

# BULLETIN

**EQUAL  
RECOVERY**

**RECOVERY PLANS**

**REFUGEES IN NORTH  
EAST ENGLAND**

**YOUTH  
UNEMPLOYMENT**

**MIGRANT DOCTORS**

**UNEQUAL  
LIVERPOOL**

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**DMA 2010**  
DIGITAL MAGAZINE AWARDS 2010  
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**RUNNYMEDE**  
Intelligence for  
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**BULLETIN**

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ISSN 2045-404X

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to end racism.

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# Editor's LETTER



WELCOME to the Summer 2012 issue of the Runnymede Bulletin.

I would like to thank Amanpreet Singh Pattar who ably assisted me in the editing, page layout and photo research for this issue, and undertook the research for news in brief.

Thanks too to Nathan Richards who helped set up this issue, sending out emails to prospective writers of articles, and encouraged people to contribute to this issue of the Bulletin. He also helped with the Vox Pop section, for which many thanks.

The Winter 2012/13 issue of the Bulletin will have Disabled People as its focus.

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# news in brief

## The Voice Finally Heard

Britain's leading black newspaper, *The Voice*, finally gained press accreditation to the Olympics after an intervention from Boris Johnson and other leading politicians. There had been widespread objections after the newspaper had been refused a press pass for the Olympic Games in London this summer, which would have meant that Britain's oldest and biggest black newspaper would not have been able to cover the Games from inside the Stadium.

The British Olympic Association (BOA) had refused the paper a press pass with the Media Accreditation Committee citing the reason that they had received 3,000 applications for the 400 places available for passes. This decision led to a petition being signed by thousands of people, with the paper receiving an abundance of telephone calls and messages of support.

After pressure from Boris Johnson and MPs David Lammy, Chuka

Umunna and Tessa Jowell, the BOA eventually reversed their decision, granting *The Voice* one press pass.

*The Voice's* Sports Editor, Rodney Hinds, said he wanted to thank the public and the press for drawing attention to the unjust accreditation ban and to thank the BOA for their change of heart.

"London 2012 was supposed to be a celebration of Britain's diversity, and we wanted to play a part in that by reporting stories from the frontline not on the outside looking in," he said.

George Ruddock, Managing Director at *The Voice*, had earlier described the original BOA's decision as a "slap in the face" for the paper considering that the Olympics organisers had launched a high-profile campaign highlighting the diversity of the Games this year.

Zita Holbourne, the co-founder of Black Activists Rising Against Cuts (BARAC) who set up the petition, said:

"Voice readers have a big interest in the Olympics. There are many black athletes in team GB and there is also a big Caribbean community here interested in Caribbean teams. Black athletes in Great Britain have contributed tremendously to British sport - why block black press?"

Talking about the huge response to the news of gaining accreditation, Hinds said:

"This is part of a wider problem, and I think that's what has touched a nerve with people. The media in Britain already suffers from a huge lack of diversity, and London 2012 was the perfect opportunity to level the playing field. If we're good enough to compete, shouldn't we be good enough to report, too? I think we all believed those days when black people were only valued for their sporting prowess were over."

## New Drive by Lib Dems to Tackle Ethnic Inequalities

The Lib Dems are planning to push for several policies aiming to level the playing field for ethnic minorities. Proposals include introducing 'blind marking' of pupils' school work by teachers and new requirements for banks to conduct ethnic monitoring of people they lend money to.

A policy of blind marking in schools would mean that the identities of pupils would not be known when teachers mark work, which it is claimed might help to combat the underachievement of some black and minority ethnic groups.

Research by Ofsted has previously shown that students with typically African or Asian sounding names were more likely to be given lower marks in institutions where anonymous marking was not in place.

The proposal to increase ethnic monitoring by banks aims to hold banks accountable for the ethnic profile of their customers, and comes after Nick Clegg, the Deputy Prime Minister, announced a government inquiry into barriers preventing black and minority ethnic groups from accessing loans and other financial services in November 2011.

Research by the Black Training and Enterprise Group indicates that Black Caribbean and African people are more likely than white people to consider starting a business, but have lower rates of self-employment and business ownership than white people.

The Liberal Democrat Minister for Communities, Andrew Stunell, with support from Nick Clegg, is pushing

to introduce these policies as part of the government's integration strategy, despite resistance from other parts of government. Stunell is soon to be endorsing proposals set out in a report by Liberal Democrat peer Baroness Meral Hussein-Ece.

Proposals include the introduction of anonymous marking across all student assessments to ensure that students are marked fairly and the introduction of ethnic monitoring in apprenticeships to increase take-up by under-represented groups.

A Senior Whitehall source has said:

'Andrew is keen that we turn up the volume and speak out much more often and much louder on race issues'.

## Racism Allegations Treble within the Met Police

The Metropolitan Police has come under severe criticism after the latest figures show that allegations of racism made within the force have almost trebled in five years. A Freedom of Information request by the BBC shows that there were 42 allegations in 2011-2012, compared to 16 in 2006-2007. Of these, investigations into 31 cases were ongoing, seven were found to be unsubstantiated, three were substantiated and one resulted in retirement or resignation, the figures showed.

The Independent Police Complaints Commission has received 60 referrals from the Met regarding complaints of racism in April and May this year, and is conducting five independent investigations into alleged racist behaviour by Met officers.

Supt. Leroy Logan, of the Black Police Association, said: "Racism within the Met is clearly a growing, serious issue. The Met needs to get a grip, which it has failed to do over the last few years."



Photo: Flickr/kenjohno

## Racism In Football: Alive and Well

Alongside all the concerns about racism during Euro 2012 this summer, there have also been developments in racism and football occurring back home, notably John Terry's alleged racist remarks towards Anton Ferdinand and Mark McCammon's dismissal from Gillingham FC.

In July, ex-England captain John Terry was cleared of a racially aggravated public order offence by Westminster Magistrates' Court as there was not enough evidence to support a criminal conviction.

Following the decision, the FA confirmed that they would be re-opening their inquiry, which had to be suspended during the investigation,

into the alleged remarks made by Terry. If found guilty, the FA could fine and suspend Terry, possibly spelling the end of his international career.

Another significant development has been the landmark ruling of an employment tribunal in favour of Mark McCammon, stating that the player had been victimised before being unfairly sacked by Gillingham FC.

This is the first time a footballer has successfully brought a case of race victimisation against a professional football club before an employment tribunal.

The finding in his favour was the first of its type in English law.

Lord Herman Ouseley, chairman of Kick It Out, football's equality and inclusion campaign, said:

"It will inevitably have implications for all clubs about the way they treat people and do not discriminate against them on the grounds of race, colour, ethnicity or anything else." he said.



# SPEND AND DELIVER

**Adam Elliott-Cooper** takes a look at how changes in Government spending could be used to bring about economic recovery.

The road to an equitable economic recovery is often a long one with the greatest political tool for expanding equality being democracy. A number of reforms can be implemented to make our economy more democratic, inclusive, and by extension, equitable. Recovery packages in post-Thatcher Britain have tended to encourage freer markets in order to allow free enterprise to blossom. Financial stimuli have been proposed as the boost the banks need to begin lending again, with the implicit assumption that this lending will build businesses and create employment. But relying on private business and enterprise erodes democratic accountability for those at the bottom. Lessons from Europe and beyond show that extending democratic control of our economy is the fairest and most equitable way of bringing Britain out of recession.

In Britain's financial economy, the multiple transactions and incomes of multinationals are a massive source of state income. Tax Research UK estimates that corporate tax avoidance amounts to £25bn being owed to the Inland Revenue; if we add tax evasion and outstanding debts the total is £120bn. This amounts to over three-quarters of the country's budget deficit. Remedying this situation would not take wealth away from those most in need, and would be an efficient response to the financial crisis, requiring no legislative changes – just the enforcement of the (very modest) laws we currently have in place.

The government has spent huge amounts of tax payers' money on unpopular ventures such as the invasion of Iraq back in 2003, whilst funding is often reduced in areas that are highly popular, David Cameron's recent reduction of NHS spending by £25 million (despite election promises to the contrary) is just one example. Accountability therefore needs to be exercised in such an instance, as democratic transparency is eroded not just through policies that do not reflect public interest, but also through privatisation.

When a nationalised industry is sold,

it passes into the hands of private companies that are accountable only to shareholders, not the public. Tax Research Network recently published a study which estimated that £13 trillion of tax-free wealth is held by multinationals off-shore, and a fickle financial system means that if a recession in the global market takes place, privatized industries often cut back on employment (rather than reducing profit margins and shareholder dividends), which furthers the downward spiral of recession.

In order to stimulate an economy, the Government needs to increase spending. This is best done when consumers are employed in the best paid jobs possible. Therefore, a "Marshall Plan" for Britain's poorest regions, towns and communities makes sense for two important reasons. Firstly, spending money on education, healthcare, infrastructure and so on creates sustainable employment, which can be regulated, allowing salaries to reflect both costs of living and the rate of demand needed for recovery. Expanding (rather than cutting) education and training will also create more jobs and also reduce crime and anti-social behaviour, since people occupied with learning tend to have a clearer vision for their future and are thus less likely to commit (blue collar) crime.

Secondly, a recovery plan of this type also brings social justice, a value that economic determinism has sought to extinguish. This provides the social fibres needed to maintain a stable political environment. Many studies (such as Guardian & LSE's *Reading the Riots*) argue that it was the breakdown of these that led to the unrest in August 2011. We do not have to look far to see the effects of progressive spending. States in Northern Europe, such as Sweden and Norway, boast relatively high social spending and rates of employment, along with high literacy rates and low incarceration rates. Britain's economy has the potential to be as efficient as that of our European neighbours, but policy decisions too often reflect the interests of the financial and corporate donors

to political parties, rather than electors who merely put a cross on a piece of paper every four years.

Democratic participation does not have to stop here. In Venezuela, Local Public Planning Councils (CLPPs) and Urban Land Committees (CTUs) have mobilised huge sections of the poorest members of the electorate, in an attempt to shift the emphasis from representative to direct democracy. They deal with a range of community and infrastructure issues, such as the standard of public housing, water and energy, and petty crime. It is unlikely that communities would choose to spend public funds on overseas military intervention or subsidising the royal family, if it meant taking money away from a local clinic, youth club or shelter for victims of domestic violence.

Public involvement in democracy, that reaches further than a trip to the ballot box, has had a positive effect on the Venezuelan political culture, contrary to the demonisation of this by advocates of more institutionalised forms of democracy. Political culture is best improved through political participation; illiberal and corrupt practices will be challenged only by an active and politically conscious electorate in the context of transparent and accountable government. This more direct form of democracy is based on the foundation of a new political culture in which the inalienable right of popular participation exists at every level of government. As the number of local community institutions grows, so does their power, which in countries like Venezuela, is distilling a progressive democratic culture that promotes politicisation rather than passivity, and action rather than representation.

The language of freedom and efficiency of markets is often placed at odds with democratic accountability. Civil society in a functioning democracy can take a number of progressive initiatives to create a more equitable economic environment, and the multitude of examples from across the globe show us it is not only possible, but necessary.

# OLYMPIC RIOTS: A TALE OF TWO SUMMERS

**Symeon Brown** argues that spending on the Olympics cannot be justified, particularly in the light of last year's riots and the subsequent spending cuts.

Anniversaries that mark a tragedy or a triumph are always framed around the question of change - how much has changed and what has happened since? One year on from last summer's disorder, the search for indicators only leaves us with more questions than answers.

Despite being a signature moment in the history of British justice, policing and inequality, the disturbances did not spur a shift in government policy. There was a plethora of reports, including the Guardian-LSE collaborative study for which I was a senior researcher, and the Communities and Victims Panel, along with a number of local inquiries. However, there was no definitive judge-led inquiry, like the Scarman Report in 1981 following the Brixton Riots, with the Government maintaining its commitment to austerity, dismissing any politics behind the riots. The Mayor of London maintained the status quo towards policing - failing to consider the effect of disproportionality of policing on black communities.

The entrenched inequality of the status quo has found no better expression than this summer's games. The national countdown to the Olympics was the summer equivalent of a Halloween advent calendar with every passing day unveiling a trick rather than a treat - an abuse of civil rights, an exposé of mass exploitation - further tarring the promise of the games. The public countdown to the Olympics was also a private countdown to my birthday, as I would celebrate my 24<sup>th</sup> birthday as the Olympics opened their doors on 27 July, minutes from where I was born.

As I have grown up, I have seen the area go through great change. Waterden Road, which was cleared to make way for the Olympic site, contained a traveller's site, isolated industrial warehouses that would be converted into raves, an abandoned dog track and the largest church in Western Europe founded by West African migrants. After the development, the promise of regeneration benefitting the

many is looking like the biggest con in east London since the Krays, as the Olympics becomes an expression of the inequality that was a precursor to last year's wave.

The contradictions between austerity and the lavish spending on the Olympic Games in London are self evident as there have been cuts to youth services in riot affected areas, while spending on the opening ceremony reportedly exceeded £27M and corporate sponsors were given tax-free status.

and replaces long term and well paid job prospects with underpaid, unskilled temporary labour.

More pressingly, the increased number of police drafted in to fill the gaps raised by the G4S fiasco, concerns over dispersal orders (a decision to renew them has yet to be announced) and curfews (which have not materialised so far) have raised fears of a potential over-policing of local youths, further aggravating tensions. Each of the concerns of the Olympics - concessions



Photo: Flickr/Nicobabinus

When pointed towards the physical change to Stratford, the trend of urban displacement present in previous Olympics highlights a more sinister threat raised brilliantly by Oxford researcher, Ashok Kumar in Ceasefire Magazine. Displacement through increased cost of rents in certain areas is a common trend of previous Olympics - in Sydney rents increased by 40% and in Barcelona by 139%. Eradicating poverty does not mean eradicating the poor from an area and in the neighbouring boroughs people have already been made homeless by the soaring cost of living and Newham's attempt to move its poorer residents to the countryside.

The creation of thousands of jobs is again the glitter of a games that promised gold. Many of the young people I have worked with have taken up summer jobs at the Olympics but the real concern is what happens after their short term contracts expire. There is no mask for an economy which continues to shrink

given to corporate sponsors and impunity of elites, unemployment and inequality - were themes identified across the riot research.

As the world watches London, only Cameron kept his word - Britain is open for business even if it means youth clubs are closed. Despite work taking place at local levels - in Tottenham, Haringey Young People Empowered (HYPE) are lobbying the police to ensure all the police community orientation programme is youth led to change the culture of local policing - big policy shifts are yet to be witnessed with regards to affordable rents, long term employment, stop and search and real police accountability (the Independent Police Complaints Commission are yet to reach a conclusion). The greatest show on earth has come and gone and this corporate carnival has auctioned everything from its name to its ethics, so much so that nobody noticed who the first to be sold out were.

# MIGRANT DOCTORS IN THE UK

**Kjartan Sveinsson** takes a look at the discrimination and racism faced by migrant doctors in the UK and asks why they do not receive the recognition they deserve..

In a speech given on 2 February 2012, Immigration Minister Damian Green outlined his intention to curb net immigration 'while keeping us open to the brightest and best who will help drive economic growth' (Green, 2012).

At first glance, the Minister's decree looks like a reflection of public attitudes to migration, where policy should attract people 'who will benefit Britain, not just those who will benefit from Britain'. Yet this policy is problematic as skilled migrants entering the world's richest countries often represent a loss of human capital for the world's poorest, undermining their development.

As Castles (2008: 261) argues, 'the transfer of labour power and skills to the rich countries through labour migration is the latest form of development aid by the South to the North'.

The life-changing decisions made en masse about leaving their homes in

search of greener pastures can have a colossal impact on the stock of human capital of sending countries. Thus, at the other end of the migration chain, those countries whose 'brightest and best' are targeted by the global North can suffer a 'brain drain' that they can ill afford.

In recent years, academics and policy makers have been enthusiastic about the possibility of a positive impact of highly skilled migration on the development of poor countries. Central to these debates is the idea that diasporas of highly skilled migrants are potentially a powerful force for development through transfer of resources and ideas back to their countries of origin. However, the evidence base for the link between skilled migration and development is weak.

A number of social, economic and political factors – on local, national and global levels – interact to influence success, or lack thereof, in activating the diaspora to contribute

to the development of their home countries. Although the link between the impact of a brain drain on poor countries on the one hand, and the social position of skilled migrants in rich countries on the other, is not always easily identified, this can become evident when viewed through the lens of particular cadres of highly skilled workers. Doctors are one such instance.

Sub-Saharan African countries 'have only 3 per cent of the world's health-workers although they represent 11 per cent of the global population and endure 24 per cent of the global burden of disease' (Arah, 2007: 2), but 28 per cent of sub-Saharan African doctors have left the continent to practise medicine in a handful of OECD countries.

The UK receives more than its fair share of these doctors. Indeed, the NHS is highly dependent on them; over 28 per cent of approximately 140,000 doctors in the NHS qualified outside of the EEA, and 75 per cent of these



Photo: United Nations Mission to Liberia



come from low income countries, the highest proportion in the OECD.

Yet the contribution they make to the UK is not always recognised, and many face discrimination and racism which prevents them from progressing and developing to their full potential in the NHS. This has been a central feature of the NHS since its inception. According to Raghuram and Kofman (2002), the expansion of the British welfare state post-1945 increased demand for third world labour, which was channelled into less desirable sectors.

Studies on overseas doctors in the NHS are scarce, but those that have been conducted have shown that in spite of the NHS's high dependence on migrant labour, there is a long history of ethnic inequalities in the NHS labour force. Overseas doctors are routinely channelled into lower grade jobs, and often have less control over their career development than their white British colleagues. Much of this is can be attributed to the way in which medical migrants plug short term gaps in the labour market, which logically exist in lower grades and less prestigious specialisms.

Although the ethnic penalty suffered by overseas doctors in the NHS suggests systematic discrimination, a narrow 'institutional racism' analysis would miss important nuances in the relationship between migration, race and the labour market. The measure of economic and professional 'success' in Britain is equally shaped by social networks and social capital.

Raghuram et al. (2010: 636) demonstrate how exclusion from non-migrant networks within the health sector can hamper overseas doctors' ability to convert their social networks into social capital. "They may participate in non-migrant elite networks but the ability to convert this participation into economic capital through jobs is often limited by the processes of closure" (Raghuram et al. (2010: 627).

Immigration policies also play a part. For example, the NHS Careers website advises overseas doctors that "competition for training posts is high, particularly in certain specialties and in certain parts of the

country. Training posts in the popular specialties and in popular places are likely to be filled by resident doctors from the UK or European Economic Area (EEA)" (NHS Careers, not dated).

Although the current points-based system allows a number of routes into Britain, the primary purpose of recruiting non-EEA trained doctors is to fill acute staffing shortages, which appear under the National Shortage Occupation List.

treated in the immigration system very much extends to them too.

The important point is that the experiences and trajectories of migrant doctors in the NHS may not be conducive to allowing medical migrants to develop skills that could be useful to their country of origin, thus paving the way for turning brain drain into meaningful brain circulation.

●

## “ those countries whose ‘brightest and best’ are targeted by the global North can suffer a ‘brain drain’ that they can ill afford ”

Historically, these have tended to be in lower grades and less prestigious specialisms. Furthermore, overseas doctors suffer the xenophobic stigma attached to migrants in Britain. The suspicion with which migrants are

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# PORTRAITS OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT



**Joshua Oware**, Chair of the Oxford Student Union Campaign for Racial Awareness and Equality (CRAE), looks at the employment prospects of young BME people.

Bad news makes the headlines! Recent figures from the Office for National Statistics show that the youth unemployment rate for black men (aged 16-25), able to work, has increased from 28.8 per cent to 55.9 per cent since 2008, at almost twice the rate of young white men. Similarly, young black women are disproportionately more at risk than any other ethnic group, with a 39.1 per cent unemployment rate. These figures emerge concurrently with a sobering report by the minority ethnic employment charity Elevation Networks and the Bow Group thinktank, which claims that black graduates are three times more likely to be unemployed than white graduates within six months of graduation, and even upon finding a job they can 'expect to earn up to 9 per cent less for the same work as a white graduate over five years'. This inequality of opportunity needs to be addressed.

However, this is not just a 'black' issue. In the UK, there are currently 2.58 million people who are unemployed. Thus, race alone is not the only reason behind 'black' unemployment. Despite this, commentators, businesses, public officials and the wider population must be sensitive to the fact that particular hardships disproportionately affect people who belong to minority ethnic groups (MEGs).

With the introduction of the top university fee of £9000 per year, the numbers entering Higher Education (HE) from low socio-economic backgrounds have decreased by 0.4 per cent, in a national context where 75 per cent of black communities live in 88 per cent of Britain's poorest localities. Those that do attend, tend to go to less prestigious institutions, study lower status subjects, are more likely to drop out and are less likely to attain the highest qualifications, leaving Black students over-represented in

the lower status institutions. Much media attention focuses on black men, but black women face struggles too. The Trades Union Congress (TUC) argue that through racial and gender discrimination black women face a double disadvantage in accessing the labour market. The situation looks set to grow worse with the current Coalition Government's drive to cut public sector employment, a large employer of MEGs. According to the Fawcett Society, women make up 65 per cent of the public sector workforce, and account for even higher numbers in certain sectors, and UNISON contend that it is clear that women will be hit hardest, and female ethnic minorities will be hit the worst.

Deindustrialisation and flexible labour market policies exposed already disadvantaged groups to the worst effects of recession. Structural changes in the economy have overhauled the traditional pathways to employment. Now, there are fewer jobs for young people that do not demand as a minimum the completion of a first degree, where once early school leavers could expect – through apprenticeships or work experience – to become nurses, administrators, bank clerks, etc.

What is even more worrying, especially as I enter my final year at university, is that even with a degree, the labour market often remains impenetrable. I see it with my friends, who resort to taking positions for which they are overqualified, or settle for a form of modern exploitation with unpaid internship positions, often without a living wage.

Many commentators attempt to allay social panic by emphasising that percentage unemployment figures often include persons still in full time education. While this may produce a realistic figure of actual unemployment, it leaves unquestioned the often bleak and prejudiced conditions of graduate unemployment

for minority ethnic youths. In many sectors, active efforts are being sought to address this inequality. In November 2011 the Coalition Government announced the 'Youth Contract,' a £1billion fund to prevent another 'lost generation' of young jobless people. This will be used to provide opportunities – including job subsidies, apprenticeships and work experience placements – to 500,000 unemployed people. This seems positive, but questions must be raised about the sources of funding (or redistribution of funding) that this scheme will draw on, most likely through various cuts to working families' tax credits.

There are also several schemes run by NGOs such as Generating Genius, SEO London, and Elevation Networks that offer mentoring, networks, and pathways to HE and success. However, these also struggle in the austerity strained environment for funding; and the same applies to other schemes such as the Windsor Fellowship. A point that cannot be avoided is that these graduates, as well as those who don't go through HE, still face entrenched unconscious biases that stigmatise their social group within a labour market that many castigate as institutionally racist.

There is the risk of slow-burn social disaster, where youth unemployment leaves a trace that passes through generations. Academic research has recently shown that someone who suffers unemployment at the moment they enter the labour market will then, disproportionately, suffer lower rates of wage for 20 years. Given that so many of the opportunity structures, possibilities and tools which young people rely on for success are predicated by familial, community and social background, the current crisis can only serve to perpetuate worse circumstances for a new wave of socially stigmatised youth.

We are currently embroiled in a struggle; a struggle of response and of prevention. While this continues, young, bright, aspirational, socially stigmatised black men and women will continue to tweak their CVs, tailor their cover letters, iron shirts for interview, and hope that effort equates to success, against a flow of context and circumstance that stands against them.



# 2010 SPENDING REVIEW AND THE EQUALITY DUTY

**Denise Morrisroe**, Policy Manager at The Equality and Human Rights Commission, considers to what extent HM Treasury paid heed to the likely effects of the Spending Review on gender, race and disability equality

The 2010 Spending Review was the first time that an event of this scale had happened at such speed. Given this, in November 2010, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (the Commission) announced that it would conduct an assessment of the manner and extent to which HM Treasury complied with the race, gender and disability equality duties, throughout the Spending Review process. These duties were replaced by the public sector equality duty (equality duty) in April 2011, but the lessons learned from the Assessment are relevant to the current legislation.

Under the duties, public authorities, like government departments, are required to analyse the likely effects of their policies on gender, race and disability equality. Where there is evidence of an adverse impact on particular groups, they must consider whether the policy can be justified. However, even if the adverse impact could be justified legally, they should consider whether they need to take proportionate steps to mitigate or avoid the adverse impact on equality.

The Commission worked with HM Treasury to evaluate what steps it had taken to comply with the legislation and to identify any potential opportunities for improvement. The assessment also looked at the role of the duties as a transparency measure, intended to facilitate evidence-based policy making, which encourages fairer and clearer decisions in public functions, including the allocation of public money. All of this would be beneficial to public authorities, as well as to individuals.

## Findings of the Assessment

The Commission obtained unprecedented access to HM Treasury documentation, and after a thorough analysis of oral evidence from various departments and over a hundred written documents, it published a final report in May 2012. The overall conclusion was that HM Treasury had undertaken a process for collecting equality data, analysing potential impact and presenting information to decision makers.

However, for some measures, the Commission was unable to establish whether or not decisions were in full accord with the requirements of the race, gender and disability equality duties, because of a lack of clarity as to where the true site of the decisions lay, and whether or not some decisions were the responsibility of other government departments or the government as a whole.

For example, for the replacement of Education Maintenance Allowance, the Commission was not provided with evidence that the potential disproportionate impact on different groups was provided to the decision makers in HM Treasury prior to the decision being taken. However, as the report sets out there was uncertainty as to when the final decision was taken and whether this was by HM Treasury or the Department for Education.



Photo: Flickr/Matt From London

Also, although there was some consideration of the cumulative impact on equality from the interaction of measures (for example, the publication of an equalities overview document, and collaboration between departments), no one department has responsibility for keeping track of the overall cumulative impact on equality of decisions. This is important, as it helps departments to gain an understanding of the overall impact on particular groups, and would highlight where a combination of policy measures may have unintended consequences.

The impact of these policy changes could mean that their family have to move to an area with cheaper rent, and that it is harder or impossible to fund transport costs for their first

choice of education provider. These could be disruptive to their studies and limit the options available to them. Meeting the duties would allow policy makers to understand the impact of measures, including cumulatively. This helps to ensure that policies are better targeted, effective and therefore value for money.

## So what can be done?

The Commission made a series of recommendations. One of the main areas we will be focusing on involves us working with HM Treasury and other government departments to ensure that they are better able to use the new equality duty in order to:

- understand the impact on equality of key Spending Review measures as they are implemented; and
- develop a common approach to analysing the potential impact on equality when making policy, helping to ensure that decisions are transparent, based on robust evidence, with fairness at their heart.

The equality duty has a key role in helping public authorities take account of current inequalities, outcome gaps and the impact of the current economic situation. Identifying relevant gaps, and assessing the potential impact of policy proposals on equality, will mean that public authorities are better placed to identify opportunities for advancing equality of opportunity, and avoiding or addressing adverse impact or discrimination.

The equality duty does not prevent public authorities from making difficult decisions, nor does it stop them from making decisions that may affect one group more than another. It does, however, enable them to take informed decisions and demonstrate that their decisions are made in a fair, transparent and accountable way, which considers the needs of different members of the community.



# A VIEW FROM... **GREECE**

This article by **Adla Shashati** looks at a country that is losing its identity. The author considers the economic crisis, the rise of the far right and the troubles faced by Greece's immigrant population.

Ever since former Prime Minister George Papandreou moved to reassure the citizens of Greece that his government would emerge from the economic crisis stronger than before, the Greek economy has not witnessed any change for the better. After three years of austerity measures and two elections, the country still stares at a huge debt. In 2011, after two years of repeated taxation measures, that included increases in all VAT brackets and the controversial emergency property tax levied through electricity bills, Greece's revenues were marginally lower than in 2009.

According to the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT), the revenue in 2011 was 88.1 billion euros, compared to 88.6 billion two years previously. By the end of this economic year, the cost of the measures taken by the country will be an economy in which 15 per cent of the labour force will be unemployed. The unemployment rate, which stood at 22.5 per cent in April, is likely to rise to 30 per cent by the end of the year.

There is still plenty to do in terms of structural reforms, and the current government of Antonis Samaras, Evangelos Venizelos and Fotis Kouvelis has virtually run out of spending and taxation options. The three parties that form the current government need to find other ways to tackle the issue, with society showing more and more signs of the effect this economic crisis is having each day. The side effect of the recession is traumatizing social cohesion. People struggle and there is no sign of hope.

In Greece, the far right have utilised the lack of serious immigration policy and the increase in suicide rates to spread hatred towards the immigrant population fuelling an anti-immigrant mist. The far right party "Golden Dawn" managed to secure seven per cent of votes after the previous two elections. In the build up to, and during, the last round of elections, racist violent attacks became an everyday occurrence.

While some of the victims of the attacks and anti-racist organisations accused members of this party for the assaults, the party itself, which campaigned on a pledge to clear Greece of all immigrants, denies any connection with violence directed against migrants. The main target of their rhetoric is against immigrants with or without legal papers, especially the latter, particularly targeting those with darker skin. Their argument is that the immigrants are taking the jobs of native Greeks and are polluting Greek blood, stealing, killing, etc. For them and the half million of the Greek population who have voted them, the immigrants are to blame for Greece's economic plight.



Photo: Flickr/PIAZZA del POPOLO

The Hellenic Union for Human Rights estimates that the number of immigrants without legal status in Greece is close to 400,000, with the far right claiming that this number is actually closer to 3,000,000 people. Of these, 150,000 are awaiting renewal of their resident's permit, but they are still considered to be immigrants without legal status. According to the Greek Office of the International Organization of Migration in 2011, 1278 migrants were repatriated, with this number rising to 3848 by June 2012. But the problem of migrants without legal papers is a different issue and, as such, should be dealt with differently. If ignored, the extreme right are free to exploit the issue. The issue must be addressed correctly so that there can be a more sustainable public infrastructure with respect to human in place.

Many have attempted to promote a serious immigration law over the past

few years, before the economic crisis, but it seems that no-one with any official clout is willing to listen. The law has kept changing from government to government, denying legal status to more and more people each time. Combine this with the economic crisis and Greece faces a huge problem. Along with the deepening economic crisis and the negative attitude from certain parts of society, migrants are facing another major problem. They are struggling to pay their social security contributions and thus maintain their legality. To obtain or renew a resident's permit, a migrant has to have been working the whole year.

With the high unemployment rate, it is estimated that by the end of the year most of the migrants that have legal status will end up being considered as "illegal" by the state due to them not being able to fulfil the strict obligations for the renewal of their residence permits. Once again those who have resided and worked in Greece for many years will be treated by the state as if they came yesterday. Moreover, they and their families will be considered as "illegal immigrants" leading to further division in social cohesion, despite being fully integrated into Greek society and considering themselves to be Greeks.

If a child is born in Greece, should they not consider themselves to be Greek? They have been brought up to respect and practise cultures and traditions of their country of birth. And yet when they reach the age of 18, he or she will have to apply for their own residence permit, getting a job in order to maintain their legal status. Therefore it is worrying that citizens can move from legal to illegal status, in the blink of an eye. If this gap in migration policy continues, the reality will be clear for all immigrants that live in Greece to see. If the issue is not addressed soon by those in power, Greece will continue to cut loose its own people and may well lose its identity as well as its integrity.



# EXILED FROM THE BIG SOCIETY

**Tom Vickers** and **David Bates**, both members of the Runnymede Trust Emerging Scholars Forum,\* look at the impact of the cuts on third sector refugee organisations in North East England.

Often when journalists and researchers are dispatched around the country to report on the harsh reality of poverty and social exclusion, it is the North East of England that is their first port of call. So it has proved in the last two years, as the Coalition Government's austerity agenda has seen unemployment in the region soar above the national average. Less well reported, however, are the consequences of austerity for the region's asylum seekers and refugees and the third sector organisations that work with them. As part of the forced dispersal programme starting in 2000, thousands of refugees came to live in towns and cities across the North East. The experience of asylum in the North East during the 2000s largely mirrored the national experience, with social exclusion and marginalisation fuelled by a combination of meagre financial support, poor quality housing in areas of high social deprivation, denial of the right to employment from 2002 and racism.

In response, refugees and local people built a vibrant network of third sector organisations across the region, providing vital support and integration services. But these organisations are in crisis, following national cuts to funding in 2010 of 60 per cent for asylum support and 100 per cent for refugee integration. In the last eighteen months even the most well established organisations in the region have had to severely scale back their provision, and many smaller organisations have had to close. Pete Widlinski, Information and Communications Manager at NERS (the North of England Refugee Service), the North East's largest third sector organisation working with refugees, explains some of the consequences.

The 60 per cent cut to our One-Stop-Service funding from the Home Office has led to jobs being lost and cuts to our interpreting budget. Asylum seekers who visit our offices now have to bring a friend if they don't speak English

and we don't have any appropriate volunteer interpreters available. Cuts to funding for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) are threatening asylum seekers' ability to communicate with British people. Sunderland's 'United Community Action' has been restricted from providing ESOL lessons to asylum seekers by the introduction of charges for ESOL lessons. Most of the organisation's users are now referrals from the job centre, reflecting a narrowing of language provision for employment purposes. This ignores the importance of language for social as well as economic integration. The impacts of changes to ESOL funding in other parts of the region include drastic restrictions on tailored job-related ESOL provisions at the JET (Jobs Education and Training) project in Newcastle, reduced from six advisers to just one, despite high demand, and 70 prospective ESOL students turned away from Middlesbrough College.

At the same time as resources for third sector organisations are being cut, many organisations are facing increased demand for their services. The Manager of Teesside-based charity Justice First, Kath Sainsbury, reports that asylum seekers are now coming to see them at a much earlier stage in the legal process, as cuts to legal aid limit their time with solicitors.

Services need to be provided as fully as possible in the present conditions while at the same time demanding more adequate resources. Finding the time to do the latter has always been a strain for third sector refugee organisations, and this has been compounded by fears of losing funding because of being seen as too 'political'. Yet failure to advocate for resources in the current context will mean a continued decline in the services people need. There are examples of such campaigns, for example Action for ESOL (<http://actionforesol.org>), which has brought together practitioners, educators, service users and their

communities, and the University and College Lecturers' Union. There is also a need to reassert claims to entitlement based on needs, against the growing expectation that refugees are entitled to a share of resources only because of their labour market contributions. While it is of course important to recognise refugees' contributions, to make services conditional on this is to abandon those who are legally prohibited from paid work because of their immigration status or who are unable to find a job, and those who are unable to take work that is available because of disability, poor health, lack of UK work experience, or old age. Arguments need to be made for the particularities of refugees' needs, including recognising the long-term impacts of UK asylum policies on those subject to them, enforced gaps in employment, dispersal to areas with few employment opportunities, and the stigma associated with seeking asylum. This needs to be done in a way that does not fall into a competition to establish who is the most oppressed, but emphasises each person's needs and the impact of membership of particular groups. This focus on particular needs has to combine with alliance building with other sections of society also facing austerity measures. This is not a contradiction; it is on the basis of recognising differences between us that we can come together in honest solidarity.

★Runnymede's Emerging Forum, sitting alongside its Academic Forum (<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/academic-forum/the-academic-forum.html>), brings together 30 of the UK's brightest and most promising early-career academics working on race. The Forum is made up of PhD students and lecturers from a range of fields. For further information, please go to <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/academic-forum/emerging-forum.html>.

# ALTERNATIVE RECOVERY

**Ojeaku Nwabuzo** interviews two people working in diverse communities in London to find out about their alternative strategies to recovering from the economic recession



**Andrea Enisuoh** is a founder member of Hackney Unites, managing many of their initiatives including their Unemployed Workers and C.L.R. James Legacy projects. Andrea was the first Black woman to be elected onto the National Executive of the National Union of Students and has been involved in community and anti-racism projects for over twenty years.

**What is Hackney Unites?** Hackney Unites is a diverse coalition of Hackney based groups and individuals, challenging social exclusion and promoting social justice. Members include trade unionists, faith groups, BME community and migrant support groups as well as peace activists.

**The Celebrate Hackney event you organised aimed to address Hackney residents' and workers' concerns. What were the key themes for the community?** The Celebrate Hackney event launched Hackney Unites and was our first attempt at bringing together organisations in Hackney around shared concerns. We had a huge response, especially from community organisations that wanted to put on sessions.

We had sessions with local politicians, our local MEP and other representatives from the main parties about what they were going to do about the cuts, if anything. Hackney has a thriving arts community and there are a lot of projects supporting young people, providing an alternative to lifestyles that some are leading. The environment was also an issue, in terms of people looking locally and thinking about what to do in terms of sustainability. Interestingly racism was also an issue but what was coming through, again in relation to the cuts, was that people recognised that in tough times people can turn on each other within the community and that racism and racist attacks could increase.

We also talked about refugee and migrant issues. The overarching issue was cuts, but it was not just about stopping the cuts; it was also about what we can do in our community to address what is coming. The ultimate message was that we have got to

pull together and form partnerships.

**Are you describing something similar to the Big Society? Are you finding that people are coming together more in these times of austerity?** We are finding that people are coming together but I am not sure many people or organisations have bought into the Big Society concept. When people think of the Big Society they think of volunteering and people pulling together, but this has been happening for a long time. In many ways the Big Society is a big mess now. Many of these organisations realise that the only way to survive is if they come together, put in partnership bids and form consortiums.

For a lot of BME organisations that work in health and social care, their very survival rests on forming partnerships. What the big society is I am not quite sure. In terms of volunteering, people want to invest in their community; individuals want to do something and it is quite notable.

**You provide services around employment; could you explain what the Unemployed Workers Charter is?** One of the first projects we started was a workers advice project, providing advice to people in work facing employment issues, especially vulnerable workers who were not organised or affiliated to trade unions. We then developed the Hackney Unites unemployed workers project, working with local unemployed people to raise their self-esteem and help them to get work or training.

We have not created projects specifically for BME communities, but in a borough like Hackney, when you are addressing unemployment, you are to some degree addressing BME unemployment. In 2010, 55 per cent of JSA claimants in Hackney

were ethnic minorities. Inevitably, if there is rising unemployment then BME's are hardest hit by it. People from the BME community form about 80 per cent of our service users. The unemployed workers project gives people the opportunity to showcase their skills and talent, meeting each week around common concerns. We drew up an *Unemployed Workers Charter* to highlight the main concerns of unemployed people in Hackney.

It is about things like respect and dignity, especially from state organisations, and the right to decent jobs and training. Many people are sent to CV writing courses but the CV isn't the issue; it is actually getting the right training to get a decent job with a London living wage. So the *Unemployed Workers Charter* is what we campaign around.

Over the next few months we are going to focus on what can be termed 'conscripted volunteering', where people are forced into volunteering for fear of losing their benefits. At the moment we are conducting a survey to find out whether this is a problem and whether it's affecting any groups in particular, for example BME women.

We are also launching an online skills directory, where unemployed people will be able to show what they can do in a creative way as well as outlining their qualifications. We will promote the directory locally to employers, community groups and volunteering organisations.



**Jessica Courtney Bennett** has worked with Meanwhile Space as Project Manager for over two years delivering projects in Hastings, Luton, Lewis and London. She has vast experience of occupying Meanwhile Spaces, bringing them up to a usable standard, promoting their availability and supporting projects to use the space safely and respectfully.

**What is Meanwhile Space and how did the idea come about?**

Meanwhile Space was born in 2009, and was the idea of the two founders, Eddie Bridgeman and Emily Berwyn. Rather than sites remaining boarded up, they saw an opportunity for unused spaces to be used by the public, contributing towards that community. The founders investigated how people could access these spaces, who was already doing it and what the success stories were. They delivered the Meanwhile project, looking at the legal side of using dormant retail space, recognising that there is little available in terms of financial backup. They found it hard to explain to a landlord why it would be a more positive way to use the building. They have tried to make information such as insurance and health and safety available for free.

**How does your work contribute to people's quality of life?**

It has really taken off in the last couple of years, helping the community use empty spaces in ways that they perhaps had not thought of before to become a test bed for business ideas and social entrepreneurs. It allows people to try out new business ideas, with people learning valuable skills through that process. People did incredible things or realised that what they were trying to do did not work, but in a risk-free way, meaning they were not going to become bankrupt at the end of it.



There are so many benefits to using empty spaces. It increases footfall, so if you are doing something unusual in an empty space, inevitably more people will be pulled to that area, hopefully benefitting

local businesses and the community. That has got to be a positive thing.

**You have worked in communities with diverse populations. How do you approach the challenge of including all members of the community?**

The way that we work is that we always take on a space and challenge it. It is taken on with no preconceptions of what might happen there and who might want to use it. Usually what we will do is find a space and carry out minor cosmetic changes to it, maybe change the electrics, then open the doors up and welcome people in. Inevitably a lot of people walk through the doors asking if they could use the space. We have never really turned any idea away as long as it is safe and a benefit to that local community.

We give the community the opportunity to curate the space themselves and do not project how we think the space should be used. Depending on where that space is, it generally follows a certain theme. Also, depending what has happened in the past and can be successful we have seen that people come in with similar ideas. We try to reach all members of the community and we are very open to new ideas.

Meanwhile Spaces are not practical for community groups that need regular meeting spaces as we do not know how long the shop can be occupied. It could be three months or two weeks. We have made spaces available for meetings or one-off events; for example in Whitechapel we supported community organisations to use the empty space. The retail space became a venue for events and learning and temporary office space for social enterprises and local entrepreneurs. We had an exhibition of street photography in a shop in Exmouth market. It tends to be more communities of interest that meet in the spaces that we provide.

**Eric Pickles has announced a loosening of restrictions for occupying empty high street shops. What difference do you think it will make?**

It makes things easier in terms

of accessing space and turning projects around very quickly, without having to face the bureaucracy of planning commission change. What he has done is extended the time that you could use the building. There are still restrictions; for example, you can only go up the planning ladder as opposed to going down; you could not change a café into a retail space but you could turn a retail space into a café.



There still needs to be some work done around business rates and that is our focus at the moment. If you are a charity and you pay for the space then you are pretty much guaranteed rates exemption of 80 per cent, sometimes 100 per cent depending on the space and the local authority the empty space is in. If you are not a charity, you can apply for rates exemption but you are not guaranteed it. It can get people into horrific trouble. Some people have thought they were eligible for rates relief only to find out six months later when they were handed a £20,000 business rates bill that they are not eligible.

Something we would like to explore with government or local authorities is how other types of organisations, whether it be community interest groups or a company like ourselves, can be included on this rates exemption. But the planning permission changes are a step in the right direction and also a recognition that this kind of activity is growing as well, which has to be a positive.



# ETHNIC MINORITY WOMEN AND UNEMPLOYMENT

Ethnic minority women are being ignored in discussions about unemployment. **Vicki Butler** gives details of the APPG on Race and Community's work on this vital issue.

A cross-party group of MPs and Lords have launched a new inquiry exploring the reasons behind high unemployment rates amongst Black, Bangladeshi and Pakistani women.

The inquiry is being held by the All Party Parliamentary Group (APPG) on Race and Community, with Runnymede acting as Secretariat for the group. Vicki Butler, Public Affairs Manager at Runnymede, is working on the inquiry on behalf of the APPG, including organizing evidence sessions and writing the final report and recommendations.

The APPG decided to launch an inquiry into this issue due to concerns that ethnic minority women are being ignored in debates about unemployment. Whilst ethnic minority male unemployment is unacceptably high, with rates higher than those for their female counterparts, the numbers of Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women out of work are still very high.

For example, one in five Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are unemployed compared to only one in 14 White women. The inquiry follows widespread media coverage of ethnic minority male unemployment – particularly of young Black men – and seeks to focus a similar amount of attention onto ethnic minority women. Evidence for the inquiry will be collected in a number of ways. First of all, the APPG will hold two evidence sessions in Parliament on the issue, with businesses, academics, service providers and other experts being invited to give evidence.

The first evidence session has already taken place, with witnesses including the National Apprenticeship Service and Professor Anthony Heath from Oxford University. Nine parliamentarians attended the session, including Diane Abbott, Richard Fuller and Tom Brake. The

second evidence session is due to take place in September 2012.

Regional evidence sessions will also take place, which will involve Runnymede holding roundtable discussions in constituencies of MPs taking part in the inquiry.

These will give local unemployed women from Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds the chance to put forward their own personal stories of being out of work with some of these women presenting their own stories to camera, forming part of a three minute film to be released alongside the report.

In addition, the APPG is calling for businesses, charities, social enterprises, individuals and other interested parties to submit written evidence to the inquiry, and is particularly keen to hear from Black, Pakistani and Bangladeshi women who have had first-hand experience of unemployment.

Evidence was requested in the form of a letter or as a video testimony. More information is available at: <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/parliament/appg-2/appg-inquiry.html>

The inquiry is being coordinated by a sub-committee of parliamentarians in partnership with Runnymede. The committee members are David Lammy MP, Debbie Abrahams MP, Tom Brake MP, Baroness Hussein-Ece, Lord Shiekh, Baroness Berridge and Baroness Afshar. These individuals were chosen to reflect party balance, as well as a balance between the House of Commons and House of Lords.



Photo: Vijay Jeythia (c)

This group will be involved in the final report and recommendations, as well as the overall direction of the inquiry, but other parliamentarians also have the opportunity to play an active role in questioning witnesses at evidence sessions.

It is hoped that the final inquiry report and film, to be published and released in the autumn, will draw attention to a frequently neglected issue. If you are keen to find out more information or submit written evidence, please contact Vicki Butler at [vicki@runnymedetrust.org](mailto:vicki@runnymedetrust.org).



# THE INVISIBLE WORKFORCE

**Professor Bill Boyle** takes a look into broken promises, inequality issues and exclusion from employment for the Black community in Liverpool.

From a Liverpool Football Club website illuminatingly titled 'Red and White', I was recently challenged by a number of 'bloggers' when I suggested a link between the 'racial' make-up of Liverpool City Council's workforce and the slave trade. I had, too close in time to Liverpool striker Luis Suarez's 'racist abuse' of Manchester United's Patrice Evra occupying pages in the media, the temerity to have a letter obliquely related to that emotive theme published in *The Independent*. The letter reported the fact that based on an analysis of workforce ethnicity data from its own employment website, Liverpool City Council had 'not moved to deal with the issues raised and evidenced in Lord Gifford's 1989 Report *Loosen The Shackles*, following the Toxteth riots of 1981'.

## Unfulfilled promises

In 1988 Liverpool Council promised to address the city's racism (a term used by Gifford and accepted by the council) by moving towards 10 per cent Black employment within the City's workforce. As William E Nelson reported in his book *Black Atlantic Workers*, 'This promise was to include the training of 600 Black workers'. The Council's stated intention was to abandon the process of promotion through internal selection in favour of internal advertisement but this was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. A rigorous programme of monitoring and statistical analysis of the Council's employment process was to be established to achieve transparency in this movement towards an equitable and diverse workforce. Despite all of these impressive promises, the initiatives were on the surface only and the Black community in Liverpool were not allowed access to real power through leadership development programmes, opening the way to systemic change. Nelson concluded that, 'Blacks in Liverpool have not penetrated pivotal arenas of decision making and power'.

These data are an indictment of Liverpool and link the Council's inertia and inaction with those Authorities

condemned by the Commission for Racial Equality's (CRE) research in 2003. This examined progress made by public bodies in England and Wales in meeting their monitoring obligations under the Race Relations Amendment Act of 2000 and showed that 'A significant number had not done anything to comply with the law'.

## The exclusion legacy

Section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 states that 'Without prejudice to their obligation to comply with any other provision of this Act, it shall be the duty of every Local Authority to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need: to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups'. Unfortunately in Liverpool, there is a legacy of exclusion in the City Council throughout the city's recent history. This is mirrored in the low percentage of Black employment in the city's workforce generally. Taafe and Mulhern report in *A City that Dared to Fight* that, 'In 1975 across 19 of the city's retail outlets from a total working population of 10,000, only 75 of those employees were Black; in 1983, from 3,000 employees in the city centre only 12 were Black'.

## What the figures say

Latest workforce ethnicity data (published as an iFirst Article in the *Journal of Education Policy* in August 2011) shows that across the Council's 22 Departments there are only 2 per cent Black employees (137 employees from a workforce of 6031). A similar but even more disappointing statistic holds for the teaching profession in the city with only 0.5 per cent of the workforce being Black (22 teachers in a workforce of 4629). What form of modelling for youth in the city in the areas of employment and education do those statistics represent?

In context, the White domination of council employment (as the data shows) does not follow historical process but is an intervention and

seizing of power by White agency. This begs the question as to why this historical amnesia prevails. As Hall says in *Black Britain: A Photographic History*, 'Thanks to this amnesia which has overtaken British popular memory of its long Imperial past, this is often represented in very truncated form, as if it all only began the day before yesterday. In fact, as we know there has been a Black presence in Britain for over four hundred years'.

## The effect today

In response to my unsolicited correspondent from 'Red and White,' there is a strong related trail between Liverpool's involvement in the slave trade and the current Council's employment practices. It took Liverpool City Council until as recently as 1999 to issue a formal apology for Liverpool's involvement in the slave trade and 'The continual effects of slavery on Liverpool's Black community' (Todd and Farrar, *Teaching Race in HE Social Sciences - What Next?* conference proceedings, 2006). In its 1999 statement, the council pledged itself to reconciliation and committed to work with Liverpool's Black communities to combat all forms of racism and discrimination. Todd and Farrar contend that, 'The untold misery which was caused has left a legacy which affects Black people in Liverpool today.'

Small, in an article in the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, highlights this legacy as including 'Extreme residential segregation, a powerful white local sentiment and insular identity, an extremely virulent racialised hostility'.

Our data shows that these factors have, far from alleviating the situation, led to the continued white domination of the major areas of education, retailing and City Council services, the main areas of employment in the city. Possibly the Liverpool fans from the 'Red and White' blog are so securely housed in their White hegemony that none of this matters as long as their team wins?

# THE 'SELF-MADE' MAN

Student and performance poet **George Mpanga** takes a look at the increasing number of unemployed young people using their entrepreneurial creativity to prosper in the current economic climate.

Following cuts to the public purse and the increase in tuition fees, youth unemployment has reached a record high. With nearly 1.5 million 16-25 year olds (over 21%) not in education, employment and training (NEET), the situation is culminating in a quiet panic. What makes this epidemic so alarming is its damning implications for the future; long-term effects of unemployment include lower income, lower life expectancy, greater gender imbalance and deeper class schisms, as downturn hits disadvantaged groups the hardest. This is demonstrated by over 150 areas of the country where the proportion of young people claiming unemployment benefits is double the national average, with at least a quarter of them classified as NEET. The discourse on this issue tends to focus on its immediate impact on today's economy, but not enough is being done to consider the perceptions of the young people in question; what future do they see for themselves? Is all the speculation about doom perhaps more drastic than the reality? As a 21 year-old black student and performance poet this subject is particularly pertinent to me, so I began searching for answers.

The Office for National Statistics reports that unemployment among young black male jobseekers (excluding students) doubled in three years, rising from 28.8 per cent in 2008 to 55.9 per cent in the last three months of 2011 – twice the rate for young white people. Thus, more than half of young black men available for work are now unemployed.

Many within this cohort are of the view that this is down to systemic biases against them. Daniel Francis (a pseudonym as the contributor does not wish to be named), 17, from North London admits his frustration at losing positions to others equally and sometimes less qualified than himself. When asked how these experiences affected his hopes for future employment, Daniel replied with agitation that things looked like an "uphill struggle". Tolu Adebisi (another pseudonym), 22,

of South-East London comments on applying for jobs online; he suspects that many of his black friends with English names "sidestep potential prejudice" through this practice, whereas he is disadvantaged by the "squiggly red lines under both names". However, despite this rather disheartening outlook on his job-hunt, Tolu touches on an interesting point, if only in passing: "I get so tired of knocking on all these doors, I just feel like doing my own thing so that people come knocking instead".

One untold success story of the current economic climate is the rise of the entrepreneurial spirit. Many of today's youth draw inspiration from popular media moguls who symbolise the marriage between the creative arts and business prowess under the ego-massaging banner of "self-made". To consider an icon such as rapper Shawn "Jay-Z" Carter; 50 million albums, 14 Grammys, various successful clothing ventures, ownership of prominent record labels and a net worth of \$450 million altogether have a profound socio-psychological appeal to the young mind.



Photo: Getty Images

Simultaneously rebellious, relatable and respectable - in many respects the entrepreneur is the new rock star. Another such figure is West London's Jamal Edwards (pictured above with Ed Milliband). In just five short years the 21 year-old has gone from making rough recordings of underground music artists to running the UK's most powerful youth broadcasting company, 'SBTV'. With a turnover in excess of £110,000 in 2011 and a claim to having provided some of the

biggest names in music with an early platform, Jamal's company is, suffice to say, a success. The rise of SBTV has breathed new life into the urban enterprising culture, as thousands of similarly styled online channels have emerged in recent years. In an exclusive interview, the young pioneer offered his thoughts on this trend: "the successful ones know the difference between overnight success and hard graft. They are patient and consistent". Jamal described his journey as something of a balancing act; after being "unemployed for a long time" he opted for a job at the apparel store Topman, which was his only source of income while he worked on the business. As he recounts his story he muses on the celebrity appeal of such a path, suggesting that many young people are prepared to work hard for this kind of success, as they now regard it a viable career option – no doubt experiencing the glitz and glamour vicariously through the pictures he broadcasts on his social network pages. But Jamal is a rarity. For a more representative perspective on careers and employment, one must consider the bigger picture.

Through my creative workshops in London's poorest boroughs I was able to probe pupils about where they saw themselves after education, with the majority responding with warmly optimistic ambitions ranging from engineering to wildlife conservation. We discussed the economic climate at length, and they eventually led me to the conclusion that "worrying and complaining doesn't put food on the table".

Economic downturn is the only Britain many young people have known. Potentially the panic is quelled by political apathy rather than entirely qualified self-assuredness, but if this generation is ready to work with an open mind towards employment and enterprise, perhaps we should spend less time lamenting the economy and focus our energies nurturing creative and practical approaches to the job market.

# AIMING FOR EQUAL RECOVERY



**Jeremy Crook OBE**, Director of Black Training and Enterprise Group, considers the factors that might lead to a more equal recovery, given that Black youth unemployment is currently so shockingly high.

After the memorable Olympics came the welcome news of a drop in the UK unemployment figures. Despite this, recent figures from the Office for National Statistics show that the unemployment rate for Black young people (aged 16 to 24) in Great Britain is 47 per cent, compared to 21 per cent for White young people. For young Black males the picture is even worse, with the unemployment rate standing at 56 per cent. According to the Government's Ethnic Minority Advisory Group, more young Black men in England are out of work (33,000) than in work (26,000). This is a truly shocking situation, and it cannot be allowed to persist.

There has been a significant gap between White and Black youth unemployment rates for many years. Black Training and Enterprise Group (BTEG) believe that young people should be creating employment through their entrepreneurship. Without employment and enterprise opportunities for young Black people, when the economy does start to grow and youth unemployment is reduced, there will be an unequal recovery in respect of race.

Young people of African and Caribbean origin have improved their educational attainment in recent years, but just over 50 per cent of Black Caribbean origin pupils leave schools without five GCSEs including Maths and English. Significantly more White pupils enter employment at 16 years, while more ethnic minority young people stay in further education. Figures from the National Apprenticeship Service (NAS) show that across England only 8 per cent of apprentices are from an ethnic minority. To reflect the proportion of ethnic minority young people in the national population, the figure should be closer to 14 per cent. In some sectors – such as construction, engineering and IT – the participation of ethnic minorities is well below five per cent. Unlike the Olympics, where it seemed that the vast majority of the

country got behind our diverse 'Team GB', employers do not seem to value ethnic diversity. The willingness of present and past governments to use public procurement as a lever to influence private sector suppliers' recruitment performance has been disappointing. It seems that the political will is simply not there. The Coalition Government does not think that setting national targets is the best way to reduce racial inequalities. They do believe that the work programme, which operates on payment by results, will tackle racial inequalities. But history suggests that providers will 'cream off' those who are most employable and figures show that Black people are harder to place into work. In London over half of jobseekers' allowance claimants are ethnic minorities.

There is a substantial cost to the taxpayer in having large numbers of Black youth unemployed. There is also a high social cost to a generation of young Black people feeling that it does not pay to work hard at school, college or university. For these young people the system is simply not fair because rewards do not necessarily follow from hard work. To raise the aspirations of Black young people, BTEG has secured a grant to implement a national role model programme for young Black males aged 11–25 years. The project, called '**Route2Success**,' will recruit 30 successful Black male role models to inspire young Black males across the country to succeed in education and employment. In terms of policies to tackle race inequalities in employment and enterprise, BTEG believes the following solutions are needed:

## **Entrepreneurship**

A national fund should be created to stimulate ethnic minority entrepreneurship for people aged 18–30 years on a match-funding basis with ethnic minority enterprise involvement (i.e. as mentors and local ethnic minority business networks). The focus should be

on business acumen, building social capital and innovation.

## **Procurement**

A new and refreshed commitment to public sector procurement is necessary. Companies such as MITIE plc have urged the government to build in a small percentage of the assessment process to be dependent on meeting robust race equality requirements, underpinned with effective monitoring. Transport for London (TfL) has pioneered this approach which should become the norm in the public sector rather than the exception.

## **Social mobility and employment**

Children starting in Year 7 in under-performing schools should have the 'inspirational seed' planted as early as possible. Careers education needs a radical re-think and in future should be about connecting schools, young people and employers through mentors and work experience placements. We need a new model of careers education as Ethnic minority parents (and many employers) have been dissatisfied with the quality and impartiality of careers advice for decades.

## **Employers**

Private sector companies need incentivising to take new approaches to tackle racial discrimination in recruitment and progression. Employers should be encouraged to focus more on *enablers* to ensure better access to opportunities; work closely with secondary schools on developing employability skills; provide more work experience and internships for underrepresented groups; develop stronger relationships with educational institutions that have high BME student intakes; provide apprenticeship places; and undertake positive action initiatives.



# TELLING THE SUCCESS STORY OF MIGRATION

## Nazek Ramadan on the success of the newspaper set up to recognise the achievements of migrants

*Migrant Voice* was set up prior to the 2010 UK general election amid concerns about the debate on migration and the absence of migrant voices. It aims to respond to the need for strengthening voices of migrants by increasing their skills and confidence in developing and conveying key messages about their realities, promoting a more balanced media coverage and public debate on migration.

*Migrant Voice* was built on the premise that there can only be progress if all actions are creatively and positively implemented, working to improve the attitude and behaviours towards migration by mobilising migrants to positively influence the debate. This may be achieved through interviews, conferences, newspapers, research reports, social media and creative communications.

The *Migrant Voice* newspaper celebrates the success and contribution of migrants to the UK economy and their role in influencing life and culture in the UK, shaping its future. A total of 100,000 copies were distributed to commuters by *Migrant Voice*'s volunteers outside tube and train stations, in a number of cities across the UK, but mainly in London, Birmingham and Glasgow.

As well as investigating policy areas that impact on both migrants and the country as a whole, such as the cap on students' visas and the language tests for foreign spouses, the newspaper focuses on the success story of migration. Available in both hard copies and online ([www.migrantvoice.org](http://www.migrantvoice.org)), it runs a number of features and interviews looking at the achievements of migrants in industries such as food, fashion, sports, music and the arts, highlighting the role of migrants in helping build the UK economy. This role is acknowledged by the Greater London Authority who described international migrants as the 'engine of London's economic growth'. In its search for the secrets of success, the newspaper looks at the personal journeys of a number of migrants who became leaders in their field.



Among them are Camila Batmanghelidjh, British Business Woman of the Year and director of the charity Kids Company, Hussein Chalayan, British Designer of the Year for two consecutive years, and Anjali Pathak, one the Pataks (Indian spices) company's brand ambassadors which has products in every supermarket in the land. Anjali believes that heritage can play an important part in finding success.

The paper ventures into the Balti Triangle in the heart of Birmingham and finds out how migrants turned the city into the nation's curry capital. It also drops in at Portobello Road's Garcia family shop in West London and finds out how the 54 year-old successful family business sells its delicatessen to famous clients including the Prime Minister David Cameron.

This year's issue was launched at the *Guardian*'s Scott Room to mark the young and ambitious organisation's second anniversary whilst also marking the official London launch of the 'Talking Pictures' photo exhibition and DVDs, also featuring in the newspaper. The 'Talking Pictures' project endeavours to depict the narratives of migration through images. There is also information about the craft of photography. This was an 8-week course that ended with a number of exhibitions of the work, the production of a DVD and a book exhibiting and celebrating the finalised photographs and case studies from the project. They tell the stories of

decisions made before departure, during the journey and after arrival, of expectations and of the unexpected, and how people – whatever their pasts – focus on the future and build homes in a new country.

*Migrant Voice* also enjoyed success with its second annual conference: 'From MONologue to Dialogue; Strengthening and hearing migrants' voices in the debate on migration' (11 and 12 May 2012, at the Amnesty International Human Rights Centre). Examining public attitudes and media representation of migrants, the conference also discussed strategies for migrants' engagement in the public conversation on migration. Encouragingly, the event attracted more than 130 participants including members and non-members from migrant and refugee communities, media experts, and academics from London, Birmingham and Glasgow and other cities in the UK, as well as guests from a number of European countries including Ireland, Belgium and Malta.

Amongst the experts who presented at the conference, were Professor Heaven Crawley from Swansea University, Dr Scott Blinder from the Migration Observatory, Dr Aine O'Brien from FOMACS, Don Flynn from Migrants' Rights Network and UNHCR's Roland Schilling. The media panel of journalists included Ronke Phillips from ITV, Dr Kurt Barling from the BBC, David Crouch from the Financial Times and NUJ, and was chaired by Lindsey Hilsum from Channel 4. The panel provided an insight into the British media perspective on the coverage of migration, and highlighted opportunities for migrants to engage with and influence the media.

Despite being a new organisation, *Migrant Voice* has been recognised for its positive contribution towards the creative implementation of an equal society. The Director received the prestigious London award 'Migrant and Refugee Woman of The Year' in 2012. Still, the work continues.



# THE AUSTERITY CHALLENGE: RUNNYMEDE'S NEW SCORECARD WILL CHALLENGE GROWING INEQUALITIES

With councils enjoying more responsibility than ever, **Phil Mawhinney** discusses the steps taken to bring to light the inequalities in their boroughs

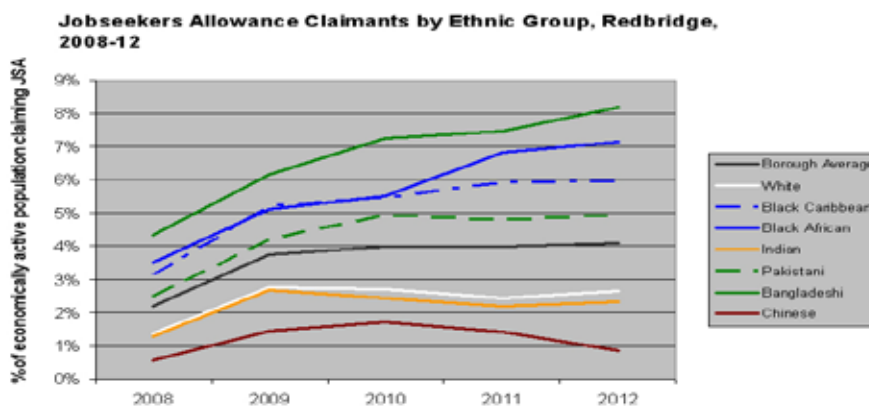
## The context – austerity and inequality

A recent survey of 17 countries in Europe found that ethnic minorities are among those most affected by the economic crisis and government austerity policies (<http://www.psiru.org/node/16030>). Research by the Equality and Human Rights Commission found that the Treasury made no attempt in its 2010 spending review to anticipate the impact on BME people of introducing a cap on household benefits and scrapping the Educational Maintenance Allowance (See the article in this issue of the Bulletin (p. 11) and <http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/news/2012/may/commission-publishes-formal-assessment-of-government-s-2010-spending-review/>).

Runnymede and others highlight youth unemployment as one of the most alarming effects of the economic malaise. Young people in BME communities are particularly affected: between 2008 and 2011, the number of young black people looking for work rose from 29 per cent to 47 per cent, more than double the 21 per cent of young white people out of work. As the recession deepens, what is happening in health, criminal justice and education? How are BME-led charities, providing essential services to vulnerable people, being affected by cuts in spending? The Race Equality Scorecard addresses these questions.

## Going local

The Scorecard operates at local level, with the government is 'overseeing a fundamental shift of power away from Westminster to councils, communities and homes across the nation' (<http://www.communities.gov.uk/corporate/about/>). Councils following the Localism Act 2011 have more freedom to change and improve local services, and increase accountability. In its vision of transparency and widening public access to government data – 'open data' – people to seen to act as 'citizen auditors', scrutinising council spending.



## Inequalities, not just spending

So the rough shape of a new paradigm in public accountability is emerging – councils with more power to shape services; transparency in what councils spend money on; and accountability through citizen auditors rather than official bodies. But accountability is also about what elected representatives are doing to create strong and inclusive communities. Enter the Scorecard.

Funded by the Trust for London, the Scorecard gathers publicly available data to show where communities are experiencing persistent disadvantage – in education, employment, health, housing, criminal justice, civic participation and BME-led voluntary sector funding – and to hold councils (and other agencies such as the police) to account. To ask 'Why is this happening and what are you doing to change it?' We are piloting the project in three outer London boroughs – Croydon, Kingston and Redbridge.

## Establishing the Facts

The Scorecard has two phases: evidence gathering and accountability. The chart shows unemployment by ethnic group in Redbridge from 2008-12 and how levels for Bangladeshi and black people are persistently higher than the borough average. The level of inequality is increasing with 4.3 per cent of Bangladeshi people without work compared to a 2.2 per cent average in 2008. This year it is over eight per cent against an average of four per cent. The total spread – between

the groups with the highest and lowest unemployment rates – has grown from four to seven per cent.

## Stop and Account

We are working closely with local partners: Croydon BME Forum, Kingston Race and Equalities Council and the Refugee and Migrant Forum of East London, as they have local knowledge and relationships – with community groups, local councillors and service deliverers – so know how best to use the Scorecard to hold local authorities to account and push for greater equality. The Scorecard may be presented to the local community, asking what the biggest priority should be. They will also know how to communicate the findings to local policymakers, accessing the forums and committees where decisions and policies are made. While the Scorecard provides a tool with which to robustly challenge council policy, it is not purely a combative tool. It will highlight successes as well as failures. The GCSE attainment gap in Croydon has consistently narrowed over the last five years, demonstrating that inequalities can be overcome, and best practice can be shared between councils.

## Conclusion

Under the Equality Act 2010 councils have to combat disadvantage and meet the needs of ethnic minorities and other groups. As the second recession in four years deepens, it is vital we know how ethnic minorities compare to the rest of society, challenging councils to fulfil their responsibilities to their citizens.

# IN THIS TOGETHER?

**Debbie Weekes-Bernard** takes a look at the research being carried out by Runnymede on public sector cuts

Since the Autumn of 2011, Runnymede have been working on a specially commissioned project examining the equality impact of cuts to the public sector in conjunction with the TUC, UNISON, Unite, NASUWT, PCS and UCU. The rationale for this work has been explored in an earlier bulletin article (<http://www.scribd.com/doc/96399870/Spring-2012-Runnymede-Bulletin-Sport>), but it is clear that the urgency for research of this nature has not diminished.

The public sector continues to shrink in size according to ONS figures, which show that from January to March of this year, employment across the sector decreased by 39,000, with some of the largest employment falls being felt in local government (decreasing by 33,000). Overall, in the year from 2011 to 2012 there was a 7.1 per cent reduction across the public sector and 150,000 people have become redundant in the three months to June alone.

Fifty five per cent of economically active young Black men, aged 16-24, are unemployed, a figure which has almost doubled since 2008 and compares to an unemployment rate for young economically active White men from the same age group of 20 per cent. Earlier this year, the EHRC noted that in its spending review the Government failed to grasp the requirements of the public sector equality duty with clear disproportionate impact occurring for some groups more than others, such as the effect of the removal of the Education Maintenance Allowance on young BME people.

*In This Together* aims to specifically look at, and document, this disproportionate impact, combining commissioned research work, an online survey as well as the collection of testimonies from those who have personally experienced cuts to their employment. More specifically this work, in exploring the equality impact of these cuts, will collect data across ethnicity, gender, disability, religion and sexual orientation, in order to map how the public sector

workforce has changed over the past two years. Unions suggest that there are real gaps in knowledge, not only about the equality impact of these cuts, but, certainly for some groups, where they are located in the sector.

Some of what we know about the experiences of groups and individuals with regards to funding cuts is anecdotal, but nevertheless important. There is very little monitoring or data on LGBT public sector staff and many supplementary education services, dependent on some public sector funding, are closing down. It is also clear that cuts to benefits for disabled workers will impact upon the support necessary to assist them in getting to work, placing their existing employment at risk. Furthermore many disabled staff are struggling to hang on to their reasonable adjustments during this period.



Photo: Vijay Jeevina (c)

For BME workers, the fear of job loss prevents many from raising issues to do with discrimination at work, refusing to pursue or even take up complaints. Unions also worry that the use of capability procedures within schools may act disproportionately for BME teaching staff and assistants. These worrying initial findings clearly illustrate how necessary it is to collect this information in order to demonstrate broader impact and hold not only employers but also the government to account over public sector reform decisions.

The online survey for this project is now live and is open until Friday 28<sup>th</sup>

September – we would urge you to take a look at our In this Together section on the Runnymede website (<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects-and-publications/projects/employment-2/in-this-together.html>) and to complete the survey yourselves if you have access to employment data about changes to your workforce ([http://www.rminight.co.uk/surveys/runnymede/runnymede\\_equality\\_survey.htm](http://www.rminight.co.uk/surveys/runnymede/runnymede_equality_survey.htm)).

We are also in the midst of collecting personal testimonies from individuals who have experienced, first hand, cuts to their employment within the sector, either by virtue of being made redundant or by experiencing cuts to hours or pay. If you have had such an experience, we would very much like to hear from you and ask that you contact Debbie Weekes-Bernard, senior researcher on this project on [debbie@runnymedetrust.org](mailto:debbie@runnymedetrust.org).

Help us measure the impact of public sector reform by filling in our online survey today. Runnymede, on behalf of the TUC, UNISON, Unite, PCS, NASUWT and UCU, is conducting a survey of public sector workers in order to map the equality impact of the cuts to public services.

Commenting, Dr Debbie Weekes-Bernard, who is leading the project, said: “Emerging research suggests that these cuts will not affect all public sector workers equally.” Director of Runnymede, Rob Berkeley added “This project is vital as it will highlight which groups are being hit hardest by the cuts, and will target action to address it.”

Everyone who completes the survey will be entered into a prize draw to win a £50 [Amazon](#) voucher.

Please go to [http://www.rminight.co.uk/surveys/runnymede/runnymede\\_equality\\_survey.htm](http://www.rminight.co.uk/surveys/runnymede/runnymede_equality_survey.htm) if you would like to take part in the survey.

# In this together?

RUNNYMEDE

## Counting the equality costs of public service reform

Current cuts to government spending will have a significant impact on public services and the workforce employed to deliver them. Emerging research suggests that these cuts will not affect all public sector workers equally. It is crucial that we are alert to how these cuts are affecting all workers, and in particular workers from marginalised groups.

**Runnymede, in partnership with TUC, Unison, Unite, NASUWT, UCU and PCS, has developed this project to monitor public service reform so we can begin to map the equality impact on workers.**



### The survey

As part of this project Runnymede has developed a survey to gather information on the impact public service reform is having on equality. We will use the information to map the impact of the cuts on minority ethnic groups and those from other protected characteristics.

### How to get involved

We are asking union branch representatives to monitor how the cuts are effecting people in their workplace and to share the information with us through the online survey.

The survey will close on 16 November 2012.

Go to [www.runnymedetrust.org/in-this-together](http://www.runnymedetrust.org/in-this-together) for more information.



# VOX POP

## What careers advice have you received at school?

## What advice would you like to receive?



Photo: Flickr/comedy\_nose



Photo: Flickr/comedy\_nose



Photo: Flickr/plasiaAnka



Photo: Flickr/hunnui

Currently in school we get one-to-one tutoring sessions with either our teacher or tutor about what you want to do when you're older, and we also get to talk to people from Connexions and work experience.

We don't get enough help with, say, other work experiences and the one-to-one sessions don't happen enough.

Currently the amount of careers advice we get is usually from family members – uncle, cousin, mother, father – friends I might know and how they've managed to get to certain positions and every so often the teachers give some very helpful advice.

Every so often companies come to our school and they present to us some ideas on what you can do to get apprenticeships. Sometimes I get invited to something like this event, to possibly get a higher chance in getting jobs.

The careers advice I'd like just simply would be more people to talk to, online forums that know what they are doing.

We get help from Connexions, the Internet, work experience and things like that, but there are some things we would like improved.

It would be good to have information about the different pathways you can go down, not just getting A levels and going to uni.

We want more options about unknown jobs and things like that, because you get told what jobs are out there but you don't get told about the unknown ones.

Basically we do careers advice in Year 10, and I think it should be done earlier before we choose our options and there should be more opportunities for experiencing different types of job.

Also there should be online research, it's a really good way to research jobs, because it gives you all the qualifications you need to achieve the job you want to do.

We also have a careers adviser and she will go through all the qualifications you need, and if there's any trouble, she will go through it with you.

# 10 KEY FACTS ABOUT...

## BME IN THE WORKPLACE

FACTS COMPILED BY REBECCA WALLER

**1** The number of NHS workers fell by almost 20,000 between 2010 and 2011 with 71,000 people employed within the education sector losing their jobs in 2011.

**2** Black, Bangladeshi and Pakistani women are more likely to work in the public sector than White women. In 2007, before the recession started, 48.8 per cent of Black Caribbean women worked full time in the public sector (Lucinda Platt, 2007).

**3** There are declining rates of overall employment among minority ethnic groups in Great Britain with Black men and women 2.5 times as likely to be unemployed as White people (Runnymede, 2011).

**4** Unemployment among minority ethnic young people is more than twice as high as among White people of the same age. This is an even bigger gap than in the 1980s (Institute for Public Policy Research).

**5** Past evidence shows that firms owned by individuals of Black African origin have been four times more likely than so-called White firms to be denied loans outright (Ft.com).

**6** Whilst approximately 16% of 16–24 year olds are from an ethnic minority, only 9.2% of those starting apprenticeships in the period August 2011 to January 2012 were from a minority ethnic background (<http://www.thedateservice.org.uk>).



Photo: Flickr/fbcworldservice

**7** Nearly half (45%) of BME third sector organisations have experienced funding cuts since the recession began. The cuts come at the same time as the BME sector experienced a significant increase in demand for services (Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations).

**8** Almost a third of Local Authorities in England are not holding back the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) to meet the specific educational needs of minority ethnic pupils.

**9** When unemployment rises during periods of recession, it begins earlier among Black groups. At its highest point, during the four years between 2008 and 2011, Black unemployment was three times higher than that for the rest of the population (Runnymede, 2011).

**10** If you have an African or Asian sounding surname you need to send about twice as many job applications as those with a traditionally English name just to get an interview (National Centre for Social Research).

“ There are declining rates of overall employment among minority ethnic groups in Great Britain with Black men and women 2.5 times as likely to be unemployed as White people ”



## Living in apartheid South Africa

REVIEWS EDITED BY ROBIN FRAMPTON

Musuva's novel is a fictional account of growing up in apartheid South Africa. We follow the life of Tumelo (whose name means faith and belief, a fitting name for the character) from her birth in the Cape in the 1960s. This gives an interesting perspective as we learn about living under apartheid from a child's questioning point of view.

The book follows Tumelo as she goes through the educational system, campaigning against apartheid, and in providing details of her family life the novel provides us with a gripping exposé of the brutal regime that denied basic human rights to coloured and black citizens for many years.

Tumelo's narrative gives the reader an insight into the history of colonialism and racism through her first-hand experiences of their legacy – violence, segregation and poverty. She provides a heartfelt account of how apartheid law affects the lives of those who were 'black' or 'coloured'.

One of Tumelo's most poignant depictions of life in apartheid South Africa concerns the pencil test used by the authorities to classify one's ethnic group. Officials in South Africa determined whether an individual was white or not by putting a pencil into the hair of the claimant to see whether it would drop out or get stuck. If the pencil fell through the hair then that person was classified 'white' and if not then they would be classified as one of the various non-category whites, for example Boere, Khoisan and Herero.

However, as a non-white person choosing to take this test, if you managed to pass as 'white' you would have to abandon your life as a 'black' or 'coloured' person, thereby giving up your family and every aspect of your cultural identity. You had to then 'play-white', behaving as a white person would, from how you styled your hair to the food you ate and even how you laughed.

Tumelo's narrative exposes the depth

of the apartheid system in South Africa and shows how racism was engrained in all ethnic groups, not just between whites and blacks. She explains that 'everybody believed that everybody else was wild, and everybody had names for everybody else' – all of which were prejudicial.

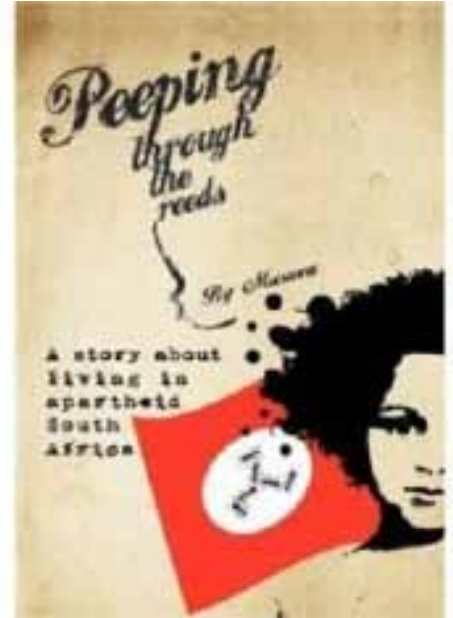
Tumelo's description of her uncle Thaba's existence showed that he was at the bottom of the colour hierarchy as he was Bantu. The system decreed that coloured people or Indians had to have an identity book but they didn't need to carry it with them.

However, if you were Native or Bantu then you had to have a pass book on your person at all times or risk being arrested. The reader witnesses the taunts by Tumelo's neighbours about her Kaffir uncle as well as her constant fear of being hounded by the police. And these are just the beginnings of her story.

Tumelo's relationships with her mother, best friends, male admirers, and teachers are also explored under apartheid because literally every aspect of life was affected by it. One relationship in particular highlighted the heartbreaking reality of belonging to the underclass – she falls in love with Don, a white Irish American, but relationships between whites and non-whites were illegal. Tumelo constantly questions him and what she feels for him.

Her mother also reacts in the same way and is concerned that he somehow seems to make her forget that they have different skin colours. Both of them question whether a white man would have a genuine interest in a black woman. The depiction of the birth of Tumelo's first child is a particularly harrowing account of yet more cruelty experienced at the hands of those in favour of apartheid.

The book dramatically evokes life under apartheid rule. However, when Tumelo comes to England, where she again experiences racism, her



### Peeping Through the Reeds: A Story about Living in Apartheid South Africa

Musava

Author House 2010.

Reviewed by Rebecca Bryce



response to it is really lacking in comparison to the rest of her rich and superb account of apartheid South Africa. Nonetheless, Peeping Through the Reeds is a good read for anyone who wishes to know more about apartheid South Africa.



## Racial consciousness

In *A White Side of Black Britain*, France Winddance Twine paints portraits of families through her in-depth and longitudinal research, exploring the history and dynamics of 40 'transracial', or mixed-race, families based in Leicester. It will be of interest to those working or studying research methods, families and parenting, and mixed-race studies.

The main focus is directed at how White women develop racial consciousness through their relationship with their partner and his family, their interactions with their own family and friends and society at large. The author asks: "How do White members of trans-racial families translate, transmit and transform the meanings of race, racism and their own whiteness in post-colonial Britain?"

She then explores how these meanings are passed on to their mixed race children in order to foster positive identities and tools to protect them against racism.

The focus of the work is on White women married to African Caribbean men, with the author interviewing both Black and White husbands and wives, their parents and siblings. Twine's study is impressive in that she accounts for racial and ethnic identification, gender and class in her analysis of the lives of these women and looks at how these factors have informed their particular understandings of racial consciousness.

Twine describes her research method as 'longitudinal ethnography', multiple narrative interviews over a period of ten years that produces a rich collection of stories. Accompanying the stories are photographs of the interviewees and their families – some taken by a photographer working with Twine for the research while some have been supplied by the research participants.

By opting for a series of life history interviews, Twine provides an in-depth

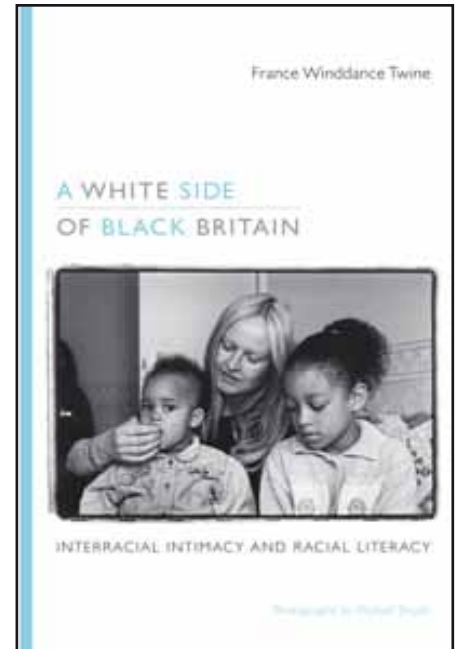
account on their lived experience, how relationships change and how this may impact on their views. Furthermore, it provides an ongoing discussion between the researcher and her subjects which starts at the point of the initial encounter – where most qualitative research ends.

Those with an interest in participatory research methodology will find Twine's methods inspiring. Aside from life history interviewing, Twine also conducts photo-elicitation interviews where research participants describe their past using the photographs as a prompt.

This type of memory work allowed her participants to discuss the context and significance of these visual representations of her family life and allowed Twine to compare how they narrated their life with and without the photographs.

In Chapter 6 she writes: "I was particularly interested in the unidentified White women who occasionally appeared in these photos... I was surprised by the images of these White women because in our previous conversations, in the absence of photographs, Sharon had emphasized her racial isolation. Her White sisters-in-law have not been central in Sharon's narration of her life. Nevertheless they regularly appear in the photographs of intimate family moments... events that display social cohesion. During the photo-elicitation interview it became apparent that several other White women have been incorporated into her black extended family."

Through her rich material Twine draws together conclusions about how racial literacy has developed among some of the White women in her study – and compares this over the years of her study. She records the influence of friends and social networks, anti-racist political activity, experiences with racism (directly at their family or themselves through association with Black people), and the racial literacy of their Black partner.



### **A White Side of Black Britain: Interracial Intimacy and Racial Literacy**

France Winddance Twine  
Duke University Press, 2011.

Reviewed by Jessica Mai Sims



While being a member of a Black family is not an a priori condition for possession of racial consciousness, Twine does show, in a thoughtful and nuanced manner, the ability for women to learn and adapt their everyday practices in order to pass on an adopted heritage.

## Cultural divide

Cummins and Early's engaging anthology on *Identity Texts* presents an approach to teaching in multilingual settings, encouraging students to draw on their languages and cultures to create texts which "[reflect] their identities back to them in a positive light". In line with the authors' commitment to the notion of 'multiliteracies', the definition of 'text' ranges from multilingual theatre plays to dance videos on YouTube.

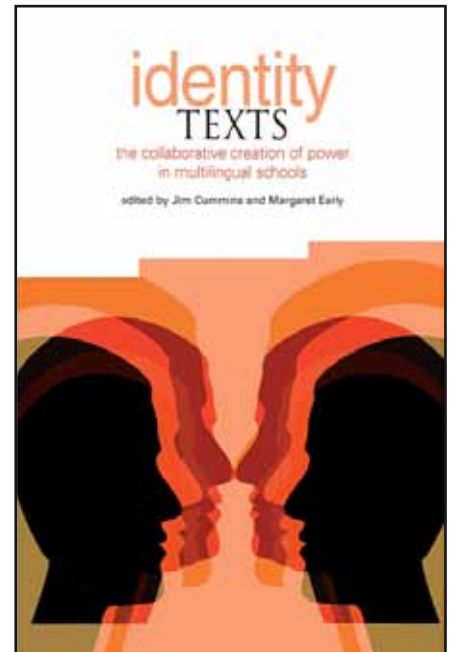
The book begins with the implicit devaluation by educational institutions of students from minority backgrounds and their respective cultures. According to Cummins and Early, this imposes a negative identity on to young people who actually have a wealth of linguistic and cultural resources to bring into the classroom. Instead of this negativity, we should emphasise the *achievement* of those from differing cultures. *Identity Texts* provide opportunities to bring differing cultures into the classroom through a bi- or multilingual project and "clearly proclaim the legitimacy of students' multilingual skills and showcase their intellectual, literary and artistic talents. They generate power for both students and teachers".

*The New Country*, a bilingual Urdu-English book describing three students and their journey to Canada from Pakistan, is one example. One of its authors, Kanta, remembers arriving at school in grade 4 and being given a pack of crayons and a colouring book and told to 'get on with it'. In contrast, writing *The New Country* was an age-appropriate project that enabled her to showcase her skills. "I'm not just a coloring person," she reflects, "I can show you that I am something". Speaking of their pride in their texts, the authors express how they feel like 'real authors' or artists for the first time. Sulmana, a co-author, describes her family's positive reaction to her writing a book in both Urdu and English: "After [my grandma] saw the whole thing she was like 'Wow, you're great' and she started kissing me".

*Identity Texts* claims that affirming student identity – and therefore challenging coercive societal relations - is the *only* way to bridge the achievement gap between students from mainstream and marginalised backgrounds, as well as raising student self-esteem. Attempts to close this gap without *empowering* students are evidentially baseless, and thus doomed to failure (the Bush administration's 'Reading First' initiative is cited as an example). It claims that as knowledge is encoded in language, encouraging the use of home languages in the classroom accelerates students' academic progress. The "economic and social need for multilingual and multiliterate students" also forms part of the logic of the *Identity Text* approach.

Aiming both to persuade policy makers and inspire educators, the book first situates the *Identity Text* approach within four pedagogical frameworks, before presenting 18 case studies of projects instigated by educators in a wide variety of settings (an orphanage in Burkino Faso, prison in Mexico and a school for the deaf in Canada are just three examples). Although Cummins and Early are not the first to research approaches which embrace students' diverse linguistic and cultural resources, the '*Identity Text*' approach itself is relatively specialist, combining in-depth theoretical background with a vast array of case studies. While many schools have the trappings of multicultural inclusion, such as multi-religious celebrations, a curriculum not incorporating the cultures and histories of all students may give them the sense of not 'belonging to Britain'.

The case studies provided show that *Identity Texts* improve educational attainment, increase student engagement and boost confidence in their identities. Given the heavier academic tone of the first half of the book, perhaps a practical 'handbook,' including a problem-solving toolkit for teacher's



### **Identity Texts: The Collaborative Collection of Power in Multilingual schools**

Jim Cummins and Margaret Early  
Trentham Books, 2011.

Reviewed by Emily Churchill



working in schools under pressure from target-driven curricula, may be a positive follow up to this book.

The book ends by acknowledging these obstacles but insists that ultimately "while they rarely have complete freedom, educators do have choices". Change is not dependent on policy makers: inspired and driven educators can challenge top-down mandates, and in its endeavour to offer this inspiration to open-minded teachers, this book will doubtless be successful. To educators who can see the potential for a truly global education in classrooms the message of this book is as inspiring as it is challenging: it's up to you.





## Cultural awareness and best practice

*Psychology, Race Equality and Working with Children* is an aid to practitioners across the judicial, employment, mental health, social welfare, education, policy and community relations sectors, offering practical advice to engage practitioners, particularly teachers, with the equality agenda. The book aims to neutralise the racist beliefs and practices which can impede the work of practitioners in services for children.

Awarded by the British Psychological Association in 2004 for her efforts in highlighting the issues of marginalised groups in British society, race equality activist and psychologist Jeune Guishard-Pine's edited collection assesses and promotes changes in the development of service professions in relation to service users from the black and minority ethnic child community.

Drawing on British and American psychological research, predominantly into the lives of black families and black children's experiences in the education system, Guishard-Pine questions the cultural validity of Eurocentric family models in relation to BME families in the British context, as well as pointing to the lack of recognition for the contribution of black psychologists amongst the psychology establishment.

The collection starts with *'Training the Professionals'* incorporating essays on cultural awareness education for nurses, the wealth of the pluralistic knowledge base held by black psychologists and its usefulness in establishing racial equality, the racial bias in the juvenile criminal justice system and an article on methods practitioners could use to further race equality objectives in the workplace.

This offers useful tools for assessing equality in service development, for example the government-mandated Race Equality Impact Assessment evaluation, the MePLC FOCUS approach, and race equality SWOT

and PESTLE analyses, all of which are explained in depth. The chapter ends with a deeply personal exploration of life-learning principles, comparing the philosophy of the Yoruba tribe in Nigeria with the philosophy of higher education in the UK.

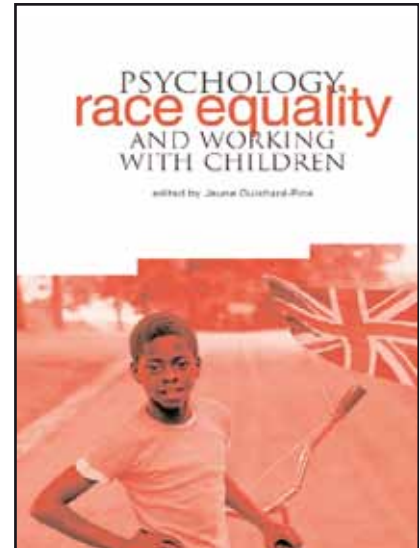
The second section concerns itself with *'models of innovative work with specific ethnic groups'* and includes research and analysis on Chinese school pupils, black refugees (specifically the Congolese), Pakistani mothers with preschool children, West African parents of autistic children and the issues surrounding differentiation between learning and language difficulties for newly emigrated children with English as a second language.

The theory-based conclusion to the chapter assesses ways forward within this context, with essays concerned with young African-Caribbean masculinities, research into fatherhood and domestic abuse within black families, the experiences of African-Caribbean children in care, fostering and adoption services, and self-development amongst black primary school children.

The book concludes with *'Contextualisation and Experiences of Racism'* providing a broad overview of the lack of black female role models within the educational curriculum. A number of suggestions to reverse this negation are offered, followed by another personal exploration regarding the experiences of being black and gay in school.

Guishard-Pine points to the salience of some mainstream psychological perspectives for ethnic minority communities, yet continues to push for more racially-specific research to develop useful models of black and minority ethnic psychology.

The collection mixes theoretical with research-based academic literature, accentuated with certain authors' personal experiences, which have



### **Psychology, Race Equality and Working with Children**

Edited by Jeune Guishard-Pine  
Trentham Books, 2010

Reviewed by Nat Illumine

informed their own understandings of racial issues within their professional fields. Easily accessible and laid out in a textbook style format, this collection offers numerous checklists, exercises and activities for practitioners, as well as examples of best practice in myriad practitioner settings. However, the disparate threading of sections could confound readers who are used to more linear modes of collection.

The focus is also very much on the experiences of black people, with few examples being provided about the experiences of other minorities. Overall, the book offers a wealth of practical advice, whilst focusing on positive change within the relevant professions. As Tony Cline states in the Foreword, "It moves beyond depicting what has been wrong to suggesting what could be done instead."





### That sense of 'belonging'

#### 'Belong'

By Bola Agbaje  
Royal Court Theatre, London  
April–May 2012  
Reviewed by NathalieThiallier

Where is home when your skin is a little darker than your fellow citizens? Where is home when, despite having 'a better English than the Queen's', you feel like you do not belong?

Bola Agbaje attempts to answer such questions with her latest satirical play. A British playwright of Nigerian origin, Agbaje won an Olivier Award for Outstanding Achievement for her debut play *Gone Too Far*. She was also nominated for Most Promising Playwright at the *Evening Standard* Awards. Her plays have also been shown at venues such as the Tricycle in Kilburn, as part of the Woman, Power and Politics season.

The play follows a Black British MP and his baptism into the world of Nigerian politics. After suffering an election defeat, he leaves Croydon and returns to Nigeria where his wealthy mother lives. Thinking that this trip can only be good for him, he succumbs to pressure from his mother and gets involved in politics at grassroots level.

However, he soon realises that the political rules in Nigeria differ significantly from the ones he is accustomed to in England. Corruption and violence are rife, leaving him unprepared for the harsh realities of politics in Nigeria.

The play continuously switches from being funny to being much darker, from moments of peace to moments of violence, giving an insight into political life in Nigeria. Combine this

with the small room size at the Royal Court Theatre, and the audience are able to establish a connection between themselves and the cast.

The theme of 'belonging' is a continuation throughout, allowing the audience to experience the difficulties faced when coping with different traditions linked to two educations (European or African), two families (the modern wife against the traditional mother), or simply two ways of thinking and approaching life.

One soon realises that adapting to where one physically lives is simply not enough. You leave the theatre with the lingering feeling that no matter how hard you try to fit in anywhere, who you are and where you belong is as much defined by others as it is by yourself.

### Social exclusion in education

#### NEET Young People and Training for Work: Learning on the Margins

Edited by Robin Simmons and Ron Thompson  
Trentham Books, 2011  
Reviewed by Kate D'Arcy

The term 'NEET' (Not in Education, Employment, Education or Training) refers to young people between the ages of 16-19 years old. This book is a comprehensive, engaging text for anyone interested in social exclusion and social justice in education.

This book is both informative and interesting, discussing in detail specifics behind NEET terminology and the risk factors associated with those young people who become NEET. The wider debate regarding the changing nature of youth transitions over the past 60 years, is also examined, along with the relevance of the term 'transition' to young people today. The reader is informed of the whole context surrounding the 'NEET category' of a very vulnerable group of young people in British society today.

The first half of the book provides a well-structured and fascinating debate on the framework of education, employment and training for young people aged 16-19. The authors discuss the historic and political nature of post-compulsory education and the socio-economic context of English Further Education systems, looking specifically at successive governments' focus on young people's participation in education and training initiatives.

The Entry To Employment scheme (E2E) programme is discussed in detail as this programme was at the heart of the authors' ethnographic research project. This research involved a case-study with NEET young people and tutors on the E2E programme in post-industrial northern towns and is reported on later in the book.

The mixture of the historic, political and economic situation, along with the research findings on the lived experiences of young people themselves, is powerful

as it gives an insight into young people's own experiences and views. Moreover, it challenges and disrupts misconceptions about this marginalised group of young people. The use of the research findings shows not only how lived experiences relate to broader social, political and economic factors but also provides alternative approaches to engaging and re-engaging NEET young people. The book is therefore informative and pragmatic, actively inviting practitioners and policy makers to initiate change.

This book will most certainly be of value to students, teachers, lecturers learning and teaching about social policy, welfare systems and education. It will also be highly relevant to those working in professions which support young people such as youth workers and career advisors. Indeed this book would be valued by anyone interested in working with marginalised young people and issues of social justice.

# Director's COLUMN

Runnymede director **Rob Berkeley** questions whether the government's economic strategy is heading in the right direction and whether we can afford to wait to address racial inequalities



## Equality matters – even in a crisis

As Rahm Emmanuel the former White House Chief of Staff and currently beleaguered Mayor of Chicago reminds us, in politics, 'a crisis is a terrible thing to waste'. And a crisis is definitely what we are experiencing at the moment. One in five young people in the UK, Sweden, Poland, Italy and Ireland is unemployed (a rise in the UK from one in eight young people in 2007). In Spain and Greece the number of young people out of work has risen to nearly 50%.<sup>1</sup> The Spanish and Greek governments have been thrown into turmoil, with street protests regularly turning nasty and each policy turn scrutinised in the media to assess the impact of the budgetary cuts. For young people from minority ethnic backgrounds in the UK prospects for a job are worse than for those in Rhodes or Seville. Fifty-five percent of young men from Black Caribbean backgrounds who are seeking work, cannot find a secure job. The response from our politicians, media and civil society, however, is at best a dismissive shrug.

Despite activists' efforts to raise the issue of disproportionate levels of unemployment for people from minority ethnic communities, many of our political leaders appear to be convinced that no response is the best response. Challenged in parliament on the need to address the scandalous levels of unemployment among people from some minority ethnic groups, the employment minister merely suggested that the government's flagship Work Programme would be evaluated in 2014 to see whether it was having any impact

<sup>1</sup> [http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/employment/youth-unemployment-rate\\_20752342-table2](http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/employment/youth-unemployment-rate_20752342-table2)

on this group. Such a wait-and-see approach is little comfort to a young person on the dole.

Yet we know from government commissioned research that discrimination remains rife in recruitment processes; other research tells us that Black and minority ethnic (BME) graduates still see many careers as no-go areas, and careers advice still fails to address the needs of minority ethnic pupils. One of the government's key initiatives in addressing unemployment is the extension of apprenticeships. A report published this month marking the end of specific efforts to target marginalised groups noted that the apprenticeships message was simply not reaching minority ethnic people. Government maintained its wait-and-see response.

So Runnymede has sought to draw attention to patterns of unemployment in minority ethnic communities through this edition of the Bulletin, working as secretary to the All Party Parliamentary Group on Race and Community's inquiry into BME women's unemployment, working with a consortium of trades unions on unearthing the equality impact of public service reforms and cuts, and encouraging greater transparency on the publication of data related to ethnic inequalities through our equality scorecard project.

It has become clearer through these efforts exactly how little is known by policymakers about the ethnic inequalities in our society, and also how little impetus there is to address them. More proactive approaches are emerging in the

private sector where organisations recognise that a diverse workforce pays dividends, and firms are competing to recruit BME staff. Businesses' recognition that diversity is a benefit is not matched by government policy. A strategy for equality is replaced by a strategy for integration; suggesting that our minority ethnic communities are a bit too different for government's liking and must be 'civilized'. The equality commission is shrunk and emasculated, and the public sector equalities duties dismissed as red tape and reduced in scope and efficacy. Targets for minority ethnic recruitment are abandoned in policing and teaching. Local organisations protecting citizens from discrimination on the grounds of race are closing on a weekly basis. Yet by failing to address the structural inequalities that persist and the patterns of unjustified discrimination, government puts at risk the very diversity, talent and potential that could provide the necessary spark for that elusive economic growth.

The cost to the economy of failing to use the talent and diversity in our society runs into billions of pounds. As the young black men seeking work return from the job centre to another dose of daytime television their potential is wasted for another day. We're all in this together, but too many are not able to contribute despite their ability. The government's wait-and-see approach is unlikely to deliver change in the current context and cuts to the voluntary sector support available will reduce the impact of commendable work designed to address inequalities. Simply wishing away racial inequalities is not enough to make it so. So Mayor Emmanuel was right, a crisis is a terrible thing to waste, but how much worse for talent to be wasted in a crisis.

diversity working together ethnicity innovative  
end racism volunteer  
challenge prejudice belonging  
podcasts leadership network engagement  
success education four decades  
intelligence thought-provoking  
perspectives donate informed  
young people  
UK changing attitudes  
independent equal opportunities videos  
diaspora Europe future generations  
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