

Bulletin

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All Change – a new government, new equality machinery

It is a time of change for how we address inequality in our society. Some of this change is institutional; the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights opens its doors in October under the leadership of Trevor Phillips, and we say farewell to the Commission for Racial Equality.

The new Government Equalities Office takes on a co-ordinating role across government for ensuring equality issues remain central to public service reform. Some of this change is political; a new government under the leadership of Gordon Brown heralds a change in ministerial responsibilities and (potentially) direction on race equality. Legislative change has been mooted, with the Discrimination Law Review making a series of recommendations towards the enactment of single equality legislation.

We take the opportunity provided by this period of change to remind both new leaders about priorities for the future, and the principles that must underpin any reform. We have also asked colleagues from leading NGOs, academia, and the outgoing CRE to contribute their views on the key challenges for them in

creating a successful multi-ethnic society.

In 2000 we published the Report of the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, in which we recommended a single equality act and equality commission. We are pleased to note that both recommendations are now closer to fruition. In the Report, we set out five key principles that equality legislation needed to meet. The principles contained in the Report remain relevant to our deliberations today:

1. Twin goals and a holistic view

The goals should be (a) the elimination of unfair discrimination and (b) the promotion of equality with respect to sex, race, colour, ethnic or national origin, religion or belief, disability, age, or sexual orientation.

2. Clear standards

The standards in legislation and codes of practice should be clear, concise and easily intelligible.

3. Regulatory framework

The regulatory framework should be effective in achieving measurable targets, efficient in terms of cost and equitable in effects. It

should encourage personal responsibility and self-generated organisational change.

4. Participation

Everyone affected should be able to participate in processes of organisational change, including employees and their representatives, clients and customers, and campaigning groups.

5. Redress

Individuals should be free to seek redress for harm they have suffered as a result of unfair discrimination. The procedures should be fair, inexpensive and fast and the remedies should be effective. They should act as a spur to organisational change.

Unfortunately, the Green Paper published for consultation as a result of the Discrimination Law Review does not meet these principles – either in terms of providing a holistic vision of equality or in ensuring effective regulation or redress. Both the new Prime Minister and the Chair of the CEHR will find it difficult to pursue equality with ineffective legislation.

It is clear that the pursuit of racial equality will require ongoing contributions from research organisations, community-led bodies and concerned citizens. We wish both Mr Phillips and Mr Brown a fair wind in their endeavours and commit ourselves to remaining vigilant and willing to challenge them both in order to achieve greater social justice. □

© CFMEB (2000)
*The Future of Multi
Ethnic Britain: The
Parekh Report.*
London: Profile
Books for the
Runnymede Trust.



ALL CHANGE

A lot done, a lot to do: the CRE passes the baton

These comments are extracted from the CRE's final policy paper, 'A lot done, a lot to do: our vision for an integrated Britain', which was published on 19 September.

Only a few decades ago, it was acceptable to put up a sign in a boarding house or B&B saying 'No blacks, No Irish, No dogs'. We don't see those signs anymore, thanks to the 1976 Race Relations Act that made them illegal, as well as 30 years of hard work by the Commission for Racial Equality and others in changing the national mindset to make them morally inconceivable.

But let's not kid ourselves. Britain, despite its status as the fifth largest economy in the world, is still a place of inequality, exclusion and isolation.

During their lifetimes, ethnic minority British babies born today are sadly still more likely to receive poor-quality education, be paid less, live in substandard housing, be in poor health and be discriminated against than their white contemporaries. This persistent, longstanding inequality is quite simply unfair and unacceptable.

On top of this, our society is fracturing. People may live side by side, occupy the same spaces and shop in the same high streets, but too often they lead parallel lives that never meet. Rumours and perceptions of injustice in such circumstances can trigger division and conflict. In some cases, this translates into violence on the street, against individuals and particular groups. More often, it appears in the clustering of different groups or the erecting of invisible barriers to keep others out.

At the Commission for Racial Equality, we have long believed that the best way to approach the challenges we face as a country is through an agenda based upon a developed notion of integration. An integrated Britain requires equality for all sections of society, interaction between all sections of society and participation by all sections of society.

We have recently launched our final policy paper, focusing on specific fields and setting some ambitious goals for those entrusted with the job of promoting racial equality in the future.

The responsibility for building a successful society rests with government, business, employees, parents, the young, old, rich, poor, black, white, male, female – all of us.

However, turning specifically to the CEHR, as the direct successor to the Commission for Racial Equality and principal guardian of our legacy and agenda, we have identified 10 key objectives we would like to pass on to the new body. They bring together those areas in which action is vital, and

express how we think they should approach their task of building on the foundations we have laid. The CEHR needs to:

1. Focus on setting and meeting measurable targets which help to close the gaps in life chances between people from different ethnic groups.
2. Concentrate on improving community cohesion and integration, recognising the ways in which these concepts are closely intertwined with equality.
3. Develop and promote good relations, providing the necessary financial resources to build stronger, healthier communities.
4. Develop an ambitious and academically credible research programme.
5. Target economic inequality and relative poverty.
6. Maintain pressure on government, police and the legal profession to eradicate institutional discrimination within our criminal justice system.
7. Develop strong partnerships with the voluntary sector, academia, policymakers and political parties to bring people from all areas of society together.
8. Work with the private sector to develop best practice, regardless of the current legislative requirements.
9. Be a rigorous, courageous and ambitious regulator of the public sector.
10. Lobby for enhanced legislation to make sure that the aims of our equality laws can be realised.

This work requires commitment and resources – financial, intellectual and political.

We call upon the CEHR and the government to make an explicit commitment to the creation of an integrated Britain: a country where we root out inequality and encourage active civic participation from all citizens, and one where people from all backgrounds mix with one another; a country that can embrace its diversity as a strength and harness the skills of all its people. This will lead not only to increased economic productivity and international competitiveness, but also to fairness and social justice.

The CRE might be leaving the stage, but our work must go on. To ignore the challenge is to condemn future generations to perpetual inequality and exclusion. □

The full text of 'A lot done, a lot to do: our vision for an integrated Britain' is available to download from the Runnymede Trust website [www.runnymedetrust.org].

Open Letters to Trevor Phillips August 2007



ALL CHANGE

Letter 1. From the New Generation Network A More Direct Agenda and Fresh Thinking

Isn't it time we approached the equality agenda with fresh thinking and initiative, without it being a constant cacophony of paranoid fears raised by the tabloid press and exaggerated counter-reactions by so-called 'community leaders'?

We knew the British establishment would not so easily be able to deal with the aspirations, ambitions and issues of second-generation British minorities when it has ignored the first generation for so long.

We may be slowly moving in the right direction but I am, along with many others, constantly frustrated by your attempts at triangulating with all the parties involved.

When I hear you speak in front of a predominantly ethnic minority audience I agree with most of what you say. When I read your articles in the Daily Mail or The Times, it seems you are either playing to a different gallery or insincere in what you believe.

There is a lot the CEHR and you can do to lay out a more positive agenda for race equality in Britain and make a clean break from the muddled policies of the past.

For example, there is much confusion over how local bodies should respond to diversity and over the different legislative frameworks that apply to minority groups (the recurring race vs religious discrimination debate). There is open competition between 'community leaders' for influence and resources to the detriment of the communities they claim to represent while the government continues to ride roughshod over our civil liberties.

Instead of working to assuage those fears, all we get from our national institutions is more confusion, predictions from you of race-riots and a tabloid press allowed to scaremonger without being held accountable by this country's pre-eminent race body.

We need more direct agenda and direction from the CEHR with specific medium-term and long-term goals. We need an agenda that NGO organisations can organise around and push for change on. We need a well-formed strategy to take the race agenda forward, not just a muddle.

Yours in frustration

Sunny Hundal
New Generation Network

Letter 2. From The Equal Rights Trust Towards the Indivisibility of Equality and Other Fundamental Rights

The Equal Rights Trust welcomes the establishment of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights. The need for a central, independent and influential organisation to provide guidance and authority on non-discrimination and human rights has long been recognised in Britain.

The Equal Rights Trust, launched in January 2007, is a new international non-governmental organisation which promotes equality and non-discrimination as a fundamental human right and a basic principle of social justice. ERT will act as a resource, advocacy and research centre for a broad international audience, including lawyers, parliamentarians and policymakers, as well as the general public. We plan to focus our work on the complex nature of discrimination in its varied and multi-faceted forms and to reassert the centrality of the right to equality in the human rights framework, both theoretically and in practical terms.

ERT views the establishment of the CEHR as a unique opportunity, not only to combat existing forms of discrimination but also to tackle subtle and emerging practices which perpetuate social injustice. With just under 10 years since the enactment of the Human Rights Act and the current legislative developments underway to adopt a Single Equality Act, the new Commission is ideally placed to act as a protagonist to redress and ultimately prevent all forms of unlawful discrimination. We further expect that the CEHR will be – as indicated by its name – a manifestation of the indivisibility and interrelatedness of equality and other fundamental rights.

We wish to see the CEHR as a potential model for the European and international stage. The relatively advanced debate in Britain on equality means that the institutions and mechanisms to address discrimination are an important source of reference and best practices for people abroad. In the legal and policy field, the CEHR benefits from more than 30 years of developing anti-discrimination law and practice in this country. We trust the CEHR will make the most of its international responsibility in this regard. We will seek to engage with you and your colleagues, with the aim of promoting and improving international standards on equality. We expect that the CEHR will keep its door open for international exchange, including with states beyond the European Union, and ensure that anyone, particularly those who are the most disadvantaged or who suffer the worst forms of discrimination around the world, can learn from British experience.

Dr Dimitrina Petrova
Executive Director, The Equal Rights Trust

Open Letters to Trevor Phillips August 2007

Letter 3. From Nacro Equality Issues at the Heart of Government

The establishment of the Commission for Equality and Human Rights (CEHR) and the new Government Equalities Office potentially signifies a fresh start and new opportunities for promoting race equality and better race relations. Central to this must be a determined drive to tackle racial inequality in criminal justice. As recently as June this year the Home Affairs Select Committee reported on Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System, focusing attention yet again on young black people's disproportionate involvement with the criminal justice system as both victims and offenders.

For 40 years Nacro has campaigned for improvements in crime prevention, the resettlement and rehabilitation of offenders, the sensible and productive use of custody and for equality in the criminal justice process. Since 1983 a key focus of our campaigning has been race equality in criminal justice. In 1986 when we published a pioneering report, *Black People and the Criminal Justice System*, the number of black prisoners had reached a disproportionate 13% – more than twice that of the general population. Since then the situation has worsened. In the last decade alone the representation of minority ethnic groups in the prison population increased by 67% from 11,200 in 1997 to 18,753. BME people now comprise 24% of the male and 28% of the female prison population. This steady rise documents the continuing and devastating impact of imprisonment on individuals from minority ethnic groups and their families.

Nacro's work at the grassroots demonstrates that experiences of disadvantage and discrimination are very real for people from minority ethnic groups. Black people are six times more likely (and Asian people twice as likely) as white people to be stopped and searched. BME people are more likely to be arrested, less likely to be cautioned, more likely to be prosecuted on weaker evidence, less likely to get bail and likely to receive longer prison sentences. For those who get caught up in the criminal justice system, this reality limits their ability to achieve their full potential and exacerbates their economic vulnerability and social marginalisation. Our shared goal should be social inclusion such that disadvantaged offenders are brought into mainstream and productive life.

In this task we see the work of the CEHR and the new Government Equalities Office as instrumental in:

- introducing and monitoring specific targets to reduce disproportionality at each stage of the criminal justice process, and holding criminal justice agencies to account for these targets;
- generating practical and tangible improvements in the resettlement of offenders from minority ethnic groups; and
- working with the voluntary and community sector in extending rehabilitation and support to offenders in the community, including sustained mentoring for offenders on release.

The Government Equalities Office mirrors the fusion of the different equality concerns reflected in the CEHR. With a potentially joined-up structure across government and with leadership and commitment at ministerial level, equality issues now sit at the heart of government. However, the proof of the pudding will be in the eating.

Nacro looks forward to working with the CEHR and the Government Equalities Office in the crucial task of tackling racial injustice and promoting equality in the criminal justice process.

Letter 4. From Birmingham Race Action Partnership Address the Issues of Today

BRAP is an equalities and human rights charity, based in Birmingham, which welcomes the establishment of the CEHR. Although we are optimistic about the potential for this new Commission to provide our country with opportunities to refresh our thinking and practice on issues of equality, there is evidence that the inequalities gap is widening and we fear that a unique opportunity to make a real difference will be lost. If it is, then so too will the chance to conscientiously address the discrimination and inequality that affect the everyday lives and experiences of many British people, and which thus blights all our lives.

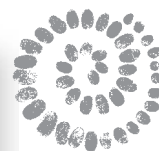
To ensure we do not lose this opportunity, we need to move away from the recent preoccupation with 'identity' and 'single' identity politics: a point made in the Commission on Integration & Cohesion report, *Shared Futures*. The constant focus on 'Muslims', for example, has meant that the 'problem' of extremism has become something that is seen to be about 'them' rather than 'us'. Not only does this hinder the need for society as a whole to take a shared responsibility for equalities issues, but it also creates misunderstandings and barriers between us. As regards extremism in particular, this preoccupation with identity also obscures, rather than illuminates: acts of terrorism are criminal acts, committed by individuals, quite irrespective of the ideology they allege to purport. For the CEHR, continuing to focus on identity rather than inequality will be both incongruent and counter-productive, weakening rather than strengthening the kind of social cohesion most of us – including the Government – want to see: stranding us in a place where who I am will make me more disadvantaged than who you are.

Transitions are never easy. The CEHR should lead the way, pre-empting the typical knee-jerk responses by identifying the commonalities that exist between us: our commonalities as human beings first and foremost. To be successful, it must address the 'issues': those current barriers that prevent all of us from being treated equally. These are not necessarily going to be the same 'issues' as before, so letting go of the past will be a major hurdle.

With the establishment of the CEHR and the arrival of the new Prime Minister, we look forward to the challenges ahead and the opportunity to work together to extend and strengthen our shared understanding of what it is to be a citizen of Britain in the 21st century. To do this, we must not allow the crucial debates to be lost: the stakes are too high and the potential rewards too great.

Dr Chris Allen,

Director of Research & Policy, BRAP



Letter 5. From the Institute of Education, University of London Tackling Multiple Discrimination and Intersectionality: a Black Feminist Standpoint

As the Equality Review has shown, black and minority ethnic women are still one of the most disadvantaged groups in society across all levels of work, education, and health. Over 40 years of equality legislation have not turned this fact around in terms of embedding true social change, and inequality gaps are growing. The question the CEHR needs to ask and answer is 'what is it about intersectional positioning and multiple discrimination that remains so elusive and resistant to remedy?'

Black, postcolonial and antiracist feminists have long called for an understanding of the value of an intersectional analysis which aims to reveal the importance of the multiple identities of black minority ethnic women. Intersectionality not only centralises the complex multiple social positions that characterise lived social reality. An intersectional analysis also seeks to explain the way in which power, ideology and identity intersect to maintain patterns and processes of inequality and discrimination which both structure and are reflected in black and minority ethnic women's lives.

However, to achieve a truly intersectional appreciation of the dynamics of inequality and combat the persistent and structural disadvantage black and minority ethnic women face, CEHR needs to move beyond simply recognising that discrimination can be based on more than one ground or strand of equality. Responses to the Government's Green Paper consultation on the proposed Single Equality Act suggest that legislation should be guided by a 'purpose clause'. Such a clause would spell out the essential purpose, principles and overall objectives and set the tone and spirit of the legislation.

From a black feminist standpoint, however, the clause should be about more than ensuring equal opportunity through alleviating discrimination and pursuing effective remedies in law. Eliminating discrimination and disadvantage after the fact is like closing the door after the inequality horse has bolted. The clause should embrace the reality of the intersectional experience at a more fundamental root cause level.

1. First, this would include a complex understanding of the sites of 'elite' intersectional discrimination where power, privilege and patriarchy intersect. This would mean a determined and resolute commitment to target the lack of mainstream economic and political will for reform in areas that would truly empower black and minority ethnic women, such as ensuring democratic representation in public life, and improving pay and conditions in the workplace, especially in the private sector and those areas of illegal, unregulated, feminised work.
2. Second, there needs to be an 'honest' incorporation of a holistic understanding of identity to flexibly respond to new and emerging situations that lead to gendered and raced inequality and disadvantage. This would mean being vigilant in areas where women are especially vulnerable in relation to the law, such as domestic violence and sexual exploitation. It should be able to link their situation to other factors such as immigration status, and poor access to services – especially health and education. It would also include women as carers, and the connections this role sets up with issues of disability, finances and old age.
3. Third, such a clause would need to be absolutely resolute about facilitating women's access to justice, dignity and fair treatment. There is no point in legislation that is not accessible and whose powers of enforcement are weak. The value of having a single equality commission and a proposed Single Equality Act is that in the future it might be able to provide a 'one stop shop' – if coherently applied and resourced – for ethnic minority women who for too long and most shamefully have fallen outside the multiple discrimination safety net.

'A black feminist prospectus for the future' is about understanding the fundamental challenge that black and minority ethnic women bring to the 'equality table'. We have reached a critical point in the equality arena with a new Commission for Equality and Human Rights. We need to move beyond the construction of gendered and racial stereotypes that inform our commonsense understanding of these women. This means seeing them not simply as problematic subjects who suffer multiple discrimination and who pose a remedial challenge to policy and legislative inclusion. Rather, it means appreciating the significance of their multiple identity and their position as critical citizens who are key players in changing the face of British society.

Heidi Safia Mirza

Professor Heidi Safia Mirza, Equality Studies in Education, Institute of Education, University of London



ALL CHANGE

Open Letters to Gordon Brown August 2007

Letter 1. From the Migrants' Rights Network Migrants' Charter

During your years as Chancellor the Treasury was known to have been pushing for a liberalisation of some of the more inept aspects of the UK's immigration control system. Its influence was seen in the reform of the work permit system and the decision to open the doors to migration from the eastern European accession states back in May 2004.

We know that you do not need to be convinced of the benefits of immigration to Britain. But we do think that your government should think a lot more seriously about the rights of those migrant workers who now make up 1.5 to 2 million members of the British labour force.

There are many studies which show the vulnerability of newly arrived migrants and the ruthlessness of some employers who take advantage of their situation. One survey in Scotland found that migrants there earn less and work longer hours, and are deprived of such benefits as paid holidays and sick leave. Research conducted by the Home Office in England also reports underpayment of wages, poor working conditions, and concentration of numbers in low-skilled jobs.

It is clear that migration will continue to aid the UK's economic performance in the years ahead. It is therefore essential that we do not allow the current prevalence of exploitative conditions for migrants to become a long-term structural feature of the British economy.

The remedy needed to counteract these dangerous trends is the adoption of a charter of practical, legally enforceable rights for migrants. With rights of this sort they would be able to achieve a status of equality with all other workers. The rights should include that of a secure immigration status throughout the period of their employment, with the possibility of changing employers and obtaining permanent settlement after an appropriate period of time.

The current review of discrimination law should be extended to protect migrants on the same basis as ethnic minorities. Family life should be facilitated wherever possible, and an extensive programme of regularisation undertaken to assist workers whose current situation is undocumented.

If Britain values the contribution of migrant workers it should be prepared to recognise their rights, and to signal this commitment by signing up to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. We hope your government will be bold enough to take this just and equitable step.

With regards and best wishes,

Don Flynn

Director, Migrants' Rights Network

Letter 2. From the European Network Against Racism Strong Frameworks Strengthen Rights

I am writing on behalf of ENAR, a network of some 600 European NGOs working to combat racism and related discrimination in all EU Member States. Our establishment was a major outcome of the 1997 European Year against Racism. ENAR is determined to fight racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, to promote equality of treatment between EU citizens and third-country nationals, and to link local/regional/national initiatives with European initiatives.

We welcome this opportunity to address you at what is a pivotal point for Europe. This is the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All and, with the support of the Member States, much can be achieved to secure the fundamental rights of ethnic and religious minorities in Europe at a time when Europe is considering the future of the Common European Asylum System, policies on migration that include strengthening the European framework on integration and, of course, the important achievement earlier this year of agreement in Council on the proposed Framework Decision on Racism and Xenophobia. Adoption of the reform treaty also presents the opportunity to include the Charter of Fundamental Rights, making a strong statement of commitment to Human Rights in Europe.

It is essential that such opportunities are taken. Continued racism and discrimination, including racism within the dialogue on migration, and overt religious discrimination undermine the ability of the Union to achieve the Lisbon strategy for growth and jobs. The negative impact of the fight against terrorism on ethnic and religious minorities, where terminology such as 'Islamic terrorism' has led directly to increased Islamophobia and the disproportionate impact of counter-terror measures on Muslim communities, undermines the achievement of an area of freedom, justice and security. Finally, there are also significant gaps in the transposition of the European discrimination law framework, with many Member States (including the UK) facing possible legal action by the European Commission. And there are gaps too in the legal protection, notably the lack of protection against religious discrimination outside employment.

ENAR believes Member State Governments must demonstrate strong leadership in addressing these challenges, ensuring that there is a strong framework in Europe for the protection of the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. We believe that you, as the new Prime Minister of the UK with its a long history of anti-discrimination and anti-racism, as well as a strong place in the European Union, can demonstrate this leadership and encourage others to follow.

We hope that you agree.

Pascale Charhon

Pascale Charhon, Director of ENAR

'What about us?' – choice, achievement and the white working classes

In June 2007 the Runnymede report, *School Choice and Ethnic Segregation: Educational Decision-making among Black and Minority Ethnic Parents*, was launched at a cross-party panel debate in the House of Commons. The report's author, **Debbie Weekes-Bernard**, takes the debate forward.

An audience of academics, representatives from schools and local authorities, voluntary sector organisations, teacher unions and charities attended the launch of the *School Choice and Ethnic Segregation* report, and heard Diane Abbott MP give the official launch speech on Monday 4 June. Further presentations and contributions to the debate came from Professor Simon Burgess (University of Bristol), Barry Sheerman MP (Labour, Chair of the then Education & Skills Select Committee), Dominic Grieve MP (Conservative, previously Spokesman for Community Cohesion) and Sarah Teather MP (Liberal Democrat, Shadow Education Secretary).

Cross-party participation of this nature had been specifically sought for the report launch, and the launch-day response Runnymede received was very much welcomed for its importance in airing political party engagement with the issues surrounding educational choice, cohesion and segregation. Our report's findings had noted that ethnically segregated schools are persisting under a system of increased choice, rendering educational choice policy incompatible with the promotion of community cohesion.¹ The launch debate that stemmed from the report's findings, moreover, positioned the clear need for further research of this nature within a much wider, and at times worrying, context.

Concerns about the *School Choice* research among panellists centred on the non-comparative, and hence in the views of some less valid, methodology within the research – if claims are to be made about the impact of race on the educational choices made by BME families, where (came the larger question) were the views of White parents? Dominic Grieve MP noted that the movement of White families away from areas with high or increasing numbers of BME residents was not, as mooted in our report, based on race but on the search for high educational standards in schools, and that the demographic make-up of a school is *not* an issue that impinges on the educational decisions of White parents. Barry Sheerman MP also felt that the absence of a comparative group, especially given recent media attention surrounding White working-class pupil underachievement, weakened the debate about segregation to be properly had based on the *School Choice* research. In his view, too, the small size of the sample presented problems for generalisation, again limiting the overall potential impact of the findings. Are these criticisms valid?

The first point to be made here is that ultimately

these sentiments suggest that race does *not* in fact matter as much as the report suggests. Choice is therefore defined as generic – it either works for all or fails for all – and certainly within the report it is suggested that the access of specific low-income families to higher-performing schools is similar across the ethnic divide. However, although 'white flight' from schools teaching high numbers of BME pupils and the residential areas surrounding these schools may or may not be motivated by race, the impact of such movement has race- and faith-specific *outcomes* for the families and children who are left behind.

Second, it has long been argued by those researching issues of race that the constant expectation that White 'control groups' be included in research samples implies that such comparison is necessary to give research on minority ethnic groups validity. This implication is by its nature problematic given that it assumes that both academic and policy-oriented worth can only derive from work that includes White individuals or groups as a point of reference. Importantly, when there is such a dearth of research on BME parental choice-making, a central aim of the *School Choice* work was to give a voice to and derive an understanding of sectors of society clearly intended to benefit from governmental policy decisions.

A further area to be raised is one that has featured largely in media and public responses to the recent Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF) report highlighting the low rates of achievement among White working-class boys leaving compulsory education.² Whilst this report noted that increased investment in early years support would greatly assist in addressing the clear gap in achievement between social class groups, wider debate suggested the failure of White working-class boys could be directly linked to the increased attention paid instead to African Caribbean boys, who perform the least well at GCSE level of all minority ethnic groups.³ Indeed, these findings emerged on the back of earlier debate on the problems of family breakdown among working-class communities,⁴ prompting further criticism of multiculturalism. Organising the experiences of underachievement by groups into a form of hierarchy is clearly of no benefit, and the necessity to target support to *all* those, boys in particular, who are failing at school is largely recognised.⁶

However, debates remain to be had about the relationship between race and social class in underachievement. And ultimately, despite rhetoric to the contrary, it is clear that assumptions about validity continue to beset research on race. □



EDUCATION

I D. Weekes-Bernard (2007) *School Choice and Ethnic Segregation: Educational Decision-making among Black and Minority Ethnic Parents*. London: The Runnymede Trust. This report is available in paper and online versions. Contact Runnymede for further details [www.runnymede-trust.org].

2 R. Cassen and G. Kingdon (2007) *Tackling Low Educational Achievement*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

3 S. Heffer (2007) 'White working class heroes are hard to find', *Daily Telegraph*, 23 June 2007 [<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/main.jhtml?xml=/opinion/2007/06/23/do2301.xml>].

4 Social Justice Policy Group (2007) *Breakthrough Britain: Ending the costs of social breakdown, Volume 3 – Educational Failure* [<http://standups-peakup.conservatives.com/VirtualContent/85018/education.pdf>].

5 M. Collins (2006) 'Sinking – poor white boys are the new underclass', 19 November 2006 [<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/article641312.ece>]; L. McKinstry (2006) 'In Defence of the White working class', *Daily Telegraph*, 15 November 2006 [<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/main.jhtml?xml=/opinion/2006/11/15/do1502.xml>].

6 N. Rollock (2007) 'Black pupils still pay an ethnic penalty – even if they're rich', 4 July, *Guardian Online* [<http://education.guardian.co.uk/race/schools/story/0,2118094,00.html>].

Dr Debbie Weekes-Bernard is a Senior Research & Policy Analyst at Runnymede and heads Runnymede's education programme, Transitions, within which the *School Choice* research has been conducted.



EDUCATION

Vicki Butler spent the summer of 2005 as an intern at the Runnymede Trust. Since then she has completed an undergraduate degree in History and English Literature at the University of Sussex and, most recently, a Masters in Social Policy and Planning at the London School of Economics

1 The terms 'bussing' and 'dispersal' are often used synonymously to refer to the policy but in most of the articles referenced here the term 'bussing' has been used, due to the similarities with the policies employed in the USA during the 1970s/80s. See the information box with this article.

2. All of the above from Killian (1979: 189-90).

'Bussing' in the UK during the 1960s and 1970s

There is an absence of published research on the policy of 'bussing' in the UK in the 1960s and 1970s. This article is extracted from a wider analysis by **Vicki Butler** as to whether the policy was a racist one. A look back at how 'bussing' was handled in the 1960s and 1970s could also have relevance for the current debates around school choice and ethnic segregation.

During the 1960s and 1970s 'bussing' was the product of a policy recommendation advising that UK schools with 30% ethnic minority students or more should disperse some of these students to schools with a higher proportion of indigenous pupils. The first formal governmental recommendation of a bussing policy occurred in 1965 when the Department for Education and Science (DfES) recommended dispersal in Circular 7/65. A section entitled 'Spreading the Children' stated that:

Up to a fifth of immigrant children in any group fit in [a school] with reasonable ease, but ... if that proportion goes above about one third either in the school as a whole or in any one class, serious strains arise. It is therefore desirable that the catchment areas of schools should, wherever possible, be arranged to avoid undue concentrations of immigrant children. Where this proves impractical simply because schools serve an area which is largely occupied by immigrants, every effort should be made to disperse the immigrant children round to a greater number of schools. (DfES, 1965: para 8)

In 1971 a DfES report on *The Education of Immigrants* claimed that bussing was only ever intended to be a policy based purely on 'educational needs'. These needs were portrayed as ensuring that non-English speakers could learn English in an environment with a larger proportion of native speakers, as well as trying to 'spread the problem' of these non-English speakers. The belief was that having a large number of these children concentrated in a few schools could be detrimental to white pupils' educational progress (Grosvenor, 1997: 54). However, as Milner (1983: 199) observed, some ethnic minority children who could speak fluent English were bussed anyway, suggesting that there may have been other motivations behind the policy.

With dispersal being a recommendation and not an official DfES policy not all Local Authorities decided to practise it, and those that did implemented it in different ways. The majority of local authorities, including the Inner London Education Authority responsible for one of the largest minority ethnic populations in the country, chose not to 'bus' despite the government's encouragement (Tomlinson, 1983: 17). On the other hand, some local authorities had started bussing even before the 1965 recom-

mendation, with the Circular possibly giving an extra post-hoc legitimacy to their policy decision. Ealing and Bradford are examples of two of these pre-emptive authorities (Killian, 1979: 188).

Ealing is often seen as the most significant borough in relation to the bussing policy, largely because it influenced national policy, and because it was here that bussing was so vigorously challenged, which will be elaborated on later in this paper (Killian, 1979: 188). Ealing's bussing activities were concentrated in Southall, an area with a large population of Indian immigrants, and were introduced in 1963 as a response to opposition from the white community to one school in the area having a 60% Indian intake (188). This inspired Education Minister Edward Boyle to consider dispersal as a policy option (Dean, 2002: 395). Initially in Ealing the threshold for the proportion of 'immigrant' children in any one school was set at 30%, but as more immigrants settled in Southall this threshold was raised to 40%, and even 50% in some schools (Killian, 1979: 189). A registration system was devised for new students in which white English children registered at the schools nearest their homes, whilst Asian and African Caribbean children were expected to go to a central registration office in the town hall. If the quota for these children in their local school was filled they would be bussed to a dispersal school (p.189).

Bradford's approach to dispersal was different from Ealing's. The Local Education Authority (LEA) set a limit of 25% for 'immigrant' children and an additional, separate 15% for non-English speakers in any one school. Bradford kept to these limits by bussing children to 'Immigrant Education Centres' where English classes were provided. Once they had satisfied the English course requirements, however, children could be reassigned to their neighbourhood schools only when space was available.

Other notable dispersal policies were operated in Leicester, where bussing was used to ease overcrowding, in Bristol, where some of those bussed were white, and in Luton, where bussing stopped after just two years due to a sudden influx of immigrants into the area.²

The Decline of Bussing

Despite government's initial support for bussing, by the 1970s their view had changed. In their 1971 report *The Education of Immigrants* the DfES distanced themselves from dispersal as a policy

Busing in the USA

In 1954 the US Supreme Court ruled against the existing practice of 'separate but equal' in *Brown v. Board of Education*. This forced school systems across the United States to desegregate their schools. However, the practice of busing [US spelling] began only in the late 1960s and peaked in the 1970s and 1980s. The need for busing arose in part from the increasing phenomenon of 'white flight', particularly in urban areas. Although some critics blame busing for this phenomenon, whites were already moving to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s in part so that their children would not attend school with African Americans. Just as important was the localised funding of schools - in practical terms deriving from property valuation - and the drawing of school districts, similar to catchment areas in Britain. In Boston, for example, a court declared that school district boundaries were blatantly drawn on racial lines. And because of higher property prices, it was often difficult for poorer African Americans to move into a higher-achieving school district.

By the 1990s busing was increasingly rejected for two reasons. One was that the policy was deemed to have failed to increase attainment levels for African American children. Second was the narrow constitutional view of the Supreme Court under Chief Justice Rehnquist that public bodies had an obligation to respond to race discrimination only if the public body itself could be proven to have participated in such discrimination in the recent past. General 'societal' discrimination was deemed not sufficient to require or indeed justify public policy responses. Busing became less common because many localities accepted the Rehnquist Court's view that segregation is now the result of 'choices' made by property-owners rather than because of 'discrimination' (narrowly defined as practised by the government).

The result is that segregation in the US in 2007 is worse than it was 20-30 years ago: today 70% of African American students attend predominantly minority schools (minority enrolment of more than 50 percent), whereas in 1980 this number was 63%. More worryingly, 37% of African American students attend schools with a minority enrolment of over 90 percent compared to a low of 33% in 1986.¹ In the US as a whole, roughly 12% of the population is African American.

If schools are to serve their educational and civic function, it is important that pupils of different backgrounds mix, particularly where residential segregation and parental friend networks mean that children are increasingly unlikely to meet people from different social and ethnic backgrounds. It is of course difficult to constrain parental or residential choice, but as long as part of that choice is based on the notion 'I don't want my child educated with people like you', public policy will have to consider how to ensure that children are more civically minded than their parents. The case of Northern Ireland suggests that the integration of schools is a basic requirement for creating a society in which people agree to share resources and debate reasonably with people who they genuinely view as their fellow citizens.

¹ Harvard Gazette, 'School segregation on the rise' (19 July 2001) <http://www.hno.harvard.edu/gazette/2001/07.19/12-segregation.html>.

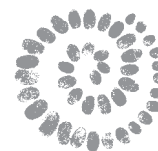
See also, from the New York Times website dated 17 September 2007: 'Alabama Plan Brings Out Cry of Resegregation' by Sam Dillon.

option. They claimed that due to the increased immigrant population in schools it would be now be impractical to disperse children to preserve the one-third limit on numbers of immigrant pupils in any one school (p.18). In addition, they claimed that dispersal was no longer necessary due to there being a smaller proportion of immigrants with 'serious inadequacies in English' (p.19). They further stated that the only ground advocated for dispersal in Circular 7/65 had been educational need, and that to approach dispersal on racial grounds would, since the Race Relations Act 1968, be against the law (p.20). Despite the DfES distancing itself from dispersal, many LEAs still practised bussing, and sometimes on grounds other than linguistic need.

In addition, opposition towards bussing was growing. Whilst many of those affected by bussing had not initially opposed it, hostility towards the policy grew from within the minority ethnic community (Killian, 1979: 192-5). This was particularly the case in Ealing with its extensive bussing programme (p.192). Many felt the policy was racially discriminatory because with rare exceptions all those bussed were children from non-white ethnic minority backgrounds (p.191). In addition, the policy caused inconvenience to children and parents: having to leave early for

school and wait at a bus stop in the dark; the difficulty for parents collecting their children from a far-flung school in case of illness; and the obstacles it posed to children and parents trying to participate in after-school activities (p.192). Many parents felt that waiting at bus stops was dangerous for secondary school students in particular - a number had been targets of racial abuse, and there had been the racially motivated murder of Shakil Malik whilst he was waiting for his bus (Dhondy, 1974: 36; Killian, 1979: 192).

It's not easy to determine exactly when bussing stopped in the UK, but a major factor in its demise was the court ruling in 1975 that bussing on the grounds of ethnicity alone was discriminatory under the Race Relations Act 1968 (Killian, 1979: 200). This was the outcome of the Race Relations Board's prosecution of Ealing LEA. The assessor for the case, Maurice Kogan, found that, whilst those dispersed in Ealing received a higher quality of education due to being bussed to better schools than their local ones, dispersal of those who could speak adequate English was discriminatory (Kogan, 1975: 27), and on the back of this ruling, the practice of bussing on the basis of ethnic identity alone was declared illegal (Killian, 1979: 200). □



EDUCATION

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EDUCATION

A Year in the Life of the Real Histories Directory

Runnymede's Real Histories Directory was set up to help with the teaching of and learning about cultural diversity in the UK,

writes **Vastiana Belfon** who runs the project.



The Directory is constantly evolving with the aim of meeting the needs of schools, teachers, parents, students and the wider community, so in October last year, we added a new feature, the 'Topic of the Month'.

This is a special page designed to help with teaching and learning about individual topics, curriculum areas or even sensitive issues to do

with race and diversity on which teachers, in particular, might welcome suggestions and comment. We began by looking at 'Black History Month' and the many different ways in which it might be celebrated in schools. This was researched and written by a Runnymede intern who spent the summer with us. The topic of 'Migration', by Runnymede's Director, Michelynn Laflèche, followed, exploring the history of migration to Britain and dispelling some of the myths. Jessica Mai Sims, Research & Policy Analyst at the Trust, wrote about 'Festivals', appropriately timed to coincide with both Hannukah and Christmas celebrations.

Because of this year's commemorations of the bicentenary of the abolition of the Slave Trade Act in the UK, we decided to focus the monthly topics on a number of different aspects of the Trade. We wanted to avoid concentrating on the traditional and well-worn issues and stories around slavery and, rather, to pick out different angles that may not be so well known. In addition, the intention was to highlight the wealth and variety of the resources available in the Real Histories Directory as well as a huge range of

events taking place throughout the country.

In January, therefore, Rob Berkeley, Deputy Director of the Runnymede Trust, opened with a general overview of the story of the Transatlantic Slave Trade looking also at resistance and rebellion by Africans, the legacy of the Trade as well as the Abolition movement. 'Art and the Slave Trade' examined the effects of the slave trade on western artists and the legacies for today's artists of African heritage. 'Identity and the Legacy of the Slave Trade' by Debbie Weekes-Bernard looked at issues around the notion of 'identity' and the role of slavery in shaping that identity. Kjartan Sveinsson explored slavery in Latin America, concentrating on three countries: Colombia, Bolivia and Panama, culminating with the contribution of the descendants of slaves to the building of the Panama Canal. In 'Philosophy, Equality and Slavery', Omar Khan reflected on the roots of the abolition movement in French Enlightenment philosophy and the surprising views of some British Enlightenment philosophers. 'Hidden Stories of the Slave Trade' sought to bring to light some of the less celebrated individuals and stories of the slave trade in the United Kingdom.

In September, Sarah Isal, Senior Research & Policy Analyst with responsibility for Europe, examines the history of the slave trade in Europe, its legacy and how various European countries are commemorating their involvement in the Trade.

Each of these articles has, I think, brought a new dimension to the subject.

Later on in the year, we hope to look at young people's reflections on the Trade as well as the involvement of religion.

Recently we have added a downloadable pdf for each of the Topics. With each of them maintained in the 'Past Topics' section of the Real Histories website, they will build to form, we hope, a valuable archive.

Most of the articles for the 'Topic of the Month' feature have been written by members of the staff at the Runnymede Trust but we are also seeking contributions from interested individuals (or organisations) from outside the Trust. In October, a London teacher will be contributing this year's feature on Black History Month. We welcome further involvement – perhaps suggestions about future Topics that we might cover; other resources that we might include, local events that may be of interest to visitors to the site or, indeed, articles for the 'Topic of the Month' section. □

A screenshot extract from the 2007 archived Topics of the Month series

Topic of the Month - The Art of Slavery



Throughout the whole period of the Transatlantic Slave Trade – and despite the horrors of the conditions – enslaved Africans continued the artistic traditions exemplified by cave paintings in South Africa and Tanzania (4000-1200 BC), Benin bronze carvings, Ife stone sculptures and Ashanti brass weights that date back to around AD 1500.



Clearly, for slaves there was little opportunity for overt displays of creativity and, therefore, many African artistic traditions were destroyed in the West. However, because of the lack of skilled craftsmen in the colonies, there was, ironically, a demand for creative Africans working in the media of wood, metal, pottery and cloth. Indeed, some slave owners made money by hiring out their artisan slaves. Much of their work has disappeared with time, but **recent archaeological excavations** in the United States have revealed, for example, clay pipes engraved with traditional African designs. Much, though, was deliberately covert and subversive. It's well known that many gospel songs derived from traditional African melodies and rhythms were used to convey secret messages to escaping slaves. Similarly, African women, used their skills to create **patchwork quilts** some with **coded messages** showing the route to freedom embroidered into their complex patterns.



Get in touch with us regarding the Real Histories Directory via the website, or email real.histories@runnymedetrust.org

Slavery, Race and Resistance: Video ART Postcards

A collaborative project devised by Manifesta with
the Runnymede Trust



ARTS & MEDIA



Supported by

The National Lottery[®]
through the Heritage Lottery Fund



**Heritage
Lottery Fund**

In summer 2007, two groups of teenagers from the London Borough of Newham participated in a unique workshop experience, connecting history and heritage through art and the imagination.

With the assistance of video artists and a historian, the young people engaged with two learning activities: they discovered and explored sites related to historical racism and anti-racism in the East End of London; and they learned to express their interpretation of this heritage creatively, using digital media.

By the end of the workshop, each young participant had produced a personal one-minute video work, or 'postcard', informed by their workshop learning.

Their films will end up being shown in several settings and contexts. Beyond the project's own website, they will be available online, and visible on television and in museums and galleries, for multiple

purposes and animations. There will be several different 'packages' of the postcards. These will range from 'entertainment' packages for youth websites and events (like BBC-BLAST and TV Community Channel); to 'seminar and educational' packages for use in forums with teachers, academic researchers and policy-makers; and 'promotional' packages which could be used by funders and cultural-animators.

The films will be screened at the Museum in Docklands as part of the inauguration of the Museum's new permanent gallery 'London, Sugar and Slavery' in November 2007, and subsequently offered to other museums and galleries in the UK and in Europe.

The Video ART Postcards project is funded by: the Heritage Lottery Fund, the Museums, Libraries and Archives Council, and the Department of Communities and Local Government, with in-kind support from Forest Gate City Learning Centre.

For more information, or to talk about how you can screen these films, please contact Marion Vargaftig, Manifesta Director: marion@manifesta.org.uk



1 – Storyboarding
at the Museum in
Docklands





ARTS & MEDIA

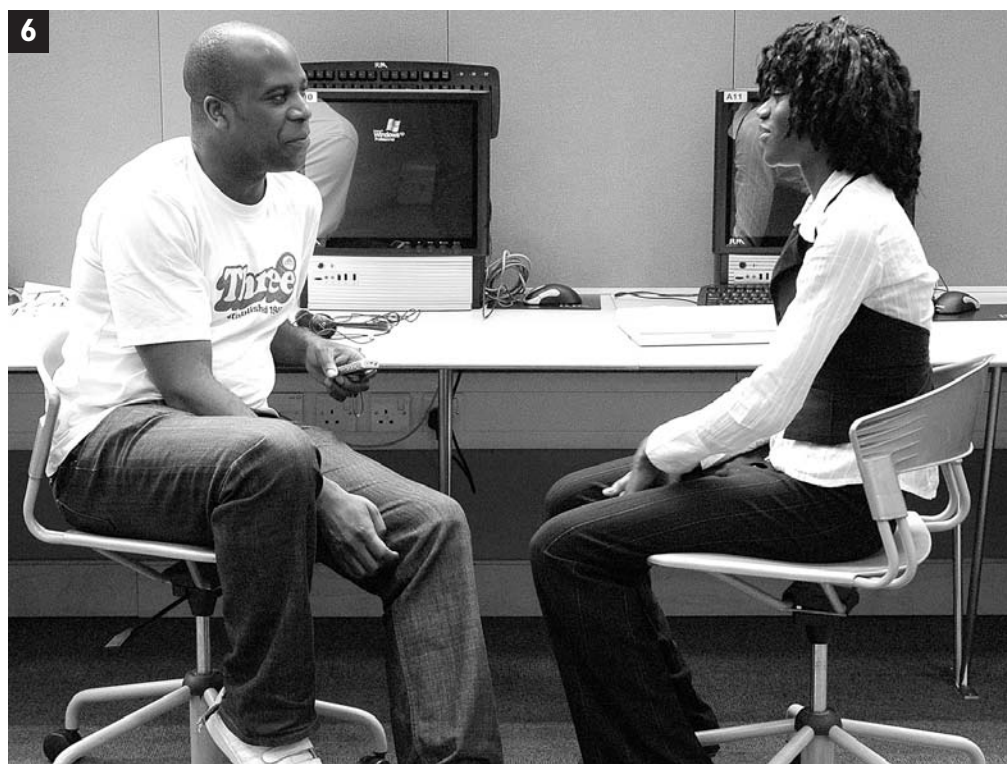
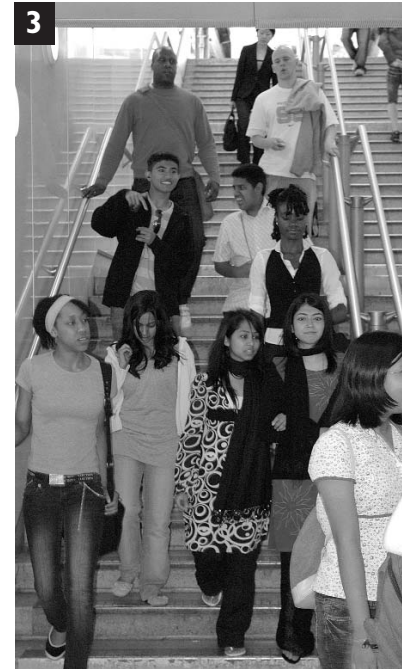
2 – Filming session at the City Learning Centre Newham, with Robert Kiff, video training facilitator

3 – Leaving the DLR station, West India Quay, for a filming session in Docklands

4 – Absorbed in the video editing process with Marion Vargaftig (RHS), Manifesta's Co-Director

5 – A filming session at the Museum in Docklands, with Robert Kiff, video training facilitator

6 – Talking through the history, with Runnymede's Deputy Director, Rob Berkeley



Workshop producers and facilitators for the Video ART Postcards project 'Slavery, Race and Resistance'

Riffat Ahmed, trainee facilitator

Dr Rob Berkeley,
Deputy Director,
Runnymede Trust

Robert Kiff, trainee facilitator

Julia Millette,
Art Teacher, Forest Gate City
Learning Centre

Dr Gemma Romain, Historian

Matthew Thomas, Video Artist

Emily Wardill, Video Artist

Colin Prescod,
co-Director, Manifesta

Marion Vargaftig,
co-Director, Manifesta

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BENEDICT HILLIARD



ARTS & MEDIA

7 – Filming objects at the Museum in Docklands with Julia Millette (2nd left) of the Forest Gate City Learning Centre

8 – Quayside filming at the West India Commemorative Stone

9 – Looking at local history at the Museum in Docklands, with Colin Prescod (RHS), Manifesta's Co-Director

10 – A filming session on the West India Quay with Matthew Thomas, Video artist

11 – Group dynamic, with Julia Millette (LHS), Art Teacher

12 – Group session with Rob Berkeley of Runnymede (RHS background)



EQUALITY &
JUSTICE

Respect – Recognising Human Dignity and Evaluating Behaviour

The idea of respect is widely discussed in popular discourse. Omar Khan looks at how notions of respect relate to race equality and social justice.

For those fearful of today's British youth, a common refrain is that they fail to show due respect to their elders. A perceived 'lack of respect' is, however, not limited to editorial diatribes against young people. Various groups – including young people – feel disrespected or 'dissed' by fellow citizens. The government has waded into this confusion by developing a 'Respect Action Plan'. While this document seeks to justify policy in the name of respect more generally, the government's concern for respect has more prominently linked itself to the notion of anti-social behaviour. Critics of such a policy then also charge the government with failing to respect the rights of its citizens.

One response to all this 'respect talk' might be to dismiss the concept as a meaningless catch-all phrase. Furthermore, what does this have to do with race equality or social justice, the central areas of Runnymede research? Our recent report *Respect as a Justification for Policy* explains why thinking more carefully about respect could clarify some confusion regarding current government policy as well as point to how a more inclusive and coherent respect agenda might be framed.¹ Respect can be a justification for policy, but we need to be clearer about what we mean by respect, especially because the most disadvantaged are more likely to be disrespected, including Black and minority ethnic citizens.

Our report is in three main parts. The first is a fairly abstract discussion on the meaning of respect, with the aim not simply to provide conceptual clarity, but to chart a coherent and fair respect policy. This discussion allows us to explore and to criticise the meaning of respect in the Government's 'respect agenda' as elaborated in its Respect Action Plan,² published in early 2006, and supplemented by departmental statements and ministerial speeches. The latter sections develop the outlines of a fairer and more coherent respect agenda. This would take into account the needs and interests of disadvantaged individuals, including BME citizens, but would benefit all.

Two Kinds of Respect: Evaluative and Recognition

To clarify how respect might be a justification for policy, we can draw two distinctions. The first is between 'evaluative' and 'recognition' respect; the second is between 'respect for others' and 'self-respect'.

The first distinction is familiar in moral theory. When we think about whether others are owed respect, we *evaluate* their various actions and qualities

and make differential judgements about whether a person is actually owed respect. This is what it means to 'respect' doctors and to 'disrespect' criminals.

Recognition respect on the other hand is a more foundational notion of respect. When Kantians discuss the idea of 'respect for persons' they mean that all human beings are owed a basic form of respect because we are all moral agents. This is called 'recognition' respect by Darwall among others because it is about recognising the equal moral worth of all human beings, regardless of our evaluation of their characteristics and actions. Even criminals deserve to be treated as human beings, which means that their dignity should not be undermined through torture or widespread public denigration and vigilantism.

So what's the relevance for policy? In the case of evaluative respect, the most significant issue is the noted *disagreement* regarding evaluative respect, or what sorts of behaviour and actions are commendable. This issue is typically raised in the context of cultural pluralism, but independently of cultural diversity people disagree about the best life and what sorts of actions and characteristics are owed evaluative respect: should we respect athletes, businessmen, doctors, social workers, professors or celebrities? At the same time, however, government can't avoid saying some behaviour is better than others, both from the point of criminal law but also in terms of citizenship. Participative and knowledgeable citizens ensure the fairness and effectiveness of democracy, which is one reason why many have pushed for a more holistic or expansive civic education.

The most obvious policy-oriented way of discussing recognition respect is in terms of rights. All citizens should have their rights protected simply by virtue of being human beings, and cannot be treated in humiliating ways. Rights protect human dignity and outline the treatment that denies it; they ensure recognition respect in the real world. Historically, disadvantaged individuals have demanded rights to protect their basic dignity and worth, and black and minority ethnic people are among the many groups aware of the protection that rights can serve – when fairly and universally applied. The central role of rights in affirming the equal worth of all of us is what makes attacks on human rights both so disturbing and so perplexing.

Similarly, anti-discrimination legislation can also be seen as a way of ensuring that people of all backgrounds are in fact treated with equal concern and respect. The denial of recognition respect – that

1 Omar Khan (2007) *The State of the Nation: Respect as a Justification for Policy*. A Runnymede Thematic Review. London: Runnymede Trust (May/June). Copies of this publication are available online and on paper from Runnymede.

2 Respect Action Plan (2006) *Give Respect Get Respect*. London: COI on behalf of the Respect Task Force (January).

people of a certain skin colour or ethnic background were not owed equal respect or treatment as full human beings – was the core content of racism, and of course continues to motivate much racist violence. No good society can afford to deny the importance of recognition respect, but it is particularly important for democracies to protect it because democracy demands equal access to participation and the fair operation of public institutions.

Self-respect

A second distinction is between self-respect and respect for others. Self-respect is important so that individuals can avail themselves of opportunities and participate in democracy. What John Rawls has called the ‘social bases’ of self-respect clarify the significance of this point. Citizens should know that there is at least some group of people for whom their particular way of living is considered worthwhile. Individuals can’t be completely severed from social recognition or they will find it very difficult to succeed in and contribute to society. At the same time, we can’t be expected to endorse people’s self-concepts if they are possessed of deluded, aggrandising or malevolent definitions of what matters to them and who they are. The social bases of self-respect should instead be understood as a way of providing an objective basis for distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable definitions of the self.

To explain this, we might think of government funding for what are called ‘community organisations’. Here the idea is that individuals in some communities may lack the resources or capacity to participate as an equal in public life or to take advantage of opportunities in society. For example, in Runnymede’s study of the Vietnamese community, we found that people accessed community³ organisations often because they lacked the confidence or language skills to access other social institutions. For many individuals, accessing these organisations is a first step towards engaging fully in British social and public life, and so we shouldn’t be too quick to see them as undermining community cohesion. It is of course possible that some individuals do not conceive of community organisations in this way. But the basic idea is that we can understand the beneficial potential of community organisation by extending Rawls’s notion of the social bases of self-respect.

A Fair and Coherent Respect Agenda

The final sections of the paper elaborate three different ways in which policy can be justified by respect:

1. defend and foster recognition respect
2. provide support for civic-based evaluative respect
3. strengthen social bases of self-respect, especially for disadvantaged communities.

The first and third points have already been emphasised. But the idea that respect is best realised by defending human rights and establishing robust and fair anti-discrimination legislation is not part of the Government’s Respect Action Plan. Perhaps this is because human rights, though implemented by this government, are unfashionable, especially in the context of law and order. But it is hard to see how we can live in a society of respect where some citizens do not think that others are owed basic rights. Especially for Black and minority ethnic people, rights provide an institutional protection against racist thugs and a way of demanding justice from those who discriminate against them.

Considering the change of government, the second section’s review of the government’s Respect Action Plan may seem less relevant. Yet if the first requirement of a coherent and fair policy agenda – protecting recognition respect – is unfortunately ignored in this document, the Action Plan does provide some insight into Runnymede’s second policy recommendation.

Briefly, the Action Plan concerns itself only with the notion of *evaluative* respect. The focus on ‘behaviour’ makes this clear, as do the slogans ‘give respect, get respect’ and ‘respect cannot be learned, purchased or acquired; it can only be earned’. Neither of these statements is true for recognition respect: people are owed certain treatment and respect simply by virtue of being human. When it comes to evaluative respect, however, it does seem that some actions and beliefs are more in keeping with democracy and justice than others.

The Runnymede report therefore agrees that policy should foster a form of evaluative respect, but one that is always justified in terms of ‘civic’ values. ‘Anti-social behaviour’ is far too nebulous and open-ended and is not obviously linked to the fairness or functioning of democracy – nor indeed to good relations among citizens. If behaviour genuinely obstructs public interactions and threatens other citizens there may be grounds to stop it or indeed to bring criminal charges, but some of what gets called anti-social behaviour clearly doesn’t meet these criteria.

This, however, seems an area where government has relatively poor capacity to change attitudes. For this reason policies that seek to enhance evaluative respect are not only better justified but more likely to succeed in such areas as citizenship education, including adult education. Providing citizens with the knowledge and practical tools to engage in debate will do more to create a culture of respect in Britain than giving ASBOs to the mentally ill or indeed posting photos of 11-year-old children. This is not to say that anti-social behaviour doesn’t exist, but that ‘respect’ is a poor justification for the ASBO policy and indeed unlikely to be achieved by it. Indeed, in previous research we found that government had almost no data on the form and nature of ASBOs given out in Britain and so was incapable of



**EQUALITY &
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³ *The Vietnamese Community in Great Britain: Thirty Years On*, a Runnymede Community Studies Report by Jessica Mai Sims, is available to download from: <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects/communitystudies.html>



EQUALITY & JUSTICE

Omar Khan is a Research & Policy Analyst at the Runnymede Trust

demonstrating whether ASBOs were in fact achieving their aim.

Conclusion

Promoting a culture of respect in Britain is indeed a worthwhile aim. To achieve these aims, government must always protect the basic dignity (i.e. recognition respect) of all its citizens, which is after all the source of its legitimacy. In terms of evaluative respect, the case is more difficult, but Runnymede's report points to a number of areas – from working with young offenders to citizenship curriculum – that provide better guidance. In fact, some existing policies neither mentioned nor considered in the Respect Action Plan are in fact those most likely to increase respect in Britain. Foremost are the Human Rights Act and the proposed Equality Bill, which can do more to ensure the dignity of British citizens than any other pieces of legislation. These give unjustly disadvantaged citizens – including BME populations – the capacity to challenge prejudice and ensure they are treated with equal concern and respect.

Additional policies that encourage greater participation and cultivate civic attitudes – whether

in education, local government, building public facilities, expanding social housing or improving access to ESOL – are more likely to create a culture of respect than publicly punitive criminal justice policy.

Here it is worth highlighting that responsibility for respect has shifted to the Department for Children, Schools and Families since the reshuffle that accompanied Gordon Brown's Prime Ministerial appointment. This may encourage those concerned with 'respect' to expand the concept beyond the somewhat narrow application it has had within criminal justice in the past. However, if respect policies are limited to young people, schools and families they are unlikely to achieve a culture of respect in Britain as a whole. As the report emphasises, achieving such a culture requires the protection of recognition respect for all citizens in our country and should be more explicitly linked to social justice. These issues are more pressing and immediate for BME communities, but a fairer and more coherent respect agenda might bring real benefits for all of us in terms of the fairness and steady functioning of our democratic society. □

Community Event Celebrates the Life of Keib Thomas 1946–2007

On Friday 14 September relatives, friends and colleagues gathered at Southwark Cathedral to commemorate Keib Thomas with a service of thankfulness for his life and intent to continue his work. Sarah Isal and Michelynn Lafleche were there to represent Runnymede on the day, and to affirm on behalf of us all here at Runnymede the respect and affection expressed by the many who assembled in Glaziers Hall to pay tribute to Keib.

He had initiated, sustained and developed countless community and voluntary organisations in Southwark and elsewhere. He worked with us at Runnymede as an advisory group member for our 3-year programme on preventing racist violence. In this role in particular he helped us greatly, sharing his research expertise and keeping us firmly aware of the need to produce findings in a way that would make them as useful to those working on the ground as they were to policymakers. We will remember him for his tremendous enthusiasm, his devotion to creating a better society free from racism and his tireless support for our cause.

Many spoke during the event, and the Cathedral bells rang out as people left. But perhaps we will best remember hearing Keib's own voice again, recorded during a 1998 series of research interviews with Alison Gilchrist of the Community Development Foundation, and broadcast on the day, reminding us that:

'Community development is long term and it often takes years before there's an outcome. You're sowing a seed and it takes a long time for that to germinate.'

There will be no lack of outcomes from the life's work of Keib Thomas. He will be terribly missed by those who knew him, and speaking for our sector there is no doubt that we have lost a great and inspiring man. Our condolences go out to his family, friends and other colleagues.

Sarah Isal and Michelynn Lafleche



A New Voice for Equal Rights

The Equal Rights Trust is an independent international organisation whose purpose is to combat discrimination and promote equality as a fundamental human right and a basic principle of social justice. Established as a resource centre and a think tank, it focuses on the complex and complementary relationship between different types of discrimination, developing strategies for translating the principles of equality into practice, writes **Dr Dimitrina Petrova**, the Trust's Executive Director.

We opened our office in London in January 2007, following a preparation period of approximately two and a half years. In November 2004 an initiative group of individuals met on the invitation of Lord Lester of Herne Hill QC, an architect of British anti-discrimination law since the 1970s, to discuss ways of rethinking and revitalising anti-discrimination work.

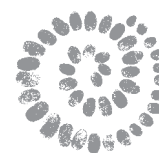
I had proposed the idea for The Equal Rights Trust in the spring of 2004, and had worked with Lord Lester, Professor Sir Bob Hepple and others toward its realisation. My previous work for over 10 years as director of the Budapest-based European Roma Rights Centre, an organisation which had attempted to use anti-discrimination law to defend the rights of the Roma in Europe, had brought me to realise that something important was missing from the international struggle against discrimination, and I had begun to identify certain needs that remain unmet to date. A feasibility study recommended by the participants of the November 2004 meeting was conducted in January to August 2005. The purpose of the study was to assess the need for establishing an organisation which would work to develop the general, overarching and cross-identity aspect of the right to non-discrimination and equal opportunity.

What came out of this study was a formulation of the Equal Rights Trust's long-term objectives, which include the following:

1. To document, expose and help eliminate violations of the fundamental right to non-discrimination, formulated in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and subsequent international treaties.
2. To ensure greater accountability of states and non-state actors with a view to their obligation to protect individuals against discrimination and promote equality.
3. To empower the victims of discrimination in combating abuses.
4. To improve the public understanding of equality as a value on which broader consensus is needed in all present-day societies.
5. To contribute to developing the substantive and procedural aspects of the universal human right to non-discrimination.
6. To promote effective enforcement of existing anti-discrimination law and policies.
7. To promote and facilitate the adoption of comprehensive anti-discrimination law and policies, without which the right to non-discrimination is not adequately protected.

The establishment of The Equal Rights Trust was a response to two major problems: the drifting apart of the fields of equality and human rights; and the fragmentation of the anti-discrimination struggle.

The first problem may be seen as somewhat unexpected and



**EQUALITY &
JUSTICE**

**Dr Dimitrina
Petrova,
Executive
Director of the
Equal Rights
Trust**

counterintuitive by the non-expert, as it is masked by abundant rhetoric and by the ritual of mentioning equality among the first principles underlying human rights: but in fact, non-discrimination is a forgotten and underdeveloped human right. The problem is demonstrated by the fact that anti-discrimination lawyers and human rights activists hardly know each other's field. Accordingly, it has begun to appear to most members of the public that non-discrimination law is something rather technical, grappling with the subtleties of racial representation and employment contracts or issues of women's access to men's clubs in developed countries such as Britain, but having nothing to do with the persecution of opponents on the ground of political opinion, or equality in the rights to life or freedom from torture. The European Union's Equality Directives of the last decade have played a dual role in this: on one hand, they stepped up the development of the right to equality; but on the other, by limiting equality standards to certain areas of EU law competence, they strengthened a parallelism between human rights and equality, rather than integrating the two sets of standards.

The second problem consists in the fact that anti-discrimination advocacy has been pursued around the world to date predominantly from the frameworks of compartmentalised



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single-identity agendas, related to gender, race, ethnicity, religion, language, sexual orientation, disability, age, etc. The space of non-discrimination and equal opportunity struggles is complex and fragmented, broken down into more or less closed boxes from which other boxes are not perceived as interrelated in their relevance to equality. Regarding the different prohibited grounds of discrimination (such as sex, race, religion, etc.), many identity based groups have pressed for ground-specific non-discrimination norms, or even norms covering one single group, whereas very few have advocated comprehensive, multi-ground anti-discrimination law and policy. But while detailed anti-discrimination provisions and policies covering specific grounds of discrimination or specific groups may be effective, it is necessary to ensure coherence and consistency in the levels and modes of protection across identities. The next agenda in the field of equality is the development of an integrated approach. For example, it should not be necessary for a disabled ethnic minority woman to choose the correct pigeonhole in which to put her case, whether on the ground of her race, or gender or disability.

I should stress that while we take a unified thematic approach to discrimination, this should not be understood as seeking to impose uniform solutions on very different groups in tackling very different types of discrimination. Rather, it involves developing and strengthening key legal concepts

concerning equal rights and finding practical solutions across different cultures, geographical regions and social groups.

Some further conclusions of the 2005 feasibility study became founding assumptions for the Equal Rights Trust. For example, a major communication problem was identified by many respondents consulted, namely, an inability to move beyond 'preaching to the converted', which characterises the entire human rights movement but particularly hurts the prospects for progress in the complex issues surrounding equal opportunity. Equal rights advocates should rethink the conversation they intend to have with the broader public, taking into account the local context. I believe that at this stage it is vital to learn how to convince the public that **opportunity for all is in everybody's interest.**

Another important assumption concerns the dynamic of particular struggles in their relatedness to an overarching anti-discrimination agenda. While it is not possible to eliminate discrimination, particularly historically entrenched systemic discrimination, without singling out certain identity groups, the representation of these groups as eternal victims and the exclusive focus on their difference over time has begun to undermine the understanding of equality as a universal right. It has begun, paradoxically, to work against social cohesion and prevent the development of solidarity. A balanced approach, in my view, would tread between the identity silence of those who deny that discrimination has affected disproportionately certain groups, and the essentialist tendency to eclipse the universal humanity of the individual in the name of a group identity.

In the context of development, the links between **discrimination, poverty and exclusion** would be better understood and aspects of exclusion will be addressed more efficiently if anti-discrimination standards are built into poverty

alleviation schemes. Discrimination and exclusion are themselves a source of poverty that carries economic costs for nations and regions: lack of investment in human capital, cycles of human dependency and permanent diminution of individual and national incomes.

Taking stock of the highest achieved levels of protection against discrimination, best practices and current discussions in Britain and other countries, we want our first major projects to reflect the most important aspects of our mission. The project titled *Legal Standards on Non-discrimination and Equality* is aimed at promoting a holistic, unified approach to equality standards. Its purpose is to systematise, harmonise, streamline and modernise existing international and national legal and policy standards related to protection against discrimination and the promotion of equal rights, and develop a generic toolkit for educational and advocacy purposes. The most significant result of this project will be a document to which we have given the working title *The London Principles*: it will attempt to lay out in a consistent and clear format the existing international and national standards related to non-discrimination. We will try to obtain endorsement for this document from prominent international experts. The intended impact is that of improving international, regional and national protection against discrimination in the direction of (i) raising awareness of non-discrimination norms through making available an easy-to-use reference document; (ii) upgrading the application of existing standards; (iii) strengthening domestic implementation; and (iv) strengthening supervisory mechanisms in monitoring compliance. The success of this project, as well as the success of the Equal Rights Trust, will be possible only if we work in partnership with other organisations, both in the UK and abroad. □



The Estate or Campus We're On

Runnymede's Community Studies have taken a thematic turn, and in the process they have expanded on the notion of 'community'. **Kjartan Páll Sveinsson** describes how residents on a multi-ethnic council estate appraise community, cohesion and diversity, and **Jessica Mai Sims** focuses on diversity in higher education.

The latest two reports in the Runnymede Community Studies series explore communities of place. Places are important not only to individuals' identity and sense of self, but also as social venues where identities mix and mingle and thereby influence one another.

These studies strive to contextualise Runnymede's previous work on identities by exploring how they come together and interact within the framework of a particular place. *Not Enough Understanding? - Student Experiences of Diversity in UK Universities* by Jessica Mai Sims investigates how diversity in higher education impacts on student achievement. *Creating Connections - Regeneration and Consultation on a Multi-Ethnic Council Estate* by Kjartan Páll Sveinsson explores a multi-ethnic council estate and its residents' notions of community, cohesion and diversity.

Creating Connections - Regeneration and Consultation on a Multi-Ethnic Council Estate

Council estates are often considered to be characterised by 'inner-city misery'¹ in the public imagination, blighted by deprivation and dysfunctional social dynamics, a situation for which estate residents are often themselves blamed.² On a multi-ethnic council estate, the situation becomes even more grim, desperate and dangerous, where different ethnic groups living 'parallel lives' present the state and wider society with a potential time-bomb of ethnic tensions. The multi-ethnic council estate of Crossfield - in Deptford, Lewisham, southeast London - poses a serious challenge to both assumptions.

On Crossfield, distinct ethnic identities are not only part of everyday reality; they are cherished as an indispensable part of the

meaning of Crossfield as a cohesive community. Generally speaking, and irrespective of their ethnicity, the interviewees who took part in the study were of the opinion that overt racism is not part of everyday life on the estate. This did not amount to a denial of ethnic differences, but the diverse and multi-ethnic character of the estate was pronounced to be a good thing. What unites the residents is a commitment to 'our area', manifested in a range of different ways, such as everyday courtesies, practical help, and strong and lasting friendships. In this way, the meaning ascribed to the notion of 'community' is racially inclusive, where Crossfield is a place in which different ethnic groups are both acknowledged and celebrated. Thus, the strong ethos of multiculturalism has neither led the ethnically diverse inhabitants of Crossfield to live 'parallel lives' nor to self-segregate. On the contrary,

This is not to say that the estate is free from tension. However, this tension was said to exist between different socio-economic groups, rather than racial groups. Although interviewees were not uniform in their opinions about the implications of this, all had the impression that there is little social mixing between themselves and the more affluent inhabitants of Deptford. Situated in the Thames Gateway zone of change, Deptford is in the midst of a major regeneration initiative, with a number of new developments either recently completed or in the advanced stages of planning. The Crossfield residents were generally both interested in and concerned about any developments in the surrounding area. They weighed up both the positive and negative potential of

these, particularly the prospect of the introduction of a more affluent - or 'posh' - group of people into the historically poor area of Crossfield and Deptford more generally. Some could identify several benefits of upmarket developments, which mostly revolved around public services and improvements to the physical environment.

A number of other residents, however, were more ambivalent towards the effects of regeneration. The crux of their argument was scepticism towards the intentions of the council's planning department and, particularly, property developers. Many voiced suspicions of ulterior motives, where the needs and views of council tenants would largely fall by the wayside. Planners and developers might expressly state that regeneration projects are inclusive, some argued, but ultimately they are for the benefit of the 'posh' newcomers or indeed the property developers themselves.

Community cohesion is clearly as much about socio-economic status as it is about race. While this is often acknowledged in mixed tenure policies, it is perhaps less visible in practice. Tunstall has argued that 'mixed tenure' has long been a mere euphemism for privatisation,³ and we may add that this euphemism is painted in the colours of 'community' to give it 'a more progressive and sympathetic cachet'.⁴ This appears to be the



COMMUNITY STUDIES

1 Guy Baeten (2004) 'Inner-city Misery, Real and Imagined', *City*, 8(2): 235-41.

2 Harald Bauder (2002) 'Neighbourhood Effects and Cultural Exclusion', *Urban Studies*, 39(1): 85-93.

3 Rebecca Tunstall (2003) "'Mixed Tenure' Policy in the UK: Privatisation, Pluralism or Euphemism?", *Housing, Theory and Society*, 20(3): 153-9.

Kjartan Páll Sveinsson has been working on a number of Runnymede's Community Studies, and is currently undertaking research on Moroccans in Britain

Jessica Mai Sims's prior work in the Community Studies series has included research on the Vietnamese community with a forthcoming paper focusing on the Thai community



COMMUNITY STUDIES

4 Allan Cochrane (2003) 'The New Urban Policy: Towards Empowerment or Incorporation? The Practice of Urban Policy', in Rob Imrie and Mike Raco (eds) *Urban Renaissance? New Labour, Community and Urban Policy*. Bristol: The Policy Press.

5 London Borough of Lewisham (2005) *Policy on Affordable Housing*. Available at: http://www.lewisham.gov.uk/NR/rdonlyres/17F6DC2B-291F-44AC-8202-212BA82CF358/0/affordable_housing.pdf

6 Ibid.

7 RRA (2000).

8 See: page 432 in Mitchell J. Chang, Philip G. Altbach and Kofi Lomotey (2005) 'Race in Higher Education: Making Meaning of an Elusive Moving Target', in P. Altbach, R.O. Berdahl and P.J. Gumpert, *American Higher Education in the Twenty-first Century: Social, Political and Economic Changes*, pp. 515–36. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2nd edn; and see also page 525 in Mitchell J. Chang, Nida Denson, Victor Sanez and Kimberly Misa (2006) 'The Educational Benefits of Sustaining Cross-Racial Interaction among Undergraduates', *Journal of Higher Education*, 77(3): 430–55.

case with recent and ongoing developments in Deptford, where demolished or converted social housing units are not replaced by new ones. As Lewisham Council itself states: 'The Council believes that it should not be obliged to require additional social housing in locations where there is already an "over-provision" of that tenure'.⁵ Apart from the dangers of disruption and displacement, the extent to which mixed tenure in new housing developments manages to generate 'a more viable and sustainable mix of households in areas of residualised social housing'⁶ largely depends on how this policy is realised in practice. Unless the recognition and acknowledgement of diverse needs becomes the guiding principle of urban planning in Deptford, there is a real risk that the gap between the poor and the affluent will remain intact, allowing resentment to flourish and further marginalising already disadvantaged communities.

Not Enough Understanding? - Student Experiences of Diversity in UK Universities

Much like society at large, the university is a site where issues surrounding equality, difference and cohesion are becoming more pronounced. With policies intended to provide greater opportunities for 'non-traditional' students - students from underrepresented ethnic, racial, age, ability and socio-economic groups - more attention must be paid to building up the university environment into something more inclusive in its appeal for all potential students and its reality for those who have already taken up their studies. Besides being in the students' best interest for universities to provide opportunity of access, they have the legal duty under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between those of different racial groups.⁷

The relationship between UK universities and diversity in student populations is a positive one, as

BME students are more likely to attend university, but it merits more attention. Universities are far from offering equal opportunities, as BME students are more likely to be concentrated at modern universities in London, are less likely to perform as well as their white peers, and are more likely to be unemployed after graduation. Additionally, the racial climate on campuses could do with greater intervention, as reports of faith groups feeling victimised and vulnerable in the university environment are on the rise.

The positive outlook is that there is diversity, and when properly utilised this diversity has implications for a more tolerant society becoming more comfortable with its multi-ethnic character. However, besides improving academic opportunities for BME students, universities must in turn place greater emphasis on social opportunity to foster university student communities as positive learning environments.

'State University' (SU), the university discussed in the paper, is one of those few universities that have a highly diverse student intake of minorities from both UK home and abroad; the UK home BME student population is over 50%. In focus groups with SU students, it was revealed that SU's diverse student body was an asset to the university, but also provided some unease. The students felt that many friendship groups were made up of students who were visibly similar (divisions were mainly discussed on ethnic, national and faith terms) to each other and that this may be an indication of segregation and hostility to engaging with others: meaning poor race relations on campus. Students were unsure whether groups formed themselves out of choice or exclusion from the mainstream, but they did believe that the university should take a stronger role in promoting more opportunities for all to meet students of different backgrounds.

Student clubs and societies offered an extensive range of interest and relationship-building

opportunities for many students, but some felt that these associations were mainly for people who had a prior connection, either through cultural affiliation or personal acquaintance. There was a consensus between the students that culturally based societies (such as those based on faith or cultural background) and 'mainstream' societies (such as sports and academic interest) did not do enough to reach out to non-traditional potential members. 'Mainstream' associations, while not exclusive to any particular ethnic group, were believed to be largely comprised of white British students (with a few 'token' minority ethnic students) largely because many of their activities involved drinking. The emphasis on drinking during society and club events is causing these 'mainstream' groups to inadvertently exclude non-drinking students in general, and Muslim students in particular. Students felt that both culturally defined societies as well as mainstream clubs needed to rethink how they could promote a welcoming environment to students of all backgrounds.

The presence of diversity on campus does not necessarily mean that students will have an improved understanding of each other or their diversity, as improved understanding is necessarily dependent on interaction. Numerous studies have shown that interactions with close friends of a different race or ethnicity is a powerful way for students to accrue the educational benefits of enhanced self-confidence, motivation, intellectual and civic development, educational aspirations, cultural awareness and commitment to racial equity, and the likelihood of developing these attributes is enhanced when they experience a racially diverse student body.⁸ In the study, the students acknowledged the value of the existing resource of students from different backgrounds and experiences, but they did feel that university staff needed to lead more strongly in promoting cross-cultural dialogue to build a stronger university community. □

Connecting British Hindus? A response

Runnymede is keen to discuss ways in which faith-based communities relate to the state and each other. In 2005, commissioned by the Hindu Forum of Britain to put together the report *Connecting British Hindus*, we saw the exercise as a means of encouraging greater debate. Here, **Awaaz South Asia Watch** provides a challenging response to the report and an analysis of government policy towards faith communities.

One year on from the launch of the report *Connecting British Hindus: an enquiry into the identity and public engagement of Hindus in Britain* (July 2006) – published jointly by the Runnymede Trust, the Hindu Forum of Britain (HFB) and the Department for Communities and Local Government – Awaaz-South Asia Watch wants to raise several concerns that have accumulated both in the immediate aftermath of the report's publication and in later months. The report was presented as the first attempt to identify the nature of 'British Hindu' communities and their role in public life in Britain. It does this by offering an account of the ways in which Hindus in Britain fit into the 'faith communities' paradigm that has gained currency in government policy in recent years, especially in response to the perceived crisis of multiculturalism.

The following response focuses on a number of related concerns, from the report's methodological assumptions to its substantive bases, and to the contextual arena in which the report appears.

Context

While a discussion on how Hindus in Britain see their role and place in a multicultural polity is interesting and important, especially as it has the potential to trouble the binary of 'British values' versus 'Muslim culture' that disavows any intersection between the two, we want to begin by querying the larger framework within which this report is located.

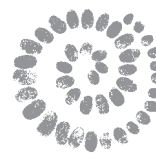
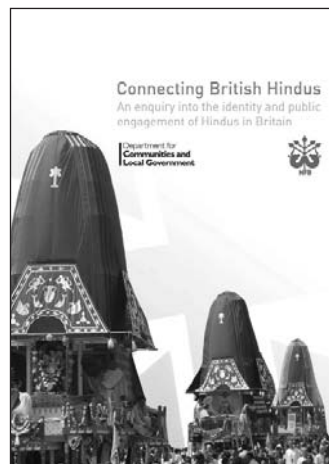
There is a pervasive multi-faith communitarianism that is being put into place by a range of public policy and civil society initiatives, this report included. In particular, there are at least two key dangers and problems that we see in the multi-faith formulation: (a) it substantively contracts secular spaces in which people and communities interact and exist and forge bonds; and (b) it reduces culture to faith, such that even within communities there is growing intolerance for diverse ways of expressing cultural and individual identity.

We have seen this contraction of secular spaces take place in Britain from the Rushdie affair of the late 1980s and early 1990s, to more recent calls for

ensorship of the Jerry Springer opera by Christian fundamentalists and of the play *Behzti* by Sikh conservatives. We must not forget that diversity and dissidence need to be valued not only among communities but *within* communities as well.

The establishment of public bodies such as the new Commission on Integration and Cohesion indeed demands the formation of groups purporting to represent their faith communities. The funding of community projects related to education, community safety and regeneration, where community is defined according to religious faith, has greatly enhanced the ability of particular groups to strengthen their claims to representation, often on the grounds of victimhood typically expressed in terms of invisibility in the public sphere. The recent Hindu Security Conference, organised by the National Hindu Students Forum in conjunction with the Metropolitan Police, narrowed the scope of much larger issues of security and government surveillance by looking at these issues from the perspective of 'Hindus'.¹

There is also a cynical appropriation of the discourse of 'human rights' and discrimination. Thus, the commodification of Hindu symbols and iconography by businesses and media celebrities (such as the Beckhams) leads to calls of Hinduism under assault. The whole infrastructure of multi-faithism (funds, commissions, reports, policy), in the name of community cohesion, might well encourage those who assume leadership positions within communities to take on the mantle of representing the entire community. The experiences of women, Dalits, gays and lesbians and those belonging to dissident religious traditions, or not belonging to any faith, testify to the dangers of the shift from multiculturalism to multi-faithism as it is generally the undemocratic and fundamentalist elements in various communities that end up speaking the loudest. We saw this unfold most recently in the *Behzti* case in Birmingham just as we see it in the discourse, widely reported in community presses



FEEDBACK ON FAITH

Awaaz-South Asia Watch is a secular network of individuals and organisations committed to monitoring and combating religious hatred in South Asia and in the UK. For more information, visit: www.awaazsaw.org

¹ See www.nhsf.org.uk for an official account of this conference held on 21 February 2007. At the conference, Selina Rawal (parliamentary intern, HFB) gave a presentation on 'real life examples of issues that face Hindus. These included examples of aggressive conversions at university, racial hatred and violence and the issue of mistaken identity related with Islamophobia where delegates heard of a Hindu student being attacked and beaten because of the way he looked.'



FEEDBACK ON FAITH

2. The call for disaggregating the term 'Asian' has, of course, intensified since 11 September 2001. When a Scottish Sikh teenager was attacked by a gang of whites in Edinburgh, Sikh leaders responded by attacking the term 'Asian' that they felt was confusing Muslims and Sikhs. Sikh leaders saw the attack of the Sikh boy to be a direct consequence of the recently passed judgment in Glasgow against four Asian Muslim men who had attacked and killed a white man. See 'Sikhs blame British policy of "Asian" tag', at http://timesofindia.india-times.com/NEWS/World/Rest_of_World/Sikhs_blame_British_policy_of_Asian_tag/articleshow/msid-462676,curpg-2.cms (accessed on 23 April 2007).

3. On 14 December 2004, Ramesh Kallidai, General Secretary of the Hindu Forum of Britain, said at a parliamentary home affairs committee session: 'We would vehemently deny [that the VHP is an organisation of Hindu extremists] ... The VHP is an organisation that works with social and moral upliftment of Hindus.' (Home Affairs Committee, Oral Evidence, Terrorism and Community Relations, Sixth Report of Session 2004-05, Volume III, House of Commons, 6 April 2005), p.41.

4. For example, in London alone, 47,767 Hindus defined themselves as 'Other Asian' in the 2001 census (i.e. not Indian, Pakistani or Bangladeshi) out of a total London Hindu population of 291,977. See Marian Mackintosh, 'London – the World in a City: an analysis of 2001 Census results' (Greater London Authority Data Management and Analysis Group, February 2005), pp.43, 102.

and disseminated through pamphlets and rumour, of Hindu and Sikh women's honour being endangered by Muslim men.

The designation of 'British Hindus', denoting a unitary cultural, social and political identity, points to a similar flattening of differences and the erosion of secular identities and spaces. People who were formerly addressed by the state as Indians or Asians, once considered to be inclusive secular terms, now find themselves addressed, while also self-defining, as British Hindus. The broader term 'Asian', which unites Hindus, Sikhs, Muslims and others, is seen as no longer adequate to the reality of multi-faith politics. The rejection of more secular and inclusive designations signals the desire to disaggregate the term Asian along religious lines in order to highlight differences among Asians. For example, the report mistakenly presents the 1976 Grunwick strike struggle as an example of Hindu political leadership; in fact, participants were from a number of religious and non-religious backgrounds and defined themselves as 'black' workers.

More significantly, the formulation of, and demand for, 'British Hindus' carries a powerful subtext that poses a serious challenge to a progressive multicultural polity. At a time when Muslims are under severe attack for their supposed failure to integrate, right-wing Hindu groups call for Hindus to be officially distinguished from Muslims and rewarded by British society for their more successful assimilation into mainstream British society. One group that has for some time now waged this struggle over religious designation is the National Hindu Students Forum that has, since the early 1990s, successfully attacked the secular term 'Asian'. In 2002, Sunrise Radio, Britain's 'leading Asian radio station', banned the word 'Asian'. This was the culmination of a long campaign by UK-based Hindu Right groups. In their view, Hindus are to be praised for their material success and cultural assimilation as opposed to Muslims who remain culturally unassimilable.

Although the term 'Asian' has always been a contested one, the campaign to distinguish British Hindus and British Sikhs from British Asians is premised on the idea that racist whites could be persuaded to exclude Hindus and Sikhs from their hatred and focus instead solely on Muslims. The rhetoric and practice of exclusions and inclusions through which a hierarchy of faiths and communities is constructed with different claims to Britishness speak to the erosion of an earlier sense of Asian political solidarity, in which Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs would act together to defend each other's communities from racists.² What is also left unchallenged is the issue of institutional and majority racism.

Methodology

The report contains useful statistical data, extracted from the 2001 census and more recent labour

force surveys and recommends that Hindu organisations challenge discrimination of various kinds. This is, of course, necessary wherever Hindus are the victims of racial and cultural discrimination as Hindus. We would, however, question some of the emphases made in the report and the voices that are not given enough prominence.

First, the Hindu Forum of Britain (HFB) is representative of a particular politico-religious approach – one that appears to pervade the report and may have had some influence in limiting the understanding of the researchers. HFB's positions on Hindu art, tradition and secular politics can be seen as deeply divisive. The HFB has publicly defended Hindu Right organisations, such as the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP, World Hindu Council), which has been reported to be instrumental in communal violence in India.³ According to Human Rights Watch, the VHP was among the organisations 'directly involved' in the anti-Muslim pogroms in Gujarat in 2002, in which thousands were killed over the course of three days of carnage.

Second, the report could have made more effort to disaggregate the population of Hindus in the UK. Hindu do not consist of a monolithic or homogeneous group of people – Gujaratis, Punjabis, Bengalis, Sindhi Hindus are each marked by significant cultural and linguistic differences. Moreover, there are significant numbers of Hindus in the UK whose origins are outside India: Sri Lankan Tamils, Guyanese and Trinidadians, Nepalese, South Africans, to name only a few.⁴

Third, and perhaps most importantly, the report describes the Hindu caste system as simply a matter of 'diversity' within Hindu communities. Thus, one of the world's worst systems of social oppression, which is also a reality in UK-based Asian communities, is glossed over as no more than a 'division of labour'.⁵ In a recent report on Dalits in the UK, significant discrimination in terms of access to temples and other community spaces, as well as prejudice towards inter-caste marriages, was noted.⁶ There is strong evidence that Hindus in Britain adhere to the caste system and continue to organise social relationships along caste lines.

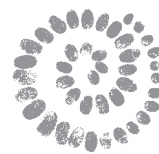
The report does contain sections which refer to conflicts over class, gender, sexuality and disability, but could have made more of the divisions and inequalities that persist. Issues such as dowry, homophobia, domestic violence and strict marriage codes determined by religious and caste orthodoxies affect Hindu women in very specific ways.⁷

The report's author recognises the limitations of the sample, noting that it is merely 'indicative and aims to stimulate further debate'. Less, therefore, should have been made of a survey finding that a majority want to define themselves as 'British Hindus', or of the opinions collected in focus groups, which cannot be taken as representative when participants were drawn from the HFB's own network of organisations.

Conclusion

One of the ironies of the currently fashionable attack on multiculturalism is that, in the rush to cast religious or ethnic pluralism as inherently problematic, the real difficulties with specific 'multiculturalist' policies have been ignored. In particular, there has been insufficient criticism of the ways in which government departments and local authorities have sought to 'manage' diversity through the appointment of community leaders deemed to be the official representatives of South Asian ethnic and faith groups. The increasing identity between culture and faith underlying Britain's policy of multiculturalism and other arenas of cultural and social policy has created a situation where those holding extremist, supremacist and exclusionary political

agendas are now recognised as the true representatives of their communities. While the state's sponsorship of the Muslim Council of Britain in a leadership role has come in for widespread criticism, less attention has been focused on the ways in which other 'faith communities' have been constructed and represented. The very government departments that preach the need for 'community cohesion' and 'integration' are breathing new life into an essentially colonial 'divide and rule' model of representation. Of course, it is necessary to respond to those who want their faith reflected in how public bodies relate to them. But the danger is that this is done in a way that leads to the disproportionate influence of the most reactionary and conservative elements within communities. □



FEEDBACK ON FAITH

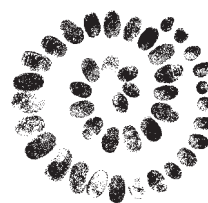
5 See *No Escape: caste discrimination in the UK* (Dalit Solidarity Network, 2006), which estimates that there are at least 50,000 Dalits in the UK (compare with 2001 census which says there are around 500,000 Hindus in UK). A large proportion of the Dalit community have experienced caste discrimination in the employment, political, education and health sectors. The report writes that 'the extent of discrimination and vulnerability felt within the Dalit community alone should give rise to serious concern and indicates that priority should be given to further research on this issue'.

6 Hugh Muir, 'Caste divide is blighting Indian communities in UK, claims report', *Guardian* (4 July 2006), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/india/story/0,1812107,00.html>.

7 See Gita Sahgal and Nira Yuval-Davis (eds), *Refusing Holy Orders: Women and fundamentalism in Britain*; Rahila Gupta (ed.), *From Homebreakers to Jailbreakers: Southall Black Sisters* (London, Zed Books, 2003); Amrit Wilson, *Dreams, Questions, Struggles: South Asian women in Britain* (London, Pluto Press, 2006). There is also an extensive literature on women and Hindu fundamentalism in contemporary India.

Announcement: National Training Seminar

RUNNYMEDE



Training seminar for NGOs and trade-unions dealing with anti-discrimination
21st & 22nd November 2007, London

The Runnymede Trust is organising a two-day seminar in **November 2007 in London** on the role of UK Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and trades unions in combating discrimination on the grounds of racial and ethnic origin, age, disability, religion or belief and sexual orientation.

It is directed at NGOs and trades union representatives. The same training seminar will take place in Glasgow in February–March 2008.

This free event is funded by the European Commission and aims to develop the capacity of civil society dealing with anti-discrimination. The programme has been developed by an international team, but each seminar will take into account the context of the country in which it is held. **In the UK, the seminar will focus on the government's proposals for single equality legislation** and what this means for concepts of discrimination, awareness raising, dialogue with the government, and how Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and trade unions can work successfully together.

There is no charge for this training. Information and registration forms for representatives of NGOs and trades unions can be obtained from Sarah Isal (tel: 020-7377-9222; or s.isal@runnymedetrust.org) or at the Runnymede website: <http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects/europe/other-european-projects.html>



2007 — European Year of Equal Opportunities for All

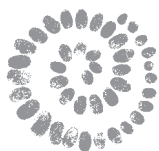
For Diversity



Against Discrimination

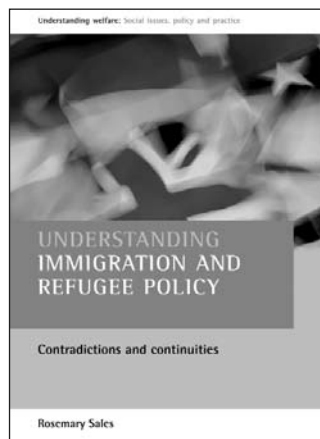
www.stop-discrimination.info

BOOK REVIEWS



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A Textbook Introduction to Immigration and Refugee Policy



Understanding Immigration and Refugee Policy: Contradictions and Continuities

Rosemary Sales

Bristol: Policy Press, 2007

Pp.282, £19.99 (pbk)

ISBN 978-1-86134-451-9

Reviewed by Jessica Mai Sims

Rosemary Sales provides an excellent introduction to the topic of migration in a British and European context. While the textbook format of *Understanding Immigration and Refugee Policy* will

undoubtedly prove useful for students of migration or social policy – with its chapter overviews, summaries, discussion questions, emboldened key terms and text boxes on legislation – Sales's organisation and writing style is accessible to a wider audience, possibly serving as a reference for those interested in migration and working with migrants. Writing on theories and patterns of migration in a general context, Sales's focus on Britain throughout the book will provide the reader with a fundamental knowledge of Britain's history of and relationship with migration, as well as a connection to migrants through individual voices and experiences.

Divided in two parts, the book aims to give the reader a better understanding of migration and refugee policy. In the first part, Sales introduces the topic of contemporary migration and how it compares with the past. Using Castles and Miller's key features of contemporary migration (acceleration, globalisation, diversification, feminisation and politicisation) and her own theoretical analysis of alternative theories of migration, Sales aims to create a framework that incorporates three levels of networks and institutions: individual, structural and intermediate. Concluding the first part there is a discussion of forced migration, which includes definitions of refugees and engages with the question of the usefulness of considering a 'refugee experience'.

The theoretical analysis of migration used in the first part is particularly useful for conceptualising the motivations and compromises of the people who become migrants by linking the individual with the structure. Individualistic and structuralist approaches towards migration fall short of capturing its dynamics, partly because they contain universalistic assumptions about society which only reflect the experience of one sex. On the other hand, a gendered approach, 'places migrants' humanity at the centre of analysis. Their migratory strategies need to be understood both within

the broader structural context and within the social context in which they live their lives' (p.55). A thorough understanding of migration process then recognises the dynamic between the migratory regime – the relations between the emigration and immigration countries, the networks and formal state structures negotiating migratory regimes, and the individual migrant's condition through identity, history and resources. 'As well as understanding why individuals may chose to move', Sales argues, 'migration theory needs to understand the constraints and opportunities open to different social groups and the broader context in which these decisions are made' (p.49).

Immigration and refugee policy feature in the second part of the book, including the history and trends of international, EU and British immigration policy. Throughout this section Sales discusses the themes of tools of control, resistance to controls and how immigration policy relates to notions of citizenship. Utilising these themes she is then able to communicate the process of policymaking by weaving together policy documents, quotes from ministers and research findings in order to highlight the successes and limitations of British policy. By covering the social implications of immigration and refugee policy, the author connects immigration to national identity and notions of citizenship, and highlights contradictions between policies that aim to integrate immigrants and methods of exclusion used to prevent asylum-seekers from participating in British society. After these three chapters of factual information, the second to last chapter is devoted to the experiences of individual migrants, giving the reader an insight into their individual lives and motivations. The concluding chapter draws together the main themes of the book and also addresses some normative arguments concerning immigration controls.

The book's strengths lie not only in its accessible style, but also in its use of research to amplify both the political and social history. Studies based on the lives of Eastern European migrant workers, for example, help to provide the reader with recent information; with the exception of one minor factual error, the research into migration and migrants is well utilised. In addition, the linking of refugee and immigration policy throughout the book will show the reader that the divisions between these two areas of migration are often complex and subjective. Overall, Sales does satisfy her stated intention of providing a context for understanding the contradictions and continuities that shape immigration and refugee policies. □

Jessica Mai Sims is a Research & Policy Analyst at the Runnymede Trust

A Future Shared, not Appropriated

In June 2007 the Commission on Integration published its final report *Our Shared Future*.¹ Together with the Discrimination Law Review Green Paper (also reviewed in this Bulletin) and the earlier Equalities Review, it suggests important principles and policy initiatives for ensuring a fairer and prosperous Britain. Here we review the report, including some of its 57 recommendations, and summon up the broader context in which the Commission operated.

Background

The topic of cohesion has become an important part of the government's agenda since the northern town 'disturbances' of 2001 and the Cattle Report published in response to those incidents. One of the main claims of the Cattle Report was that certain communities were living 'parallel lives', with Muslim communities in particular needing to be better 'integrated' into British society. This analysis was seemingly confirmed by the horrific attacks in London on July 2003. The bombers were found to be British-born, but although the Commission on Integration and Cohesion recognizes this important backdrop to its report, it also suggests de-linking the question of political extremism from questions of integration and cohesion. We concur with this proposal, but would further suggest that cohesion and integration should be discussed not just in terms of 'diversity' or 'multiculturalism'. As the CIC Report affirms, cohesion and integration are important for everyone but only where they are achieved through a commitment to justice and participation for all.

Cohesion, Opportunities and Mobility

The inhabitants of modern Britain are increasingly described as disconnected from one another and from their leaders. Low voter turnout, lack of respect, mutual fear and disengagement, anti-social behaviour and other similar terms and sentiments are part of the common discourse of the British media, but also of many of its ordinary citizens. For some short-sighted observers, this breakdown in Britain began with widespread immigration and has reached a peak as numbers have increased. However, these sorts of problems exist independently of immigration and diversity, with the first social theorists – Durkheim and Weber – noting the splintering effects of modernity in comparison to the deeper connections provided by traditional societies. Both theorists, however, recognized that the face-to-face ties that connected people in more traditional societies couldn't be replicated because opportunities in modern societies provide greater regional mobility, but also a much-increased class mobility.

These observations explain why it is important to be clear about which particular problems are perceived or depicted as having arisen from diversity in Britain. If

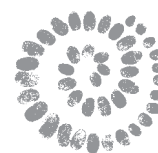
cohesion and integration are the solution, what is the problem? Commentators who fret about the self-segregating tendencies among Black and minority ethnic (BME) populations are more likely to connect woes arising from immigration, race relations, crime, education and young people in a grand sweep of widespread social breakdown.

Without denying the real social problems of Britain today, we need a less alarmist and a more refined analysis to offer practical solutions. Consider the question of opportunities in today's Britain, or indeed in any modern economy: economic, environmental and other factors distribute employment opportunities very unevenly. This is not simply a question of more service jobs in comparison to manufacturing, but an issue of where jobs are situated. Those who ignore the real economic reasons why migrants – both internal and international – gravitate to particular areas of Britain will be at a loss to understand why some areas contain greater numbers of certain types of workers than other areas. They compound such ignorance when they fail to consider how when democratic fairness and economic efficiency demand expanded opportunities, this will necessarily lead to increased social mobility.

Providing opportunities for all in Britain necessarily means that many children will be employed in different professions from their parents, and with this change will come different aspirations that require them to leave their place of birth to take advantage of more secure and satisfying job opportunities. This may result in less 'cohesive' communities, but increased mobility is a necessary and acceptable trade-off if it enhances opportunities. The way to respond to the resulting social dispersion is not to return to traditional forms of social life, but to emphasize other important principles, such as fairness and participation, and to reduce inequalities so that we can all feel like we are equal citizens in a shared and cooperatively orientated scenario.

Integration and Cohesion in the Report

Fortunately, the Commission on Integration and Cohesion was not tempted by a superficially simple analysis of social



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¹ Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) *Our Shared Future*. Report of the CIC, chaired by Darra Singh. London: The Stationery Office (June). [www.integrationandcohesion.org.uk]



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This review is by Omar Khan, a Research and Policy Analyst at the Runnymede Trust

'cohesion and integration are not the only values for a good society'

problems in Britain. While it comments on a wide range of social policy areas and provides real policy direction in its 57 different recommendations, it provides thoughtful analysis of the key terms within its remit and explains why diversity is not only a challenge but an opportunity to strengthen democratic institutions and practices in Britain.

The best example of the Commission's resolve to offer to clear definitions is its first recommendation to define 'an integrated and cohesive community' as one where:

- There is a clearly defined and widely shared sense of the contribution of different individuals and different communities to a future vision for a neighbourhood, city, region or country
- There is a strong sense of an individual's rights and responsibilities when living in a particular place – people know what everyone expects of them, and what they can expect in turn
- Those from different backgrounds have similar life opportunities, access to services and treatment
- There is a strong sense of trust in institutions locally to act fairly in arbitrating between different interests and for their role and justifications to be subject to public scrutiny
- There is a strong recognition of the contribution of both those who have newly arrived and those who already have deep attachments to a particular place, with a focus on what they have in common
- There are strong and positive relationships between people from different backgrounds in the workplace, in schools and other institutions within neighbourhoods.

Key principles and features

This definition highlights the importance of a shared public life, but doesn't hark back to pre-modern social forms or ignore the importance of principles such as social justice for making cohesion and integration a reality that is worth achieving. Indeed, the main chapters of the report focus on four key principles: shared futures, strengthened rights and responsibilities, the principle of mutual respect and civility, and visible social justice. We endorse this emphasis on key principles and think that each of them can indeed contribute to a more cohesive and integrated society. This is an important and commendable shift in discourse and we hope that it will be taken up by Government.

For example, the idea of 'shared futures' is a good way of responding to the more 'integrative' demands made throughout British society. It is in fact a better principle than 'Britishness' for thinking about how we can get along and ensure a flourishing democracy in this country in the future. We must of course understand the history of our society, but it is perhaps more important that we equally share public institutions and hopes for the future. And morally speaking it is absolutely vital to focus on making the future better for all of us.

Another notable feature of the report is its focus on the local. Many of its recommendations are about local communities developing their own measures and policies in response to different needs in each area. Indeed, the

report goes so far as to identify four different 'family groups' or types of communities, though it admits that they are only rough descriptions. Helpfully, however, it notes that pressures and opportunities for integration and cohesion will vary by community and that policies will need to be tailored to respond to these differences. At the same time, there is a strong emphasis on the importance of greater participation in *all* communities throughout Britain and one of the recommendations (no.40) is that there should be a nationally sponsored Community Week 'with a focus on celebrating all communities and inter-community engagement'.

Gaps and Criticisms

The general framework and principles motivating the Commission on Integration and Cohesion are commendable, but there are gaps in the report. Some of these derive from one of the main virtues of the report – its concerted focus on cohesion and integration. Here the problem is that cohesion and integration are not the only values for a good society. In particular, fairness, rights and social justice are valuable for their own sake and should not be defended only because they bring about a more cohesive and integrated society. This is undoubtedly not the intention of the report, but it is important for thinking about the relationship between cohesion and other important goals.

This difficulty is perhaps best seen in the chapter on rights and responsibilities. Nowhere does the chapter mention the Human Rights Act or indeed the value of rights in protecting the vulnerable from discrimination and violence. Instead, the recommendations of the chapter focus on citizenship ceremonies, better management of the integration of immigrants and English language provision. These issues, while important, are not typically those understood to be foundational in discussions of rights. Citizenship rights may sometimes be thought of as 'legal' but they also open up public institutions for the participation of everyone and ensure that those institutions treat us all with dignity and respect. The value of rights is not principally because they contribute to cohesion.

A similar criticism perhaps applies to the discussions of mutual respect and social justice. Here again the discussion on cohesion and integration, while useful, loses some of the important reasons why these principles are important. For example, the chapter on social justice doesn't explicitly recommend that inequalities should be reduced. Instead the seven recommendations all focus on communications, myth-busting and the collection of data. These are of course important, but they are hardly the main aim of social justice.

Removing Inequalities, Increasing Participation, Ensuring Fairness

Three principles might have enhanced the discussion of respect, social justice and rights, namely:

- (a) removing inequalities,
- (b) increasing participation, and
- (c) ensuring the fairness of institutions and access to justice.

While it is of course important to 'engage' local commu-

nities and to support voluntary organizations, we should not forget the unique role of public institutions in achieving a more just society. Public institutions have a greater obligation to be responsive to citizens' needs as that is the very logic of their operation and indeed the source of their legitimacy. Making public institutions fairer improves the quality of democracy for all citizens.

At the same time social justice and fairness demands attention for those who are most disadvantaged. If some policies only benefit a certain group of citizens, this is justifiable because they are worse off. Removing these inequalities is not only required by social justice but it will increase the chance that they participate in public institutions and debate.

For this reason we would strengthen the Report's recommendation on English language training by insisting on greater funding for it. It is no good criticising migrants for not learning English and at the same time reduce such funding as exists. While it is understandable for the Report to have focused on the politically hot topic of translation services, which was much in the news at the time, it would do better to support a policy that increased access to English training, as this would very likely increase not just the numbers of English speakers but their potential for participation in public life. A similar argument applies in the case of so-called 'single group funding' (Appendix D); though we agree such funding cannot always be justified, it can contribute to important goals, including participation and access to justice.

Conclusion

The Commission on Integration and Cohesion is to be commended for bringing forward the principles of shared futures, social justice, rights and mutual respect into the discussion on cohesion and integration. Its definition of a cohesive and integrated society demonstrates an understanding of how these principles are necessary to make cohesion and integration desirable. This allows us to appreciate how cohesive societies are not in themselves good unless the grounds for that cohesion are morally acceptable. We therefore strongly endorse any recommendations that will do more to 'mainstream' these principles throughout the integration and cohesion agenda.

At the same time, however, such principles are valuable above and beyond their contribution to cohesion and integration. Cohesive societies may only be *desirable* if they include such principles, but that doesn't mean social justice or rights are valuable only because they contribute to cohesion. When members of disadvantaged groups benefit from social justice policies, some members of advantaged groups may feel their society is now 'less cohesive'. Endorsing the equal rights of women will make sexists everywhere feel as if their society is disintegrating. We shouldn't stop trying to achieve social justice for black and minority ethnic people because we are scared it will disrupt some notions of the contented stability of our society. But as the CIC Report rightly recognises, diversity is no barrier to cohesion so long as principles of rights, justice and respect guide the actions of social institutions and the interactions of citizens. □

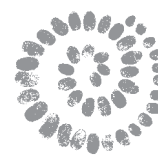
Disadvantage and youth crime: 25 years of statistics re-examined

Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System
Home Affairs Committee
London: Stationery Office Books, 2007
Pp. 98; £15.50; ISBN: 978-0-215-03446-5
Reviewed by Kjartan Páll Sveinsson

With a number of high-profile murders, 2007 has so far seen an intense and contentious debate on the state of crime and the criminal justice system (CJS) in Britain. Central to this debate have been specific notions of 'cultures' and 'communities' and their differential participation in criminal activities, specifically the overrepresentation of young black people in the CJS. Arguments, however, are not always based on facts, which are often distorted in both the media and politicians' comments on the issue. In the first sustained official inquiry on this topic in more than a quarter of a century, the Home Affairs Committee has recently published its extensive report into *Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System*.

Following the murders of a number of black teenagers in London earlier this year, Tony Blair was quoted by the media as saying that knife and gun murders in London were not caused by poverty, but a 'distinctive black culture'.¹ His remark sparked an angry reaction from a number of commentators, who accused him of being out of touch with both the terms of the debate and events on the ground. The truth of the matter is that the exact causes and dynamics of overrepresentation of young black people in the CJS are poorly understood. The Home Affairs Committee's report attempts to shed some light on what is known, as well as pointing towards the knowledge gaps that need to be filled.

In terms of the nature and extent of overrepresentation, statistics show that young black people are overrepresented at every stage of the CJS. This is no new insight, but the Committee usefully asks what lies behind these statistics. It points out that 92% of young black people in the year 2003-4 were not in contact with the CJS, an important fact that is often overlooked. However, the gap between young black and young white offenders in the CJS is large and appears to be growing. What this actually means in terms of real offending was the point of departure for the Inquiry. Statistics are contradictory and disputed, and the Committee concludes that 'we can say with greater certainty that the patterns of offending vary between different ethnic groups than that the level of offending varies significantly' (p.11). Young black people may be disproportionately involved in certain



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1 Claudia Webbe (2007) 'Blair blames spate of murders on black culture', *The Guardian*, 12 April.

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2 Simon Singer
(1981) 'Homogeneous
Victim-Offender
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*Journal of Criminal
Law and
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779–88; Michael
Gottfredson
(1984) *Victims of
Crime: The
Dimensions of Risk*.
London: HMSO.

3 Jennifer Shaffer
(2004) The
victim-offender
overlap: specifying
the role of peer
groups.
Unpublished PhD
Dissertation.

types of crimes, such as robbery, drug offences and firearms offences, but the extent to which this reflects involvement in all types of crimes is less clear.

Even more contentious than the nature and extent of overrepresentation are its causes. The report does well in highlighting the complexity of the causes of overrepresentation by focusing on a range of contributory factors, and by avoiding the usual traps such as demonising single-parent households and absent fathers. However, the Committee identified three strands which interact and feed into each other: social exclusion, factors specific to the black community, and the operation of the CJS itself. The strength of the report lies in its treatment of the problem as primarily one of social exclusion and deprivation, with issues within black communities (one could even say stereotypes) treated as secondary causal factors, and even then as largely stemming from inequality. The conclusion, then, is that 'the causes of overrepresentation among young black people are similar to those which predispose a minority of young people from all communities to involvement in the criminal justice system' (p.53), debunking the proposition that violent crime in Britain is fuelled by a 'distinctive black culture'.

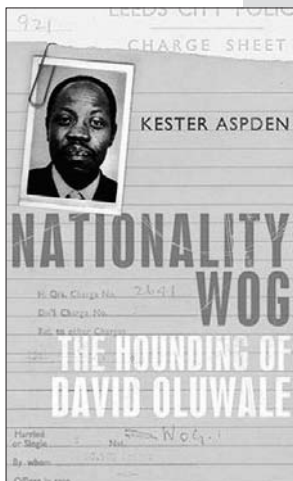
What is perhaps lacking is a deeper exploration of the relationships and dynamics between different factors. For example, the report discusses the importance of area of residence as a predictor of both victimisation and criminal activity, but largely overlooks the statistical overlapping of involvement in offending on the one

hand and victimisation on the other. It is generally accepted in the criminological literature that offenders are more likely than non-offenders to be victims of crime, and that victims of crime are more likely than non-victims to be offenders.² Among young offenders, Shaffer³ has demonstrated how processes of offending and victimisation are interlinked and likely to result from similar social processes: peer group involvement. As the report discusses in some detail peer groups and 'gangs' on the one hand, and the fact that young black people are more likely to be victims of violent crime as well as perpetrators on the other, it would have been helpful to discuss how the two are linked. It would also have been useful to explore the role area of residence plays in the formation of peer groups as well as the victim/offender correlation. Although the committee stresses the complex relationship between the various factors discussed in the report, it is less clear on exactly how they interact, and why these interactions are important to a productive understanding of the problem.

The report is a welcome contribution to the race/crime debate. By bringing back the link between disadvantage and crime, it provides a refreshing antidote to the 'cultural' explanations which tend to dominate the discussion. As the overrepresentation of young black people in the CJS becomes even more pronounced, and the debate on its causes becomes more heated, the Home Affairs Committee report will serve as a helpful point of departure for further discussions. □

The Hounding of David Oluwale

Nationality: Wog. The Hounding of David Oluwale
Kester Aspden
London: Jonathan Cape, 2007
Pp.244; £12.99 (hbk); ISBN 978-0-244-08040-8



Kester Aspden writes about his book *Nationality: Wog*, in which the story of someone struggling with the status of outsider in the 1950s and 1960s resonates as strongly today.

A month before his death, David Oluwale was pulled from the streets of Leeds, arrested, taken into Millgarth police station and charged with disorderly conduct. A charge sheet was completed and in the box for the prisoner's nationality the word 'WOG' was typed in.

My book *Nationality: Wog* tells the story of the Nigerian vagrant and the complex criminal investigation into his death. It draws on archives only recently released to the public under the 30-year rule, as well as interviews with policemen, lawyers and some of Oluwale's surviving friends.

Though I knew (or thought I knew) Leeds well, I only

became aware of Oluwale's story when I chanced across a reference to the case papers in the National Archives. The facts were shocking. Over a 9-month period in 1968–9, two senior Leeds policemen – an inspector and a sergeant – conducted an incessant campaign of humiliation and violence against Oluwale. Their intention was to drive this well-known 'character' and 'social nuisance' off their patch, to make him understand that he wasn't welcome in Leeds any longer.

In May 1969 Oluwale's body was recovered from the River Aire, three miles downstream from the city centre. Although there was a vicious-looking bruise over his right eye, the senior officers on the scene were not interested in probing the circumstances of his death. Nobody took photographs of the body. A pathologist was told by a police officer as he was about to begin the post mortem that Oluwale was a violent man who had once bitten a policeman. The pathologist didn't read anything into the head wound and the coroner recorded a verdict of death by drowning. Oluwale was given a pauper's burial and the only mourners were the grave-diggers.

Oluwale's adult life had been a brutal and solitary one. He arrived in Britain as a stowaway from Nigeria in 1949 with hopes of a better life. Work was plentiful in post-war Leeds and he held down a variety of labouring jobs, living for Saturday nights at the Mecca Ballroom. He was a

lively, popular, restless young man, an energetic dancer with a sharp dress sense. He got the nickname 'Yankee' because of his love of American style and culture.

In 1953, after a violent struggle with the police outside a pub in Leeds during which it was said he received a truncheon blow to the head, he was jailed for a month and during the course of his sentence complained to the prison doctor that he was hearing voices and hallucinating. He was diagnosed schizophrenic, sectioned and sent to Menston, a stinking and overcrowded Victorian asylum. He wouldn't re-emerge until 1961.

On his release there was nothing in the way of support or after-care and he drifted onto the streets, bedding down in derelict houses or city-centre shop doorways. His friends saw a changed personality. Where once he had swaggered round the streets of Leeds, years of electric shock treatment and heavy anti-psychotic drugs had knocked the Yankee spirit out of him and he would typically be seen shuffling down the street in his battered old coat. During his years on the streets he picked up a number of convictions for violence (offences committed under provocation from police officers) and vagrancy. Prison welfare officers noted that he was impossible to help and looked to be on the road to ruin.

In April 1968, the month of Enoch Powell's notorious 'Rivers of Blood' speech, Geoff Ellerker, a newly appointed inspector, was assigned to Millgarth, the station for Leeds city centre. He came to rely heavily on one of his shift sergeants, Ken Kitching. Kitching was zealous in removing 'human rubbish' like beggars and rough sleepers from his patch. But Oluwale, the only black man on the streets, became a fixation: 'A wild animal, not a human being', as Kitching once described him.

When working the nightshift, Kitching and Ellerker went hunting for their 'playmate' and subjected him to a range of humiliations, which they called 'penance'. Police constables, mainly probationers eager to get on side with their superiors, were ordered to send for Ellerker and Kitching whenever they found 'Uggy' in the shop doorways because they wanted to deal with him personally. On a number of occasions during the night shift, Ellerker and Kitching beat Oluwale, bundled him into a police vehicle, drove him miles outside the city and dumped him there. Once, they took him to some woods and left him there joking that he would feel at home back in the jungle. They never doubted that they were doing a good job for Leeds. When Oluwale tried to tell a psychiatrist about the nocturnal drives to the countryside and the beatings his stories were dismissed as the ramblings of someone with a persecution complex.

The last positive sighting of Oluwale was in the early hours of 18 April 1969, running away from Ellerker and Kitching. It was an open secret among the shift that the two were involved in his death, though officers were unwilling to threaten their careers and pensions for a man like Oluwale.

But for the courage of an 18-year-old police cadet it is likely that we would not have learned of the fate of the Nigerian. When Gary Galvin, one of the youngest members of Leeds City Police, heard stories that the two officers had been involved in Oluwale's death he didn't

hesitate to act, though he knew how his colleagues regarded those who broke ranks. Eighteen months after Oluwale's burial, Scotland Yard was called to Leeds to investigate the allegations and an exhumation was carried out on an icy December morning. After a fraught investigation which involved police officers giving evidence against colleagues, Ellerker and Kitching were charged with manslaughter and several assaults.

Even in death Oluwale was accorded little dignity. At the trial at Leeds Town Hall in November 1971, Oluwale was not portrayed as the victim of racial violence – indeed racism wasn't highlighted as a significant factor – but rather as someone whose way of life had put him 'beyond the pale'. Defence counsel likened him to a panther and asked 'What right have we to call him a citizen?', whilst the trial judge, Mr Justice Hinchcliffe, pronounced him a 'dirty, filthy, violent vagrant'. Though the police officers were jailed for assaults, Hinchcliffe ordered the jury to return not-guilty verdicts on the manslaughter charges. Leeds football fans delivered their own judgement from the Elland Road terraces:

They're the boys from Millgarth and they don't care
They threw Oluwale in the River Aire
They don't give a bugger and they don't give a damn
They are the Millgarth Boot Boys

* * *

As I researched the book and followed Oluwale's traces, I found that his name still meant something in Leeds. 'Weren't he that coloured tramp they threw in river?' one old trader said when I asked around Kirkgate Market, a place I knew Oluwale frequented. The specific details of the case may have become blurry over time but he is very much seared into the popular memory of Leeds.

Despite the horrific stories which emerged during the trial, Middle England, perhaps not surprisingly in those Powellite times, was little moved by the fate of a black vagrant. No lessons were learned though it was another blow to that section of society's deeply held faith in the fair-minded bobby. More surprisingly, it didn't galvanize the black community in the way that the murder of Antiguan Kelso Cochrane had a decade earlier, though it sent an ominous message about who really belonged to the British nation.

Ironically, despite the case's relative obscurity, it has come to be regarded as a defining moment in urban racism: the first recorded death of a black person in police custody, the Institute of Race Relations maintains, despite the trial verdict; an analogy for a network of humiliating and discriminatory practices visited on black people by various police forces at that time, Mike and Trevor Phillips state in their history of multi-racial Britain *Windrush* (1998). Yet the case, though iconic, hadn't resonated strongly or deeply in the wider British society. I thought it was time to retell the story to those who had never before heard the name David Oluwale.

Though my book is primarily an attempt at historical reconstruction, it would be a mistake to regard Oluwale's story as a distant piece of social history, a throwback to



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'Even in death Oluwale was accorded little dignity'

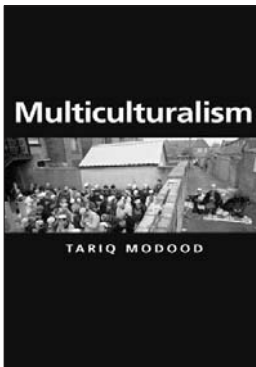


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an embarrassing and thankfully discarded past of Enoch Powell, Alf Garnett and the Black and White Minstrel Show. Though the police service is beginning to confront its institutional racism, there have been hundreds of deaths in custody since 1970, with black people overrepresented in the roll-call. So far not one police officer has been convicted even though there has often been compelling evidence that officers were to blame. Institutional racism continues to blight the mental health

system, though it has not yet had its Stephen Lawrence moment and rarely makes headlines. Black people are more likely to be diagnosed schizophrenic, sectioned and held on the secure wards of our psychiatric hospitals.

Two hundred years on from the abolition of the slave trade, the idea of blacks as primitive, threatening and in need of control is still alive in some of our central institutions. It's a timely moment to reconsider the lessons from the Oluwale case. □



Multicultural Citizenship: An Idea for Our Times

Tariq Modood writes about his book
Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea, published in
May 2007 by Polity Press, Oxford.
Pp. 160; £12.99(pbk); ISBN: 978-07456-328910

The critique of multiculturalism – the political accommodation of recently settled minorities – is unfair to both multiculturalism and to British Muslims. I try to show this in my new book by restating a conception of multiculturalism, which clearly distinguishes it from certain narrow forms of liberalism, but which places it squarely within an understanding of democratic citizenship and nation-building.

Citizenship

Citizens are individuals and have individual rights but they are not uniform and their citizenship contours itself around them. Citizenship is not a monistic identity that is completely apart from or transcends other identities important to citizens. For example, a common British citizenship has not effaced but incorporates Scottish, English, Irish or Welsh identities and can do the same with black, Indian, Muslim and other identities. In this way, the plurality is ever present and each part of it has a right to be a part of the whole and to speak up for itself and for its vision of the whole. Such modulations and contestations are part of the internal, evolutionary, work-in-progress dynamic of citizenship.

Also related to citizenship not being monolithic is that action and power are not monopolistically concentrated and so the state is not the exclusive site for citizenship. We perform our citizenship and relate to each other as fellow citizens, not just in relation to law and politics but also through our voluntary associations, community organisations, trades unions, media, churches, temples, mosques, and so on. Change and reform do not all have to be brought about by state action, laws, regulation, prohibitions, etc, but also through public debate, pressure group mobilisations, and the varied and (semi-) autonomous institutions of civil society.

Muslims and Identity

How does this relate to Muslim identity politics, one of the central sources of anxiety and disillusionment about

multiculturalism? British Muslim identity politics was virtually created by the *Satanic Verses* affair of the late 1980s and beyond. It led many to think of themselves for the first time as Muslims in a public way, to think that it was important in their relation to other Muslims and to the rest of British and related societies, and the same has happened with the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7.

While such crises make some withdraw from a public Muslim identification, it has the opposite effect on many others. There is a strong concern for the plight of Muslims elsewhere in the world, especially (but not only) where this plight is seen in terms of anti-imperialist emancipation and where the UK government is perceived to be part of the problem – tolerant of, if not complicit in or actively engaged in the destruction of Muslim hopes and lives, which are usually civilian.

One might anticipate passivity and a self-pitying introspection due to these overseas circumstances outside their control. But many British Muslims exhibit a dynamism and a confidence that they must rise to the challenge of dual loyalties and not give up on either their Muslim identity or being part of a democratic citizenship. Domestic terrorism, as well as political opposition, has unfortunately become part of the national context. Ideological and violent extremism is indeed undermining the conditions and hopes for multiculturalism, but, contrary to the multiculturalism blamers, this extremism has nothing to do with the promotion of multiculturalism but is coming into the domestic arena from what is happening overseas.

National Identity and Being British

Multiculturalism has been broadly right and does not deserve the desertion of support from the centre-left, let alone the blame for the present crisis. Some advocacy of multiculturalism has, however, perhaps overlooked or at least underemphasised the other side of the coin, which is not just equally necessary but is integral to multiculturalism. For one can't just talk about difference. Difference has to be related to things we have in common, above all our citizenship. As I have said, this citizenship has to be seen in a plural, dispersed and dialogical way and not reduced to legal rights, passports and the vote (important though these are). Moreover, a good basis for or accompaniment to a multicultural citizenship is a national identity.

We in Europe have overlooked how where multiculturalism has been accepted and has worked as a state project or as a national project – in Canada, Australia and Malaysia for example – it has not just been coincidental with but integral to a nation-building project: to creating Canadians, Aussies and Malaysians, etc. Even in the US, where the federal state has had a much lesser role in the multicultural project, the incorporation of ethno-religious diversity and hyphenated Americans (such as Italian-Americans) has been about country-making, civic inclusion and making a claim upon the national identity. This is important because some argue as if the logic of the national and the multicultural are incompatible. Partly as a result many Europeans think of multiculturalism as antithetical to rather than as a reformer of national identity.

Moreover, it does not make sense to encourage strong multicultural or minority identities and weak common or national identities; strong multicultural identities are a good thing – they are not intrinsically divisive, reactionary or fifth-column – but they need a framework of vibrant, dynamic, national narratives and the ceremonies and rituals which give expression to a national identity. It is clear that minority identities are capable of having an emotional pull for the individuals for whom they are important. Multicultural citizenship requires, therefore, if it is to be equally attractive to the same individuals, a comparable counterbalancing emotional pull.

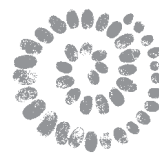
National identity can play this role. Many Britons, for example, say they are worried about disaffection amongst some Muslim young men and more generally a lack of identification with Britain amongst many Muslims in Britain. As a matter of fact, surveys over many years have shown Muslims have been reaching out for an identification with Britain. For example, in a Channel 4 NOP survey done in spring 2006, 82% of a national sample of Muslims said they very strongly (45%) or fairly strongly (37%) felt they belonged to Britain. Yet the survey also found that many Muslims did not feel comfortable in Britain. For example, 58% thought that extreme religious persecution of Muslims was very likely (23%) or fairly likely (35%). Similarly, a recent Gallup Poll of Londoners found that 57% of Muslims identified strongly with Britain compared to 48% of non-Muslims, yet 54% of the capital's Muslims think more should be done to accommodate their religion.

It is therefore to be welcomed when politicians of the left like Gordon Brown and Jack Straw argue for the need to revive and revalue British national identity. They seek to derive a set of core values (liberty, fairness, enterprise and so on) from a historical narrative. Yet such values, even if they could singly or in combination be given a distinctive British take, are too complex and their interpretation and priority too contested to be set into a series of meaningful definitions. Every public culture must operate through shared values, which are both embodied in and used to criticise its institutions and practices, but they are not simple and uniform and their meaning is discursively grasped as old interpretations are dropped and new circumstances unsettle one consensus and another is built up. Simply saying that freedom or equality is a core British

value is unlikely to settle any controversy or tell us, for example, what is hate speech and how it should be handled. Definitions of core values will either be too bland or too divisive and the idea that there has to be a schedule of 'non-negotiable' value statements to which every citizen is expected to sign up is not in the spirit of a multilogical citizenship.

The national identity should be woven in debate and discussion, not reduced to a list. For central to it is a citizenship and the right to make a claim on the national identity in which negative difference is challenged and supplanted by positive difference. Being black or Muslim is not seen as something to be tolerated but part of what it is to be British today. We cannot afford to leave out these aspects of multicultural citizenship from an intellectual or political vision of social reform and justice in the 21st century. Rather, the turning of negative difference into positive difference should be one of this era's tests of social justice.

The 21st century is going to be one of unprecedented ethnic and religious mix in the West. In the past, multicultural societies have tended to flourish only under imperial rule. If we are to keep alive the prospect of a dynamic, internally differentiated multiculturalism within the context of democratic citizenship, then we must at least see that multiculturalism is not the cause of the present crisis but part of the solution. □



REVIEWS

New Runnymede Publication

Mixed Heritage: Identity, Policy and Practice

Edited by Jessica Mai Sims

Published September 2007 (ISBN-13: 978-0-9548389-6-6)

Appropriate policy responses, language and community-building are still lacking for people of mixed heritage. This question poses challenges similar to those of hyper-diversity and multiple identities, and needs consideration, despite its capacity to elude research categorisation by virtue of the breadth of experience involved.

Runnymede's latest Perspectives paper, *Mixed Heritage: Identity, Policy and Practice*, seeks to explore both the mixed category, and the lives of people who are mixed along with people who are mixing. Featuring collaboration with external writers, each contributor's article explores the topic from a variety of expertise, covering theoretical explorations of mixedness, policy areas such as education, health and social care, and returning to the fundamental question of whether it is useful to speak of the mixed category as a unitary group and whether a mixed community exists.

Contributors include: Suki Ali, Linda Bellos, Rob Berkeley, Chamion Caballero, Sharron Hall, Mark R.D. Johnson, Jill Olumide, Charlie Owen, John Simmonds, Jessica Mai Sims, Miri Song, Savita de Sousa and Leon Tikly



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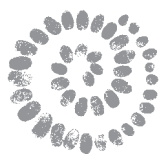
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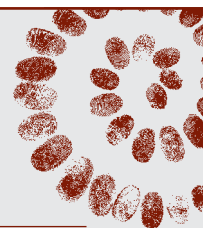
Simon Mercer

Administrator

Photos from the Video ART Postcards project and of Runnymede Team members used in this issue were taken by Benedict Hilliard.

This issue was edited by Ros Spry.

Promoting Cohesive Communities through Schools



A One-day Runnymede Trust Education Conference
Monday 26 November 2007, Central London

The Runnymede Trust will be holding a large national conference to highlight the central importance of and encourage debate about the role of schools in promoting community cohesion.

With schools now under the new Duty to Promote Community Cohesion, this conference is designed to assist local authorities and schools in gaining practical advice and good practice ideas to help them meet, and go beyond, this new Duty. As a national conference, it will also provide an opportunity for delegates to learn about and better understand the policy context in which efforts to promote community cohesion in schools sit today. Delegates attending this conference will be able to discuss the challenges schools currently face in promoting community cohesion and engage constructively with policies in order to reach our shared goals of greater race equality and improved relations between people of all ethnic and religious backgrounds.

Runnymede has been working over the past 40 years to support public institutions, including schools, to play their full part in creating a successful multi-ethnic society. This conference will showcase Runnymede's related recent and upcoming education research on:

- Black & Minority Ethnic Parents and Educational Support
- Faith Schools and Cohesion
- Choice and Ethnic Segregation
- School Exclusions and Underachievement
- Migration and Access to Services

Who should attend

Headteachers, School Governors, Directors of Children's Services, Equalities and Community Cohesion staff, Supplementary Schools, Community-based Organisations, Race Equality Councils, Teaching Unions, Race Equality Bodies, Faith Organisations, Youth Workers and Youth Organisations, Travellers Support Organisations, Refugee and Asylum Support Organisations

To find out more about this conference and/or to register to attend, contact The Runnymede Conference Desk at Vista Communications Ltd, 163 Kingston Road, London SW19 1LJ.
tel: 020 8542 7622, fax: 020 8542 9333,
email: runnymede@vistaevents.co.uk