THE PRICE OF RACE

INEQUALITY

THE

BLACK MANIFESTO

2010
This manifesto is dedicated to making equality happen for the next generations.

A Pledge to Rescue Our Youth
by Maya Angelou © 2006

Young women, young men of color,
we add our voices to the voices of your ancestors who speak to you over ancient seas and across impossible mountain tops.

Come up from the gloom of national neglect,
you have already been paid for.

Come out of the shadow of irrational prejudice,
you owe no racial debt to history.

The blood of our bodies and the prayers of our souls have bought you a future free from shame and bright beyond the telling of it.

We pledge ourselves and our resources to seek for you clean and well-furnished schools, safe and non-threatening streets, employment which makes use of your talents, but does not degrade your dignity. You are the best we have.

You are all we have.
You are what we have become.

We pledge you our whole hearts from this day forward.
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A Pledge To Rescue Our Youth By Maya Angelou © 2006

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Contributors And Supporters

It's not who you vote for, but what you vote for.
Let's work together for a more equal society - what's right, rather than be divided in squabbles over the crumbs that are left.
Introduction

Britain is a country rightly proud of its historic contributions to setting the global standard for democracy and the rule of law. Trial by jury, the National Health Service, access to state education, universal suffrage and the more recent adoption of human rights legislation are examples of a nation that has sought to ensure that most vulnerable in society are guaranteed basic access to important services and protected from unlawful discrimination.

Despite this progress there remain many challenges to achieving the 'good society' and responding to the critical issues of globalisation and increased diversity. Restoring trust and confidence in the democratic process will require a new vision. Britain's journey to forge a modern, progressive inclusive society and be a beacon of excellence in the 21st century will require fundamental constitutional and legal reform. Structural inequalities based on race are a legacy of a bygone age, and their continued existence undermines work towards achieving a fair and just society.

To all those who would ask if we are now beyond Race, this Manifesto answers no. Today we can objectively measure structural inequalities, discrimination and disparities in the criminal justice system, employment, education, poverty, health and housing. Disparate outcomes for Black and Minority Ethnic1 people in the UK have NOT been eliminated and, in fact in some areas, have increased.

Until they are, issues of race, racism and institutional racism and how we can achieve equality in our lifetime demand our on-going attention. This Race Manifesto sets out the evidence of race inequality in Britain today and provides constructive recommendations for political parties and the government to implement.

From rhetoric to action

The current economic crisis poses a unique challenge to Britain in achieving economic stability and growth as well as narrowing the inequality gap. The economic climate looks almost certain to remain difficult for the foreseeable future; this is evident in the ongoing

1 We refer throughout this document to Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) people as those who would define as Asian, African or Caribbean or Black. We believe this should include Chinese, Arab and others who self define as Black or Minority Ethnic
debates about the UK's national debt\(^2\) and the call by some for serious cuts in public spending and public services. Ensuring that Britain creates the conditions to eradicate poverty and put racial equality at the forefront of the social and economic agenda will be critical to meeting these challenges successfully.

Improving and strengthening equality legislation, improving access to justice, restructuring and reforming Government and Civil Service departments, re-aligning responsibilities for the delivery monitoring and implementation of race equality policy are all critical areas for consideration in any meaningful attempt to reduce inequality.

The recommendations and policy suggestions set out in this Manifesto are especially timely, with over 100 marginal seats where the votes of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)\(^3\) citizens can determine the outcome. This "swing vote" leverage thus provides a real opportunity to bring the race equality agenda to the attention of political parties.

This Manifesto sets out the evidence of race inequality in Britain today and provides constructive recommendations for political parties and any new Government to consider. This is in the context that Black and Minority Ethnic communities are 'creditors not debtors' and have contributed economically and socially to British development over hundreds of years. Recent figures indicate that by 2011 the economic worth of BME communities will be as much as £300 billion. Black and Asian consumers are also estimated to earn up to £156 billion after tax income, with young men being the biggest consumers and spending £32 billion every year\(^4\). Thus, achieving economic justice, race equality and social inclusion is not just critical to forging the "new" inter-cultural, inter-racial Britain. It is an economic and moral necessity for the nation as a whole.

A wide range of reports and research have demonstrated that inequality costs in economic terms.

For example:

1. The REACH Report\(^5\) published in 2007 identified that the current costs of tackling educational underachievement, unemployment and BME over-representation in school exclusions and in the Criminal Justice System was about £808 million a year (based on a 2006 index). If the current situation were to continue over the next 45 years without any change, the total costs will amount to a staggering £24bn. This is a cost the country can ill afford.

\(^2\) Government borrowing swelled to £20.3bn\(^8\) in December 2009, 'taking Britain's net debt to 60.2% of GDP, official figures show.' [Guardian: 18/12/09] [http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2009/dec/18/uk-public-borrowing-record-high]

\(^3\) The Title "The Black Manifesto" is designed to encourage political unity of all people of colour.

\(^4\) Weber Shandwick 2007

\(^5\) The Reach Report - 2007 Communities and Local Government Department [www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/reachreport]
2. It has been estimated that the cost of the over-representation of Black people in psychiatric hospitals could be up to £100 million in London alone.\(^6\)

3. The Business Commission 2007 reports\(^7\) that the unemployment gap between Black and White communities is not economically sound for the UK, and will become even more so because BME communities will be an increasing percentage of the working age population.

4. The proportion of working age BME people in Britain is estimated to rise from 11.5% to 19% in 2018. Yet, the employment gap has persistently remained at about 15% for the last twenty years. Around two-fifths of people from BME communities live in low-income households, twice the rate for Whites, and more than half of people from Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic backgrounds live in low-income households\(^8\).

**Without bold government intervention to combat poverty and inequality, the current recession will inevitably lead to further increases in levels of deprivation, poverty and unemployment - resulting in long-term economic disadvantage and social exclusion.**

### Manifesto Objectives

1. To set out the agenda for achieving race equality for the next government - with a particular focus on economic justice.

2. To motivate, empower and inspire politically disengaged and unrepresented Black and Minority Ethnic communities to become active citizens and agents for positive change.

3. To demonstrate the strategic importance and power of the UK BME electorate in the forthcoming elections.

4. To challenge the political parties and new Government to engage in a policy debate with BME communities, and commit to introducing new measures, which may include legislation, designed to reduce poverty, deprivation and inequality, and to increase BME social mobility.

Dozens of organisations have come together to draft and support this Manifesto as a Race Equality blueprint for the next government. Current contributors and supporters are listed at the back of this document.

The full document will be available on the website www.raceequalitypolicy.co.uk

We will encourage comment and suggestions to ensure that the Manifesto becomes a document that continues to track key challenges and the efficacy of government responses. We welcome

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\(^6\) Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2006

\(^7\) 60/76 The Business Commission on Race Equality in the Workplace - October 2007

\(^8\) Ibid
ideas or documents from organisations, government departments, public and private sector bodies as their contributions will help us create an information base on the progress of Race Equality in the UK and create an online policy repository and discussion forum for new ideas. It will also provide independent monitoring and assessment of the effectiveness of a new Government efforts to tackle race equality in the UK.

The Manifesto team will hold meetings in different cities in April with invitations to prospective MPs to attend and answer questions from the electorate.

Below is a set of key questions framing the main areas for debate in the election. For each area there are linked briefings, with further information on the issues behind the questions, various policy ideas and options on the website www.raceequalitypolicy.co.uk. We are asking all parties and their candidates to give us responses to these questions, which we will make widely available for comment and debate by individual voters, organisations and in the press and media.

These responses will be disseminated to help BME voters frame their decisions, enabling them to evaluate parties and candidates based on their programme for action to tackle race inequality in the UK.

**Action agenda for the next government**

Below we set out our action agenda relating to the minimum legal and policy framework required for effectively reducing race inequalities. For each recommendation there are more detailed briefings available at www.raceequalitypolicy.co.uk

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**Vision without action is daydream.**

*Action without vision is nightmare*

*Japanese proverb*
We call on parties and the new Government to respond to the following:

1. **ECONOMIC INCLUSION AND**
   1a. **BME COMMUNITY FUNDING**
       Introduce a package of financial reforms to include a UK Community Reinvestment Act; 1% of bank profits and 10% of the dormant accounts invested in poor communities and invest in programmes for civic engagement through the voluntary and community sector. We also call for 0.5% of bank profits and 2% of dormant bank account monies to be ring fenced and invested in BME communities. In addition we call for a legal limit to be set on interest rates charge.

2. **DEMOCRATIC INCLUSION**
   Institute automatic voter registration for all citizens and compulsory voting. This would include allowing voters to vote for "None of the Above". We also call for a proportional voting system.

3. **EMPLOYMENT**
   Implement affirmative action in employment in both the public and private sectors, modelled on the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act, to overcome inherent discrimination and the persistent and tenacious employment gap.

4. **POVERTY**
   Ensure that the Child Poverty Strategy explicitly recognises the position of Black and Minority Ethnic children and propose targeted interventions that are regularly monitored and the results published on an annual basis.

5. **EQUALITY LEGISLATION**
   To commit to 'No Regression' on the Human Rights Act and Race Relations Amendment Act. The Equality Act, soon to be law, does not mandate or include the specific duties to be attached to the Act. New proposals would replace current specific duties and enable public bodies to set their own equality objectives, possibly for only two grounds of equality.

6. **EDUCATION**
   Introduce new legislation to end the growing economic segregation in the British education system including schools, colleges and the Russell Group of Universities. We call upon the government to ensure a proportionate intake of low-income children in the best performing schools. Abolish student fees and loans for the poorest students.

7. **HEALTH**
   Call an independent inquiry with guidance from the Equalities and Human Rights commission (EHRC) and the Care Quality Commission into the racial disparities in health services and outcomes and the failures of the Delivering Race Equality programme for Mental Health. The Government should then produce an action plan with targets to eliminate inequalities and to bring health experiences of minority communities on a par with the general population.
8. CRIMINAL JUSTICE
Abolish Section 44 stops (Terrorism Act 2000) and to establish clear race targets to reduce the numbers of PACE and Section 60 (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994) Stops and Searches until there is no racial disparity in the numbers being stopped.
Remove all non-convicted people from the DNA database and respect decisions from the European Court of Human Rights, that the retention of innocent people's DNA is illegal.

9. HOUSING
Ensure that mortgage lending by publicly owned financial institutions is inclusive, sensitive and race-impact tested to meet the needs of BME customers. Lending practices should be monitored by ethnicity.

10. ENVIRONMENT
Commit to improving evidence based environmental policy interventions that are inclusive and specific to BME people in relation to cause, effect and remedies and ensure such policy includes a review of impacts on BME communities.

11. ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION
Allow Asylum Seekers to work while they are waiting for a decision and provide an amnesty for all asylum seekers who have been waiting more than three years for a decision.

12. FOREIGN POLICY
Ensure that Britain never again makes the costly mistake of entering an unnecessary war by revising the conditions for making Foreign Policy decisions to include more stringent criteria, including giving Parliament the power to recall itself in the case of emergency.

13. ARTS / OLYMPICS
Ensure that the promises for the 2012 Olympics are fulfilled, i.e.: regeneration in the East End of London; equality and diversity as central to every aspect of the Olympics and a celebration of Britain's diversity and youth. We call for an interim report on these matters which details how these elements have been addressed.

14. FAITH
Build on the reach of faith organisations and resource them to build social programmes which tackle poverty and unemployment.

15. A FRAMEWORK FOR RACE
Create a Statutory Committee for Race in the EHRC to ensure a stronger focus on race equality and to build it into the business plan of government, setting a clear cross-departmental agenda and targets for race equality utilising the action points from this Manifesto.
1 Economy

■ Responsible Finance

Advisors Urban Forum and Better Banking Campaign

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Introduce a Community Reinvestment Act, with built-in mechanisms for targeted reinvestment in poor communities and guarantee that any future tax on banks such as the suggested “Tobin Tax” should have ring-fenced funds for the poorest communities and investment in community finance infrastructure.

2. 1% of bank profits and 10% of the dormant accounts invested in poor communities. We also call for 0.5% of bank profits and 2% of dormant bank account monies to be ring-fenced and invested in BME communities.

3. Ensure that the financial services regulatory authorities and the Bank of England regulate for transparency so that data is available publicly on lending practices, use of banking services etc. They should also set out a clear race equality monitoring framework.

4. Regulate the unofficial loan market and introduce a responsible credit cap to fix an upper legal limit for the amount of interest that can be charged for a loan.

5. Invest public funds to support the development of community finance infrastructure.

Unregulated banks, excessive risk-taking and their unchecked quest for profits led to the recent crash of the financial markets and current global economic crisis. £240bn of public funds has been invested to bail out the banking sector, and now the gap between rich and poor has widened, and BME communities are confronted with an uneven playing field regarding access to banking services, funding and resources, and investment in community economic development.

Since 1999, the government, working with banks, has recommended the creation of basic bank accounts⁹ to tackle the problem of nearly 3 million adults not having access to this type of service. It formulated its first financial inclusion strategy in 2004,¹⁰ and a new financial inclusion action plan for 2008-11. However, continued systemic inequities highlight the failure to encourage the big retail banks to carry out their voluntary obligations to tackle financial exclusion under the Banking Code.¹¹ Therefore, immediate, additional and expanded government action and policy intervention is needed.

Lacking traditional credit options, poor and BME families are pushed to illegal high cost, money lenders in the UK¹², some charging in excess of 1,000% interest on loans. The poorest in society

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spend around four times more of their money repaying unsecured loans than affluent households.\textsuperscript{13}

In the 1990’s, retail banks withdrew from serving poor communities, giving rise to a significant high cost, ‘sub-prime’ market both for mortgages and unsecured credit products. There is a very real risk that this pattern will be repeated in the coming years, increasing the likelihood of a future financial crisis.

There remain massive gaps, relative to demand, in both coverage and capacity of third sector lenders:
- The current Growth Fund capacity target is £100m lending p.a. - in contrast, credit lenders lent around £1.3 billion to around 2.3 million customers in 2005, profiting around £500m in a single year.\textsuperscript{14}
- A forthcoming report from the OFT estimates the high cost credit sector may be worth up to £35 billion annually.\textsuperscript{15}

Small businesses and third sector organisations serving or operating in less wealthy communities are also constrained by lack of access to credit:
- Some 25,000 businesses a year with viable propositions are unable to access finance.\textsuperscript{16}
- Undercapitalization is the single most important cause of failure among small firms.\textsuperscript{17}
- Business failure rates among micro- and small enterprises are higher in the UK than in other OECD countries.\textsuperscript{18}

The public underwriting of excessive risk-taking by banks amounts to the provision of a state-backed insurance policy, with resulting cutbacks in public spending and services for poor and minority communities. It is therefore appropriate that banks compensate poor communities by reinvesting a proportion of their profits in these under-served neighbourhoods.

What is needed

1. \textbf{Transparency}

Legislation should be enacted to mandate that financial institutions disclose data on where their money comes from and where it is invested, with the data broken down by demographic group and by Super Output Area. Data should be provided on their lending practices to and from BME groups, and investment should be targeted for the areas where it is most needed. The banking sector has used its power to counter several attempts to secure greater transparency surrounding banking activity in under-served areas and markets. There must be a government mandate that banks provide data about their lending, community investment and inclusion programmes; and verify that they are conducting their business activities in an inclusive manner by releasing detailed data on their lending patterns. All data must be capable of analysis by ethnicity and gender.

\textsuperscript{13} Bank of England's 2006 NMG survey
\textsuperscript{14} Competition Commission's 2006 inquiry
\textsuperscript{15} OFT forthcoming High-cost Consumer Credit Review.
\textsuperscript{16} BERR, Enterprise: unlocking the UK's talent (2008)
\textsuperscript{17} Hall & Young
\textsuperscript{18} Gavron et al.
2. **Obligations to support communities**
   Financial institutions should be prohibited from charging above a certain amount for credit, prohibited from seeking repayment of debts for the first six months following a borrower’s claim for Job Seekers Allowance (JSA), and obliged to invest a certain proportion of their profits in local communities.

3. **Incentives for socially responsible practice**
   Legislation should be passed modelled after the US Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) to ensure fair access to capital and banking services, and mandate banks to invest in the regeneration of poor and BME communities. Banks must meet their responsibilities directly by expanding their own services to underserved communities with additional branches and ATMs, and expanding access to credit unions or community development financial institutions.

   CRA legislation encourages more responsible lending by banks, ensuring financial services are provided without discrimination, but not indiscriminately. The US CRA has also led to significant investment in minority and underserved communities to support enterprise and regeneration.

4. **Unfair credit and lending practices:**
   There is substantial evidence of market failure to provide financial services to certain particular communities, and poor and minority communities receive less access to financial services and are regularly charged more for basic services than more affluent communities. Research conducted by Save the Children and the Family Welfare Association in 2007 found that low-income households pay an additional £1k ‘poverty premium’ each year for essential services like; gas, electricity, telecommunications, insurance and access to cash and credit.

   Government must address the availability of finance to community and social enterprises and the limited range of investment products offered.

   £850 billion of public money was used to shore up the banks. BME and low-income communities are the hardest hit by the current financial recession. This double whammy of financial hardship and potential lack of attention to discriminatory practices means that BME communities could be worse off in the longer run than they would have been before the ‘economic downturn’. A level playing field is required for all communities - any form of equality is not possible without economic justice, and there must be positive recognition of the value and economic contribution of BME and poor communities.

   Reform of the financial services industry is therefore critical in order that public investment be made in these basic educational, employment, housing and economic needs of BME and low income communities, not just to bail out our financial institutions.

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20 The Poverty Premium, Save the Children and the Family Welfare Association (2007)
21 Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BME) communities in 2007/2008 make up important segments of local and national economies, recent figures indicate that by 2011 that total will be as much as £300 billion. Black and Asian consumers are also estimated to earn up to £156 billion after tax income, with young men being the bigger consumers and spending £32 billion every year.
1 Economy

Bme Voluntary and Community Sector

Advisors Third Sector

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Invest 1% of bank profits and 10% of the dormant accounts in poor communities and in programmes for civic engagement through the voluntary and community sector.
2. Conduct a national consultation and review of the BME Voluntary and Community Sector focusing on a comprehensive review of existing funding streams and processes and how charitable giving in terms of public sector capital assets, private sector corporate social responsibility monies and public donations can be further incentivised.
3. Recognise and publicly support the importance of the BME Community and Voluntary sector in promoting civic participation, social and economic inclusion.
4. Explain how the Social Investment Wholesale Bank (SIWB) can be utilised to support BME social enterprise and how local independent representative panels can help make decisions on where funds should be invested.
5. Ensure scrutiny of the use of the dormant accounts fund for investment in charities and the community sector.
6. Include the original BME Code along with further guidance to funders to prioritise on the basis of need in the Refreshed Compact.
7. The Government should clearly restate the appropriateness of single issues funding to tackle the effects of institutional racism in employment and service provision.

'A thriving BME Third Sector will give opportunities to those who may be excluded from the world of paid for work and lead to a more inclusive and wealthier society' 22

BME Third Sector Organisations (BME TSO's) play an extremely important role in ensuring that the worst effects of socio-economic and racial disadvantage are alleviated in some of the poorest sections of British society. Driven by their social purpose they have sought to address failures in
public policy and inefficiencies in the operations of markets. Local regeneration has been one of their primary goals seeking greater levels of equity which delivers additional benefits of greater levels of social cohesion and civic engagement.

The sector provides much needed cultural, welfare, advocacy, educational and employment support services. This contributes to civil society by providing culturally appropriate services, volunteering, promoting civic engagement and democratic accountability, challenging racism and informing policy development. The work in communities builds social capital, promotes stronger bonds between communities and individuals, and collective responsibility for tackling social issues. The sector also acts as an important conduit for community mediation and consultation with statutory services on behalf of local disenfranchised and alienated communities.

The Value Of The Sector

'The BME third sector plays a crucial role in building civil society and contributing to a democratic society where all can play their part'\textsuperscript{23}

No precise figures exist about the BME TSO indicating that there is a paucity of research on the size, location and funding levels of the BME third sector however what we do know is that:

1. There are between 15 and 17,000 BME TSO's.
2. 28% employ more than 8 staff, 49% employ between 4-8 staff with the remainder employing three or less staff.
3. On average 10 volunteers on a weekly basis support each organisation.
4. Over half the funding received comes from statutory agencies the majority of that from Central Government with 26% from local Government, 16% from health authorities and 9% form the EU.
5. The social enterprise sector is estimated to contribute £24 billion pounds to the UK economy\textsuperscript{24}.

The vitality of the BME third sector which contributes so much to civic participation and society in general risks gradual erosion, the effect of this will not only impoverish public civic life but also undermine the decades of long progress BME communities have made in establishing themselves as a distinct presence in the third sector.

Voluntary Sector Compact

'BME voluntary and community organisations and social enterprises (the BME third sector) have their roots in tackling discrimination and promoting equality. With continuing inequalities and a growing BME population the need for BME-specific services looks set to grow rather than diminish'\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{23} ibid.
\textsuperscript{24} Points 1-4: Voice4Change England, point 5: Office of The Third Sector
\textsuperscript{25} Voice4Change England
The Government's new proposals for the UK Voluntary Sector Compact suggests a weakened commitment to race equality. The original Compact had clear guidelines for working with BME organisations. This BME Code had good support at a local level, however it became clear that good practice across the country was patchy. At the end of 2009 the Government published a Refreshed Compact that completely removed reference to the BME Code. Instead the new document contains a section on "advancing equality" and states the following:

'This section has an equality rather than a Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) focus, applying across all equality strands' 26

The broader emphasis on equality as with trends identified elsewhere renders the Compact largely irrelevant for many BME groups, and according to Voice4Change the recent modifications have in fact worked to weaken and undermine Compacts relationship with BME and other minority groups:

'The refreshed Compact is full of gaps as far as small, BME and equality groups are concerned. We have been ignored and marginalized...we now have to redouble our efforts at a local level to ensure that the good work done by local Compacts, including local BME codes, is not eroded, and to highlight good practice so that these groups don't lose out further' 27

Here too we find race inequality as BME groups struggle to establish effective and equitable relationships with statutory agencies and Government. The Refreshed Government BME third sector Compact represents a substantial failing of the Governments commitment towards race equality. The distillation of BAMEs into a general equalities remit has a number of far reaching repercussions, principally how to ensure that the BME third sector organisations are still able to access public resources and make their voices heard.

The failure to recognise that BME third sector organisations operate with specific concerns and constraints which cannot be simply willed away as part of a general commitment to equalities, combined with the refusal to fund single issue third sector organisations and the assumption that the BME third sector is by definition based on single issue concerns, means that the BME community is likely to lose articulate voices and organisations.

It is important to recognise that the effect of this policy implies that only organisations which are 'multi-ethnic' are worthy partners or worthy stakeholders in the third sector. This will mean groups and organisations primarily working among BME communities will suffer heavy disadvantages,

26 See refreshed Compact Code http://www.thecompact.org.uk/
27 See www.thirdsector.co.uk/news
furthermore such a policy risks erasing BME sector organisations by suggesting that racial inequality in itself does not exist or can only be considered alongside broader categories of social exclusion.

Funding to fail and the failure to fund

'Due to lack of funding there has over a period of five years been a decline of BME organizations whose knowledge and understanding of cultural issues have been eroded or totally diminished preventing sustained growth within the ethnic community' 28

Antagonism toward single issue funding is now widespread and provides both policy and political cover for racist practice. In real terms this is resulting in the closure of or winding down of existing BME TSO that cater exclusively for distinct communities. Furthermore, the move away from traditional grant funding to a commissioning process has resulted in the majority of small BME organisations being unable to meet the threshold criteria required to win public service contracts. In addition second tier local and regional strategic support organisations have also expressed anger and frustration at being sidelined in seeking to access public service contracts.

Substantive reductions in levels of Government public spending throughout the next decade will result in a further contraction of the BME third sector across the country. This we believe will aggravate and exacerbate social and economic exclusion and will result in further political alienation of poor BME communities. In general terms we see a BME TSO that has been forcibly divorced from its social reform campaigning agenda and characterized by the adoption of an ineffective muted, depoliticised managerial and welfarist approach to tackling both poverty and institutional racism.

Community Matters a national network of community organisations recently surveyed its members on their experience of accessing funding during the current recession. Their responses reaffirm the anecdotal evidence reported that nationally the BME TSO are facing real cuts in funding. They state:

"Our members saw a mean drop in earned income of 10.5%. Among the respondents who identified themselves as in receipt of grants, members experience an average loss of grants in the last twelve months of £1149 per organisation. To place this in context, our members have a median income of £31,000 per annum. A significant minority (37%) of organisations that had
suffered a loss of earned income had also seen a rise in demands for their services. There were a considerable number of organisations that reported a rise in demand for debt, employment and financial advice" 29

In their survey Community Matters also found that of those that responded to a questionnaire survey:

- 47% have experienced a drop in earned income.
- 59% identified themselves as organisations which were in receipt of grants and of these 32% said they had experienced some sort of loss of this income (19% of all respondents).
- 67% responded to the question "As a result of the current recession, has your community organisation experience tighter conditions on your building?" Of these 56% said they had experienced some tightening of conditions.

We think that urgent action must be taken to stabilise a precariously positioned BME TSO's who face the prospect of imminent collapse and fragmentation. This will require a positive agenda from Government and a fundamental strategic political and policy rethink by the BME sector itself.

Funding of regional BME infrastructure projects need a substantive change in policy approach and levels of funding to increase their ability to develop the sector, there are deep capacity issues that need to be addressed and smaller organisations and social enterprises are not investment ready. There should be a focus on enabling them positively to approach Community Development Finance Institutions. By providing access to long term capital and revenue funding, existing regional BME infrastructure organisations can be developed into new social investment intermediaries with a clear mission to address capacity issues of local third sector organisations and social enterprises.

Over the last few years there has been a slow creep to the systematic dismantling of BME infrastructure at all levels. This has had an impact locally through the commissioning out of BME infrastructure bodies in favour of single provider organisations, as well as the development of single provider bodies at a regional level. This means that there is no independent BME voice.

Dormant Accounts and the Social Investment Bank

A real opportunity exists to use the Government plans to establish a Social Investment Bank. In December 2005 Gordon Brown agreed with the UK banking sector that lost and forgotten funds lying in dormant accounts should be released after a suitable period of time (15 years is proposed) and used for projects in youth services, financial education and exclusion in disadvantaged communities30. Experts estimate that approximately several hundred million pounds is unclaimed in total.

29 www.communitymatters.org.uk
30 The Third Sector And Public Policy-Options For Committee Scrutiny
The Social Investment Task Force chaired by Sir Ronald Cohen reported almost 9 years ago with initiatives to both develop and encourage social investment. This was followed up with the Commission on Unclaimed Assets, which in its final report (March 2007), concluded that the third sector was in urgent need of greater investment, professional backing and more sufficient capital\(^{31}\). It recommended the creation of a small, flexible and innovative social investment bank using the capital from dormant bank accounts. It was estimated that there would need to be an initial investment of £250 million and an annual income of £20 million for a minimum of 4 years\(^{32}\).

The benefits of a Social Investment Bank as an independent and entrepreneurial institution using the funding from unclaimed assets are obvious. It would provide the much-needed helping hand that the BME third sector requires in terms of stability and expansion. Overall this would prove invaluable for communities across the country, enabling BME third sector organisations to grow, develop and flourish.

Such a great source of revenue for the BME third sector is vital and it would be important that the next government issues the release of these funds sooner rather than later, as the BME third sector continues to suffer the consequences following the aftermath of Britain's recession\(^{33}\). This could be a real boost in providing better, stronger and more sustainable BME services to create a brighter future for those affected by continual structural disadvantages and inequalities.

‘The most valuable contribution though comes from us all as local citizens. Yes it is true that government - local and central - is essential to the mix of activity. It also the case that the third sector is critical. However, it is through millions of small, everyday actions that we can all either improve or harm our local communities\(^{34}\).
1 Economy

■ Employment

Advisors Equanomics UK

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Enable affirmative action in employment (modelled on the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act), to overcome low BME pay, inherent discrimination and the persistent and tenacious employment gap.
2. Ensure that the minimum wage continues to increase over time in real terms and abolish age differentials in the minimum wage.
3. Ensure that legislation and practices to prevent discrimination in employment are applied and enforced in the public, voluntary and private sectors and ensure effective action where equality is absent.
4. Set measurable departmental targets over the next five years in improving skills in BME communities and increasing employment rates, with progress being measured and widely publicised on an annual basis. These targets should be both regional and UK wide.
5. Require all employment/small business support agencies and Jobcentre Plus district managers to produce and publish local action plans to close the employment gap. Regional Development Agencies should oversee these plans.
6. Require private sector compliance with equality law on employment and set clear employment targets for the private sector, on a sectoral basis over the next five years, with progress being measured and widely publicised on an annual basis. This should include qualitative and quantitative evidence on recruitment, retention and promotion. Research should include the use of discrimination testing.
7. Set a national equality standard for procurement which should include equality and employment measures and have a specific duty for public authorities to meet the standard.
8. Strengthen the specific duties of the Equality Bill to require detailed employment monitoring across the public, private and third sectors.

Equanomics UK believes that there can be no social inclusion without economic inclusion, no social integration without economic integration, no justice without economic justice. Economic justice is not possible unless we pay attention to:
1. The (un)employment gap
2. Low pay

For both, discrimination is a central factor:

The National Audit Office (2008)\textsuperscript{35} and the Business Commission Report (2007)\textsuperscript{36} of the National Employment Panel put the employment gap between BME communities and the rest of the population at approximately 15% only 1.3% lower than in 1987. They estimate that the gap will take 25-30 years to eradicate if a radical plan is not implemented.

The Business Commission 2007 reports\textsuperscript{37} that the unemployment gap is not economically sound for the UK as a whole because Black and Ethnic Minorities will be an increasing percentage of the working age population. Currently they make up 11% of the working age population but they compose 14% of the secondary school population and 17% of the primary school population.

'Inequalities in earnings and incomes are high in Britain, both compared with other industrialised countries, and compared with thirty years ago. The large inequality growth of the 1980s has not been reversed. Deep-seated and systematic differences in economic outcomes remain between social groups. Significant differences remain in employment rates and relative pay between men and women and between ethnic groups.'\textsuperscript{38}

The DWP October 2009 report\textsuperscript{39} of a 'sting' operation where candidates from different ethnicities applied in similar terms for the same jobs clearly shows that employers' discrimination is still rife, but that legislation can help:

"Of the 987 applications with a White name, 10.7 per cent received a positive response. This compared to 6.2 per cent of the 1,974 applications with an ethnic minority name - a net difference of 4.6 percentage points. That is, 74 per cent more applications from ethnic minority candidates needed to be sent for the same level of success." (P2)

A significant factor was that public sector employers had a discrimination level of 4% while private sector employers had a discrimination level of 35%. (p4)

'High proportions of young (under-35) BME Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women say they experience sexism, racism and discrimination at work and find it harder to get a job or get promotion than White British women'\textsuperscript{40}

It is therefore unacceptable that the specific duties for the new Equality Bill would take out requirements for race equality schemes and, with them, large chunks of employment monitoring.

\textsuperscript{35} National Audit Office, publication for Department for Work and Pensions 'Increasing employment rates for ethnic minorities' REPORT BY THE COMPTROLLER AND AUDITOR GENERAL | HC 206 Session 2007-2008 | 1 February 2008
\textsuperscript{36} IBID as note 1
\textsuperscript{37} 60/76 The Business Commission on Race Equality in the Workplace
\textsuperscript{38} An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK 2010, London School of Economics for the Government Equalities Office
\textsuperscript{39} Department for Work and Pensions Research Report No 607 October 2009 'A test for racial discrimination in recruitment practice in British cities' Martin Wood, Jon Hales, Susan Purdon, Tanja Sejersen and Oliver Hayllar
\textsuperscript{40} Moving on up? Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean women and work Early findings from the EOC's investigation in England
While new regulations for equality provision in procurement from Private sector companies in the Equality Bill are welcomed, there is still a gap in requirements for all private sector companies operating in the UK to be non-discriminatory in employment. We strongly endorse the proposal in the Equality Bill to require all public authorities to ensure that their procurement function in meeting their general equality duty is fully reflected in their equality objectives and to state the steps they will take to meet those objectives.

'In 2008, 586,000 young people ages 16 to 24 were unemployed - 5% down on the previous quarter'\(^41\)

The private sector is a key stakeholder in the drive for economic justice and it must expand economic opportunity for our communities. Yet there is very little in legislative requirements with regard to how they disperse equality. It is important that the private sector is also looped into the potentially good work of public authorities on socio-economic inequality - especially improved employment of BME people and the purchase of products from BME businesses.

Educational achievement is not necessarily matched by labour market outcomes. The White population gets the best returns in terms of wages for a given level of qualifications - all minority ethnic groups suffer some form of 'penalty'.Ethno-religious classification is an even better predictor of disadvantage in that Muslim ethnic groups suffer the largest 'ethnic penalty' (after controlling for the usual factors)\(^4\) p234.

'Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi 16 year olds think it is harder for them to get a job than White girls and are more likely to exclude possible careers because of their sex, ethnicity or faith'\(^42\)

The experience of tackling discrimination in Northern Ireland is useful as a legislative model for reducing inequality in employment patterns. The Fair Employment Act and the Fair Employment and Treatment Order (Northern Ireland) were implemented as a result of lobbying from the disadvantaged communities in Northern Ireland, and have far reaching powers. The best example for the Fair Employment regime is Patten 50-50 on policing in which the Catholic representation progressed from 7.6% (10 years ago) to 28% (now). Next year Patten will be reviewed as the legislation targeted 30% Catholic representation.

With regard to low pay

'Compared to a White British Christian man with the same qualifications, age and occupation, Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim men and Black African Christian men receive pay 13-21% lower

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\(^42\) Moving on up? Bangladesh, Pakistani and Black Caribbean women and work Early findings from the EOC's investigation in England.
... differences in unemployment rates are as great for the 'second generation' as for those born outside the UK. Women from most ethno-religious backgrounds have hourly pay between a quarter and a third less than a White British Christian man with the same qualifications, age and occupation.43

London Citizens44 found that people working in the hotel and catering sector were the lowest paid of all the low paid workers they surveyed, with almost one in five paid below national minimum wage, with the rate doubling for BME and migrant workers.

"It is only for three groups (Pakistani, Bangladeshi and mixed White-Black Caribbean women) that median full-time weekly earnings for women are greater than for men." 45

We agree with the Fairpay network that 'Combating employment inequality and providing livable wages too all - narrowing the gap between rich and poor - could galvanise local economies, putting expendable income directly in the hands of workers and bolstering local economies.'46 The government should not use the current recession to freeze the wages of those bearing the brunt of the economic crisis and living in the "zones of pain".

Fairness must be reinforced rather than discarded during challenging economic circumstances to protect those most at risk in the downturn but also from the need to ensure that we emerge from this crisis in the direction of a more successful and sustainable economic model and labour market.

Now more than ever Equanomics believes it is vitally important for the electorate to be clear on how our elected leaders plan to reduce economic and employment inequality, and launch a "war on poverty" to support the most vulnerable in our society. At the next general election it is incumbent on all political parties to offer clear, coherent solutions to tackle income inequality and disparities in employment.

On our part Equanomics UK will continue to work on getting measurable data and information about the economic position of BME Britain and will campaign for changes in the disparities.

The gap between rich and poor, the structural inequalities faced by BME communities, and the existence of widespread poverty can no longer be tolerated. Rather than retreat - we should advance via vision and courage, and emerge out of this recession stronger and more viable.

43 An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK 2010, London School of Economics for the Government Equalities Office
44 Fairpay Network (2009) ‘Not Just for the Good Times’
45 An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK 2010, London School of Economics for the Government Equalities Office
46 Fairpay Network (2009) ‘Not Just for the Good Times’
1 Economy

POVERTY

Advisors Equanomics UK

No individual or nation can be great if it does not have a concern for the least of these... the rich must not ignore the poor because both rich and poor are tied in a single garment of destiny

Dr King

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Ensure that its Child Poverty Strategy explicitly recognises the position of Black and Minority Ethnic children and propose targeted interventions that are regularly monitored and the results published.

2. Ensure scrutiny of the effectiveness of public services in tackling the disadvantage rooted in ethnicity, whether in the fields of employment, education, housing, or regeneration - for example by utilising the socio economic duty of the Equality Act 2010.

3. Ensure respect for all vulnerable people in the UK who are destitute, regardless of their citizenship status, in recognition of their human rights.

4. Utilise a lifetimes approach: It is essential that policy makers recognise that poverty is passed on through generations47. The cycles must be broken via targeted and specialist interventions in the poorest BME communities.
£850bn of public funds has been invested to bail out the banking sector. Now, "government must use its vast resources to wage an all-out war against poverty", as Dr. Martin Luther King appealed in his 1967 book, "Where do we go from here?". Free markets and unchecked capitalism cannot and will not. So government must now commit itself to the abolition of poverty.

Narratives of social integration of BME communities have a serious fault line if there is unmatched focus on economic integration. Social inclusion is dependent on economic inclusion.

The impact of poverty is widespread, as evidenced by the data included in other chapters of this Manifesto: in health, education, criminal justice or employment. In nearly every social, economic and educational category, racial disparities and systemic poverty is pervasive. Moreover economic well-being seems to pass from generation to generation.

The facts show compelling evidence of both the persistence of poverty for ethnic minorities and the link between poverty and ethnicity.

Some 4 million children in the UK live in poverty, one of the highest rates in the industrialised world. This is broken down as follows: 25% of White children, 56% of African Children, 60% of Pakistani children and a staggering 72% of Bangladeshi children.

Child poverty costs £40 billion a year, or £2,500 for every family in the UK. Another £40 billion is lost due to increased crime, extra public spending and lost economic productivity.

- In 2007/08, 13 million people - 22% of the population - in the UK were living in households below this low-income threshold, an increase of 1½ million compared with the three previous years previously, 2004/05.

- Around two-fifths of people from ethnic minorities live in low-income households, twice the rate for White people, and more than half of people from Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic backgrounds live in low-income households.

These facts have been reiterated in "An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK". This report highlights that differences in economic outcomes are underlying, long-term and systematic problems that intensify over the lifecycle and then become intergenerational.

- Nearly all ethnic minority groups are less likely to be in paid employment than White British men and women.

- Pakistani and Bangladeshi households have a median equivalent net income of only £238 a week compared to the national median of £393. Nearly half are below the poverty line.

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48 CRE report 2007 'A lot done, a lot still to do'
49 TUC Poverty Report 2007
50 Data from Joseph Rowntree Foundation and The Poverty Site
51 ibid
52 An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK 2010, London School of Economics for the Government Equalities Office
53 An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK 2010, London School of Economics for the Government Equalities Office
54 ibid
• While wide gaps in income and earnings do not map directly onto poverty lines, the poverty of some ethnic groups in relation to other groups is persistent and shocking. When there are such huge differences between the resources which people have this must raise questions about the impact of such inequalities on social cohesion, and challenge beliefs in social justice.

• Educational qualifications, employment sector, labour market experience, discrimination, location, disability, ill-health and family form and structure all play a role in different poverty rates among different ethnic groups.

• Before housing costs about a fifth of White children are classified as poor: a quarter of African-Caribbeans and Indians and more than half among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. After housing costs, 67% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi children are living in poverty, compared to 27% of White children.

• Job applications from people with African- or Asian-sounding names are turned down more often than English-sounding ones, according to a survey undertaken by the National Centre for Social Research in October 2009.

• Asylum-seekers currently receive just over 50% of income support and since 2002 they have been prohibited from working. And although there are no official figures on destitution among refugees and asylum seekers in England and Wales, estimates range from 300,000 to 500,000.

What can account for the varied poverty rates between ethnic groups? The "ethnic penalty" means the effect of disadvantage based solely on ethnicity after taking into account other factors such as education and age. While half of the poverty rates for minority groups can be explained by the differences in age, family type and family work, the other half is often attributed to the invisible effect of racism, for instance in employment. The key contributory factors include income gaps, financial assets, and education.

While the facts are shocking in themselves, they describe multi-faceted or multiple discrimination, in which disadvantages created by gender, age, and social class intersect with those created by race. For example, ethnic minority women are particularly vulnerable to poverty because of a combination of some or all of the following factors: lower pay, higher unemployment and economic inactivity, likelihood of being a single parent, and likelihood of having a large family.

55 ibid
56 ibid
57 Poverty and ethnicity in the UK, JRF findings, April 2007, Lucinda Platt
60 A Civilised Society: Mind, 2009
61 A Civilised Society: Mind, 2009
62 Poverty and Ethnicity in the UK, JRF findings, April 2007, Lucinda Platt
It is important to acknowledge also that many White communities are very poor, and the disadvantage they face is also neglected. Poverty crosses racial boundaries. Or some suggest attention to White poverty and disadvantage is eclipsed by the focus on BME communities. Our view is that poverty for anyone is a blight on all of us. Hence we support initiatives tackling poverty in all communities and will work actively with poor White communities as well.

The UK has a strong body of law and policy, from the 1970s Race Relations Acts to the Public Sector Duty on Race Equality 2000, to prevent and tackle racial discrimination in structures and behaviours. These are important levers in tackling underlying poverty. However, what is lacking is sustained and resourced commitment from government in implementation of this body of law and policy, and a direct and clear challenge from policy makers to ensure racism is tackled effectively. The proposed socio-economic duty of the Equality Bill must therefore be put to work alongside the strengthened public sector duty to eliminate discrimination and promote equality. It should be used to scrutinize and act on the effectiveness of public services in tackling the coupled effects of poverty and ethnicity.

In the section on Asylum and immigration we highlight the acute destitution that refugees and asylum seekers face. There is widespread recognition among service providers, charities and faith organisations of the restrictive policies on healthcare, education, housing and welfare support that operate to exclude and discriminate against refugees and asylum seekers. The practice of deliberately forcing asylum-seekers into a state of destitution to encourage voluntary return, is common. This is an abuse of the human rights of the most disadvantaged ethnic minorities in the UK today.

The poverty and disadvantage of BME communities varies by age, and over a lifetime, as it does for other disadvantaged groups. It is essential that policy makers are sensitive to the dips in income and capabilities experienced at different stages of life - during education, during employment breaks taken for caring responsibilities, the impact of childrearing, and at pension age. Targeted interventions in terms of economic status and in terms of ethnicity and gender are essential, as all are related to disadvantaged life outcomes.
2 Democracy and rights

Democratic Inclusion

Advisor Operation Black Vote - OBV

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Institute automatic voter registration for all citizens and compulsory voting (with a drivers licence or passport). This would include allowing voters to vote for "None of the Above".
2. Introduce a proportional voting system.
3. Establish BME only shortlists for Parliament and local councillors until the under representation is eliminated - as recommended by the All-Party Speakers Conference in late 2009.
4. Ban all extremist parties in the UK and clarify the position on extremist representation in the political process - for instance, why is the extreme far right allowed to have a political party in the UK while extremists from other persuasions e.g. Al Qaeda, cannot.
5. Work towards a fully elected upper chamber.
6. Work on radical reform of political parties to recruit, retain and promote new BME members.
7. Continue to challenge the legality of the BNP and any other right wing or fanatical party.

Introduction

Ever since Operation BME Vote launched in 1996, we have held the strong belief that radical reform of the UK's democratic system would be an effective tool to help bring about greater social and racial justice. That belief is as strong now as it was then.

It is no coincidence that those who face some of the severest social challenges, including poor housing, unemployment, ill health, low pay, and poor schools, are also those that have the least political voice in Britain today.

In this anti-democratic framework BME communities are hit by a triple whammy. First, we are disproportionately affected by the severest social challenges. Secondly, we too often feel powerless to affect change. Thirdly, even when our families and communities break through
the poverty trap and see the values of having a political voice, BME talent is still held back by the political and civic system.

These forthcoming elections afford Britain's BME communities unprecedented political power and opportunity. Many see this election being decided by less than 30 seats. Renowned political scholar Prof Shamit Sagar's research documented that BME communities could significantly influence over 100 seats in this election race. The leverage of BME communities to demand racial, religious and social equality has never been greater.

‘Indian people are the most likely to vote while BME Caribbean and BME African people are the least likely to vote.’

Update since 2005

The authors of the BME manifesto in 2005 and those other organisations and individuals across the UK who have been ‘agents for change' can be proud of their achievements. They focused the reform debate on demanding greater political representation, correctly arguing that at the 2005 rate of progress, parliament would only be remotely representative in about 100 years.

Dedicated work with the political parties; encouraging party leaders, nurturing BME talent, and shaming slow progress, is about to reap the greatest political transformation of BME MP's ever seen.

The number of BME MP's could realistically double from 15 to 30 with both Labour and the Conservatives making dramatic increases. The Scottish and Welsh devolved democracies both broke through their all-White barriers. Sadiq Khan MP - the son of a bus driver - became the first Muslim Cabinet member. Junior Minister Dawn Butler, became the first Caribbean women to represent the Government at the Commons dispatch box, and Minster David Lammy and shadow Minster Adam Afriye made history when they both faced each other at their dispatch boxes during a Commons debate.

In 2005, the call for 'all BME' short lists was widely derided as fanciful. And yet after the Government's Equality Office charged OBV with making the case, the subsequent ‘water tight' document would have ensured the legislative change if the Government had been a little more courageous. Instead they sought to get wider approval from all sides of House- an agreement never achieved- via its 'Speaker conference' committee.
In late 2009, to the astonishment of many and hardly reported in the press, the all-party committee reported in its final recommendation that, ‘legislation should be changed to allow parties to use ‘all BME’ shortlist if they choose.

Other key elements we demanded during the 2005 election campaign was to challenge the legitimacy of the BNP. OBV stated, 'Proscribe the BNP, Combat 19 and National Front, whose constitution, aims, objectives or pronouncements are incompatible with the duties imposed by the Race relations Act 1976 as amended.

Imagine for a second, if the CRE or the Government would have acted before the BNP won in Europe. First the BNP could not have claimed they were being attacked because they were successful. The BNP’s internal mechanism would have resisted much more any change that could be seen to accommodate BME individuals. It's a shame it took a while for others to catch up in asking, "what are the limits of our democracy?"

Work on voter registration has improved over a fifteen year period - from 27% BME non voter registration, to 18% -20% in 2008. But registering recently arrived migrants - particularly Africans - highlight the constant and often moving challenge voter registration represents.

Sadly, at a local level representation has got worse not better. The number of BME councils leaders has fallen from two to one, and the number of BME councillors fallen by at least 15%. The London Labour Party is in meltdown over the number of BME councillors being deselected and crossing the floor to opposition parties.

The Challenge for 2010.

We must pursue and widen the BME call for democratic reform. The two main political parties will feel that after the predicted successes of BME candidates there is little more they need to do. They would be grossly mistaken. In 2001 the Labour party abandoned all-women shorts and, to no one’s surprise, the numbers of women fell again.

This election of new MP's will be the exception rather than the rule: a combination of political will, unprecedented resignations and turn over of MP's. The call for ‘all BME short list’ still stands as does intense political will from party leaders.

At a local level, the Government and its agencies ALG and London councils must recognise the persistent racial inequalities inherent in local parties and local government and act accordingly. See recommendations.

We should be cautious about simple voting reform. While solid in principle, reformers must acknowledge that reform of a more proportionate system, in and of itself, does not
dramatically change representation. It could inadvertently give more power to fringe parties.

A more cohesive debate would be to simultaneously demand for a reform of the voting system, whist demanding a more informed and effective citizenship.

A informed, engaged electorate, and using a much fairer voting system, would bring greater legitimacy and accountability to our democracy. It would also ensure that political parties respond accordingly: greater representation, every seat targeted, and a more empowered electorate.

As well as demanding greater representation of our democratically elected institutions - nationally, regionally and locally - we must also demand that political parties radically change the way they do party politics. The inherent inequalities that persist within political parties during the 'Speakers conference' will not radically change until the parties audit the make up of the membership, paid staff, key decision makers and elected representatives.

Knowing where the gaps are - under-representation by race, gender or disability - would allow the parties to effectively recruit, retain and promote talent from within. It is a medium to long-term strategy that would effectively transform the political parties and our democracy.
We call upon the government to:

1. To commit to 'No Regression' on the Race Relations Amendment Act. The Equality Act, soon to be law, does not mandate or include the specific duties to be attached to the Act. New proposals would replace current specific duties and enable public bodies to set their own equality objectives, possibly for only two grounds of equality.


3. Have an effective regulatory regime with increased effort to ensure compliance.

4. Have effective specific duties that build on the existing specific equality duties and are not regressive in content or effect.

5. Demonstrate that the views of consultation to be held over the summer on the specific duties are being heeded.

6. Audit and inspect bodies that develop effective regulatory and inspection regimes that properly address their public sector equality duties and evaluate whether public bodies are really addressing race equality and all the other statutory areas.

The Government's intended new Equality Bill will, if approved, result in the regression of the quality of legal protection available to poor BME communities leaving them with virtually no effective, accessible legal redress against race discrimination in both the public and private sectors.

For many years race equality activists had argued that the Race Relations Act 1976 was inadequate in tackling racial inequalities in the UK. The murder of Stephen Lawrence propelled the debate and the Lawrence Inquiry called by Jack Straw MP resulted in the most thorough piece of race equality legislation across Europe - The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000.

Its particular strength was the tools it offered to tackle institutional racism as defined by the Lawrence inquiry, which said that this was at the heart of the failures of policing in the Stephen Lawrence case. Many other British institutions also admitted institutional racism to be a factor in their organisations. The then Commission for Racial Equality developed codes and guidance for
the new Act. Millions of pounds have been spent by public authorities in meeting the requirements of the Act including for Race Equality Schemes.

Now we potentially have a new Act which, if it gets passed, may not have any requirements for Race Equality Schemes. This is because:

1. The new government will have the power to decide what specific duties are attached to the Act.

2. There are proposals to replace the specific duties as they stand with requirements for equality schemes, monitoring and impact assessments and allow authorities themselves to set equality objectives - and a suggestion that they may not have to cover all protected groups.

This could mean that the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 becomes redundant and we could be left with little more than the General Duty with requirements designed to tackle institutional racism over the last 10 years potentially ignored. This will constitute a regression from the race equality legislation that currently exists and must be avoided.

Where the existing race equality duties have been shown to be effective then there should be no regression, no dilution and no moving away from a clear statement of these duties.

The Race Duty, the Equality Bill and key changes in the Statutory Framework for the Promotion Of Equality

The existing general and specific equality duties

Until the Equality Bill becomes an Act of Parliament and key sections of the Act come into force, existing legislative provisions will remain in force. We understand that the existing race, disability and gender general equality duties - and their supporting regulations - will remain in force until April 2011 when they should be replaced by the new general equality duty (currently clause 148 of the Equality Bill and supporting regulations (the specific equality duties).

The need for ongoing compliance with the general and specific equality duties

We believe that it is essential that public sector bodies continue to comply with both the letter and spirit of the general race equality duty and the specific race equality duties.

The EHRC and how could compliance be achieved?

We believe that compliance could be best achieved by the EHRC writing to all public bodies and
regulatory and audit bodies to advise them that they should ensure that they have a current race and for that matter disability and gender equality scheme or schemes - in place either as part of an integrated Equality Scheme or as a stand-alone scheme. Any public body that has not undertaken a review and consultation, with due regard to the requirements of race specific duties, should be asked to ensure that it does comply by the end of 2010. We also believe that similar guidance should be issued in relation to the production of updated and reviewed Disability and Gender Equality Schemes. We believe that if the EHRC were to issue guidance on best practice on integrated equality schemes by March/April 2010 and together with the compliance advice, public bodies would have 7/8 months to ensure that they are complying with their existing statutory duties.

How will ensuring ongoing compliance help?
The process will help to lay the foundations for compliance with the new and expanded integrated equality duty. Furthermore, public bodies and those concerned about the promotion of equality will be able to see how public authorities are actually giving due regard to properly addressing their existing race equality, and other, duties. Whether and how due regard is given to race equality, and other equality areas, will be pivotal in determining whether or not planned and future cuts unlawfully disproportionately impact on hard pressed BME communities, disabled people and any specific gender equality group.

The significance of the Equality Bill and the Equality Act 2010
If all goes to plan, the Equality Bill will become the Equality Act 2010. The Equality Bill represents the most fundamental overhaul of equal legislation in over 30 years since the introduction of the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and the Race Relations Act 1976. The importance of tackling persistent racial inequalities must not be underestimated. This Government has been clear that we ‘need the Equality Bill to strengthen the law and bring forward new measures to fight discrimination’, to fight persistent inequalities ‘and ‘to streamline the law, helping people to understand their rights and helping businesses to comply with the law’.

The importance of strong regulations, statutory codes and enforcement
The significance of the secondary equality legislation, statutory codes of practice, the enforcement framework and the regulatory framework must not be underestimated. The promotion of racial justice in the 21st century demands that the Equality Act, its supporting regulations and the regulatory framework genuinely contribute to a step change in addressing the scourge of persistent racial discrimination, inequalities and institutional racism. The 1990 Trust and several other organisations oppose the current proposals from the Government Equalities Office in relation to the specific equality duties. Our concerns are that the proposals:
• Run the risk of fatally undermining the public sector equality duty and far from making the
duty work may even fail to properly address existing race, disability and gender equality
duties;
• Conflict with the findings of research commissioned by the GEO itself;
• Fail to effectively address or resolve serious concerns about the proposals contained in the
original consultation document published by the GEO in June 2009;
• Show little improvement when compared to the deficient proposals presented in June;
• If adopted will result in a fundamental weakening of the existing specific equality duties;
• Are inconsistent with promises made by the GEO and Government that the aim is to provide
an effective framework to support the general equality duty;
• Represent a regressive approach in legislative terms.

The Government Equalities Office has announced next round of consultation re the specific duties
will take place in the summer of 2010. We want the next Government to make a reality of the
commitments from all three of the largest parties in the House of Commons and the House of
Lords by introducing strong specific duties that effectively support the new general equality duty
set out in the Equality Bill.
2 Democracy and rights

■ CIVIL LIBERTIES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Advisors JUST West Yorkshire

It has become commonplace to call Britain a "surveillance society," a place where security cameras lurk at every corner, giant databases keep track of intimate personal details and the government has extraordinary powers to intrude into citizens' lives.

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Withdraw the PREVENT programme in its current form as it unfairly criminalises and targets Muslim communities.
2. Take all non-convicted people off the DNA database and respect decisions from the European Court of Human Rights, that the retention of innocent people's DNA is illegal.
3. Maintain the provisions of the Human Rights Act (HRA) and require efficient monitoring and enforcement by the EHRC. The HRA enforces in the UK the rights protected under the European Convention on Human Rights so that all people in the UK, regardless of citizenship or immigration status, can enjoy equal protection of their human rights. It should be strengthened to have a free standing right of non discrimination.
4. Endorse decisions from the European Court of Human Rights which the government is contesting - the ruling that the retention of innocent people's DNA is illegal.
5. Address some of the worst excesses of the 'War on Terror', beginning with the immediate repeal of control orders, which provide for indefinite house arrest without charge or trial.
6. Order an immediate independent inquiry into the increasing number of allegations of UK complicity in torture and extraordinary rendition. The period of time a person can be held without charge on suspicion of terrorism must be limited and brought in line with other democratic countries. The use of racial profiling by police, intelligence services, and airport security staff must stop.
7. Scrap the ID card scheme, including ID cards for foreign nationals, which are likely to have a negative impact on race relations.

In the last decade the attrition of civil liberties and human rights has led to Britain becoming one of the most surveilled, monitored and controlled societies in the world. In 2007 Privacy International ranked Britain in the bottom five countries for its record on privacy and surveillance, alongside...
countries such as Russia, China and Singapore. The rolling back of these fundamental rights has had a disproportionate impact on BME and minority ethnic communities across the UK.

The 'War on Terror', framed ostensibly to stop extremism and preserve the British way of life has been increasingly used to legitimise retrogressive legislation promoting the use of control orders, holding of terrorist suspects without trial and sanctioning torture which mostly targets Muslim communities.

The investment of public monies in pursuing anti-libertarian policies has been unparalleled; £145 million that has been allocated to fighting Muslim extremism under the banner of Prevent, not on the basis of identifiable terrorist risk but in direct proportion to the number of Muslims in an area. Such discriminatory policies have legitimised the demonisation and criminalisation of Muslim communities and given succour to the Far Right messages of Islamophobia.

A further £3.5 billion has been invested in CONTEST 1 and 2, the UK government's counter-terrorism strategy. The anti-terror dividend these measures have yielded are highly questionable. Where previously public bodies had a clear remit as service providers, today the Regulation of Investigatory Powers Act (RIPA) 2000 has led to the co-option of statutory bodies as extensions of the surveillance arm of the state. In 2008 public bodies made 540,073 requests to intercept people's communications data. Councils have also used the legislation to spy on citizens for minor matters such as dog-fouling, littering, and using disabled parking badges. The failure of the government to impose safeguards has effectively made the Act a Snooper's Charter.

Likewise the increase in police and intelligence powers that the 'War on Terror' has engendered has been unprecedented. Between 2008-09, 256,000 people were stopped and searched under Section 44 of the Terrorism Act yet only 0.6% arrests were made on matters mostly unrelated to terrorism. BME people are already disproportionately represented in stop and search figures.

With the declaration by ACPO's head of terrorism, Norman Bettison, that it is going to take 20 years to root out 'domestic terrorists', the penetration of intelligence agencies into BME neighbourhoods is set to escalate and with that stop and searches of BME and Asian people.

By 2011, more than 4000 intelligence staff will be operating out of newly established MI5 offices established in regions with the largest concentration of Muslim communities across England. The proliferation of intelligence agencies working alongside police services and public bodies targeting whole communities rather than on the basis of intelligence information is likely to see figures for BME and Asian young men being stopped and searched increase even further. A decade after the Lawrence Inquiry Report, African and Caribbean people are seven times more likely to be stopped and searched as White people. These differences cannot be justified as only around one in six people in all racial groups are then found to have done something serious enough to merit an arrest.

The decision in 2009 to reduce the administrative burden on police personnel has effectively undermined the framework for police accountability. They are no longer required to issue a form
and instead only have to issue a receipt that merely records the person's race and location. If an individual wishes to access a full record for the reasons they were stopped, this has to be requested in person at a police station or electronically online. This decision directly contravenes Section 61 of the Lawrence Inquiry Recommendation which requires all stop and search records: To include the reason for the stop, the outcome, and the self-defined ethnic identity of the person stopped. A copy of the record shall be given to the person stopped.

The disproportionate targeting of BME people is also evident in the over representation of young people and BME men in the UK DNA database. The database is the largest of its kind in the world and it retains DNA information of those who had been arrested but never actually charged or found guilty of a crime.

These measures have never been sanctioned by any Act of Parliament and there is no independent oversight of the database or an independent appeals procedure for unconvicted people who want their DNA removed. This database has now been ruled unlawful by the European Court of Human Rights. The Government must take immediate steps to bring the database in to compliance with the Court judgment and address its discriminatory nature by removing the DNA of hundreds of thousands of innocent people.

The accusation that Britain is sleepwalking its way to a surveillance society reflects our contemporary reality. The assault on civil liberties and human rights represents a real threat to British society. Recent calls by both Labour and the Conservatives to replace the Human Rights Act with a British Bill of Rights and Responsibilities threatens to further water down the rights that are part of Britain's international, European and national obligations.

The argument for the dismantling of the HRA on the basis that it will augment the fight against crime and terrorism is deeply flawed. The current legislative framework already allows the state to restrict rights in the public interest. By making a distinction between citizens' rights and human rights, the universal principle of rights for all is in danger of being replaced by rights that are conditional on citizenship. The language of the Bill of Rights also makes rights contingent on citizens living up to their responsibilities which have no objective criteria and is therefore open to political 'manipulation.'

The top concern for an incoming Government must be to protect, promote and defend the Human Rights Act 1998. There has been much myth and misunderstanding about the Act and a key objective for any incoming government must be to better explain how the Act works in practice and protects everyone's rights. The rights in the HRA must not be diminished, and the Government must recognise that fundamental human rights are not contingent on responsibilities. Nor are human rights contingent on nationality or race - human rights are universal and any incoming Government must acknowledge that this principle is binding. In particular, the Government must respect the absolute prohibition on torture and not seek to amend the HRA in order to deport non-nationals to countries where they may face a risk of torture.
2 Democracy and rights

UNITED NATIONS EQUALITY COMMITTEES

Advisors Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities - NICEM

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Set out how it intends to act on the concerns of the committees of the UN Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD) and the Council of Europe Framework and the Convention for the protection of National Minorities (FCNM) which are set out below.

We call upon the BME Voluntary and Community Sector to:

2. Organise to make a joint submission to the Advisory Committee of the FCNM of the Council of Europe and the UN Committee on CERD.

The Department for Communities and Local Government sent out their draft 3rd Report on the progress of the FCNM and 17th Report on the progress of CERD to NGOs for consultation in September and October 2009 respectively.

In 2007 the Advisory Committee on the FCNM of the Council of Europe delivered their Opinion on the UK 2nd Report on the implementation of the FCNM in the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland. The following bullet points are quoted from the Executive Summary:

- Notwithstanding the United Kingdom's particularly advanced approach to promoting non discrimination and equality, problems persist in a number of areas due to inconsistencies in the legislation and shortcomings in its implementation. Inequalities continue to affect persons belonging to minority ethnic communities in the fields of employment, education, housing, health and access to justice.

- Negative and inaccurate reporting by certain sectors of the media is contributing to hostile attitudes towards certain groups in particular Gypsies and Travellers, asylum-seekers, migrant workers and Muslims. There has been an increase in incidents motivated by racist and religious hatred recorded in different parts of the country.

- There is a need to identify further ways of promoting the participation of persons belonging to minority ethnic communities in public affairs, including by stepping up consultations and other forms of dialogue with the broadest possible spectrum of minority representatives.
The last hearing at the UN Committee on CERD is in 2003. Although there are a lot of changes over the last six years, the conclusion observations made by the Committee in 2003 are still valid in 2010. These are some of the issues being highlighted:

- Concern over the fact that the State Party continues to uphold its restrictive interpretation of the provisions of article 4 of the Convention........"In the light of the State Party's recognition that the right to freedom of expression and opinion are not absolute rights and in the light of statements by some public officials and media reports which may adversely influence racial harmony, the Committee recommends that the State Party reconsider its interpretation of article 4." (para. 12).

- Concern about the increasing racial prejudice against ethnic minorities, asylum seekers and immigrants reflected in the media and the reported lack of effectiveness of the Press Complaint Commission to deal with this issue. (para. 13)

- The Committee remains concerned by reports of attacks on asylum seekers. In this regard, the Committee notes with concern that antagonism towards asylum seekers has helped to sustain support for extremist political opinions. (para. 14)

- The Committee is concerned about the application of Section 19 D of the Race Relations Amendment Act of 2000, which makes it lawful for immigration officers to "discriminate" on the basis of nationality or ethnic origin provided that it is authorised by a Minister. This would be incompatible with the very principle of non-discrimination. (para. 16)

- The Committee is deeply concerned about the provisions of the Anti-Terrorism Crime and Security Act which provide for the indefinite detention without charge or trial, pending deportation, of non-UK nationals who are suspected of terrorism-related activities. (para. 17)

- The Committee is concerned that a disproportionately high number of "stops and searches" are carried out by the police against members of ethnic or racial minorities. (para. 19)

- The Committee is concerned about reported cases of "Islamophobia" following the September 11th attacks. Furthermore, while the Committee takes note that the State Party's criminal legislation includes offences where religious motives are aggravating factor, it regrets that incitement or racially motivated religious hatred is not outlawed. (para.20)

- The Committee expresses concern about the discrimination faced by Roma/Gypsies/Travellers, which is reflected, inter alia, in their higher child mortality rate, exclusion from schools, shorter life expectancy than the population average, poor housing conditions, lack of available camping sites, high unemployment rate, and limited access to health services. (para. 22)

- The Committee express concern about certain minority ethnic groups or individuals belonging to them experience discrimination in the areas of employment, education, housing and health. (para.23)
3 Social policy

EDUCATION SCHOOLS

Advisors Runnymede Trust

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Introduce new legislation to end the growing economic segregation in the British education system including schools, colleges and the Russell Group of Universities. And to ensure a proportionate intake of low-income children in the best performing schools.

2. Institute the collection of data (locally and nationally) on the use of in-school exclusion units and the efficiency of reintegration into mainstream schooling. This should then be an area for OFSTED inspections to monitor.

3. Focus on attainment - maintain a relentless focus on standards to ensure that young people from all backgrounds can achieve to their full potential - efforts in this vein will include continued reform in curriculum development, careers guidance, teacher training, professional development and governance.

4. Develop an admissions system that enables all parents/carers to make positive and non-discriminatory decisions about the school which their child attends.

5. Ensure that efforts to recruit and retain BME and minority ethnic staff and leaders in schools are well supported.

Below, we highlight six areas where persistent inequality threatens to lead to entrenched inequality in adult life for BME children, and poorer relations between people of different ethnic groups.

Attainment

There remain differences in attainment for particular ethnic groups. While some minority ethnic communities are achieving at above average rates (Indian, Chinese), many groups despite being at similar levels when they start school by KS2 continue to have lower levels of attainment (Black Caribbean, Pakistani). Gypsy Roma and Traveller children also continue to achieve at lower than expected levels. This disproportionality continues right through to degree level where the outcomes for BME graduates are worse than for White graduates.
'Pakistani and Bangladeshi girls are catching up with White girls in terms of GCSE results, and have already overtaken White boys. Black Caribbean girls showed the biggest increase of all groups between 2003 and 2005.\textsuperscript{66}

There are particular patterns of low attainment that impact on certain minority ethnic groups regardless of their socio-economic status.

**Staffing**

Only 6% of the teaching workforce is from a BME background. ONS\textsuperscript{67} figures suggest that 16% of the 0-14 year olds are from BME backgrounds. Of those BME graduates who do choose to enter the profession, a recent report\textsuperscript{68} highlighted that over half had experienced racial discrimination in school and 70% saw discrimination as a barrier to progression within the teaching profession.

**Curriculum**

The school curriculum should reflect the ethnic diversity of the school population, both to raise the levels of engagement and attainment of minority ethnic pupils and to promote a positive view of racial equality and cultural diversity to all pupils. For example British History must reflect an analysis of Britain's historical global role. Ofsted reports have highlighted the importance of using ethnic diversity in the curriculum to engage pupils, promote race equality and good race relations in schools\textsuperscript{69}.

**Admissions; Cohesion and Segregation**

Our schools remain more ethnically segregated than our neighbourhoods\textsuperscript{70}. This is probably due to the increased economic and social access power of some parents rather than others. As long as this persists, our school system will be hindered in delivering on its duty to promote community cohesion and racial equality.

**Governance**

10-12% of governor posts remain unfilled, data suggests that this number is higher in urban schools, which are more likely to be ethnically diverse schools. Approximately 7% of governors are thought to come from a BME background (compared with 22% of pupils). BME

\textsuperscript{66} Moving on up? Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean women and work Early findings from the EOC's investigation in England
\textsuperscript{67} Office of National Statistics
\textsuperscript{68} McNamara, O et al (2009) The leadership aspirations and careers of Black and ethnic minority teachers TDA/NASUWT: Nottingham
\textsuperscript{69} Ofsted (2005) Race equality in education; Good practice in schools and local education authorities Ofsted: London
\textsuperscript{70} For local details of ethnic segregation between schools visit www.measuringdiversity.org.uk
citizens who do choose to join school governing bodies report resistance from White colleagues in discussing race equality issues71.

**Exclusions**

While the current government has worked to reduce the total number of exclusions from school, certain ethnic groups remain much more likely to be excluded from schools, leading to further alienation and increasing the likelihood of negative engagement with the criminal justice system72. Black Caribbean boys remain three times as likely to be permanently excluded from school and twice as likely to experience fixed-term exclusion. These figures vary from area to area, with some areas where Black boys are six times more likely to experience permanent exclusion. There is no nationally collected data on the use of in-school exclusion units or the likelihood or speed of reintegration into mainstream schooling.

Ensuring that no group of children is left behind is a crucial task for government in creating a more equal and successful society.

'Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi 16 year olds think it is harder for them to get a job than White girls and are more likely to exclude possible careers because of their sex, ethnicity or faith'73

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72 DCSF (2009) SFR Permanent and Fixed Period Exclusions from Schools in England 2007/08
73 Moving on up? Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean women and work Early findings from the EOC's investigation in England
3 Social policy

HIGHER EDUCATION

Advisors NUS Black Students

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Abolish student fees and loans for the poorest students.
2. Enable affirmative action in higher education institutions, where there is under-representation of Black students and staff. This should start with the Russell Group of Universities.
3. Increase investment in access to Graduate Education at least equal to what has been spent on the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.
4. Require the Equality and Human Rights Commission to ensure that institutions of Further Education and Higher Education are enforcing compliance with Race Legislation in Higher Education.
5. Abolish fees for all families with incomes of less than the median income, funded via a dedicated fund from the Dormant Accounts fund or the Social Investment Wholesale Bank (see BME third sector chapter) or a progressive system of taxation in which those individuals and companies with the highest incomes contribute most.
6. Institute targeted graduate support schemes for BME students to help with overcoming the differentials in finding jobs.

The current recession gives us even greater reason to invest in higher education. We will need a highly skilled workforce to compete in the global economy. The government spends £6 billion/yr on the higher education system, whilst it has spent an estimated £12 billion so far on the war in Afghanistan,74 and £850 billion on bailing out the banks75. It is also expected that £130 billion will be spent on replacing the Trident nuclear Weapons System76 and £5.3 billion on ID cards77.

Many BME students are more likely to come from a lower socio-economic background. (75% of Britain's BME Community live in 88 of Britain's poorest wards78.) It must be noted also that the numbers entering higher education from the lowest income backgrounds decreased by 0.4% between 2007 and 2008 - despite about £400m being ploughed into widening access to

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74 The Independent, 15 November 2009, War in Afghanistan: Not in our name, Jane Memick and Brian Brady in London and Kim Sengupta in Kabul
75 Reuters UK, 4 December, 2009, Bank bailout cost hits £850 bln http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKTRE5B300J20091204
76 Revealed: the £130bn cost of Trident replacement Richard Norton-Taylor
77 The Evening Standard 6 May 2009 Cost of ID cards hits £5.3 billion http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23686311-cost-of-id-cards-hits-5.3-billion.do
78 Centre for Racial Equality evidence, GLA reports under Ken Livingstone http://www.london.gov.uk/gla/publications/equalities/regeneration-BME.rtf
higher education (HESA)\textsuperscript{79}. The average student debt is over £20,000\textsuperscript{80} and BME graduates are less likely to find jobs than their White counterparts with half of young BME people unemployed\textsuperscript{81}.

BME Students are more likely to incur high levels of debt if they enter into higher education and are likely to take longer to pay it back as social inequalities mean they are being paid less even if they do get a job. Additionally with the threat of top up fees looming BME students are increasingly becoming deterred from entering higher education.

The costs of Higher education have shifted to individuals and families on the logic that this was necessary to increase the proportion of young people in Higher Education but the decision to freeze student numbers this year and at the same time consider increasing fees completely undermines this.

Equality and Access

While the proportion of BME students has increased from 14.9\% in 2003/4 to 17.2\% in 2007/8, BME students are not accessing the more prestigious universities. They are for example twice less likely to be accepted to Cambridge than White students. The success rate in 2008 for the 202 BME students who declared their ethnicity was 14 per cent. The success rate for White applicants was 31 per cent, and the overall success rate for applicants was 27 per cent.\textsuperscript{82} There are more BME students studying at London Metropolitan University than in the entire Russell Group (top 20 universities in the country), put together\textsuperscript{83}.

Research conducted by the UCU last year concluded that Further Education colleges are 100\% non-compliant with the legislation and that HE institutions were also lacking. The Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC), who monitor race relations legislation are fully aware that educational institutions are not complying.

Students with a typically African or Asian sounding name were likely to receive up to 12\% lower marks in institutions where anonymous marking was not in place (Office for Standards in Education 1999). On changing its system to anonymous marking Leeds University found the marks of BME Students and Women increased by up to 12\%.

When complying with legislation institutions would be going beyond simply having a race equality policy. They would be implementing key indicators such as anonymous marking, monitoring the admission and recruitment of BME staff and students, assessing the impact of all institutional policies on different racial groups, having regular consultations with BME groups, clearly allocating roles and responsibilities for promoting race equality, taking swift action against any staff or student who does not abide by the institutions race equality policy. The vast majority of educational institutions are not doing this and are preventing BME Students from achieving the very best they can. This is bad news for the individual, for race relations and the economy.

\textsuperscript{79} The Guardian, 9 June 2009, Higher fees will deter students from low-income backgrounds, Louise McMenenny
\textsuperscript{80} The Independent 13 August 2008 Average Student Debt now £4,500 a year Richard Garner
\textsuperscript{81} BBC News, 20 January 2010 Half of young black people unemployed, says report http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/8468308.stm
\textsuperscript{82} http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/4614150/Black-students-struggling-to-get-into-Cambridge.html
\textsuperscript{83} http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Education/documents/2006/01/03/tableethnicity030106.pdf
3 Social policy

HEALTH AND SOCIAL CARE

Advisors Afiya Trust

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Call an independent inquiry with guidance from the EHRC and the Care Quality Commission into the racial disparities in health services and outcomes and the failures of the Delivering Race Equality programme for Mental Health. It should then produce an action plan with targets to eliminate inequalities and to bring health experiences of minority communities on a par with the general population.

2. Ensure that World Class Commissioning competencies build in race equality explicitly.

3. Set targets and deliver solutions through its partnership between the Ministry of Justice and Department of Health regarding how they will improve delivering race equality programmes to improve the mental well being of BME offenders in criminal institutions.

4. Set up a national BME health and social care advisory group - to ensure a focus on race equality - which reports directly to the Secretary of State for Health and the Chief Medical Officer.

5. Develop a clear strategy for more effective consultation on policy development and public sector reform with BME organisations, service users and carers.

6. Establish a mandatory duty on health and social care services to report on outcomes to service user organisations, BME health forums at local, regional and national levels.

7. Prioritise cross-sectoral working on health inequalities and racial equalities.

8. Enable an equality and race focus on the Increasing Access to Psychological Therapies programme new equalities emphasis in the New Horizons policy and that young people of school age in particular are targeted to ensure that they can gain access to appropriate services at an early stage and avoid contact with secondary services in later life.

Research in the area of health and social care shows that Britain's ethnic minority communities experience poorer health and access to health and social care when compared to the general population. The extent of health and social care inequalities varies from community to community and shows the need for focused support and work with each community. For example:
• Prevalence of stroke among African Caribbean and South Asian men is 70% higher than the average\textsuperscript{84}

• Infant mortality rate in England and Wales for children born to mothers from Pakistan is double the average\textsuperscript{85}

• Young Asian women are more than twice as likely to commit suicide as young White women\textsuperscript{86}

• Young people from BME groups show disproportionate experience of many of the known risk factors for developing mental health problems, including exclusion from school, being in care, involvement with the criminal justice system and homelessness\textsuperscript{87}

• The risk of cardiovascular and renal complications is greater in patients from South Asian backgrounds, with 50% higher mortality rate\textsuperscript{88}

• People from BME communities are up to six times more likely to develop diabetes\textsuperscript{89}

• 60% of Asian and 54% Black (African /Caribbean) people aged 65 and over were affected by limiting long-term illness compared to 50% of the general population of that age group\textsuperscript{90}

• Self-reported health problems like anxiety, respiratory problems like asthma and bronchitis and chest pain were twice to five times more prevalent among Gypsy Traveller communities\textsuperscript{91}

• BME men and women have higher incidence of cancer such as prostate, oral, stomach, liver and report poor experience of cancer care services compared to the general population\textsuperscript{92}

• White Irish, Bangladeshi and Pakistani groups had the highest rates of spending 50 hours or more as unpaid informal carers.\textsuperscript{93} The figures for the BME communities may be higher as many carers are hidden and often do not label themselves as ‘carers.’

• Many minority ethnic communities have poor access to health and social care services for a variety of reasons including language barriers, lack of information, social isolation, lack of culturally sensitive services and negative attitudes about communities.

\textsuperscript{84} Race equality in health: the key to world class commissioning. Race for Health http://www.raceforhealth.org/pdf/Race_equality_in_health.pdf [Accessed 13th January 2010]
\textsuperscript{85} Race equality in health: the key to world class commissioning
\textsuperscript{86} Race equality in health: the key to world class commissioning
\textsuperscript{87} Kurtz, Z and C Street, ‘Mental health services for young people from black and minority ethnic backgrounds: the current challenge,’ Journal of Children’s Services, 1.3, 2006
\textsuperscript{88} Ethnic minority communities: Insight presentation. Department of Health, 2008
\textsuperscript{89} ‘Diabetes and the disadvantaged: reducing health inequalities in the UK’ report by the All Parliamentary Group for Diabetes and Diabetes UK World Diabetes Day, 14 November 2006
\textsuperscript{90} Katebama, S and R Matthews, Ageing & Ethnicity in England: A Demographic Profile of BME Older People in England, Age Concern, 2006
\textsuperscript{91} Parry, G et al, The health status of gypsies and travellers in England: Report of Department of Health inequalities in health research initiative. University of Sheffield, 2004
Several reasons have been posited by research for health inequalities experienced by Britain's ethnic minority communities. These include individual/community factors including cultural behaviours and structural explanations such as social deprivation and exclusion\(^\text{94}\). Equally compelling is the evidence that racism and racist victimisation and discrimination can affect a person's and community's health and their help seeking behaviours adversely\(^\text{95}\).

Ignorance about communities and their needs can lead to poor service delivery. Fear of racial discrimination and lack of information about services can lead to people not accessing services when they need them most. It is this situation that needs changing if people from minority ethnic communities are to have equal and equitable access to health and social care.

The Afiya Trust's consultations on the green paper "Changing the Shape of Social Care," on the mental health strategy document "New Horizons," and on the racial justice manifesto (which involved over 300 people) showed that race equality needs to remain firmly on the agenda if future policy development is to work positively for BME communities. A key task is to empower BME communities to encourage dialogue and engagement with local and central governments and public sector agencies. This has to be done through social marketing campaigns, good commissioning practices, rigorous and focused research and developing new approaches to understanding diversity and community issues\(^\text{96}\).

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96 Vernon, P (2009). 'A manifesto for change in health and social care for BME communities,' Diversity in Health and Care, 6,3
3 Social policy

MENTAL HEALTH

Advisors Black Mental Health UK, Afiya Trust

Background to present government policy

It has been estimated that the cost of the over-representation of BME people in psychiatric hospitals could be up to £100 million in London alone (Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2006).

The route into hospital for BME service users tends to be of a more coercive nature involving, the police, courts or prisons (Keating et al, 2002). And there have been a number of tragic losses of life during the process. One of the most notorious cases was the death of David Rocky Bennett in 2001 at the Norvic Clinic in Norwich at the hands of nurses during a ‘control and restraint incident’. The case led to a public inquiry and recommendations for radical change in the way that mental health services are delivered and monitored (Blofeld, 2003).

- Rates of detention under the Mental Health Act are higher than average for Black Caribbean, Black African, Other Black, Mixed, Other White and Pakistani groups (in some cases by 20% to 36%)\(^97\)
- African Caribbean's are 40% of those detained in high secure forensic units\(^98\) (Ashworth, Rampton and Broadmoor).
- 10% of all African Caribbean people in forensic units have never committed any crime\(^99\)
- The average stay of a Black patient in forensic care is 9.5 years\(^100\).
- African Caribbean's do not have a higher prevalence of mental illness than any other ethnic group\(^101\).

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98 Mental Health Act Commission, Count Me In Census 2007, Commission for Healthcare Audit and Inspection.


This is the background to the Delivering Race Equality (DRE) policy that was inaugurated in 2005 as part of the government's response to the Blofeld Inquiry report into the death of David Bennett (Department of Health, 2005). It was one of the most radical responses of any government to the findings of a public inquiry and certainly the main recommendation of the DRE policy can be considered as some of the most ambitious proposals ever made to address inequality in public services.

The vision for DRE was that the strategy would be based around three distinct objectives or 'building blocks':

- More appropriate and responsive services
- More community engagement
- Higher quality information, more intelligently used

And by this year, 2010, our mental health services would be characterised by:

- A reduction in the rate of admission of people from BME communities to psychiatric inpatient units
- A reduction in the disproportionate rates of compulsory detention of BME service users in inpatient units
- A more balanced range of effective therapies, such as peer support services and psychotherapeutic and counselling treatments, as well as pharmacological interventions that are culturally appropriate and effective

In addition to these wide reaching ambition on service outcomes, the DRE policy also aimed to address the second building block of 'more community engagement' with the recruitment of 500 community development workers who would promote 'healthier communities by action to engage communities in planning services'.

DRE policy also included the establishment of a number of Focused Implementations Sites (FIS) which, with the aid of special funding from the Department of Heath, would act as beacons for best practice and from where change could be disseminated to the wider mental health sector in the NHS.

"Young South Asian women are over-represented amongst suicides."\(^{102}\)

The aspect of 'higher quality information, more intelligently used' was addressed by an annual census of all detained patients in England and Wales that would be the job of the then Mental Health Act Commission (now been absorbed into the newly formed Care Quality Commission).
This annual census would be a key component of showing whether the DRE policy was working and provide data that was designed to be of use to service planners and managers as well as clinical audit.

Another important aspect of the DRE policy was the so-called ‘dashboard’ (London Development Unit, 2008) a dataset aimed at enabling healthcare organisations to measure their progress towards DRE's goals against six headline priorities:

- Access to early intervention services
- Access to crisis resolution/home treatment services
- Use of assertive outreach services
- Access to psychological therapies
- Impact of community treatment orders
- Recruitment and use of community development workers

DRE was from the start more focused on collecting data than a joined up strategy of change involving a number of agencies, namely: the criminal justice system, social services, housing and education services in order to deliver the ambitions objectives. Sadly, the annual Count Me In census of all patients detained in psychiatric hospitals under the Mental Health Act has reported a litany of more bad news of actually worsening outcomes for most BME groups who use the mental health services (Care Quality Commission, 2009).

**Worsening outcomes for BME patients reported last year**

As the Care Quality Commission itself admits: 'this year's Count Me In census shows that people from Black (African/Caribbean) and White/Black mixed groups are three times more likely than average to be detained under the Act. Furthermore, there is no evidence of a decline in admission rates among BME groups, one of the 12 goals of the Department of Health's action plan, Delivering Race Equality.' There are similar disparities in access to mental health services via the criminal justice system: 'Black Caribbean, Black African and White/Black Caribbean Mixed groups were 40-60% more likely than average to be referred via the criminal justice agencies.'

Detention under the Mental Health Act reflects similar disparities. Under Section 3 of the Act that allows for the detention of patients for up to 28 days for assessment 'Rates of detention under this section were higher than average among the Other White, Bangladeshi, Other Asian, Black African, Other Black, Chinese and Other groups by between 22% and double'.

Section 3 of the Act allows for detention of patients for up to 6 months for treatment and is thereafter renewable. Here there are even greater disparities between the rates of access for different ethnic groups. 'Rates were higher than average among the Black Caribbean, Other Black and White/Black African Mixed groups by 30%, 27% and 44% respectively.'

Even the new so called 'community treatment orders' initiated by the Mental Health Act 2007 which 'allow for supervised community treatment to be provided for up to six months', there are also massive ethnic disparities, even greater than compulsory admissions to hospital under the Mental Health Act. Under these powers 'the rate was higher than average in the Indian, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Other Black groups by 43% to 87%'.

'Ethnic minority women are up to four times more likely than White women to be admitted to psychiatric hospital'\(^{103}\)

Professor Sashi Sashidharan consultant psychiatrist and panel member on the David Bennett Inquiry said: 'I find no comfort in these findings at all they offer no hope. The figures in this report are consistent with all other findings that have been published in the last few years that show that the government's DRE initiative has failed. We would like to know what those responsible for DRE at the Mental Health Development Unit (MHDU) are going to do about it.' (Black Mental Health UK, 2009)
3 Social policy

CRIMINAL JUSTICE AND POLICING

Advisors The Metropolitan Black Police Association, National Black Police Association, Society of Black Lawyers

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Abolish Section 44 stops (Terrorism Act 2000) and to establish clear race targets to reduce the numbers of PACE and Section 60 (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994) Stops and Searches until there is no racial disparity in the numbers being stopped.

2. Take all non-convicted people off the DNA database and respect the decision from the European Court of Human Rights, that the retention of innocent people's DNA is illegal.

3. Invest monies recovered from criminal activity in community sector anti-crime projects working in the poorest neighbourhoods.

4. Implement affirmative action legislation that would allow the setting of national recruitment quotas in an effort to expedite and increase the number of Black recruits entering the police service and other areas of the CJS where the workforce is not reflective of the general population.

5. Institute a public inquiry into the causes of disproportionality across every aspect of the CJS, from stop and search through to arrest, cautions, sentencing, incarceration, employment and representation.

6. Set national targets to reduce the number of young BME people entering the Criminal Justice System. This should be cross departmental to include the Police Service, Ministry Of Justice, Home Office, Department of Communities and Local Government, Department for Children Schools and Families, the Youth Justice Board. This recommendation is seen as complementing the existing Government response to the House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee.

Criminal Justice and Policing Overview.

Access to justice that is both fair and equal is the fundamental cornerstone of any liberal democratic society. The concept of inclusive British citizenship is informed by the idea that all are equal before the law regardless of race, faith or gender. But racial disparities within criminal justice agencies continues to represent one of the biggest challenges to Government. It is also the
area where the consequences of Government failure to tackle poverty\textsuperscript{104} among the poorest BME communities that racism and disadvantage can be seen to be most graphically illustrated.

If you are Black or brown British citizen you are subject to a process of a Criminal Justice System (CJS) that starts to discriminate at the point of contact for both suspects and victim alike. It is in the police stations, courtrooms and prisons throughout the country that BME people's perception of British justice and the reality of their citizenship status is understood.

Some Key facts.

BME peoples reported higher levels of perceived discrimination within the Criminal Justice System. 31\% of people from minority ethnic groups feel that one or more of the five Criminal Justice System organisations would treat them worse than people of other races. This shows no significant change from 2001 (33\%) or 2003 (31\%).\textsuperscript{105}

In 2007 26\% of the UK prison population was from BME. This figure has increased hugely over the last 15 years. Current forecast projects an incarceration rate of 169.1 per 100,000 by 2014, the highest proportion in Western Europe. We believe that unless urgent action is take now we could see the BME prisoner population rise to 35\% -50\% within the next decade.

BME communities are seven times more likely to be subjected to stop and search. Of the searches carried out in 2007/08, 13\% were of BME people, 3\% of people of Mixed ethnicity, 8\% of Asian people and 1\% of people of Chinese or Other ethnic origin. This is an increase of 8\% on 2006/07, and is the highest figure since 1998/9 some two years later there were major civil disturbances in large part in response to what was perceived as oppressive and intrusive police tactics.

BME communities were 3.8 times more likely to be arrested an increase on the previous year. BME are significantly less likely to be cautioned 16\% compared to 24\% of White citizens. Offences committed by African and or Caribbean young offenders were more likely to receive a custodial sentence when compared to offences committed by the other ethnic groups.

"Between 2007 and 2008 there was a 7 per cent increase in the number of prisoners from Black and minority ethnic background compared to a 3 per cent increase in White prisoners.\textsuperscript{106}"

27\% of the Prison population is BME. They receive longer sentences than their White counterparts when tried and convicted at a Crown Court. Whilst 1.3 per 1000 of White British citizens are in jail, a staggering 6.8 per 1000 African Caribbean citizens are imprisoned. That number is rising each year.

Among adult sentenced prisoners, 67\% of the Black African/Caribbean offenders, 60\% of Asian offenders, 59\% of mixed ethnicity offenders and 47\% of the Chinese or Other ethnicity offenders

\textsuperscript{104} Ministry of Justice Race Equality Scheme 2008 - 2011

\textsuperscript{105} A Home Office Citizenship Survey found that BME groups believe they would be treated worse than people from other races by the CJS, (Home Office Citizenship Survey 2004: People Families and Communities Research Study 289)

\textsuperscript{106} An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK, 2010
were serving a sentence of four years or more compared with 54% White adult sentenced offenders.\textsuperscript{107}

Reports\textsuperscript{108} published on this issue over the last 20 years each have looked at the issue of race from the individual departmental perspective.

But these individual ethnic monitoring systems cannot provide a comprehensive system wide overview identifying the effects of discrimination. CJS agencies have real practicable problems in sharing meaningful race equality monitoring data. Each has a bespoke IT monitoring system incapable of integrating or cross referencing this data with other agencies. Each has its own distinct ethnic monitoring categories. These reports provide partial insight but no complete overview and, as a consequence, all fail to measure institutional racism that results in unequal treatment of BME communities.

What is needed is a complete system overview that is able to track an individual's treatment - broken down by ethnicity - from the point of arrest right through all the various stages of the CJS.

\textbf{Institutional racism and Ethnic Monitoring.}

Despite this wealth of evidence, (and x years after the Lawrence Inquiry that put a spotlight on institutional racism in the CJS), the Government is now arguing that "institutional racism" is no longer a valid analysis. (See Home Affairs Select Committee Report\textsuperscript{109}). This trend could lead to ineffective and incremental policy responses are hugely under-resourced and lack the political priority to address the roots of the problems.

Current policy inertia demonstrates the obvious lack of any real commitment from Government to reducing racial bias in the system.

Despite legal requirement, there is no comprehensive CJS ethnic monitoring system.

Compliance with equality monitoring is inconsistent across the agencies. Metropolitan Police Service and National Offender Management (NOMS Probation) are examples of good practice. The Magistrates Courts and Prison's (NOMS Prison) are examples of the worst. Current ethnic monitoring figures suggest monitoring compliance of 22% within Magistrates Courts whilst Crown Courts are delivering 81% compliance. The problem here is by far the vast majority of criminal cases are heard and dealt with by magistrates.\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{107} Ministry of Justice: Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System - 2007/8
\textsuperscript{109} Home Affairs Select Committee Report; Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System 2007
\textsuperscript{110} Ministry of Justice: Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System - 2007/8
Victims of Crime

Black people are at higher risk of becoming a victim of any crimes captured by the British Crime Survey.\textsuperscript{111}

Racial incidents rose by 3.7\% in 2006/7 and Racially and Religiously aggravated offences saw a 2.6\% increase in 2006/7, Detection rates was 41\% whilst non aggravated similar offences the detection rate was 69\%.

Levels of homicide in both BME communities are on the rise areas such as London, West Midlands, Greater Manchester. Within that figure we see a high proportion of BME women represented in domestic violence murders.

\textit{'A woman experiencing domestic violence contacts agencies 11 times before getting the help she needs and this rises to 17 for Black women'}\textsuperscript{112}

Practitioners in the Criminal Justice System

There has been a slow increase in the number BME groups employed by CJS, and thus there is little substantive change the workforce ethnic profile of the criminal justice system. The Prison Service's representation of BME officers in 2006 was 4.8\%, and in the CPS increased to 14.8\% in 2006, the Probation Service has increased its representation from 11.8\% in 2005/6 to 12.9\% in 2006/7. These national figures need to be broken down against regional demographics to assess to what extent the CJS is representative at regional level. In addition there is very low representation of BME people at the senior grades with all CJS agencies. There remain areas where progress has been almost non-existent such as the Parole Board (2.4\%), Judiciary (3.5\%) and Magistrates (6.9\%).\textsuperscript{113}

Policing Stop and Search and the Office of Constable.

The socioeconomic position of the African, Asian and Caribbean descent communities drive increasing numbers of BME people into the CJS. This starts with a culture of informal racial profiling among the British Police Service, leading to BME people being targeted for police attention.

Ministry of Justice statistics showed that the number of African and Caribbean people being stopped and searched under counterterrorism laws rose by 322\%, compared with 277\% for Asian people and 185\% for White people from (year) to (year).

\textsuperscript{111} Ministry of Justice Race Equality Scheme 2008 - 2011
\textsuperscript{112} Black and Minority Ethnic Women in the UK - Fawcett Society 2005
\textsuperscript{113} Ministry of Justice Race Equality Scheme 2008 -2011
Further, those BME "suspects who are stopped and searched" are led deeper into the criminal justice system.

The historical experience of African and Caribbean communities is now being applied to Asian communities, with an emphasis on those assumed to be Muslim's. The application of Terrorist Act 2000 legislation has resulted in a huge increase in the criminalization of Asian communities. The European Court of Human Rights has determined the Terrorism Act lacks legal safeguards and has led to misuse and abuse of the power.

The Metropolitan Black Police Association (the Association) has expressed serious concerns regarding the blanket use of section 60 of the 1994 Criminal Justice and Public Order Act. This Act allows the police to search anyone in a designated area at a specific time when the police believe there is threat of serious violence. There has been a 64% increase in the number of BME people searched under this section 60 power compared with a 41% increase for White people.114

The Metropolitan Black Police Association believes that the tactic is being used routinely without evidence or intelligence, resulting in disproportionate stop and search of young BME men.

**Summary of Government action on racism and the CJS.**

The Home Affairs Committee report Young Black People and The Criminal Justice System, published in May 2007, said,

"Until such a time as the number of young Black people in the criminal justice system begins to mirror that of the population as a whole, we urge government to review, revise and redouble on its efforts to address over representation and its causes. A great deal depends on its success in doing so."

To tackle the existing disparities, the government enacted Public Service Agreement (PSA 24) as part of Treasury 2007 Spending Review.

PSA 24 is measured against five performance indicators one of which is:

Identify, understand and address race disproportionality at key stage in the CJS through consistent collection, analysis and use of good quality ethnicity data;

The Government is also obliged to publish race equality statistics annually Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991 states that:

"The Secretary of State shall in each year publish such information as he considers expedient for the purpose of facilitating the performance of those engaged in the administration of justice to avoid discriminating against any persons on the ground of race or sex or any other improper ground."
3 Social policy

Housing

Advisors Steve Biko Housing Association, Liverpool

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Ensure that mortgage lending by publicly owned financial institutions is inclusive, sensitive and race-impact tested to meet the needs of BME customers. Lending practices should be monitored by ethnicity.
2. Support the re-establishment of BME Housing Associations and with them the prospect of creating independent funding in the BME enterprise sector.
3. Investigate the impact of economic downturn on BME communities and their access to the housing market.
4. Mandate that local authorities, the Homes and Communities Agency and the Tenant Services Agency develop comprehensive strategies to better prevent and respond to homelessness for BME people.¹¹⁵
5. Ensure that each local housing authority monitors incidents of racial harassment in the housing sector and publish annual reports.
6. Ensure that all providers of housing implement anti-racist training for their staff.
7. Increase the supply of housing that caters for BME needs i.e. larger family accommodation for extended families.

In the UK poverty is broadly defined as 'household income below 60 per cent of median income'.¹¹⁶ BME communities are in general located in the most deprived urban areas, housed in the most run-down properties lacking amenities and support.

"BME groups' housing needs and demands are influenced by demographic, economic and spatial factors, as well as by cultural preferences and historical factors".¹¹⁷

The 2001 census shows that for home ownership the White British average is 72%. The Indian population possesses a notably higher degree of home ownership reaching nearly

¹¹⁵ ibid.
¹¹⁶ For more details see, http://www.theyworkforyou.com/
¹¹⁷ ‘Housing needs and aspirations of ethnic minority communities’ (Oct 2008), Housing Corporation
80%, for Pakistanis home ownership is close to the average with 71%, however, nearly half of the Bangladeshi population reside within council or other social housing (Peach 2006: 175). This is the second highest degree of dependency on social housing after the African population (Peach 2006: 175).

Median total household wealth varies greatly across BME communities, from only £15,000 for Bangladeshi households to around £75,000 for Black Caribbean, £97,000 for Pakistani households and £200,000 or more for Indian and White British households. Differences by religious affiliation are similarly as vast, from £42,000 for Muslim households to £229,000 for Sikh and £422,000 for Jewish households. It is clear that there is much diversity between BME communities and they are not all in the same socio-economic location, in addition to this, each minority ethnic and religious group exhibits internal inequalities of a kind that reflect those of the country as a whole. However, socio-economic structures do not properly account for the position of BME communities, either in terms of the distinctive disadvantages or of the advantages of specific minority groups.

Almost a quarter (23%) of the total Bangladeshi population concentrated in the single London Borough of Tower Hamlets (Peach 2006: 177).

There is still yet to be seen any marked signs of significant improvement in housing conditions for BME communities in the UK, in fact figures show the contrary and this has only been increased with the recession which continues to impact and worsen the circumstances for these communities. The statistics remain stubborn and depressing revealing the stark reality of the relationship between housing and BME communities.

BME households tend to live in more overcrowded conditions and figures illustrate that Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black African households experience the most severe overcrowding. Black Africans and Bangladeshis are more overcrowded in social sector housing than in other tenures. This is a problem more so in London particularly in areas as Tower Hamlets, Newham and Ealing, where a greater proportion of Black Africans and Bangladeshis are concentrated, these areas have the worst overcrowding in England.

Despite some pockets of relative prosperity, the fact remains that BME people are still the most likely to be unemployed, to live on a low income, and to live in deprived areas compared to their White counterparts. It comes as no surprise then, and especially more so in the current climate, that BME communities remain the most vulnerable to social exclusion generally and to homelessness more specifically:

120 Ibid.
121 Ibid.
122 Ibid.
123 ‘Housing needs and aspirations of ethnic minority communities’ (Oct 2008), Housing Corporation
124 Tackling homelessness amongst ethnic minority households (Sept 2005), Crown Copyright
125 Ibid.
“Currently, people from ethnic minority backgrounds are around three times more likely to become homeless than their White counterparts. Amongst the ethnic minority populations, those of Black African and Black Caribbean origins are twice as likely to be accepted as homeless as those of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins. Such over-representation of ethnic minority households in homelessness statistics is found across all regions in England. It is therefore critical that local authorities and their partner agencies develop comprehensive strategies to better prevent and respond to homelessness in ethnic minority communities”.  

As a result of living in some of the most deprived material and physical circumstances with lower paid jobs and poorer housing, BME communities are additionally subject to psychological difficulties with stress and ill health combined with a daily battering of racial discrimination and harassment. In addition to this it is also important to point out that debates surrounding problems with housing have been exploited in the past by the far right to ignite tensions between BME communities and national majority communities (such as the BNP’s ‘Africans for Essex’ claim, which was proved to be false).

The accessibility of sufficient, reasonably priced and secure housing is crucial for BME communities who clearly continue to experience the worst housing conditions in Britain. The continuation of racial discrimination and inequality maintains a persisting cycle of depravation and as such BME communities are the most excluded, the most marginalized and the most oppressed. In light of the current recession it is perhaps more pressing to put housing as a key priority on the agenda to meet the needs of BME communities especially with rising house prices and restrictions on mortgage lending.

126 ibid.
127 ibid.
4 Global and international issues

THE ENVIRONMENT

Advisors Capacity Global, Bristol Development Agency

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Commit to improving evidence based environmental policy interventions that are inclusive and specific to BME people in relation to cause, effect and remedies and ensure such policy includes a review of impacts on BME communities.

2. Work with BME organisations to take forward the 'agreements' of the Copenhagen Accord on Climate Change noting that it is not a legally binding document and very little work has been undertaken to assess the impact on BME people in the UK and around the world.

3. Improve and develop green job and low carbon community opportunities for BME communities.

4. Ensure that there are research councils and major research institutions providing funding streams for specific research on potential impacts of environmental inequalities on BME communities.

5. Support strategic partnerships between mainstream environmental organizations and BME organizations/communities.

6. Work with and support Local Authorities to improve quality of green spaces and ensure that all local authorities have completed impact assessments in relation to their climate change policy.

7. Call on private funders and foundations to support environmental projects and initiatives led by BME groups and communities.

8. Call a public research inquiry into the effects of climate change on migration and race relations.

Environmental and Social Justice

Protecting the natural and urban environment is crucial element of sustainable development. It brings both social and economic benefits and sustainable development is a UK quality of life indicator. It is also crucially integrated into the UK's commitment to improve the environmental quality for all. At the same time the UK has legal and non legal

commitments under the Aarhus Convention\textsuperscript{130} and Agenda 21 to ensure the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless, of race to implement and enforce the right to a clean and healthy environment for all. In practice that means that no group of people, including race or economic social group should bear the burdens of negative environment consequences resulting from law, policy, practice, or omission\textsuperscript{131}. These are also the principles of environmental justice and equality\textsuperscript{132}.

Research findings however suggest that there are systematic indifferences and a need to understand social impacts of key environmental issues in relation to race such as: race and planning,\textsuperscript{133} race and regeneration\textsuperscript{134}, race and environmental risk\textsuperscript{135}; and race and access to green spaces\textsuperscript{136}. Clarity in all of these areas is crucial to economic inclusion, wealth creation, community cohesion, sustainable communities, localism and total place. The consequences of not understanding these issues can lead to a deficit in evidence based policy and action on environmental inequalities that may specifically impact BME communities.

Climate Change

Poverty and economic exclusion mitigate in a grossly disproportionate way against the sustainability of BME communities. This is as much a problem if not more with regard to the effects of climate change. As Professor of Environmental Studies Jonathan Patz says, "Those least able to cope and least responsible for the greenhouse gases that cause global warming are most affected…Herein lies an enormous global ethical challenge." These concerns are equally reflected in the UK at national, regional and local levels and policies that effectively combat tackle climate change will also need tackle poverty and inequality.\textsuperscript{137} Racial impact assessments (RIAs) are a crucial and legally required tool for understanding local climate change impacts on BME people. Developing RIAs through local authorities provides a national picture for what actions are required to ensure non-discriminative climate change policy.

Science tells us that to prevent some of the worst impacts we need to keep average global temperature rise well below 2 °C and reduce warming as fast as possible. To achieve this, industrialised countries have to cut their overall greenhouse gas emissions by 40% below 1990 levels by 2020, and developing nations as a whole need to reduce their projected growth in emissions 15-30% over the same timescale.


\textsuperscript{132} 'So What is Environmental Justice?', Capacity Global, 2007 http://www.capacity.org.uk/downloads/what_is_env_jus.pdf

\textsuperscript{133} Race and Planning the UK Experience, Thomas H, 2000, Routledge

\textsuperscript{134} Regeneration and the race equality duty: report of a formal investigation in England, Scotland and Wales, Commission for Race Equality, 2007

\textsuperscript{135} Distributional impacts of effects of environmental policy, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Serret Y and Johnstone N, 2006

\textsuperscript{136} Urban Green Nation. Closing the Information Gap- CABE Space.

\textsuperscript{137} Tackling climate change, reducing poverty: The first report of the Roundtable on Climate Change and Poverty in the UK, new economics foundation and Oxfam UK.
There are various maps, such as in a recent issue of New Scientist and also in the magazine Nature, showing the countries worst affected, and we find that the majority of these are in the Third World. For example, Africa produces some of the lowest amounts of CO2, but is likely to have some of the highest death rates. According to the IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change), the greatest single impact of climate change could be on human migration. A recent issue of Forced Migration Review was devoted to Climate Change and Displacement, and it stated that this entire area of climate change is badly under-researched.

Climate change could be a key factor in race relations in the UK, Europe and other developed countries, with so many people from our countries likely to need refuge in places such as the UK. Along with the human casualties, the environment has also been exploited and there are many examples of damage such as the desertification caused by over-cultivation or unsustainable irrigation, and corporate mass poisonings as in Bhopal or the Niger Delta. Thinking of it this way climate change is just one of a number of kinds of environmental damage, except it is affecting the whole planet - including the 'first' world who cannot ignore it any longer.

The term “climate change" as a cause of future problems must also be questioned. If climate change is a symptom of numerous power-greedy processes causing various kinds of environmental depletion, is it diversionary to use it as a cause. Decades of environmental depletion have been affecting so-called Third World economies with raised levels of poverty, illness and mortality and such recipients of these effects are currently enduring what the West is contemplating.

Green Jobs and Low Carbon Communities

The UK's commitment to tackling climate change could transform the country into a more prosperous place to live in if advantages to take potential advantages to create green jobs, and continue to invest in development of low carbon communities. For example, a predicted 1.2 million people by 2020 could be in green jobs if proper investment is created. It is important that BME people who are presently under-represented in the environment sector are provided skills and job opportunities in this green transition.

This particularly important as some BME groups are overall at a higher risk of long term unemployment. Policies of the next government need to ensure that BME people are able to gain skills and employment from cross sector initiatives to develop and provide green jobs and skills opportunities. Green jobs or the 'greening' of jobs must be part and parcel of enhancing environmental quality and economic inclusion. This means that it is about investing in green jobs and training with good wages and equal opportunities and can give a social and economic uplift to new the green transitions and the development of low carbon

138 UK Low Carbon Transition Plan, National Strategy for Climate Change and Energy 2009, DECC
140 So what is Environmental Justice? Capacity Global Briefing Paper, July 2007
http://www.capacity.org.uk/downloads/what_is_env_jus.pdf
Investment in low carbon communities is vital to help understand how communities and neighbourhoods can help to decarbon society. Investment into these community models should also be equitably distributed in BME neighbourhoods or wards. This type of support can help boost engagement and environmental behaviour change. This is crucial for active support for meeting aspirations through low carbon initiatives that meet the aspirations and improve quality of life. As noted by Sir Nicholas Stern\textsuperscript{141} it is more community-focused solutions that will often create the best forms of effective collective response to climate change.

**Investment in BME Environmental Projects and Decision Making**

The environment sector including environmental NGO's, heavily influence environmental policy. Whilst they have helped to move on environmental issues, they are overall failing to tackle diversity within their campaigns and within their own organisations. Moreover BME community groups and NGO's find it difficult to get funding for environmental projects as they are increasingly concerned that funders are 'ghettoising' BME funding into specific issues.\textsuperscript{142}

Environmental participatory processes need to be designed to be inclusive of BME communities. This will not only develop a new sense of networking and confidence across isolated BME environmentalists but help to improve mainstream environmental decision making. The environmental agenda in the UK thus needs to be more inclusive of BME activists and groups to enable their voices and contribution to make an impact on the environmental scene.

By developing BME environmental dialogue and making their presence known, the aspirations for BME environmental inclusion, engagement and participation can be achieved. It is thus vital that BME communities are fully acknowledged in the environmental concerns affecting the UK, mainstream organisations in the environment sector must therefore include BME participation as a priority in terms of equality, access and education.\textsuperscript{143}

‘Reaching out and engaging with BME communities should not be restricted to certain sections or departments or even one individual within an organisation. It should be mainstreamed within the organisation's overall objectives and become the responsibility of everyone working in the environment sector’\textsuperscript{144}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[141] The Green Collar Economy, How One Solution Can Fix Our Two Biggest Problems, Jones V, 2009, Harper One
\item[142] A Blueprint for a safer plan, How to Manage Climate Change and Create A New Era Progress and Prosperity, Stern, N 2009, Bodley Head
\item[143] Hard to Reach? Diversity and Environment Manifesto, Capacity Global & Community Development Foundation, 2009
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
4 Global and international issues

Migrants and asylum seekers

Advisors Jewish Council For Racial Equality JCORE

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Allow asylum seekers to work while they are waiting for a decision and provide an amnesty for all asylum seekers who have been waiting more than three years for a decision.
2. Respond with an effective action plan to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) concerns about increasing racial prejudice against ethnic minorities, asylum seekers and immigrants reflected in the UK press and media and the reported lack of effectiveness of the Press Complaints Commission to deal with this issue.
3. Support the Citizens for Sanctuary Pledge which is directed at securing justice for people fleeing persecution and rebuilding public support for sanctuary, as a basis for initiating and sustaining a more positive public discourse around asylum and refugee issues.
4. Ensure that there are fair processes in place and appropriate levels of support for all those seeking protection. Immigration detention should only be used as an extreme last resort for very limited periods of time and children should never be detained for administrative convenience.
6. Abolish measures that criminalise asylum seekers including detention, imprisonment of undocumented arrivals and electronic tagging.
7. Ensure legal action is taken against newspapers that are inciting hostility against asylum seekers with their headlines and issue media guidelines on asylum and immigration.
8. Review and make policy amendments to the detention practices of children in light of the Royal College of paediatricians research
9. Instigate an inquiry into racism and abuse in all detention centres
10. Integrate into the curriculum, education about the benefits of migration, and our moral responsibility to asylum seekers.

"Our nation provided sanctuary to Huguenots fleeing religious persecution in 17th century France, Jews fleeing the Nazi regime in the 1930s, Ugandan Asians forced out by Idi Amin in the 1970s, Bosnians escaping ethnic cleansing in the 1990s and Zimbabweans seeking a safe haven today. Our tradition of providing sanctuary is part of what makes Britain great. That tradition is under threat. Yet over two-thirds of the public still think it is important that the UK provides sanctuary to people fleeing persecution. We agree. We believe that sanctuary should not just be part of the UK’s history. It should be part of our future too"

Citizens for Sanctuary Pledge

This manifesto actively supports Citizens for Sanctuary campaign. See below and http://sanctuarypledge.org.uk/

Debates surrounding the impact of migration on public services in British society, often fuelled by the media and moral panics, have long been prominent in public life. The concentration of unemployment and worklessness amongst migrants, combined with poor living conditions and the limited life chances available in some urban and also rural environments, pose real threats to social cohesion.

There is a vast amount of research which highlights the positive impact made by immigration on the British economy, however, many migrants still remain extremely vulnerable and disadvantaged within all sectors of society. The higher rates of social exclusion, poverty and healthcare experienced by migrants illustrates that there are clear gaps which continue to persist between immigrants and the national majority population.

In December 2009 medical researchers from the Royal College of paediatricians revealed that the detention of hundreds of children in immigration camps across Britain is harmful and ministers were urged to change the policy. The call for a new approach to the treatment of young refugees and their families follows a report which found that their detention in the asylum system was linked to serious physical and psychological harm. Britian detains approximately 1000 children per year in its Immigration Removal centres and GPs and psychiatrists described children seeking asylum in the UK as the most vulnerable in society who required special and humane treatment. It is evident then that the next government should take this matter seriously and review and amend the policy to prevent these children from experiencing such poor treatment.

146 www.citizensforsanctuary.org.uk
149 Migrant Rights Network (Sept 2007) Towards a Progressive Migration Policy, see http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk/downloads/policy_reports/progressivepolicy.pdf
150 Information obtained from Migrants Rights Network (March 2009) Understanding Irregular Migration in Northern Europe, see http://www.migrantsrights.org.uk/downloads/policy_reports/clandestino_workshop_report.pdf
151  Robert Verkaik, The Independent, Thursday, 10 December 2009
Figures show that the employment rate among immigrant Somalis is just 12 per cent, compared with 62 per cent for all other new immigrants.\textsuperscript{153} Asylum-seekers in the UK currently receive just over 50\% of income support and since 2002 they have been prohibited from working,\textsuperscript{154} and although there are no official figures on destitution among refugees and asylum seekers in England and Wales, estimates range from 300,000 to 500,000.\textsuperscript{155} Part of the better understanding would be to demonstrate the fiscal benefits of those refugees that are allowed to work. The Home Office states that accession nationals, between May and September 2004 alone contributed approximately £120 million to UK GDP and paid approximately £20 million in tax and national insurance.\textsuperscript{156}

Two recent small-scale studies focused on the experience of destitution in two cities: Leeds and Leicester. The Leeds study was conducted on behalf of the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust Inquiry into Destitution among Refused Asylum Seekers. Its main findings include:\textsuperscript{157}

\begin{itemize}
  \item refused asylum seekers constituted the majority of those experiencing destitution;
  \item destitute asylum seekers rely upon friends and charity from voluntary organisations and churches to try to meet their basic needs of shelter, food, health, income and safety. Others are forced to find undocumented work to survive. All sources of support are highly precarious;
  \item people remain in this vulnerable position for protracted periods during which time they experience differing degrees of destitution that have an acute impact on their well-being, and can lead to self-harm and suicidal thoughts. Periods of rough sleeping are common for some.
\end{itemize}

In periods of economic contraction such as now, there is a strong possibility that racism can become more pronounced as the economic crisis is frequently ‘blamed’ on the presence of foreigners i.e. immigrants who are deemed to have stolen indigenous jobs. Paradoxically, the credit crunch means the immigration levels are likely to fall as there is less work in the economy. The fall in number of immigrants however does not translate into less discrimination. It is not only the rise of far right parties which flourish within this climate but also the way in which elements of far right rhetoric enter mainstream politics, for example, the phrase: “British jobs, for British workers”. Historically, in Europe the rise of xenophobia has been associated with economic crisis - and while this is a relationship not necessarily proven- it remains a narrative that is continually drawn upon to argue for greater restrictions on ‘immigrants’ \textsuperscript{158} (Law: 2009).

Despite the UK being host to only 3\% of the world’s refugee population, public attitudes towards asylum seekers are overwhelmingly negative. In a 2004 YouGov poll, 51\% of White Britons and 35\% of non-White Britons were exposed as having either a fairly low or very low opinion of people seeking asylum in Britain.\textsuperscript{159} Young people's attitudes towards asylum seekers have been found to

\begin{itemize}
\item A Civilised Society: Mind, 2009
\item A Civilised Society: Mind, 2009
\item An Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the UK (2010), Crown Copyright, pp. 232.
\end{itemize}
be similarly negative. A 2003 survey revealed that 48% of 15-24 year olds believed that few claims to asylum were genuine, and 58% felt that asylum seekers did not make a positive contribution to British society.\footnote{160 Ipsos MORI, June 2003.}

There is evidence to suggest that these negative attitudes are borne out of common misconceptions about the number of asylum seekers in Britain. 75% of people interviewed for a 2008 BBC poll agreed that the UK accepts applications from too many asylum seekers.\footnote{161 Conducted by Ipsos MORI, January 2008.} However, although there appears to be widespread fears over the extent of the refugee population, a 2009 Red Cross questionnaire showed that an overwhelming number of people (more that 85%) were unable to accurately identify the number of asylum seekers that are currently resident in the UK.\footnote{162 Red Cross survey for “Refugee Week”, 2009.}

There is clearly an urgent need to help to influence public opinion on asylum and refugee issues in a more positive direction. Extra effort must be made to affect school children and young people's attitudes. The race and refugee sector has regrettably had to spend most of its resources trying to refute all the negative press coverage on asylum issues which has inevitably influenced public discourse and opinion. The agenda needs to be reset so that positive images and messages are delivered.\footnote{163 The media and negative perceptions (stats from 2002 Ipsos MORI poll: http://www.ipsos-mori.com/researchpublications/researcharchive/poll.aspx?ottemid=1061)} The next British government has the opportunity to avoid capitulating to reactionary forces and negative campaigning on asylum which has legitimised and strengthened the far right. A central tenet to defeating the BNP in Britain and creating a climate of understanding and acceptance must be the defence of asylum rights as human rights.

Review of the government legislation:

The following provides an overview of the various Immigration and Asylum Seekers Acts. From 1997 onwards the Labour government has introduced seven major pieces of legislation which have impacted upon Migrants and Asylum Seekers in a restrictive manner, which it is argued have undermined Britain's commitment to the 1951 Geneva convention:

- Changes have been made to the structure of immigration controls and required registrars to report 'suspicious' marriages.
- Introduce new procedures and requirements for becoming British by naturalisation and revised the basis for appeals.
- Implemented restrictions on rights of appeal.
- Imposed penalties on employers who employ those unlawfully in the UK.\footnote{164 Durran Seddon (2006) Immigration, nationality and refugee law Handbook : The Bath Press, Bath}

These changes in the law have helped reinforce a culture of hostility towards to asylum seekers and pander to xenophobic elements in British society.
4 Global and international issues

**FOREIGN POLICY**

*Advisors* Friends of Al Aqsa

**Required actions**

We call upon the government to:

1. Ensure that Britain never again makes the costly mistake of entering an unnecessary war by revising the conditions for making Foreign Policy decisions to include more stringent criteria, including giving Parliament the power to recall itself in the case of emergency.

2. Make clear its policy and intended actions on a two state solution for Israel and Palestine, challenge the current siege in Gaza and increase its aid efforts to ameliorate the condition of poverty.

3. Abolish the ministerial veto, which enables government to block the release of information that is approved by the information commissioner.

4. Uphold international law regardless of the political standing of the perpetrators of the crimes, ensure that the Government pursues its policies vigorously and leads the international community in prosecuting crimes under international law.

5. Continue to work with international partners to remove the burden of debt from Third World countries.

6. Have public diplomacy that reflects Britain's inter-cultural society in terms of employment and representation.

7. Revise the conditions for making Foreign Policy decisions to include more stringent criteria, including: Giving parliament the power to recall itself in the case of emergency, subject to a number of safeguards to prevent its misuse for individual party gain and ensuring that Select committees are constituted of experts in the appropriate areas of business emanating from the European Union. Ensure that Select Committees involve more MPs in their work.

Britain's Foreign Policy has a great impact on British citizens both at home and around the world. The ramifications of the decisions that our government makes are felt by us as a nation, and therefore there needs to be greater accountability. In recent years, unjust wars have been fought in the name of the British people, which were largely opposed by the ordinary men and women in this country. Britain's foreign policy with particular regard
to Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine and Israel are of particular concern. In addition, issues concerning aid and debt relief are becoming vitally significant.

Traditionally foreign policy has been an elite purist in which members of the public in general, and members of BME communities in particular, have been marginalized, if not altogether excluded. In a democratic society the role of the public cannot be simply reduced to being jingoistic cheerleaders, but requires their active participation as legitimate stakeholders. This is especially the case in the context of the ‘War on Terror’ in which the British public become targets of violence as a consequence of policies pursued in their name by the British government. The marches against the war in Iraq which mobilised all sections of society including BME communities brought home the necessity for foreign policy decisions to be open to influence from all sections of society. To this end it is important that governments encourage the development of critical and engaged voices reflecting the diversity of multicultural Britain, and do not see foreign policy as an arena immune from popular interventions by members of the public including BME communities.

Approximately 8 per cent of Britain's population are from an ethnic minority background and 50 percent of these are from an Asian background. Many of these individuals have sympathies with their countries of origin, and despite British loyalties, if these countries are affected by perceived unjust foreign policy from the British government, this creates discontent. In a poll conducted by Open Democracy, they found the following:

A clear majority of respondents want parliament to take a central role in foreign policy decisions, with 85% saying that "Parliament as a whole" should decide Britain's main foreign-policy objectives in pursuing British interests abroad, compared with just 13% for "the Prime Minister, ministers and their advisers".

An even larger proportion of respondents, 89%, said that Britain should seek agreement through the United Nations for action to deal with states that endangered British and western interests and should seek to comply with international law. Only 8% favoured the use of armed force by Britain acting alone or with allies.

**Afghanistan and Iraq:**

Almost a decade after the US led invasion of Afghanistan, the war continues to simmer and the number of British soldiers being killed and seriously injured steadily grows. The Western backed Afghan government's rule does not extend beyond Kabul and the Taliban remain a bitter fighting force against British and American troops. The result of this is an on-going war with no end in sight. In January 2010, in a dramatic turn, the UN suggested that Taliban leaders should be removed from the list of wanted terrorists in order to allow negotiations to take place with them. If nothing else, this move towards diplomacy is a witness to the stark failings of the war strategy.

The war in Iraq was a decision that was made without overwhelming or even majority support in Parliament, and it was widely opposed by the public. The 2010 Chilcot Enquiry into the Iraq war has revealed the extent to which Britain was misled by its leaders during the Iraq war. This has built mistrust and a change in the political procedure is required to ensure that no Prime Minister repeats the same catastrophic failures again in future.

Palestine and Israel:

As the ongoing occupation of the Palestinian territories enters its fifth decade, the lack of a non-partisan approach to the conflict has created great mistrust of the British government and the leading two political parties (Labour and Conservatives). Reports of bias towards Israel and undue influence from pro-Israeli organisations are rife, and Britain's lack of criticism of Israel despite overwhelming evidence of war crimes being committed has created mistrust.

The situation in Gaza has added further doubt about British policy, as despite a siege that has lasted two years and seven months, aid efforts have not been increased and Israel's narrative on the siege has not been challenged. As a result, 1.5 million people are living in poverty.

The UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), has a slogan: "Better World, Better Britain", reflecting the fact that we can no longer have environmental, physical or economic security in the UK without promoting it overseas.

International Debt:

'Poor countries are still repaying unaffordable loans which the UK and the rest of the rich world gave irresponsibly. Some of these were to oppressive regimes, often for arms sales. Others were for useless projects from which only Western companies benefited. Still others were on unfair terms. Tell the UK government it's time to Lift the Lid' Make Poverty History.

The Labour Government has taken the lead to get the G8 to cancel debt in the most impoverished countries, as part of the Make Poverty History campaign. Gordon Brown played a major role in reducing the debt for 18 of the poorest countries. However, there needs to be a recognition that debt cancellation or debt reduction cannot on its own ameliorate some of the serious economic problems confronting Third World countries. Its is therefore imperative that these measures for reducing debt are also allied to a foreign trade policy which removes unfair barriers and restrictive international economic policies which penalise Third World economies.

'Together with other European countries, the UK has been part of a push to have some of the poorest nations on the planet sign up to grossly unfair trade deals by the end of the year' 

166 Make Poverty History
There must also be a critical awareness that part of the debt that many of the Third World countries have incurred, is a legacy of shared relationships spanning many centuries. The role of BME communities in advocating and supporting a fairer international economic order needs to be accepted as a legitimate part of the nations conversation, rather than ridiculed or seen as special pleading.

Public diplomacy

The diverse nature of intercultural Britain is a positive asset. It should be recognised that in today's integrated world in which different languages, cultures and faiths are increasingly prominent, a intercultural society provides key advantages in helping to maintain a global role for Britain. British public diplomacy serviced by organisations such as the British Council and BBC World Service, as well as its 260 embassies, high commissions and consulates in over 140 countries, need to reflect the diversity of British society in a deep and sustained manner. This means that BME communities need to be represented at senior levels in these organisations and also be able to make inputs into the way such organisations operate and project a sense of 'Britishness' to foreign publics.

BME communities should thus be seen as a valuable resource in helping to establish a vision of Britain which is inclusive, cosmopolitan and generous. The recruitment of BME personnel into senior diplomatic positions both in the public and the background level needs to be encouraged, and greater effort needs to be made to move away from a vision of a Britain that does not reflect its multicultural, multi-faith, contemporary reality.
5 Culture

RACE EQUALITY AND THE ARTS

Advisors Brookes and Warner Partnership

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Ensure that the promises for the 2012 Olympics on: regeneration in the East End of London; equality and diversity as central tenets and a celebration of Britain's diversity and youth - are fulfilled. We call for an interim report on these matters which details how these elements have been addressed. In particular we want the report to cover:
   - How equality has been built into every service / infrastructure concerned with building the Olympics and in particular into procurement - detailing how many businesses involved are BME businesses.
   - Employment of BME staff at every level and in every organisation working on the Olympics - to include a breakdown by gender and disability.
   - How the Cultural Olympiad will reflect equality and diversity at both a leadership and creative level.
   - How the volunteer programme and connection with cities outside of London is progressing.

2. Invest in a clear long-term strategy to enable the skills and opportunities for BME leaders in cultural institutions - in accordance with national policies around equality.

3. Promote the idea of a national public holiday based on the contribution of immigrants to Britain from the Windrush era onwards and develop a national oral history programme to fund community organisations and schools, to record and document the Windrush Generation.

"Our cultural patterns are an amalgam of BME and White. Our destinies are tied together. There is no separate BME path to power and fulfilment that does not have to intersect with White roots. Somewhere along the way the two must join together, BME and White together, we shall over..." Martin Luther King

2010 and diversity and the arts finds itself in the difficult position of still being the first in line for any major changes or disinvestment from the arts funding system. Although there has been a massive restructure and a 15% cut in the administration behind the Arts Council of England the economic downturn is continuing to be felt in the arts sector itself. Unfortunately, we still have to
question the lack of an infrastructure that nurtures and encourages growth from Britain's diverse communities. Unsurprisingly, the State of the Arts Conference at the Royal Society for the Arts in January 2010 had just a handful of people from an ethnic minority background, one of whom questioned why in 2010, Britain's theatre is still dominated by the good and the great with an Oxbridge educated background:

"In a world where 'mainstream' serves as a synonym for White, Christian and straight, those who end up on the margins, not because of what they have done but simply because of who they are, inevitably ask themselves how they got there." Gary Younge 2006

Those that offer advice, help and support are still far removed from the people who should be empowered to make the decisions and although one can showcase large scale events that have been built on the traditions and heritage of others, the producers are largely White, educating Britain's minorities about their heritage, whilst those with the actual experience and background are kicked to the curb.

'Britain has been and will always be a nation of migration and cultural diversity and we should embrace this in a positive way' Patrick Vernon

Cultural institutions are led by White people; funding is offered largely by White people; creativities are controlled by the host community as more and more of the skills and talent of Britain's diverse communities are raped of their heritage and diluted to be deemed more palatable. The illusion of inclusion by showcasing large-scale spectacles or having a few cultural heroes/icons does not fundamentally change as Women In Leadership in the Creative and Cultural Sector states:

• There are significantly fewer female than male executives in the creative and cultural industries (1:2.5)
• Cultural diversity is limited in the creative and cultural sector, whereby there is a higher than average rate of participation by those of a White ethnic background
• Overall of 115,250 senior leaders in the creative and cultural sector, only 310 are females, from a BME or BME British background (1%), and proportionately even less are Chief Executive Officers.

There are less and less cultural institutions that are led by diverse communities and there is a struggle to keep hold of the talent to be found in Britain as writers, producers, actors etc are gaining more success abroad. Yet the McMaster Report supporting Excellence in 2008 stated:

"I recommend that funding bodies and arts organisations prioritise excellent, diverse work that truly grows and represents the Britain of the 21st Century."  

The question one then asks is how has this been implemented when 2008 saw a massive disinvestment in the arts that had a tremendous impact on the arts as a whole, which was felt even more by small and medium scale organisations whose foundations are based in diversity.

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168 Navigating Difference: diversity and audience development, Gary Younge explores the potential for creativity offered by our complex identities - and their limitations - p.13 ACE 2006

169 Women in Leadership - Cultural Leadership Programme 2008

170 DCMS Supporting Excellence in the Arts - Brian McMaster 2008 - p.11
The constant contradictions make it extremely difficult for those in the creative industries to navigate. The government now say:

"We want to open up the arts and culture to as many people as possible, building on the Find Your Talent and free theatre schemes, as well as free museums and galleries."\[171\]

The issues that still need to be addressed are:

- The challenge of moving things forward for diversity and the arts when artists are still feeling marginalised
- More and more diversity in the arts is to be found only as part of education programmes
- Communities are in uproar at the quality and authenticity of work being produced at national level for example 2009 playwright and activist Hussain Ismail was shocked at the racism of the National Theatre's England People Very Nice:

"This crap really got me thinking. Did racist humour ever really disappear, or, did the rise of multicultural Britain just drive it underground?"\[172\]

The national lottery brought some hope as there was the chance to build an infrastructure around diversity, where organisations could reflect the new aesthetic and dynamic which was multicultural Britain. However, these buildings grew with huge capital investment but no clear strategy or thought to the ongoing revenue needed for initial development and ultimate sustainability. Hence, we are back to the issue of leadership and lack of leadership on both sides, whether funders or key organisations, as such, any major development becomes a crisis placed on diversity institutions which then makes it look as if they cannot manage effectively. In reality governance and adequate revenue funding was never factored in properly in the first case, with historical funding patterns not leaving much room for investment in new developments in diversity arts. The end result is that it only maintains the status quo, therefore leading to the mantra of BME projects being set up to fail.

Career development has always been key to policy development around the creative industries. Fast track has been the buzzword and style that has plagued diversity. Slow track would be more appropriate so one's career is nurtured over a longer period and monitored and encouraged to flourish rather than taking place over a couple of years at a high profile, and when exhausted we lose the talent that we have just created and have to start all over again - hence having an impact on sustainability as we do not maintain the people to run the institutions of the future that reflect the new landscape.

Sustainability has largely meant the preservation of the mainstream. Recent Sustain awards of the Arts Council of England preserve the established organisations at the expense of investment in the fragile infrastructure for diversity arts, penalising it for insecure structures of governance, whilst rewarding organisations that had conspicuously failed to move into the twenty-first century. As

172 Socialist Worker 10 February 2009 - www.socialistworker.co.uk/art.php?id=17070
such the rich culture and histories of Britain's BME communities are being forgotten or worse erased:

"The Windrush Generation is now disappearing as many of these pioneers pass away; suffering from long term health conditions or languishes in residential or nursing homes, although some have immigrated back to their countries of birth. Many of those born between 1910-1940 may not be around at the next Windrush celebrations in 2018. The question we need to ask ourselves is why wait 10 years to celebrate this achievement. We will regret as a country if we fail to take individual and collective responsibility for systematically documenting their history and contribution to Britain and beyond, as a legacy for young people of all ethnicities and nationalities."

Patrick Vernon.

Currently, all eyes are on Britain and the Olympics, and the arts have a vital role to play as the origins of the Olympics has its foundations in culture as both sport and arts make up the Olympic programme. Britain has a chance to showcase how cosmopolitan it has become with a "Welcome to the World" - a showcase of the best talent and creativity nationally. Unfortunately, once again at the leadership level diversity is rendered invisible and inclusion is only at the participatory/community arts level. An elitist high profiled programme that may emerge for 2012 could offer a notion of status and prestige but there is again very little evidence that diversity will play a significant part, or indeed any.

"Our Cultural Olympiad puts Culture at the heart of the Games - encouraging participation and celebrating the cultures that make up the UK."

Of the thirteen Cultural Olympiad programmers in the regions and nations not one of them is from a BME background. Similarly, the whole of the London 2012 culture team and its senior advisers are exclusively White.

Thirty-four years after the publication of "The Arts that Britain Ignores" one needs to ask what price equality in the Arts? Previously, there was at least an awareness of diversity and difference but now it seems as if BME arts has been integrated to the point of invisibility. It only surfaces for financial gain or prestige to support British cultural ambitions when in reality the majority of BME arts organisations and artists are fighting for a voice that is their own.

http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/charmed-life-campaign/sign.html

Please sign the petition to show your support:

http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/charmed-life-campaign.html


174 The Arts That Britain Ignores by Naseem Khan 1976 - CRE
5 Culture

THE ROLE OF MUSIC: DEVELOPING AN BME IDENTITY AND INCREASING INTEGRATION

Advisors Cambridge University Students Union

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Fund talented and under-privileged BME artists at a grassroots level, otherwise ignored, in community projects to run alongside the mainstream success of Black music.

2. Promote scholarship in BME music and media

Music may be expensive to fund, but it is also a healthy investment in both social and economic terms. For deprived young individuals suffering from the complications of an ethnic minority identity, engaging in musical projects can help come to terms with those issues by engendering a sense of self-worth and encouraging success through creative means. Investing in musical talent is a worthwhile venture, bringing together other creative disciplines such as dance, theatre, literature and the visual arts. This facilitates ethnic minority communities to bridge socio-cultural gaps by expressing the evolution of their shared and diverse cultural identities with each other and the community at large - serving as a showcase for native Britons to appreciate their position in the entertaining world.

However, the government may argue that the rising number of successful ethnic minority hip-hop, r’n’b and grime stars in the UK over recent years, means that there is no need to make an investment in this arena, especially in a recession. But what many are not aware of is a whole group of under represented ethnic minority musicians who produce conscious music that address socio-political problems within their communities, contrary to the money and glamour that is represented by such chart-toppers. It is this relatively unknown area of music that will be a springboard to tackling mental-health issues due to poverty, as well as potentially developing a creative asset which can then be marketed.

But why should such musicians need government assistance? Because, as Kwaku from the Black Music Congress states, conscious music does not have a high enough profile and
access, which means that producers will not pro-actively consume and support these conscious popular artists; it is not the market that consumers are used to hearing on the radio and seeing it on their television. Therefore, the only way that these artists can pave their way to a future generation of a distinct, intellectual form of popular music to make society more knowledgeable on these matters, is for the government to support their activities. Otherwise, it is not fair representation of the talents and morals of the British ethnic minority community. It is also a loss of a socio-economic opportunity, should the government decide not to promote an identity that would embrace multiculturalism.

Two major things need to be done in order to tackle the beginnings of this problem. First of all, there needs to be funding for academic scholarship in the history of BME British music, as a starting point to raise intellectual awareness in an educational environment. If American jazz was allowed to dominate the scholarship of racial issues among African-Americans, why should Britain have to shy away from their own history of BME musicians as a country that is so ethnically diverse? Roger Howard's article, The Forgotten Black British Musicians in History, on musicouch.com is a starting point to a culture that needs its recognition and support. Funding a quarterly magazine or journal is would be one way of putting together the several strands of documented information about music by conscious musicians both in the present and from the past.

Secondly, in order for this conscious music to become a success, further investments need to be made to implement training for traditional 'performing' and 'composing' musicians. Kwaku from the Black Music Congress observes that there is "a death of traditional musicianship", by which he refers to those who "play an instrument in real-time, as opposed to programming...this is of a great concern to me, because unlike Indie Rock Music where the focus is on playing instruments and being live, much of contemporary BME music is focused on programming and recording." The access to technology means that non-ethnic minority musicians could easily replicate music based on experiences from another heritage. Although that in itself may not be negative in musical terms, there needs to be a music that represents a political argument which will be beneficial also to these conscious musicians; in order to raise their diversity levels onto the next stylistic step, they need to be equipped with traditional musical skills that distinguishes them, in an environment that is not going to judge each musical individual on their income or religious background.

To conclude, investing in an ethnic, conscious, intellectual form of music will help tackle the psychological, socio-economic and political issues that surround BME people today.
5 Culture

**FAITH, RELIGION AND THE COMMUNITY**

**Advisors** Black Christian Leaders Forum, Encounter, Sikhs in England

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Create two BME faith posts that advise the Prime Minister on policy decisions regarding religion.
2. Increase funding of social projects through BME faith organisations.
3. Ensure that BME faith perspectives are represented in the decision-making bodies of the country.
4. Provide more funding for faith-based organisations.
5. Develop stronger more effective legislation to protect BME people from religious discrimination/harassment.
6. Create more campaigns to promote positive images of faith and religion in society.

‘Faith plays a vital role in people's lives - even for those who are not overtly religious. It is a strength of our society that peoples of many faiths respect each other and are able to flourish and play a valuable role in our communities. We need to protect that strength against discrimination and intolerance’ David Blunkett

The religious make-up of the UK is rich, diverse and complex with over 170 distinct religions recorded by the 2001 Census. Faith within BME communities often plays a fundamental role in strengthening cohesion, unity and solidarity as well as providing an invaluable contribution to the country on a spiritual, social, political and economic level.

London has the highest proportion of Muslims (8.5 per cent), Hindus (4.1 per cent) Jews (2.1 per cent) Buddhists (0.8 per cent) and people of other religions (0.5 per cent). [...] Fifty-eight per cent of people in London gave their religion as Christian, with the highest proportion in the borough of Havering (76 per cent). Thirty-six per cent of the population of Tower Hamlets and 24 per cent in Newham are Muslim. Over one per cent of the population of Westminster are Buddhist, while

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Harrow has the highest proportion of Hindus (19.6 per cent) and Barnet the highest proportion of Jewish people (14.8 per cent). Over eight per cent of the populations of Hounslow and Ealing are Sikh.\footnote{176} In 2001, Black African /Caribbean made up approximately 2\% of the population, with over 2/3 of the church going population in London; 7\% throughout the UK.\footnote{177} Such figures clearly indicate that BME-led church membership is rising quickly nationally and represents urban wealth, community development and cohesion.

British equality movements and government policy surrounding faith and religion within BME communities still have a great deal to do in achieving positive inclusion and positive representation of such groups. In recent years the government has agreed to fund a few (so far 7) Muslim schools, as well as a Sikh and a Seventh Day Adventist school (Modood, 2009: 170),\footnote{178} this compared to 4,716 Church of England schools and 2,108 Roman Catholic schools. Until Labour was elected in 1997, all state faith schools were either Christian or Jewish,\footnote{179} and although progress has slowly been made to support other faith based schools more clearly needs to be done to tackle such a vast disparity.

In addition to this, more initiatives need to be inaugurated to change public opinion about faith schools, which are overwhelmingly deemed as being negative and constraining or contributing to religious and social divisions, for example the National Secular Society claimed that 80\% of the population disapprove of faith schools: “School provides the best, and sometimes only, opportunity to teach tolerance, but only if children of all beliefs and cultures are educated together. The problems in Belfast, Bradford and elsewhere remind us how imperative this need is," it said.\footnote{180}

There is a growing assumption that Muslims, especially after 9/11 and 7/7 are the principle beneficiaries of public funding and are thus able to influence public policy in favour of their communal interests and at the expense of other communities (Sian, 2009). Moreover, Muslims are considered to be working towards undermining economic prosperity by demanding the transformation of the liberal-capitalist economy into an Islamic one (Sian, 2009).\footnote{181}

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\footnote{176} ibid. \\
\footnote{177} See \url{http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/commentaries/ethnicity.asp} and \url{http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4704925.stm} 2005, \url{http://www.intercessuk.org/uk2/} \\
\footnote{178} See Modood and Leyland (2009) Secularism, Religion and Multicultural Citizenship, Cambridge \\
\footnote{179} See \url{http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2001/nov/14/schools.uk2} The Guardian, 14th Nov, 2001. \\
\footnote{180} ibid. \\
These anti-multicultural accounts again work to reinforce negative images of religious groups which are contaminated with xenophobia and racism, and continue to circulate despite the fact that it is easier to secure funding for a Pakistani or Bangladeshi community centre than a mosque (Sian, 2009). The so-called concessions that the British state has been forced to make has been the result of Muslim mobilisations rather than the policies of political establishment (Sian, 2009).

People of different faiths should be free to build places of worship and to practice their religion openly, however there have been numerous cases in the UK which breach this very basic demand, that religious people, no less than people defined by ‘race’ or gender, should not suffer discrimination in job and other opportunities. For example, ongoing debates over Muslims and the right to wear the hijab, or the Sikhs and the right to wear the Kara, Turban and Kirpan, to Hindus and the right to open-air funerals.

No one should be discriminated against or treated unequally because of their religion. Prior to December 2003 there was no law against discrimination on religious grounds in Great Britain except the Fair Employment and Treatment (Northern Ireland) Order 1998 which outlaws both direct and indirect discrimination "on the ground of religious belief or political opinion" in employment in Northern Ireland. Moreover, although Sikhs and Jews are protected under The Race Relations Act (1976) this is a right still not given to Muslims. The next government must work with BME faith based groups/leaders to empower them, to include them, to support them, and to ensure that they are protected from religious discrimination/harassment at all times in all sectors of society because faith plays a vital if not central part for these communities.

183 See Equality Bill
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All organisations listed below contributed sections or information and are in broad support but reserve the right to disagree with specific points.

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