality policy? How does the promotion of community cohesion differ from the promotion of good race relations?
28. How adequate is Home Office guidance on measuring community cohesion?
29. To what extent do you agree with the following criticisms of community cohesion concept and policy?

Race equality in local communities

- cultural consensus versus confluence/conflict of interest.
- confusing Gemeinschaft with Gesellschaft.
- focus on good relations rather than on social justice.
- blaming the powerless.
- diffusion of race relations work, and deracialisation.

30. Discuss the classification provided of British urban ethnic group conflict. Can you think of any other categories of ethnic conflict that have been omitted?

Supporting communities and promoting good race relations

31. Explain in relation to REO race equality project work what is meant by an outcome, a milestone, and an output. What is meant by a SMART outcome? Do you think 'SMARTness' is the key to successful local race equality work?
32. Give examples of projects aimed at (i) promoting community cohesion, (ii) preventing and resolving conflict, and (iii) marginalising extremism.
33. What have race equality projects relating to employment, education, housing, health, and community safety, got in common? Which projects, if any, are most likely to contribute

Discussion questions

to breaking the cycle of disadvantage, deprivation, and discrimination?

34. Why is it so difficult to eliminate institutional racism in total institutions and command structures?
35. How can REOs improve their services to (i) migrant workers, (ii) asylum seekers and refugees, (iii) illegal immigrants, (iv) Gypsies and Travellers, (v) minority ethnic people living in isolated rural areas, (vi) deprived white communities, and (vii) mixed-race people?

Race equality law, human rights, and the Equality Act 2006

36. Provide examples of (i) direct discrimination, (ii) indirect discrimination, (iii) victimisation, and (iv) harassment, on grounds of colour, race, nationality, or ethnic or national origins. How is it possible for a white person to be discriminated against on the basis of somebody else's race?
37. Which of the European Convention on Human Rights' Articles and Protocols are most relevant to support efforts to eliminate racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good race relations?
38. How can it be said that the Equality Act 2006 is a result of the European Union's Directives on Employment and Race (2000)?

Race equality in local communities

39. To what extent has the Crime and Disorder Act 1998 contributed to the REO aim of eliminating racial discrimination?
40. What effect will the Commission for Equality and Human Rights have on REOs? What arguments did the CRE and some community organisations advance for opposing the CEHR? Will the CEHR provide sufficient support for the government's community cohesion agenda?

Doing race equality case work

41. How does the work of a service for complainants of racial discrimination differ from one for victims of racial harassment?
42. What are the main steps involved in taking a case of racial discrimination to an Employment Tribunal?
43. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages to an employee of pursuing an allegation of racial discrimination under the Race Relations Act 1976.
44. What obstacles are there to REOs becoming one-stop shops for complainants of all forms of unlawful employment discrimination?
45. What are the arguments for and against REOs disengaging from legal casework and accepting that free complainant aid services

Discussion questions

are best provided by non-specialist organisations such as Citizens Advice Bureaux or local law centres?

Explaining race relations

46. How does an 'ethnic group' differ from a 'racial group'? Why is the term 'ethnicity' now preferred to 'race'? What problems do people of mixed race pose for systems of racial and ethnic classification?
47. How do scientific explanations differ from common-sense explanations? In what ways could scientific racism be said to be scientific? In what ways was it not scientific?
48. Which of the eleven sociologically-based theories of race relations (presented in Chapter Ten) do you incline towards and why?
49. Which theories of race relations are REOs most likely to make use of in justifying their practical interventions? Why?
50. Is it better to promote race equality through direct community links or through the available mass media channels? Should REOs consider transforming themselves into 'media hubs'?

Abbreviations and acronyms

ABC	Acceptable Behaviour Contract
ACAS	Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service
A level	Advanced level
ALMO	Arms-Length Management Organisation
ASBO	Anti-Social Behaviour Order
BFOREC	British Federation of Race Equality Councils
BNP	British National Party
BVPI	Best Value Performance Indicators
CCRT	Community Cohesion Review Team
CDX	Community Development Exchange
CEHR	Commission for Equality and Human Rights
CEF	Community Empowerment Fund
CEN	Community Empowerment Network
CEO	Chief Executive Officer

Abbreviations and acronyms

CIC	Commission for Integration and Cohesion
CLS	Community Legal Service
CMD	Case Management Discussion
COT3	A form used to make an agreement between employer and employee
CRC	Community Relations Council
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
CVS	Council for Voluntary Service or Council for the Voluntary Sector
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DFEE	Department for Education and Employment
DRC	Disability Rights Commission
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Advisory Group/Grant
EO	Executive Officer
EHCS	English House Condition Survey
EOC	Equal Opportunity Commission

Race equality in local communities

EP	Equality Partnership
EPA	Educational Priority Area
ET	Employment Tribunal
ET1	Form used to make Employment Tribunal application
ET3	Employment Tribunal employer response form
EU	European Union
FCDL	Federation for Community Development Learning
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GO	Government Office
GP	General Practitioner
I Co Co	Institute of Community Cohesion
IIP	Investors in People
IQ	Intelligence Quotient
JP	Justice of the Peace

Abbreviations and acronyms

KPMG	Klynveld Peat Marwick Goerdeler or Kaiser Permanente Medical Group, etc. (large international business, accountancy and consultancy company)
LAA	Local Area Agreement
LEA	Local Education Authority
LEC	Local Enterprise Companies
LGA	Local Government Association
LNRS	Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies
LSC	Learning and Skills Council
LSP	Local Strategic Partnership
LSVT	Large-Scale Voluntary Transfer (of housing)
MCI	Management Charter Initiative
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
NACVS	National Association of Councils for Voluntary Service
NDC	New Deal for Communities
NF	National Front (racist political organisation)

Race equality in local communities

NHS	National Health Service
N1	Application for claim to County Court
N157	County Court form giving legal direction
NOMIS	National Offender Management Information System
NOMS	National Offender Management Service
NRF	Neighbourhood Renewal Fund
NRU	Neighbourhood Renewal Unit
NSPCC	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
NVQ	National Vocational Qualification
PFI	Private Finance Initiative
PHR	Pre-Hearing Review
PUAF	Peterborough United Against Fascism
QCA	Qualification and Curriculum Authority
REC	Race Equality Council

Abbreviations and acronyms

RED	Race Equality Digest (REWM publication)
REO	Race Equality Organisation
REOs	Race Equality Organisations
REWM	Race Equality West Midlands
RDA	Regional Development Agency
REP	Race Equality Partnership
RES, res	Race Equality Scheme
RHN	Racial Harassment (Prevention) Networks
RR65	Race Relations Act Section 65 questionnaire form
RREAS	Race Relations Employment Advisory Services
RSL	Registered Social Landlord
SMART	Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realistic and Time-bound
SMARTER	Specific, Measurable, Agreed, Realistic, Targeted-Ethnically, and Reciprocal
SOR	Sexual Orientation Regulations
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget

Race equality in local communities

TECs	Training and Enterprise Councils
TUC	Trade Union Council
UDCs	Urban Development Corporations
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
US	United States (of America)
USA	United States of America
VSC	Voluntary Service Council
YOPS	Youth Opportunities Scheme
YTS	Youth Training Scheme

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Race equality in local communities

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Race equality in local communities

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Index

ACAS, 384.
Acceptable Behaviour
Contract, 406.
Anti-Social Behaviour
Act, 2003, 356-57.
Anti-Social Behaviour
Orders, 356-57,
405-06.
area-based initiatives,
139-149.
area of benefit, 39-40.
assimilation failure
explanations, 441.
asylum:
refugees, 314-15;
seekers, 314-15;
strategy, 129.
Audit Commission,
23;
service
improvement
report, 192-4.

blame:
the powerless,
252;
the victim, 233.
British National Party,
256-57, 286-89.
Brixton disorders
1981, 155-9.
Burnage report 1989,
159-63;
& anti racist
policy, 163.

Index

business case for race
equality, 202-03;
& managing
diversity, 207-
09;
& paradigm shift,
207-8.

Cantle, T., 221, 231-
33, 247.
casework:
ACAS, 384;
clients, 376-78;
CRE core
standards, 380;
County Court,
390-94;
Employment
Tribunal, 385-90;
files, 400-01;
management, 93;
policy, 401-02;
race equality
caseworker, 93,
397-98;
reo
responsibilities,
379;
Race Relations
Act 1976, 382-
94;
range, 381;
referrals, 378;
& trade unions,
384.

Race equality in local communities

- Clarke, Lord, 226-29.
- cohesion, see
community
cohesion.
- command structures,
310.
- Commission for
Equality and
Human Rights,
347-351;
BFOREC
position on, 365;
& casework, 407;
CRE opposition
to, 363-64;
duties and
powers, 346;
& equality, 348;
& grants, 349;
& groups, 349;
& human rights,
348;
impact on REOs,
365-72;
& monitoring,
349;
& other
provision, 351;
vision, 347.
- Commission for
Integration and
Cohesion, 247-
49.
- Commission for
Racial Equality,
29, 133;
core standards,
380;
duties, 18-19;
& Ford Motor
Company, 201;
& Race Equality
Means Business,
202-04;
race equality
standard in
employment,
202-05;
RR (A) A Code of
Practice, 184-85.
- community cohesion,
115, 221-55;
absence of strategy,
230;
as belonging, 244;
in Bradford, 221-26;
building cc, 234;
in Burnley, 221-2,
226-29;
Cantle report
definition, 232;
CRE definition,
236-37;
& cricket loyalty
test, 251-52;
criticism of, 249-55;
& deracialisation,
254-55

Index

- & diffusion of focus, 254-55;
 - & economic structures, 253;
 - emergence of policy, 221;
 - Home Office policy, 241, 243-45;
 - as inclusion, 243-44;
 - Institute of, 247;
 - as local authority action, 241;
 - LGA definition, 238- 39;
 - LGA guidance, 238-41;
 - & mass media, 460-61;
 - measurement of, 242-43;
 - & Muslims, 222-23;
 - in Oldham, 221-22, 229-30;
 - projects, 270-82;
 - & public service failure, 254;
 - & residential choice, 252-53;
 - role of REOs, 237-8, 246-7;
 - & separateness explanations, 445-46;
 - as shared values, 232;
 - as shared vision, 239-40.
- community conflict, 255-65;
- anti-authority, 260;
 - anti-blasphemy, 262;
 - anti-newcomer, 260;
 - anti-racist, 260-1;
 - causes, 264-5;
 - conflict resolution studies, 258-59;
 - explaining cc, 264;
 - of interest, 249-56;
 - inter-ethnic, 260;
 - & London tube bombing, 255-56;
 - loss of control, 261;
 - mediated, 263;
 - polarisation, 221;
 - prevention projects, 282-85;
 - & racist far right, 256-57;
 - REOs and conflict mediation, 55;
 - terror backlash, 262;
 - turf war, 261-62;
 - war on terror, 255.
- Community
- Empowerment Fund, 146.

Race equality in local communities

- Community
 - Empowerment Networks, 61, 70.
- community
 - fragmentation, 223;
 - parallel lives, 231;
 - polarisation, 231.
- Community Legal Services, 380.
- Community Relations Commission, 29, 132.
- Community Relations Councils, 114, 159;
 - & youth unemployment, 142.
- community safety, 308-12;
 - projects, 309.
- community support, 266-324.
- company registration, 69, 71.
- conflict, see community conflict.
- consultation, 187-9.
- contact theory (of race relations), 233, 445-46.
- Councils for Racial Harmony, 114.
- County Court, 390-94.
- Crime and Disorder Act 1998, 355-56.
- criminal justice agencies:
 - REO collaboration with, 311.
- critical success factors for REOs, 104-12.
- David Bennett Inquiry, 174-5;
 - mental health and racism, 175;
 - terms of reference, 174-5.
- Denham, J., 221, 233-35.
- deprivation:
 - cultural, 439;
 - economic, 228;
 - white communities, 322-23.
- disadvantage, 273-74;
 - cycle of, 217, 293;
 - explanations, 439.
- discrimination:
 - cycle of, 217;
 - direct, 333;
 - employment-related, 331;
 - in goods and services, 332;
 - indirect, 335;
 - & intentions, 336-37;
 - & prejudice, 337-38;

Index

- in public functions, 332;
 - & religion, 350;
 - victimisation, 336.
- diversity management, 25, 207-09.
- economic interest
 - explanations, 447-48;
 - perception of ethnic competition, 448-49;
 - sustaining exploitation, 450.
- education:
 - anti-racist, 300;
 - black boys, 301;
 - bullying, 297;
 - Burnage High School, 159-63;
 - citizenship, 454-56;
 - & employment, 297-98;
 - equal opportunity policy, 300-01;
 - & life chances, 218-19;
 - minority ethnic achievement, 297;
 - multi-cultural, 299-300;
 - projects, 298-99;
 - race equality policies in, 299;
 - school exclusion, 297;
 - twinning schools, 301.
- Educational Priority Areas, 137.
- employment:
 - contribution to segregation, 228;
 - diversity management in, 207;
 - equality targets for, 206;
 - flexible working, 205;
 - positive action training, 206;
 - projects, 294-96.
- Employment Equality (Age) Regulations 2006, 351.
- Employment Tribunal, 385-90.
- Equalities Review, 361-63.
- Equality Act 2006, 134-5, 346-51;
 - impact on population, 360;
 - impact on race equality work, 359-63, 365-72;
 - & New Labour, 359;
 - reasons for, 359;

Race equality in local communities

- restricted scope, 360-61.
- equality partnerships, 44, 371-72.
- ethnicity:
 - census categories, 411-13;
 - ethnic composition of Britain, 118;
 - formation of new categories, 414-15;
 - meaning of, 410.
- Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant, 137-8.
- European:
 - Employment Directive 2000, 343;
 - Race Directive 2000, 343.
- Explaining race relations, 408-61;
 - as argument, 415;
 - circularity, 420;
 - classification of, 415;
 - commonsense, 419-20, 421;
 - & justification, 451-53;
 - & to others, 451-461;
 - psychological, 436;
 - scientific, 417-19, 422-24;
 - social scientific, 436-37;
 - sociological, 437-39.
- Eysenck, H.J., 429-30.
- family pathology
 - explanations, 440.
- far-right extremism:
 - projects to marginalise, 285-89;
 - see also BNP.
- Ford Motor Company:
 - anti-racism strike, 200-01;
 - history of poor race relations, 199-200.
- funding of race equality organisations, 71-75;
 - core cost concept, 74;
 - Getting Results grant aid, 72;
 - grant aid, 269-70;
 - other f., 72-73;
 - outcome related, 73;
 - service contracts, 74-75;
 - social enterprises, 75;
 - sustainability, 74;
 - f. variation, 73.

Index

- Galton, F., 428.
- Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, 250-51, 460.
- generic equalities, 23; see also multi-strand equality.
- ghettoes:
 - city council responsibility, 216.
- Gobineau, Count Arthur de, 426-27.
- governance of race
 - equality organisations, 60-64, 68-71.
- government structures,
 - 40-41;
 - country-wide, 40-41;
 - local government, 40-41;
 - other service providers, 42;
 - regional, 40-41;
 - single tier, 41;
 - two tier, 41.
- Gypsies and Travellers, 317-19;
 - involvement of REOs, 319;
 - & race relations legislation, 318.
- health, 305-08;
 - Asian family diet, 307;
 - factors affecting ethnic minorities, 306;
 - Gypsy and Traveller health, 318;
 - inequalities, 305;
 - mental h. and race, 175;
 - minority ethnic, 305;
 - projects, 306-08.
- Hitler, A., 427.
- Holocaust remembrance, 289-91.
- housing, 211-19, 302-04;
 - classes, 211-16, 218-19;
 - homelessness, 304;
 - inequalities, 302;
 - h. market failure, 227;
 - minority ethnic h., 302-03;
 - projects, 303-04;
 - twilight zones, 216;
 - h. visitors, 214, 217.
 - human rights, 338-43.
- Human Rights Act 1998, 338-42;
 - articles, 338-41;

Race equality in local communities

- implications for race equality, 341-42;
protocols, 341.
- ideology of racial superiority, 444.
- immigrants:
 - anti-immigrant riots, 121;
 - areas, 114;
 - explaining hostility towards, 123-4;
 - illegal, 316-17;
 - migrant workers, 313-14;
 - national origin, 120;
 - new i. groups, 312-13;
 - as producers, 119;
 - support groups, 113-14;
 - violence against, 122;
 - & workforce, 120.
- immigration, 116-30;
 - Acts to control, 127;
 - arguments against, 124, 126-7;
 - arguments in favour, 124, 126;
 - chain, 116;
 - history of, 125;
 - points-based policy, 129;
 - push factors, 116-17;
 - racism of i. control, 128;
 - rational i. policy, 128;
 - stopping i., 127;
 - third wave of, 119, 125, 312;
 - three waves of, 118.
- Institute of Community Cohesion, 247.
- institutional cycle
 - explanations, 446-47.
- institutional racism, 165-7, 338;
 - definition in Macpherson, 165-66;
 - early example in housing, 216-17;
 - i. failure, 231-2;
 - & institutional cycles, 446-47;
 - v. systems failure, 181-2;
 - & total institutions, 310.
- International Friendship League, 114.
- intuitive experience, 100.
- integration, 222;
 - capacity-building project, 278;

Index

- possibilities for, 220;
projects, 276-78.
- Joseph, Sir Keith, 430-30.
- labour market, dual, 218.
- language, role of English, 230.
- local:
 - meaning, 39-42.
- Local Area Agreements, 148-9;
projects, 278.
- Local Government Association:
 - cohesion guidance, 238-41.
- Local Neighbourhood Renewal Strategies, 145.
- Local Strategic Partnerships, 34-38, 147;
 - & inclusivity, 35;
 - & race equality partnerships, 63, 69;
 - & race equality promotion, 35;
 - & thematic subgroups, 38.
- mainstreaming race equality, 189.
- Macdonald inquiry, 159-63.
- Macpherson report, 164-9;
 - definition of institutional racism, 165-6;
 - policy development following, 182-3;
 - recommendations, 167-9.
- management of REOs:
 - expertise, 111;
 - multi-racial environment, 161;
 - skills, 112.
- Manpower Service Commission, 141.
- marketing:
 - race equality services, 57-58.
- mass media:
 - v community contact, 460;
 - effect on race relations, 457;
 - explaining race relations through, 459;
 - hubs, 460-61;
 - mediating conflict, 263;
 - press, 458;
 - public information, 456;

Race equality in local communities

- & race relations, 458-59;
 - REOs as m.m. hubs, 460-61;
 - mediation, 404-05.
- mentoring project manager, 97.
- mixed-race population, 323-24;
 - terminology, 414.
- Moore, R., 211-17.
- multiculturalism, 248-9.
- multi-strand equality:
 - casework, 369;
 - community support, 367;
 - models for delivery, 370-72;
 - public information, 369;
 - policy development, 366;
 - REO potential to provide, 369-70.
- National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 29, 136.
- Neighbourhood Renewal:
 - Fund, 145-6;
 - National Strategy for, 144-5;
 - Unit, 144.
- New Commonwealth immigration, 28-29.
- New Deal for Communities, 144.
- oppositional political culture
 - explanations, 441-42.
- Ouseley, Sir H., 223-226.
- Outcomes:
 - criticism of o. model, 272;
 - projects as, 270-73;
 - SMART, 271;
 - timed, 96.
- partnerships:
 - projects, 291-2;
 - see also Local Strategic Ps.
- personnel working for REOs:
 - administrator, 88;
 - case worker, 93;
 - chief executive officer, 86;
 - clerical, 89, 90;
 - community development officer, 92;
 - consultants, 81-83;
 - division of labour, 85;
 - finance officer, 89;

Index

- members, 77-78;
- policy officer, 90-91;
- public education officer, 94;
- qualifications, 101;
- race equality officer, 87;
- reception, 89;
- secretarial, 89;
- staff, 78-81, 84-96;
- staffing structure, 86;
- trainees, 83;
- volunteers, 82-83.
- police:
 - & Brixton riots, 158;
 - & community safety, 309;
 - & institutional racism, 166.
- politics of minority ethnic communities, 219.
- Powell, E., 125;
 - river of blood, 125.
- prejudiced people
 - explanations, 443-44.
- private sector, 25-26, 198-209:
 - & diversity management, 25-26
 - racism in, 199.
- professionalisation, 87.
- promoting good race relations, 266-325.
- project management:
 - posts, 96;
 - timed outcomes, 96;
 - time-limited projects, 96-97.
- public awareness raising, 95.
- public authority service provision, 292-93.
- Public Order Act 1986, 354-55.
- public sector, 21-24, 194-6;
 - crisis response, 154-5;
 - generic equalities approach, 23;
 - limitations of single-case investigations, 181;
 - policy, 154;
 - race equality, 23-24;
 - race equality promotion, 194-96;
 - service improvement agenda, 22-23;
 - specialist diversity units, 22.
- race, meaning, 410-11.
- race awareness:

Race equality in local communities

- raising, 153;
- training, 95.
- race equality:
 - institutional framework, 18;
 - legal framework, 18;
 - policy, 113-209, 266-325;
 - policy function, 150-4;
 - in public, private and voluntary sectors, 20-21;
 - scope of work, 16-36.
- race equality officer:
 - experience, 101;
 - qualifications, 101;
 - staff development, 102;
 - training, 10.
- race equality
 - organisations, 43-75;
 - aims, objectives and priorities, 105;
 - assistance to public authorities, 196;
 - autonomy, 108;
 - benefits of working for, 80;
 - & black and minority ethnic groups, 46;
 - categories of, 44-45;
 - as charities, 69, 71;
 - & cohesion, 237-8;
 - & community advocacy, 91;
 - as community based project managers, 266-324;
 - as companies, 69, 71;
 - consultation role, 91;
 - contracts, 79;
 - & criminal justice, 311;
 - critical success factors, 104-12;
 - educational projects, 454-56;
 - ethnic community liaison, 92-93;
 - funding arrangements, 71-75;
 - links with clients, 107;
 - links with communities, 106-07;
 - links with public authorities, 108;
 - & mass media, 456-61;
 - members, 77-78;
 - membership organisations, 68;
 - multi-strand equality work, 365-72;

Index

- multi-tasking, 88;
- persons working for, 76-112;
- policy focus, 152;
- preoccupation with colour and race, 153;
- pressure group, 151-2;
- project
 - characteristics, 267-68;
 - public information function, 453-61;
 - & racial harassment advice, 45;
 - second-tier umbrella, 45;
- service improvement role, 197;
- service providers, 74-75, 109;
- staff, 78, 84-96;
- staff categories, 81;
- staffing structure, 78, 80, 86, 98-99;
- stand-alone projects, 45;
- strategic awareness, 106;
- sustainability, 110;
- temporary work, 79;
- variation, 43-44.
- race equality councils, 44, 47-62;
- assistance to
 - individuals, 48, 52;
 - & black and minority ethnic self-help, 31;
 - charity and company registration, 69;
 - & CRE strategy, 53;
 - & community fragmentation, 31-32;
 - & community forums, 60-61;
 - & community support, 47-48, 51-52;
 - & coordinative role, 56;
 - & conflict, 55;
 - as councils, 61;
 - executive committee, 68-69;
 - functions, 47-58;
 - funding arrangements, 71-75;
 - & governance, 68-71;
 - implicit functions, 55-58;
 - KPMG review, 53;
 - local contribution, 54;

Race equality in local communities

- & marketing, 57-58;
- & marketing strategy, 58;
- as membership organisations, 68;
- organisational shape, 61-62;
- & policy development, 47, 51;
- & public education, 48, 52;
- & recent development, 59;
- & research, 56-57;
- as service providers, 60;
- & specialisation, 58-60;
- & strategy needs, 54;
- sub-committees, 69;
- types of, 59;
- urban/rural, 31.
- race equality
 - partnerships, 44-45, 62-68;
 - community
 - accountability, 63;
 - as companies and charities, 71;
 - development, 62;
 - engagement of voluntary groups, 62;
 - functions, 64-67;
 - governance, 70-71;
 - insider status, 64;
 - & LSPs, 63, 70-71;
 - not membership organisations, 70;
 - partnership boards, 69-70;
 - replacing councils, 45-46, 63;
 - service improvement role, 62.
 - race equality schemes, 185-6;
 - CRE Code of Practice, 186-7;
 - consultation, 187-9;
 - impact assessment, 187;
 - inspectorate role, 190;
 - mainstreaming, 189;
 - REOs as subject of, 197;
 - REWM research, 190-1;
 - review of, 189;
 - Schneider - Ross research, 192.

Index

- Race Equality West Midlands:
 - audit of training needs, 6, 8;
 - induction programme, 5-7;
 - research on RES, 190-1.
 - race relations:
 - sociology of, 210-21.
 - research task, 213-14.
 - Race Relations Act 1965, 130-31.
 - Race Relations Act 1968, 131-32.
 - Race Relations Act 1976, 29, 72, 132-33, 331-38.
 - Race Relations Act 1976 (Amendment) Regulations 2003, 134, 344-45.
 - Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000, 21-22, 133-4, 183, 342-43;
 - CRE code of practice, 184-6;
 - consultation, 188-9;
 - employment duty, 186;
 - general duty, 183-4;
 - inspectorate role, 190;
 - not applicable to private sector, 198;
 - race equality schemes, 185-6;
 - specific duties, 184.
- Race Relations Board, 29, 131.
- race relations legislation, 326-58;
- civil law, 327-28, 329, 330-52;
 - compliance, 20-21;
 - criminal law, 327, 328-29, 352-58.
- Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006, 357-58.
- racial group, meaning of, 410.
- racial harassment:
- Acceptable Behaviour Contract, 406;
 - ASBOs, 405-06;
 - injunctions, 406-07;
 - mediation, 404-05;
 - Race Relations Act 1976 (Amendment) Regulations
 - definition, 344-5;
 - racially-aggravated offences, 355-56, 394-96;

Race equality in local communities

- racist incidents, 396;
- risk assessment, 402-04;
- support for victims of, 94, 394-406;
- victim support, 398-400.
- racism:
 - & eugenics, 428-29;
 - expanded meaning, 435-36;
 - fear of being accused of, 173;
 - Gobineau, father of, 426-7;
 - incidents of, 396;
 - & intelligence, 429-30;
 - & mental health, 175;
 - & Mubarek inquiry, 178-79;
 - Nazi, 427;
 - nineteenth-century, 424-27;
 - & private sector, 199;
 - rural, 320-22;
 - 'scientific', 424-26, 431;
 - & total institutions, 340;
 - unacceptability of, 245;
 - UNESCO statement on, 432-35;
 - see also institutional racism.
- rational expert, 100.
- refugees:
 - characteristics, 315;
 - REO involvement with, 316;
 - status, 117-18.
- Religion and Belief Regulations 2003, 345.
- repatriation, 127.
- Rex, J., 211-21, 436-37, 447, 450.
- riot, 260-263;
 - anti-immigrants, 121-22;
 - as failure of urban policy, 140-1;
 - Brixton, 156-157;
 - Moss side, 157;
 - Red Lion square, 156;
 - & segregation, 212;
 - Toxteth, 157;
 - see also community conflict.
- rural racism, 320-22.
- Scarman:
 - & community relations councils, 159;

Index

- conclusions of report, 157;
- context of report, 157;
- The Lord S., 156;
- policing recommendations, 158;
- S. report, 155-9.
- Schneider-Ross
 - evaluation of race equality duty, 192.
- Section 11 of the local Government Act 1966, 136-7.
- sectoral coordination, 33-42.
- segregation, 227;
 - choosing to be separate, 234-5;
 - v. congregation, 236;
 - parallel lives, 231;
 - & polarisation, 231;
 - school segregation, 230;
 - self-segregation, 224-5, 229.
- separateness
 - explanations, 445-46.
- service improvement:
 - agenda, 22;
 - to ethnic minorities, 193-4;
 - through Local Strategic Partnerships, 34;
 - through partnerships, 33-34;
 - projects, 274-5;
 - role of REOs, 45, 197.
- Sexual Orientation Regulations 2003, 346.
- Single Regeneration Budget, 143.
- social change and rework, 17.
- social enterprises, 75.
- staff:
 - conditions, 110-11;
 - qualifications, 100-04;
 - structures, 78, 80, 86, 98-99.
- Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, 164-9.
- Stopes, M., 428-29.
- Tomlinson, S., 211, 217-21, 450.
- total institutions, 310.
- training, 102;
 - management t., 104.

Race equality in local communities

- tripartite race relations policy, 115.
- underclass, 219-20.
- unemployment:
 - in 1980s, 140.
- UNESCO statement on race, 432-35.
- urban:
 - aid, 138;
 - colonies, 212-13;
 - policy, 142-43;
 - U. Programme, 138;
 - race relations, 210-21;
 - status systems, 213.
- Victoria Climbié:
 - inquiry, 169-73;
 - journey, 170-71;
 - & racial factors, 172-73;
 - systems failure, 171;
 - terms of reference, 170.
- voluntary and community sector, 27-33;
 - & race equality, 32-33;
- range of response, 29-30;
 - responding to community need, 28;
 - responding to immigration, 28-29;
 - sector diversity, 27.
- work programmes in REOs, 76-77.
- Youth Training Scheme, 141.
- Zahid Mubarek:
 - conclusions, 180;
 - Gladiator allegations, 179;
 - history, 176-7;
 - inquiry, 176-81;
 - & racism, 178;
 - reasons for attack, 178;
 - recommendations, 180;
 - terms of reference, 177-8.