

EDUMIGROM

Working Paper 3

ETHNIC RELATIONS IN THE UK

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2008

**Ethnic Difference in Education and Diverging Prospects for
Urban Youth in an Enlarged Europe**

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Abbreviations

ACERT	Advisory Committee for the Education of Romanies and Travellers
APPG	All Party Parliamentary Group
BME	Black and minority ethnic people
CAB	Citizens Advice Bureau
CIAC	Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council
CEMVO	Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Organisations
CRC	Community Relations Commission
CRE	Commission for Racial Equality
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DCLG	Department for Communities and Local Government
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DSS	Department of Social Security
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
DoH	Department of Health
DSS	Department of Social Security.
DWP	Department for Work and Pensions
EEA	European Economic Area
EMAG	Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
GRT	Gypsy/Roma/Traveller people
HAC	Home Affairs Committee
ICT	Information and communication technologies
IFE	Islamic Forum Europe
MCB	Muslim Council of Britain
MEP	Member of the European Parliament
NASS	National Asylum Support Service
NCCI	National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants
OBV	Operation Black Vote
ONS	Office for National Statistics
RRB	Race Relations Board
TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
TLRP	Travellers Law Reform Project
YMO	Young Muslim Organisation

1. Mapping ethnic minorities in inter-ethnic context

1.0 Historical development of ethnic diversity in the UK

The UK has always been ethnically diverse with a population developing from complex historical migration patterns and periods of conflict, conquest, state formation, empire and decolonisation. Specific movements relevant here include sporadic in-migration of Gypsies and the importation of African slaves and servants from the sixteenth century onwards, mass migrations of Irish and Jewish people in the nineteenth century and post-war economic migration to Britain from the Caribbean, the South Asian subcontinent, China and Africa (Okely 1983, Shyllon 1977, Holmes 1988). In the postwar period there is both increasing mixing of ethnic groups and ‘super-diversity’¹ (Vertovec 2006, see below) which have created an ethnically complex society. The UK is also undergoing substantial social and cultural change due to globalisation, Europeanisation, devolution, the end of Empire, social pluralism and the acceleration of migration (Parekh 2000, Loury, Modood and Teles 2005). As Ulrich Beck reminds us, the increasing development of inter-cultural and inter-ethnic social relations across modern societies has been identified by a range of intellectuals and scholars including Kant, Goethe, Marx and Simmel, who all saw the modern period as the product of a transition from ‘early conditions of relatively closed societies to ‘universal eras’ [universellen Epochen] (Goethe)’ (2006: 9) of societies marked by economic and social interdependence, together with increasingly complex patterns of movement and cultural interaction. The resulting swirl of social change has brought into being two opposing positions. On the one hand, cosmopolitanism brings with it an emphasis on openness to others, recognition and acceptance of difference and the universalist view that all are equal and everyone is different. Whereas anti-cosmopolitanism, which can be found across all political camps, organisations and countries, emphasises hostility to cultural, linguistic and cultural differences, and promotes exclusion of and contempt for racial, ethnic or cultural groups who are perceived as threatening in some way. These opposing forces are both central features of the European tradition and of twenty first century Europe and provide the context for micro inter-ethnic interactions in educational and community contexts for this study of the UK. The ‘selected minority ethnic groups’ chosen for this study are the Gypsy/Roma/Traveller population, Black Caribbeans and Bangladeshis. All of these migrant groups have been subject to racism, xenophobia, hostility, violence and practices of restriction and exclusion during the process of migration and settlement in the UK (Holmes 1991, Panayi 1996). They have also been subject to varying levels of political and cultural recognition, acceptance of racial and ethnic difference, inter-ethnic marriage and cohabitation and incorporation into political, economic, cultural and social spheres of activity.

The post-war period saw a sustained level of inward migration from commonwealth or former commonwealth countries to supply labour. Migration from the Caribbean was followed by that from India and Pakistan and subsequently Bangladesh. Although much primary migration was male, with family re-unification (that is, applying for dependants from abroad to join them here), being a subsequent step, this was not the case for Caribbean immigration where there were large numbers of women among primary migrants who came, for example, to take up work in the health service. These groups were from former British colonies, with people subject to initial rights of entry that were gradually restricted during the 1960s and early 1970s until only families of settled migrants could enter. The 1948 Nationality Act gave rights of entry and citizenship to all citizens of British colonies and the Commonwealth and embodied the domestic need to ensure labour migration to re-build postwar Britain and the

¹ Super-diversity is a concept that foregrounds a level and kind of ethnic complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced, and this has been applied to the UK by Vertovec (2006). This is distinguished by a contrast with previous periods of migration and identification of dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants.

international objective of seeking to maintain a united British Commonwealth. So, citizenship and all the civil, political and social rights associated with it were held by most under post-colonial arrangements (Hansen and Weil 2001). From 1948 to 1962 the British state was involved in a long process of political and ideological racialisation, which focussed on dismantling and differentiating these rights in immigration policy (Saggar 1992). This culminated in the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act which differentiated between British and Commonwealth citizens, with the specific intention of restricting non-white migrants. This was followed by an increasing succession of strong legislation with repeated attempts to stop Black and Asian migration to the UK (see section 2 for further discussion). Immigration from the Caribbean was about 2,000 annually in the late 1940s and early 1950s, this doubled between 1959 and 1960 and this primary migration increased further in an attempt to beat the impact of new controls. 70% of male Caribbean migrants arrived in the UK pre-1962. Indian and Pakistani migration was more evenly spread across the period of the mid 1950s to the mid 1980s. Bangladeshi entry to the UK was much later with over half arriving between 1975 and 1984 (Saggar 1992, p. 51).

Large and eventually well-organized communities were formed, particularly through the establishment of community associations and places of worship (Vertovec 2006). Expulsion also resulted in settlement by numbers of Vietnamese and East African Asian families around 1970. Since 1970, most primary immigration for employment has been at a standstill, with family re-unification and fertility being the routes through which minority groups have expanded. Refugees have also contributed to a diverse minority group population, a recent phenomenon being the arrival of asylum seekers from within Europe as well as from further afield.

The differentiation in economic position, migration history, political participation and perceptions of social citizenship are significant across minority ethnic groups in the UK and they are becoming increasingly evident. Recent debate has highlighted the problem of hyper- or super- diversity where professionals and managers face substantial dilemmas in responding to the needs of culturally complex societies (Vertovec 2006, Mir 2007). Vertovec argues that the new context of super-diversity in the UK arising from the 1990's onwards requires consideration of the following factors in both research and policy:

- country of origin (comprising a variety of possible subset traits such as ethnicity, language[s],
- religious tradition, regional and local identities, cultural values and practices),
- migration channel (often related to highly gendered flows and specific social networks),
- legal status (determining entitlement to rights),
- migrants' human capital (particularly educational background),
- access to employment (which may or may not be in immigrants' hands),
- locality (related especially to material conditions, but also the nature and extent of other immigrant and ethnic minority presence),
- transnationalism (emphasizing how migrants' lives are lived with significant reference to places and peoples elsewhere)
- uneven responses by local authorities, services providers and local residents (which often tend to function by way of assumptions based on previous experiences with migrants and ethnic minorities).

The implication of addressing 'super-diversity' in schools is that it may be impossible to give teachers appropriate knowledge about the language and culture of an increasing breadth of newcomer children. Whereas the development of generic skills in teacher training for the broad appreciation of cultural difference may be more appropriate.

There is a complex system of citizenship rights, forms of membership and restrictions and exclusions which cross-cut differing categories and groups of migrants to the UK. This produces an ad hoc and variable pattern of denial of service and responses to individual needs so that people in the same migrant category may receive different services and entitlements. This produces a situation where 'neither service providers, advice-givers nor migrants themselves are clear as to what services they might be entitled' (Morris 2002, 2004, Arai 2006, Vertovec 2006). This is particularly relevant in the provision of welfare and associated benefits which are discussed in section 3. The recent national evaluation of Sure Start (Craig et al 2007), a cross-departmental initiative which aimed to enhance the life chances of children less than four years old growing up in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, identified the basic failure to address ethnicity which, in the implementation of this programme, was 'fragmented, partial or lacking altogether'. This indicates a wider national failure of welfare providers to develop consistent and coherent national policy and practice in relation to the varying needs of migrant groups.

1.2 Selected ethnic groups in the UK: a comparative overview

Briefly a comparative overview of the selected groups shows that, the Black Caribbean population tends to be economically disadvantaged and socially assimilated, in terms of cohabitation and marriage patterns, and with some significant degree of political incorporation; the Bangladeshi population tends to be in a position of greater economic marginality and poverty, with more social distinctiveness, due partly to social closure, and less political incorporation (Peach 2005, Modood 2005). Both of these groups had the right to settle in the UK, to acquire citizenship and participate in electoral politics due to previous British colonial relations and obligations (Robinson and Valeny 2005). The Gypsy and Traveller population appears to be in the most vulnerable position of economic, political and social marginality of any these groups, although data for this group is much more limited (Cemlyn and Clark 2005). Although this group have formal voting rights, they are likely to have much lower levels of electoral registration and they have no elected representatives in either local or national government.

1.2.1 Gypsy/Roma/Traveller (GRT) people

Gypsies are believed to have moved into the UK from Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, with a significant community being established around London by the eighteenth century. The origins and differentiation of groups within this category are complex and may include the formation of groups with both indigenous and non-UK roots. Migration to the UK has been mainly driven by expulsion and repression in mainland Europe together with rejection of sedentary lifestyles and feudal bonds. They have often been subject to oppressive vagrancy legislation. There has been a history of conflict between this group and the state particularly in relation to the enforcement of housing, urban planning and land control laws which has affected family travel and mobility (Morris and Clements 1999). Welfare outcomes are particularly poor for this group (Cemlyn and Clark 2005), for example they have higher levels of infant mortality and lower life expectancy due to difficulties in accessing health services than most other groups (Morris and Clements 2001), life expectancy for men and women is 10 years lower than the national average and Gypsy and Irish Traveller mothers are 20 times more likely than mothers in the rest of the population to have experienced the death of a child (Van Cleemput et al, 2004). In education, as well as some of the lowest levels of educational attainment (DCFS 2008), some schools are refusing to admit children from this group, imposing discriminatory conditions on admission or delaying registration (Clark 2004), whereas some central and local government initiatives have sought to challenge these processes and prioritise inclusion work (see section 3.4.2. Also a recent study found that of those that do get access to education, at least half of gypsy and traveller children in England and Wales drop out of school between Key Stages 1 and 4 and the same study also showed

very high rates of exclusions (DfES 2005). Furthermore, there is increasing evidence of almost total failure of access to higher education for this group (Clark 2004).

This group has much diversity within it and is estimated to include 200,000-250,000 people (Morris 2003, Clark 2004, Clark and Greenfields 2006). In Britain there are UK Irish Travellers, Scots Travellers (Nachins), Welsh Gypsies (Kale) and English Gypsies (Romanichals) among others. There are also Travelling Showpeople (Fairground Travellers), Boat Dwellers (Bargees) and Circus Travellers. Ethnic identifiers, including language, identity, names and traditions vary across these sub-groups, and many can opt to conceal their ethnicity as phenotypical characteristics are more difficult to use to mark out this group. They are therefore on the margins of racial visibility, but they are clearly social and ethnically identifiable, particularly in terms of a long shared history, of which the group is conscious as distinguishing it from other groups, and the memory of which it keeps alive; and a cultural tradition of its own, including family and social customs and manners. In the decennial census of population these groups, where enumerated, are included in the 'White' category.

In 1985 the Swann report identified Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils as being strongly affected by many factors influencing the education of children from other minority ethnic groups including racism, stereotyping and the need for more positive links between Gypsy, Roma and Traveller parents and their children's schools. The Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF) confirmed recently its commitment to raising the attendance and achievement of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller pupils. In 2003, the Department (DfES which became the DCSF in 2007) published *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils*, and *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Gypsy Traveller pupils: A Guide to Good Practice* (for further information and discussion see WP2, Education in the UK, section 5.4.).

Gypsy/Roma and Travellers of Irish Heritage are identified as racial groups and covered by the Race Relations Acts as legitimate minority ethnic communities. Gypsy/Roma people have been recognized as a racial group since 1988 (CRE v Dutton). Travellers of Irish heritage received legal recognition in law as a racial group in 2000 (O'Leary v Allied Domecq). Gypsy, Roma and Traveller communities frequently experience social exclusion and discrimination which can be intentionally or is unintentionally racist in character on account of the lack of knowledge by the perpetrator(s) of their legal minority ethnic status. Legal recognition of this group is necessary in order to secure protection from racial discrimination. Members of a group that is not recognised cannot legally pursue complaints of racial discrimination. Therefore, prior to this formal recognition racial discrimination against Gypsies and travellers was lawful and could not be challenged in the courts or in industrial tribunals. Since 2003 Gypsy/Roma and Travellers of Irish heritage are two distinct ethnicity group categories within the School Census. These two groups are defined as follows:

Gypsy/Roma – This category includes pupils who identify themselves as Gypsies and or Romanies, and or Travellers, and or Traditional Travellers, and or Romanichals, and or Romanichal Gypsies and or Welsh Gypsies/Kaale, and or Scottish Travellers/Gypsies, and or Roma. It includes all children of a Gypsy/Roma ethnic background, irrespective of whether they are nomadic, semi nomadic or living in static accommodation.

Traveller of Irish Heritage – A range of terminology is also used in relation to Travellers with an Irish heritage. These are either ascribed and or self-ascribed and include: Minceir, Travellers, Travelling People, and Travellers of Irish heritage. Travellers of Irish heritage speak their own language known as Gammon, sometimes referred to as 'Cant' and which is a language with many Romani loan-words, but not thought to be a dialect of Romani itself.

The School Census categorisation does not include Fairground (Showman's) children; the children travelling with circuses; or the children of New Travellers or those dwelling on the

waterways unless, of course, their ethnicity status is either of that which is mentioned above. Although most of these people have full citizenship rights, this category of Gypsy/Roma will also include people whose immigration status will be either, asylum seeker or refugee, and or migrant worker who have moved to the UK more recently from other EU states. The most recently arrived Roma in the UK have been subject to highly visible media hostility and vilification (Craske 2000).

Data on household formation, economic activity, occupations and incomes is very limited, a useful summary of evidence has been provided by Cemlyn and Clark (2005). They identify Gypsy and Traveller culture as strongly family orientated and child-centred and these family and extended family networks are seen as primarily provide support in difficult times. Gypsy and Traveller economies have been largely identified as family based self-employed activities, which are flexible, adaptable and opportunistic in relation to gaps and opportunities in mainstream economic markets. This includes declining traditional work in areas such as, farm work and scrapping, and other newer economic activity in market trading and construction. Regulations and restrictions on self-employment on official sites have limited opportunities and many find that simply being a Gypsy or Traveller, and lacking basic literacy skills, will prevent them accessing mainstream wage labour jobs or training (Cemlyn and Clark 2005). There are an increasing number of local needs studies that have examined housing, health and educational needs, for example in West Yorkshire, but there is an urgent need to collect and collate data at national level.

1.2.2 Black Caribbean people

There is extensive historical evidence of the establishment of Black communities in selected British cities from the seventeenth century onwards, often remaining a key focal point for people of African descent in the UK for centuries (Walvin 1973, Law 1981). There is also extensive historical evidence of both the depth and pervasiveness of anti-Black racism and associated violence, discrimination and hostility, as well as more positive forms of social interaction, including inter-racial marriage and cohabitation with white people which has increasingly formed a large mixed population. Early Black communities established in the nineteenth century, for example Liverpool and Cardiff, were built on these social relations of inter-ethnic marriage and cohabitation, and this trend continues (Berthoud 2005), which is in marked contrast to other national contexts e.g. the USA.

Black Caribbeans are people of African descent who were born in the Caribbean or who come from families which include people born in one of the Caribbean islands. In the post-war period this group mainly arrived in the UK during the 1950's and 1960's from Jamaica and other islands including Barbados, Grenada and Trinidad and Tobago, in response to demand for labour in the UK due to post-war reconstruction and economic growth (Peach 1996, Robinson and Valeny 2005). This group generally came as families and by 2001 constituted about 1% of the UK population, about half a million people (566,000). The Black Caribbean group are now mainly British born (57% born in UK) and of Christian religious background (74%). In comparison to the White British population they tend to have a younger age profile, a broadly similar socio-economic profile with, unusually, men tending to fare less well in both education and employment than women (ONS 2006). For example, the proportion of Black Caribbean men in routine and manual occupations (37%) exceeded the proportion in professional and managerial occupations (24%) compared to the contrasting respective figures of 24% and 30% for Black Caribbean women. The income poverty rate for Black Caribbeans is 30% compared to 20% for whites, for Bangladeshis it is much higher at 65% (Palmer and Kenway 2007). In terms of housing needs, Black Caribbeans are over-represented amongst the homeless (11% of those households accepted by English local authorities as homeless and in urgent priority need were from this group). An examination of work, poverty and welfare outcomes for this group and the Bangladeshi group is given in section 3.

In 2001, in recognition of the increasingly mixed heritage of certain groups of people, four new mixed categories were included in the national Census, one of these was Mixed White and Black Caribbean. This group was the largest of the mixed categories, comprising about 237,000 people who were largely born in the UK (94%), it also was the youngest of these mixed groups with 58% being under 16 and the one with the lowest socio-economic profile and high levels of unemployment and poor educational outcomes. Also 25% of economically active younger people from this group were unemployed, with an average of 16% overall for this group, and 25% had no educational qualifications at all (Bradford 2006). Black Caribbean and mixed White/Black Caribbean young men are increasingly subject as a group to internal socio-economic polarisation, as they are increasingly found both amongst the ranks of those with higher incomes and amongst the long-term unemployed (Berthoud 1999). Black young adults are also three times more likely to be in prison than white young adults, and this indicates a continuing crisis regarding the position of this group in relation to the criminal justice system.

1.2.3 Bangladeshi people

This group has been the most recent to settle in the UK of the three minorities under consideration here, with migration beginning in the 1950s. Men from Bangladesh (then East Pakistan, Bangladesh was established in 1971) came as economic migrants with increasing numbers in the 1960s and 1970s with further rapid expansion through family reunification through into the 1980s. There were 100,000 Bangladeshis in Britain by 1985 and three key problems were highlighted for this group; recent arrival from a rural peasant society lacking skills to access well-paid employment and often moving into low-skilled manufacturing occupations such as textiles, poor command of English and racial discrimination in housing² and employment (Home Affairs Committee (HAC) 1986). In education at that time, 74% of 15 year old Bangladeshis were not fluent in English, being described as an 'educational and social disaster of profound significance' (HAC 1986, p. xiii). Other key causes of educational under-achievement identified were low teacher expectations, racial hostility in school and community contexts, deprivation of home background, poor educational provision in Bangladesh and missed schooling after arrival in the UK. Also cultural differences were seen as posing severe difficulties for schools in respect of halal food, sex education, religious education, uniforms and the observance of purdah. Social services were described as 'hostile and invasive' by Bangladeshi organisations and poor housing and material conditions led to high incidence of ill-health.

Over the last two decades there has been both substantial change in some aspects of life, for example a rapid improvement in educational achievement at school and declining unemployment, whereas in terms of housing, poverty and incomes there have been highly durable persisting inequalities for this group. In 2001 this group constituted 0.5% of the UK population at about 283,000 people with almost half being born in the UK. Significant characteristics of this group are that over 90% are Muslims, this group also has a much younger age structure with a particularly high proportion of children under 16 (38%) and generally larger families with an average household size of 4.5 people (compared for example to 2.3 people for Black Caribbean and White British households). They tend to occupy the worst and most overcrowded housing. 10% of Bangladeshi households contained an extended family and this is one cause of overcrowding with 44% being in this category compared to 18% of Black Caribbeans and 6% of White British. Due to high birth rates and net international immigration the Bangladeshi group grew faster than most other minority groups,

² Racial discrimination in housing is extensively documented in all sectors of the UK housing market and this includes direct and indirect discrimination in access to private rented accommodation, social housing and owner occupation, with evidence of further discrimination in accessing mortgages and using accommodation agencies and estate agents. A high profile case of racial discrimination against homeless Bangladeshi households in Tower Hamlets, East London was revealed in a CRE investigation in 1988.

by 74% between 1991 and 2001. There is greater linguistic differentiation for this group with Bengali and Sylheti speaking pupils being the largest of all the minority groups in secondary education, for example 40,400 such speakers amongst London pupils in 2001. Bangladeshis also have high unemployment rates particularly for women at 22%, with employment rates for women at about 27% being the lowest of any ethnic group in 2001, (white female employment was 69% and Black Caribbean female employment was 64% in 2001). However, between 1991 and 2001 Bangladeshis experienced the largest reduction in male unemployment rates from 31% to 19% illustrating their position of economic vulnerability and the hypercyclical cause of this trend; being more severely affected by economic cycle changes than the majority (white male unemployment reduced from 11% to 5% in this period). So, improving economic conditions and the generally declining level of unemployment were accompanied by a higher than average decline in unemployment for this group, as they were pulled more quickly into available employment opportunities. More Muslim women from this group are moving into higher education and the labour market. High levels of fertility are declining with the rate of teenage motherhood falling from 61 per thousand in the mid-1980s to 38 per thousand in the mid-1990s, and along with declining family size there are indications of a convergence with white fertility rates (Berthoud 2005). Bangladeshi families are moving through a period of change re-negotiating core values and converging on the wider patterns across the UK. Whereas Black Caribbean family structures are very different moving, away from standard white norms. This Black group have an increasing number of unpartnered parents, over 50% of families, a very low rate of marriage and a high proportion of white partners, over 25% of families (Berthoud 2005, p.236). Berthoud argues that West Indian cultural traditions, with mothers and children living separately from the father, the relative acceptability of nonmarital and non-residential partnerships, a preference for less committing family forms, 'modern individualism' and the importance placed on personal choice rather than conventional obligation and greater social acceptance of mixed partnerships all play a part in explaining these trends. These contrasting patterns of family formation do show however that all groups are moving in the same direction from 'old-fashioned values to 'modern individualism' with Black Caribbeans ahead of the position of white families and Bangladeshis behind them.

1.3 Measuring ethnicity

In the UK measurement and classification of ethnicity in national statistics began in 1976, prior to this proxy measures such as country of birth and nationality were used. Since 1976 terminology and categorisation of groups have been subject to revision and change. The GRT population has only been identified by the School Census which began in 2003, but it is likely that this group will be identified in the national Census, for the first time, in 2011. The Black Caribbean group was referred to as West Indian prior to 1991, as Black was considered to be derogatory. The Bangladeshi category has remained constant over time in national statistics (ONS 2006). The national decennial Census, the Labour Force Survey and the four national surveys of ethnic minorities conducted by the Policy Studies Institute provide benchmark data sources, together with local education authority data, the school pupil census and excellent national data sets on entrants to higher education providing more detailed information on education.

For the school census DCSF Guidance explains that for children aged up to 11, those with parental authority should make the decision on the ethnic background of the child. Children aged 11-15 should make this decision with the support of their parents. Young people aged 16 and over can make the decision for themselves. However, an individual's perception of their own ethnic identity is considered sensitive personal data and ultimately it is the 'data subject', i.e., the pupil who determines their own identity by ethnic group. For children aged 11 and above, it is the child's decision that matters and should take precedence over that of their parents. In the event of a significant disagreement arising either between parents or between parents and their child over ethnic identity, the matter should be referred to the DCSF. When

a parent fails to return the ethnic group collection form, the school can use its best judgement to determine the ethnic group of the pupil. This process is also known as 'third party' ascription. If ascription is to be carried out then:

The information should be requested from the parent by post along with a letter that explains that the school will ascribe an ethnic group to their child if there is no response and parents do not formally refuse to provide this information.

If a formal refusal is made, schools must not ascribe an ethnic group.

Parents should be informed of the school's decision and given the opportunity to see, amend or remove the ethnic group record.

The ethnic group record will be marked as 'ascribed by the school.'

If the school has a confident belief that the children in question are likely to be, or have a Traveller heritage, then they should be encouraged to declare it within the context of the ethnic group completion form, but only after establishing, through diplomatic questioning, whether they agree to subscribe to the ethnic status of either Gypsy Roma or Traveller of Irish Heritage. The historic social status of Gypsy Roma and Travellers of Irish Heritage has been negative and there may well be some parents who feel that they are protecting their children by not declaring their ethnic background. In these circumstances, every encouragement and reassurance should be given to these families by carefully explaining the value to be gained for the child from the exercise. So, clear guidance is in place for dealing with the difficulties that may arise in ethnic monitoring and the rights of the 'data subject' are prioritised.

Table 1. Ethnic composition of the UK population, 1991-2001, in 000s

Group	1991 population	2001 population	% change
All ethnic groups	54,887	57,104	4.0
White	51,873	52,481	1.2
Mixed *	-	674	-
Asian	1,677	2,329	38.9
Indian	840	1,052	25.2
Pakistani	477	77	56.6
Bangladeshi	163	283	73.6
Other Asian	197	247	25.4
Black	890	1,148	29.0
Black Caribbean	500	566	13.2
Black African	212	485	128.8
Other Black	178	97	- 45.5
Chinese	157	243	54.8
Other ethnic groups	290	229	-21.0
All non-white	3,014	4,623	53.4
Gypsy/Traveller	-	200-250 (estimate)	-

* Mixed ethnic group categories were not included in 1991 census

Source: 1991 census , 2001 census, Office for National Statistics; 2001 census, General Register Office for Scotland,

For further information see data in Appendix 3.

2.0 Minority rights and issues of representation – legal, institutional and political aspects

2.1 Legal context

2.1.1 Immigration policy

The two central planks of British government policy in relation to minority groups have been strong racialised immigration controls and weak protection against racial discrimination. The targeting of racial groups has been a constant feature of immigration policy in the UK, whether Jews, blacks, Asians or asylum seekers. More recently policy has been ‘re-racialised’ as new EU citizens are substituted for workers from the developing world (Sales 2007:158, Benyon 2006). Greater freedom of movement for EU nationals together with increasing restrictions on non-EU nationals means that it is people of colour from the regions subordinate in the global economic structure - those who would benefit most from being able to migrate to do unskilled as well as skilled work - who will continue to find their opportunities to migrate restricted out of proportion to their need to do so.

Box 1. Four Phases of Immigration Policy in the UK

Controls on Jews and other ‘aliens’ arriving from Europe, 1905 onwards
Controls on New (black and Asian) Commonwealth migrants, as opposed to Old (white) Commonwealth migrants, 1962 onwards with explicit distinctions being made
Controls on the entry and rights of asylum seekers, 1980s onwards
Managed migration and tighter more selective controls on labour migration, including some East European migrants such as Bulgarians and Romanians, 2000 onwards

(Key source: Rosemary Sales (2007) *Understanding Immigration and Refugee Policy*, Bristol: Policy Press also see discussion piece by Benyon (2006)

New Labour has continued and amplified previous Conservative policy in relation to welfare, immigration and asylum (Somerville 2007, Morris 2007), reducing the benefit rights of asylum seekers, tightening job search requirements and availability tests and tightening migration controls except for particular groups of skills migrants. Immigration policy is being shaped both by concerns over the protection of welfare resources and labour market needs, as well as international conventions and trans-national rights. The resulting tensions lead to the deployment of ideological and organisational dimensions of welfare in the management of migration, for example in hostile media and political discourse and in new policy restrictions (Morris 2007, Daly 2003). Increasing differentiation and conditionality in access to welfare rights has been accompanied by both demonisation and hostility towards asylum seekers and concern that no-one should be left destitute. There is fierce debate over the extent to which the government’s view, that asylum seekers are ‘pulled’ to the UK by welfare benefits, is correct. This is contested by a group of researchers including (Robinson and Segrott (2002), Bloch and Schuster (2002), Gilbert and Koser (2003) and Duvall and Jordan (2002). Other factors including the unregulated labour market and ineffective deportation and removal of illegal migrants from the UK to their country of origin are cited as significant in migration decisions. Also, Southern European states with lower levels of welfare have also experienced increasing asylum applications (Sales 2007).

Immigration law has interacted directly with social security that has limited the possibilities for claiming for those in a transitional status or seeking family reunification. The two main points of interaction have been the rules around recourse to public funds and the provisions for those seeking refugee status. The 1971 Immigration Act introduced the requirement that those seeking family re-unification—that is, applying for dependants from abroad to join them—should have no ‘recourse to public funds’ at the time of the application and till the dependants should be granted residence. Thus applicants have to demonstrate that they can

support their dependants; and should they make a claim following their arrival they risk their dependants' status. Immigration law has also inhibited family re-unification through visa requirements, which mean that applications have to be made before departure. The geographical distance of immigration officers making visa decisions from British legal process can limit their accountability (Bevan 1986). A further obstacle was supplied by the former, notorious, 'primary purpose' rule, which required that a spouse's primary reason for immigration should not be to live in Britain.

Successive immigration rules since 1973 have required people, other than EEA nationals, seeking leave to enter or remain in the UK to show that they can adequately maintain and accommodate themselves and any dependants without recourse to public funds. This means they have to show that they have adequate means to support themselves, or be supported, without needing to claim benefits which are considered to be public funds. The meaning of 'public funds' was first defined in immigration rules in 1995. Since then the list of benefits defined as 'public funds' has grown steadily and in 2005 the immigration rules were further amended to add child tax credit, pension credit and working tax credit to the existing definition of 'public funds'. Public funds also includes social housing, but not schooling or health care. If a person with a public funds restriction claims a benefit the person's immigration position can be put at risk as the claim may affect her or his right to remain in the UK or to get an extension of stay. The restriction on access to public funds varies widely across migrant categories and is determined by the government. In recent years, benefit rules have been brought into line with immigration rules. Many benefits now have specific immigration conditions attached, which render a person ineligible purely because of their immigration status, for example social security and tax credits law categorises certain people as a 'person subject to immigration control' (PSIC) (Fitzpatrick 2005).

Box 2: Some key moments in immigration policy

1948 British Nationality Act: enshrined right of all commonwealth citizens to reside in the UK

1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act: first legislation to restrict right of commonwealth citizens to reside in the UK, it introduced a voucher system for primary immigration, where work vouchers for migrants were required

1971 Immigration Act: introduced recourse to public funds provisions; and notion of patriality, which favoured immigration by those from 'white' commonwealth countries (e.g. Australia, South Africa, Canada) above that from other commonwealth countries

1993 Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act: introduced finger-printing and removed rights to public sector housing

1996 Asylum and Immigration Act: penalised employers who employed those without the appropriate documentation

1999 Immigration and Asylum Act: introduced vouchers for support and the dispersal and accommodation system devolved to National Asylum Support Service (NASS) who have a direct role in supporting asylum seekers only

2002 Secure Borders, Safe Haven White Paper: proposes phasing out of vouchers, but support and accommodation to remain with NASS

2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act introduced new induction/accommodation/removal centres for asylum seekers which deal with deportations, withdrawal of support to individual asylum seekers who are 'late' applicants and unsuccessful applicants

2004 Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants Act) withdrawal of support from families with children under 18 in selected areas of the country, limited rights of appeal

2006 Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act introduces new asylum model giving greater control over asylum seekers with separate procedures for different nationalities,

2007 UK Borders Bill gives immigration officers further powers, decreasing the rights of those subject to immigration control and creating further duties and penalties for them, anyone subject to immigration control must have a biometric ID card

Labour followed the previous Conservative government in tightening restrictions on welfare for asylum seekers. The 1999 Immigration Act established the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) apart from Department of Social Security provision to arrange accommodation and provide cash vouchers (rather than actual cash) at 70 per cent of income support rates for adults (though 100 per cent for child dependants). Following a campaign led by Bill Morris, then General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, cash replaced vouchers in 2002 but the provision of funds for basic support remains with NASS and distinct from social security though tied into income support rates. Also for those on Section 4 'Hard Case' support (failed asylum seekers who temporarily changed cannot be returned to their country of origin) vouchers continue to be used (Somerville 2007, CAB 2006). A concerted set of measures systematically reducing support for asylum seekers has been implemented including withdrawing support to 'late' applicants, unsuccessful applicants and some families. Also increasing exclusion of this group from work and public services including social housing, non-emergency healthcare and secondary healthcare for failed asylum seekers has led to widespread destitution as identified by the UK parliamentary Joint Committee on Human Rights (2007). This has most recently been identified for those processed through the New Asylum Model (Lewis 2007, Somerville 2007).

'Destitute asylum seekers rely upon friends and charity from voluntary organisations and churches to try to meet their basic needs of shelter, food, health, income and safety. Others are forced to find undocumented work to survive. All sources of support are highly precarious. People remain in this vulnerable position for protracted periods during which time they experience differing degrees of destitution that have an acute impact on their wellbeing, and can lead to self-harm and suicidal thoughts. Periods of rough sleeping are common for some.' (Lewis, 2007: 1)

Here both Conservative and Labour migration policy has been demonstrated to generate increases in both child and adult poverty. Currently the new Borders Bill gives immigration officers further powers, decreasing the rights of those subject to immigration control and creating further duties and penalties for them, and proposes that anyone subject to immigration control must have a biometric ID card. In relation to welfare, the Refugee Council have welcomed the Government's commitment to continue support to asylum seekers throughout the appeals process here, but they raise a central concern that when claims and appeal have been refused, 'people are not entitled to any housing and financial support and are left totally destitute – unless they fit the tight eligibility criteria for hard case support. Currently the UK is forcing people who have claimed asylum into destitution in the name of immigration control' (Refugee Council 2007). A recent report by the Scottish Refugee Council identified 'at least 154 asylum seekers, refugees and their dependants [including 25 children] were destitute in Glasgow between 30 January and 26 February 2006' (quoted in Lister 2007).

Workers from new EU accession states are allowed entry only on terms that deny access to some benefit rights for the first year, whereas all other workers have no recourse to public funds until securing permanent residency. This includes those from the A8 states, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia and Slovakia, which joined the EU on 1 May 2004, and A2 nationals from Bulgaria and Romania. For these groups means-tested benefits are all subject to the habitual residence test, of which the right to reside test is one part. A2 nationals who are working in authorised work are able to claim entitled benefits immediately, including housing benefit, council tax benefit, working tax credit and child benefit. However, if they become unemployed before first completing a year of

authorised work they lose their entitlement to benefit. After completing a year of authorised work they are to be treated in the same way as other EU nationals and will have access to any type of work and to claim benefits freely (Fitzpatrick 2007). The experiences of Central and East European migrants include low earnings, long hours, lack of contracts/sick pay and working illegally in breach of immigration status (Anderson et al 2006). On arrival in the UK almost half of migrants had no knowledge of the conditions attached to their immigration status or how to access healthcare, with fewer than 1 in 5 knowing where to go for advice (Spencer et al 2007).

British citizenship is one of the six different forms of British nationality. Some of these were defined in the British Nationality Act 1981, which came into force on 1 January 1983. Of these, only British citizens have an automatic right to live and work in the United Kingdom and to apply for a British passport. Those with other forms of British nationality must obtain permission to live and work here. Only 'Naturalisation', taking out British Citizenship, will give migrants equal rights with UK citizens, who are not subject to UK immigration laws. Once a candidate has been physically resident in the UK for a year as a permanent UK resident, they may apply to become a naturalised British citizen. Unfortunately, naturalisation applications are likely to take one to one and half years to be processed. Those who seek naturalisation other than by marriage to an UK Citizen must meet the requirements outlined below:

General Requirements for UK Citizenship and Naturalization:

They must be aged 18 or over and are not of unsound mind.

They must be of good character.

They should have a sufficient knowledge of the English language (or Welsh or Scottish Gaelic). There are exemptions to this requirement, for example if one is old or mentally handicapped.

They should intend to live in the UK or in Crown Service abroad (working directly for an UK Government organisation), or be employed by an international organisation of which the UK is a member, or be employed by a company or association established in the United Kingdom. In addition the UK citizenship candidate should have fulfilled the five year requirement as detailed below. The five year period is measured from the five years the date the application reaches the home office.

The candidate must have been in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the 5 year period; and

In the 5 year period the candidate must not have been outside the United Kingdom for more than 450 days; and

In the last 12 months of the five year period the candidate must not have been outside the UK for more than 90 days; and

In the last 12 months of the five year period the candidate's stay in the United Kingdom must have been not subject to any time limit under the immigration laws; and

The candidate must not have been in the United Kingdom in breach of the immigration laws at any time in the 5-year period.

British Nationality by Marriage:

The requirements are very similar to those mentioned above. The main differences are that there is a shorter residence requirement of three years. As above the relevant residence requirement, being three years in this case is the period ending with the date the application is received by the Home Office. The residence requirements in more detail are as follows:

The candidate must have been in the United Kingdom at the beginning of the 3 year period; and

On the date that the candidate's application is received in the Home Office, their stay in the United Kingdom must not be subject to any time limit under the immigration laws; and

In the 3 year period the candidate must not have been outside the United Kingdom for more than 270 days; and

In the last 12 months of the five year period the candidate must not have been outside the UK for more than 90 days; and

The candidate must not have been in the United Kingdom in breach of the immigration laws at any time in the 3-year period.

This is a simplification of several complex laws; there may well be other important issues to consider (see www.ncadc.org).

9% of applications for British citizenship were refused in 2007, the same level as 2006. Of the 14,725 refusal decisions made: 28 per cent (4,135) were refusals on the grounds of residence; 17 per cent (2,535) were refused because the parent was not a British citizen; 16 per cent (2,365) were due to the applicants' insufficient knowledge of English and/or knowledge of life in the United Kingdom; 15 per cent (2,230) due to the applicants' delay in replying to enquiries from BIA; 11 per cent (1,695) because the applicant was considered not to be of good character; and 6 per cent (930) due to incomplete application'. Other miscellaneous reasons for refusal made up 5 per cent (795), and less than 1 per cent (40) were refused because the Oath was not taken in time. Many of those who were refused are likely to stay in the UK and reapply at a later date. Of those granted citizenship in 2007, some of the largest national groups were Indian 14,490 (9%); Filipino 10,840 (7%), Afghan 10,555 (6%), South African 8,150 (5%); and Pakistani 8,140 (5%).

2.1.2 The British race relations and multi-culturalism framework

The liberal policy framework which emerged in the mid-1960's has been analysed by Banton (1985) and Saggar (1992). Four elements of this framework have been identified; the notion of racial harmony as a public good, the philosophy of community relations, attempts to de-politicise issues of racism and migration and the notion of a multi-racial society. The notion of racial harmony was largely displaced by the focus on racial equality by the mid to late 1970's, and it was belatedly marked by the change in name of Community Relations Councils to Racial Equality Councils in the early 1990's. But peripheralisation of policy and management with respect to domestic racism, which was evident in the devolution of policy-making to local authorities and community relations agencies, remains a persistent feature in Britain. The notion of a multi-racial society carried with it a range of dubious assumptions including the view that prior to the migration of colonial subjects from Asia and the Caribbean, after the second World War, Britain was a nation with definable boundaries enclosing a culturally homogenous political unit. This 'coloured' migration was seen as fundamentally changing the nature of this political unit and hence a new multi-cultural society was being established which should be nurtured and fostered through policies of assimilation, integration and equal opportunity. This conception has been much criticised, but Miles (1993, p.117-8) has usefully structured this criticism and has focused on three objections. Firstly, the making of the British nation-state has always been partial and incomplete. The cultural integration of the British nation has never been achieved and, in that sense, the process of 'incomplete nationalisation' had therefore failed to deliver a unified British culture which could be counterposed to the 'culture' of Asian and Afro-Caribbean migrants. Secondly, previous migrations of groups had occurred including Irish, Jewish, Chinese and African people who were seen as belonging to biologically and culturally determined 'races'. This was overlooked in the emphasis on the 'newness' of multi-culturalism. Thirdly, class divisions were perceived as having cultural and racial significance, with for example racialised notions of the poor as backward, uncivilised, and living in the 'dark underworld' of Victorian inner cities and the ruling class as having different breeding and being a 'race' apart. Lorimer (1978) points to the convergence of discourse relating to class, sexuality and 'race' in the 1850's, and their subsequent elaboration in a wide variety of social contexts. These perceptions challenge the assumptions of cultural homogeneity.

Legal implementation of community relations policy and protection from racial discrimination began in 1965 and a summary is given below.

Box 3. Community Relations Policy and Race Relations Legislation

1943 - first Government consideration of racial discrimination legislation.

1962 - Government establishes non-statutory **Commonwealth Immigrants Advisory Council** (CIAC) with a focus on 'immigrant' welfare and integration.

1964 - **National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants** (NCCI) extends work of CIAC and supports establishment of a network of local committees.

1965 - **first Race Relations Act**;

racial incitement a criminal offence, limited forms of direct racial discrimination a civil wrong, emphasis upon conciliation and friendly settlement through local conciliation committees and the **Race Relations Board** (RRB).

- Act seen to have weak enforcement and needed to be extended.

1968 - **second Race Relations Act**;

direct racial discrimination provisions extended to cover public and private employment and housing, replacement of the NCCI with the **Community Relations Commission** (CRC) with task of encouraging 'harmonious community relations' through funding of **local community relations councils** (CRCs).

1968-1975

- **enforcement problems**; discrimination difficult to prove, Act did not apply to effects of past discrimination or indirect discrimination, low number of complaints, no power to require evidence, cases took too long, were often not proven and remedies extremely limited. Limited success in influencing perceptions and behaviour through a declaration of public policy.

1976 - **third Race Relations Act**;

extension to cover indirect discrimination, sanction of promotional work on equal opportunities through codes of practice and investigations, encouragement of individual complaints by giving direct access to the legal process, provision for positive action in certain circumstances, Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) replaced RRB and CRC.

1976-1990's

- **problems**; extension of law to cover indirect discrimination has not worked as the vast majority of cases heard are direct discrimination, long delays in CRE formal investigations due to poor planning, lack of focus and legal challenges, conflict between enforcement and promotional strategies in the CRE, individual complaints difficult due to lengthy procedures, low compensation and inadequately resourced legal representation.

- **successes**; increase in number of individual complaints substantial since 1976, CRE success in assisting complainants, evidence of widespread adoption of equal opportunity policies and practices in both the private and public sectors particularly larger organisations, symbolic importance as a rallying point around which many campaigns have been organised and a measure for determining unacceptable behaviour

- **context**; inadequate government funding, hostile judicial review (ruling out general investigations of specific bodies), culture (inside and outside the CRE) which attaches greater value to individual rights rather than to group/collective remedies.

- **overall**; failure to reduce real levels of racial discrimination irrefutable but the value of the Act in contributing to and stimulating policy development has been frequently cited.

2000 Race Relations (Amendment) Act introduced a statutory obligation on all public agencies to eliminate racial discrimination and promote good community relations

2003 Race Relations (Amendment) Act introduced new definitions of indirect discrimination and harassment³

2006 Racial and Religious Hatred Act seeks to stop people from intentionally using threatening words or behaviour to stir up hatred against somebody because of what they believe

³ This extended legal protection from racial harassment to school pupils amongst others, and widened the concept of indirect discrimination to include any policy or practice which puts racial or ethnic groups at a disadvantage.

2006 Equality Act Abolition of the Commission for Racial Equality and integration into the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights in 2007
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2.1.3 English law, multiculturalism and cultural diversity

Poulter (1986, 1992) has analysed the accommodation of ethnic minority customs and cultural pluralism in English law. In the context of law governing marriage and divorce, choice of school, court sentencing and prisoners rights there is evidence of both separate and distinctive treatment and regulation being given to minority ethnic or religious groups, and situations where there is a refusal to recognise cultural diversity. Poulter notes that English judges have emphasised that cultural tolerance is bounded by notions of reasonableness and public policy, and that minority customs and laws will not be recognised if they are considered repugnant or otherwise offend the conscience of the court (1992, p.176). The adaptation of English law on an *ad hoc* basis leaves open the question as to where the limits of cultural diversity, for example on public policy grounds, are to be set. Poulter sets out a 'human rights' approach to such questions. The European Convention on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights provide a framework to assess whether demands for legal or public policy recognition of cultural practices are supported by an emphasis on general human rights, or whether such practices constitute a violation of human rights. The operation of Islamic personal law would then be resisted because of the risk that the rights of women would be violated through such practices as *talaq* divorces and forced marriages, whereas the unequal treatment of Muslim religion by blasphemy law could not be justified. International human rights law, it is argued, provides a basis for establishing the principles of both non-discrimination and differential treatment in that the latter can be justified by reference to genuine equality in the form of equal respect for religious and cultural values. Poulter recognises some of the problems with this approach including the level of generality which leads to difficulties in prescribing the limits of cultural pluralism in practice and the vulnerability to criticism of cultural bias from either those who favour assimilation or those who emphasise cultural relativity. The extent to which religious practices become controversial and are seen as appropriate for legal intervention is highly variable across religions. Where marginalised minority ethnic communities use religion to express their identity there is much greater likelihood that wider conflicts will be played out in this territory, and these may involve 'attacks' on specific minority practices on the one hand and demands for protection from religious discrimination by the communities on the other.

2.2 Political representation

The development of community relations organisations which seek to advocate for or represent minority ethnic groups at the national and local level was detailed above. Many minority ethnic groups have been involved in the struggle for racial equality and racial justice in the UK from the national Campaign Against Racial Discrimination in 1965, which brought together a wide inclusive alliance to call for legal protection from racial discrimination, onwards. The semi-official status of the national race relations bodies, the RRB, CRC and CRE, has continually led to conflict over the extent and nature of the participation and representation of minority ethnic groups. The process of government appointment of Commissioners to lead these agencies does not involve any formal process of grassroots minority ethnic participation. There has been a gradual shift since the 1960's from white domination of these agencies to increasing leadership, management and participation of black and minority ethnic groups.

The participation of ethnic minority groups in electoral and party politics has also been slowly improving. The House of Commons, given current trends, will fail to reflect Britain's multi-ethnic population until 2080, there are 15 Black and ethnic minority (BME) MPs at present of 643 MPs in total. Only two of those are women, and there are no Asian women MPs. A closer reflection of society would be nearer 60 MPs. The Scottish Parliament and the Welsh

Assembly each have only 1 BME politician: none from Labour, the Lib Dems or the Conservatives. One in three of those who live in the nation's capital are from BME communities, yet there are only two BME Assembly members out of a total of 25, and again no Asian women. In the UK there are only two BME Chief Executives of a local authority and only one BME Council Leader, and only 4.1% of local councillors come from an ethnic minority background. At the European level, there are only 5 BME MEPs, only one of whom is a woman (OBV 2008). There is no evidence of elected political representation of GRT people at national or local level.

Also, ethnic minorities are less likely to vote in elections and less likely to be registered to vote. In the 2005 general election, voter turnout was 47% for ethnic minority voters, as opposed to 61% among the population as a whole. According to estimates by the Electoral Commission and the Office of National Statistics, 10% of the eligible population in England and Wales are not registered to vote, and the figure may be as much as 18% in London. People from ethnic minority groups are almost three times more likely to be unregistered than white people. There is evidence of varying interest in politics and voting between people from different ethnic backgrounds, an Electoral Commission/MORI survey in 2005 found that people of Indian (67%), Pakistani (70%) and Bangladeshi (76%) origin were all more likely to say they had voted than white people (62%). Black people (54% and 61% for those of African and Caribbean heritage respectively) were less likely to claim to vote, and only 40% of mixed-race respondents said they had voted. In addition the CRE (2007) confirmed that black Britons appear to be less likely to be actively involved in civil renewal activities than the population as a whole. Only 42% of black British citizens said they would be willing to get involved and only 36% of Britons of Asian origin said they would take an active role in local activities. Similarly, only 20% of black Britons would consider taking part in civic consultations, while just 16% of British Asians would do so (CRE 2007).

2.3 Civil movements and initiatives

Ethnic minority political mobilisation in the UK has been characterised as 'without parallel in Europe' (Modood 2005a, p.471) due to the strength of its ideological assertiveness, prominence and civic impact. This has been due to an interacting set of key elements including the strength of British colonial and imperial relations whereby migrants had automatic British citizenship, political rights and strong perceptions of the right to be in the UK together with emulation of large scale anti-racist struggles, particularly in the USA and South Africa. Black Caribbeans (formerly West Indians) seeing themselves as British in many respects were at the forefront of these struggles which drew on postcolonial and American frameworks producing the British 'race relations' framework referred to above. They have been politically very active and have secured a defining place in street-orientated British youth culture (Hall 1998, p.40) and have established themselves in a variety of social contexts including sport, entertainment and media. Caribbeans have primarily mobilised around a colour identity, and paradoxically they have played a leading role in social mixing and cultural hybridity. In contrast, South Asians (Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis) in contrast have tended to mobilise around religious, national and ethnic identities, so clearly British ethnic minorities have not united around a single identity. But alliances have been built, although often very fragile, Muslim organisations like the Muslim Council of Britain and the Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism have campaigned with groups like the National Assembly of Black People to oppose racism in various forms. Plural ethnic assertiveness and intense community and local forms of mobilisation continue to proliferate in the UK. The Ethnic Minority Foundation identifies 6,285 independent minority ethnic organisations in the UK (www.ethnicminorityfund.org.uk) and the Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Organisations (CEMVO) identifies the inability of many of these groups to effect any change at national level due partly to their limited local coverage and lack of resources. These organisations do however make a major contribution to the material welfare of minority

ethnic communities, often drawing on a wide range of funding sources from central and local government. The rise of Muslim political agency and its challenge to British multiculturalism has been accompanied by adaptation of Muslim demands to the national context and the construction of legal and institutional compromises in the governance and management of the British state. For example, demand for Muslim schools was rejected through the 1980s and 1990s and finally became accepted in government policy in 1997, a further example would be the gradual introduction of halal food in school meals despite vocal opposition from some parents (Times Online Jan 9 2008). This indicates the (limited) extent to which state policy, and specifically education policy, has been contested and revised to accommodate minority ethnic demands. This has been defined as 'moderate egalitarian multiculturalism' by Modood (2005a) who acknowledges its importance as a process that has been gradually established in the UK with the accommodation of Muslim demands through negotiation and consensus despite the events of 9/11 and 7/7. There are a number of well established groups at the national level including the Council of Mosques, UK and Eire and the Union of Muslim Organisations and the more high profile Muslim Council of Britain (MCB) which has been successful at lobbying at national level since the demise of the much more radical Muslim Parliament (Garbin 2005). There are also well established youth groups, such as the Young Muslim Organisation (YMO), which is affiliated to the Islamic Forum Europe (IFE) and an expanding number of Muslim professional groups. There is however sometimes little contact with local Muslim activists. In local areas such as Bradford, Oldham, Birmingham and London, initiatives may be taken forward by, for example, a group attempting to coordinate action between mosques such as the Bradford Council of Mosques, such as campaigning for the provision of halal food in schools, or over conflict in the Middle East, Iraq, Chechnya and Afghanistan (Garbin 2005).

There has been increasing national mobilisation of Gypsy and Traveller organisations in the UK with a primary concern to campaign for law reform in a variety of fields including housing, planning and education, particularly calling for access to land for caravan sites, and access to schooling. The Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform Coalition (G&TLRC) was an alliance of Gypsies, Irish Travellers, New Travellers and other travelling groups who came together to promote the Traveller Law Reform Bill and policies to increase and improve site provision. This coalition consisted of all the national Traveller groups including the Gypsy Council, the National Travellers' Action Group, the UK Association of Gypsy Women and the Irish Travellers Movement, the Advisory Committee for the Education of Romanies and Travellers (ACERT) and a range of other related organisations including Gypsy and Traveller support groups and units. This was disbanded, the reasons for this require further research, in 2006 and Friends Families and Travellers, The Gypsy Council, The Irish Traveller Movement and the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit sought to establish a way of continuing the valuable work on law reform achieved by the Coalition. These four organisations agreed to set up the Traveller Law Reform Project (TLRP) <http://www.travellerslaw.org.uk/index.htm> which primarily aims to bring about positive changes in the law in relation to the rights and needs of all the Gypsy and Traveller communities. At national level, as with other minority groups there is an all-party parliamentary group of MPs and others concerned to advocate these concerns. This works closely with members and representatives of these minority groups but speaks on their behalf. The APPG Gypsy and Traveller Law Reform is a parliamentary group committed to raising the social inclusion of Travellers and improving relations between the settled and Traveller community.

3.0 Issues of ethnicity in the context of the welfare state

3.1 Racism and welfare

In a recent examination of UK welfare Craig (2007) identifies that 'immigrants have been characterised as 'cunning', 'loathsome', 'unprincipled' and likely to 'swamp' British culture.' British state policy towards migrants and minorities demonstrates a 'long pedigree of racism' (Craig 2007). Regulation to exclude 'aliens', denizens (permanent settlers without British nationality) and particular racialised categories of British citizens from access to welfare benefits is evident in immigration legislation and wider social policy reforms from the Victorian period onwards. Poor Law rules, pensions law, aliens legislation as well as national insurance criteria incorporated such practices (Williams 1989). The racialisation of the British welfare state drew on eugenic notions of the quality of the race and the nation in order to maintain imperialism, and to manage both the 'burden' of the black, Asian, Irish and Jewish poor and the perceived threat of such groups to the jobs and wages of those in the 'new' mass trade unions. The articulation of race ideas with those of breeding, motherhood, the family, dirt and disease and 'mental deficiency' shows the pervasive nature of racist discourse in policy and practice. Post-war welfare reforms and immigration legislation have continued to institutionalise racially exclusionary rules which determine eligibility to welfare benefits, these include residence tests, rules on 'recourse to public funds' and sponsorship conditions, (Law 2008a).

3.2 Black and Asian migrants: work, poverty and welfare

Reason for arrival and timing of arrival have implications for employment and employment history, with the earlier migrants being concentrated in manufacturing, and in areas and industries, for example the textile industry, which subsequently suffered from processes of de-industrialisation. Later migrants were concentrated less in northern industrial towns and more in the midlands and, particularly, London. Settlement in poorer areas due to the constraints of income and wealth can also result in more limited educational opportunities which continue to restrict the options for future, non-migrant, generations. Employment in vulnerable sectors, alongside discrimination, concentration in poorer areas which offer fewer opportunities and for some groups, notably Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Black Caribbeans, greater difficulty in obtaining high levels of qualifications, have resulted in both high unemployment for many minority groups, especially Caribbeans, Pakistanis and, particularly, Bangladeshis, and much higher rates of self-employment among certain groups, in particular Indians, Chinese and Pakistanis. The role of ethnicity in determining differential labour market outcomes for minority groups has been described as an ethnic penalty (Heath and McMahon 1997). Recent research on persistent employment disadvantage (Heath and Cheung 2006, Berthoud and Blekesaune 2007, Tyers et al 2006) confirms that the huge employment penalty faced by Pakistani and Bangladeshi women that has not changed much in thirty years. As most of these women are Muslims, it appears that religion is more important than ethnic group as a predictor of employment penalties amongst women. Amongst all social groups it is only disabled people who are equally as unlikely to move into employment as Muslim women. Overall, the ethnic employment gap will remain significant for at least another century, based on current conditions (Philips 2007). Ethnic minority groups are disproportionately represented amongst the Department for Work and Pension's (DWP) 'most disadvantaged customer group' facing multiple complex barriers to work including employer attitudes, area-based factors, human capital and 'negotiating identities' in relation to family life, religious and cultural values and work (Hasluck and Green 2007). The DWP is primarily responsible for a wide range of welfare benefits, it also houses the government's Equalities Office.

All minority groups show a greater use of means-tested benefits than the white population, and also make relatively lower use of non-income related benefits, despite the receipt of child

benefit being substantially higher among minority groups, especially among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis. Greater dependence on means-tested elements is due to:

- greater poverty, a wide-ranging review of ethnicity and poverty in the UK, which draws on research evidence from 350 studies carried out from 1991 onwards shows that over half of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black African children in Britain are growing up in poverty (Platt 2007). Stark ethnic differences in poverty rates are determined by a variety of factors including persistent discrimination, patterns of educational qualification, labour market outcomes, housing locations, disabilities and ill health (Palmer and Kenway 2007, Clark and Drinkwater 2007)
- excess unemployment, which leads to higher claiming of income support and income based job-seeker's allowance. This is evidenced among all minority groups, but particularly among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and Black Caribbeans (DSS 2001; ONS 2000).
- different patterns of family structure. For example, Bangladeshis, and to a lesser extent Pakistanis, have large families compared to the national average. Large families are more likely to be in poverty and are harder to support on the relatively low earnings that apply to the sectors in which these families are most likely to be concentrated (Berthoud 2000; Platt and Noble 1999; Platt 2007) Benefits, such as child benefit are rarely enough to lift families out of poverty.

Also long-term poverty among pensioners or the unemployed is a key factor. Some minority groups are less likely to have accrued assets and are thus more likely to need to claim income support or the minimum income guarantee. Throughout their lives some minority groups would appear to acquire fewer assets or savings which will give them less of a cushion during any periods of unemployment and translate into greater hardship in old age. Nearly 60 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis had no savings compared to 28 per cent of the population as a whole (ONS, 2001).

On the other hand ethnic minority groups have a lower reliance on contributory benefits, but a greater use of the categorical benefit, child benefit. The reasons for this include:

- different age profiles. All minority groups have a younger population profile than the population as a whole, which accounts in part for the higher rates of child benefit receipt among minority groups. The median age among all minority groups is ten years below that of the whole population (26 compared with 36).
- differential fertility. Pakistanis and Bangladeshis also have higher female fertility with families started at a younger age (Peach 1996).
- unemployment for some minority groups is both more prevalent, and more likely to be long term, particularly for Caribbeans (Berthoud 1999). Thus, entitlement to contributions based job seeker's allowance is less likely to be accrued.
- insufficient residence to build up contributions records. For those who migrated in adulthood the opportunity to build up a contributions record, sufficient to claim the basic state pension, may not have been available; while for those who migrated recently, such as refugees, a contributions record may not have been acquired.
- interrupted contributions records. For those with attachments to the country of origin, contributions records may have been interrupted due to extended visits to countries of origin, although estimates of the extent of this problem need further research

In the UK poor welfare outcomes for migrant and minority groups have been identified in terms of poverty, housing, education, health, labour market participation, and the criminal justice system (Craig et al 2007, Salway et al 2007). Therefore, the existing structure of provision and operation of these services is clearly inadequate, although every sector has a range of initiatives at both national and local levels concerned with addressing the needs and concerns of minority ethnic groups, some of which are discussed in more detail below in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2.

3.3 Gypsies and Travellers: work, poverty and benefits

The most useful summary of the pattern of social exclusion facing this group has been produced by Cemlyn and Clark (2005). They confirm that there is a severe lack of adequate data on this group in relation to labour market position and poverty, and that successive governments and research studies have failed to both identify the nature and extent of the economic context for this group and to go on to address these issues in the context of national anti-poverty and social inclusion strategies. However, the Social Exclusion Unit (2000), the Institute for Public Policy Research (Crawley 2004) and the work of the now defunct Commission for Racial Equality (2006) have begun to highlight this group in terms of racism and ethnic inequality. Cemlyn and Clark confirm that many Gypsy and Traveller children are 'poor in multiple and different ways'. Many are financially poor and there are many dimensions to the 'poverty' faced by such groups. Also despite the paucity of robust data on the income of Gypsy and Traveller families, both anecdotal information and other studies show that some families have few financial resources. Moreover, there has been a decline in previous economic outlets for gypsy and travellers, particularly in the crowded urban environments (Power 2004). And, local authority restrictions on working activities on official sites, such as pursuing trading activities or operating businesses, have undermined aspects of the traveller economy (Kiddle 1999). Many find that simply being a Gypsy or Traveller, and lacking basic literacy skills, prevents them from accessing mainstream wage labour jobs or training. Because of this, access to social security benefits is important for some families. However, research has shown levels of discrimination and disadvantage in accessing the benefit system for those who are frequently nomadic with some evidence of specific surveillance directed towards Gypsies and Travellers on the assumption that they commit benefit fraud, with the result that families can be denied benefit where there is little, if any, evidence of actual fraud (Cemlyn and Clark 2005, p.153).

In many local authority areas, despite conflict with residents and media hostility, efforts have been made on a variety of fronts to improve communication, social inclusion and provision of services to both settled and non-settled Gypsy and Traveller families. A recent evaluation of multi-agency partnership working to achieve these objectives in Scotland concluded with the view that many families had been helped towards the services they needed and a good number were able to describe how this had helped health and wellbeing. But, as yet these developments had not achieved a generalised impact across the Gypsy/Traveller Community as a whole (Macneil et al. 2005). Here, additional resourcing was seen as constituting positive discrimination and this was supported by many agencies given the clear failures of non-specific mainstream service delivery. So, the UK experience can provide a wide range of examples of innovative practice across different local authority areas as new ways are found to improve patterns of provision, but substantial inequalities remain.

3.4 Policy Initiatives

3.4.1 General welfare initiatives

The 'welfare-to-work' policies, which aim to find the means to move people into work begin to address some of the issues of those who have had limited options of employment. These could be expected to have a greater impact on members of certain minority ethnic groups, given higher unemployment rates among Caribbean males, and among Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and, to a lesser extent, Indians. Black Caribbean lone mothers might also be anticipated to benefit from the options offered through welfare-to-work given their existing

greater propensity to take employment. The New Deals⁴ are notable in having been subject to ethnic monitoring of both participation and outcomes. Despite non-comprehensive coverage of ethnicity, indications are, however, that different groups experience different pathways through and out of provision (Hasluck and Green 2007), DWP 2002a; DfEE 1999,). Indians, according to figures to the end of 2001, are over-represented in moves into employment and Bangladeshis are most likely to take up paid employment in the voluntary sector option, with Black Africans more likely to take up further education and training. Thus, as Jobs for All (DfEE 1999) indicates, there may be particular issues in the operation and effectiveness of welfare to-work for different ethnic groups. There is additionally evidence that the access to New Deals may be limited by the greater likelihood of minority groups remaining on income support rather than being moved onto income based job seeker's allowance by relevant agencies. While this may protect minority group members to a certain extent from the coercive aspects of welfare-to-work, it may also reduce their opportunities.

The introduction of the national minimum wage in April 1999 is also likely to have an impact on the particular patterns of social security claiming. With a few exceptions, all workers in the UK aged 16 or over are legally entitled to be paid a minimum amount per hour. This is regardless of the kind of work they do or the size and type of company. The rate is reviewed every year, and any increases take place in October. The original report on the minimum wage prepared by the Low Pay Commission (1998) identified that minority group members already in employment were likely to be particular beneficiaries. However, their subsequent reports (Low Pay Commission 2000, 2001), identified minority ethnic group workers as being more likely to be unaware of and not receiving the minimum wage. It is clearly plausible that minority groups who have been stuck in a benefit poverty trap will also benefit from the national minimum wage, especially given the introduction of in-work tax credits that have taken place at the same time. Most recently, the Low Pay Commission (2007) report improvement in the earnings position of low-paid ethnic minorities and some reduction in differentials compared to white workers, but warn that since 2004 the unemployment rate of ethnic minorities relative to whites has been increasing.

The greater generosity of working families' tax credit over family credit and of disabled person's tax credit over disability working allowance⁵ may have positive impacts on the possibilities of moving into work, by providing higher levels of financial support, for those groups with a greater tendency towards both larger families and low wages (Bangladeshis and Pakistanis), and those groups with higher rates of disability (Bangladeshis and Pakistanis, again). The childcare element of working families' tax credit⁶ is likely to be relatively enabling for lone parents and thus could be expected to be constructive in reducing Caribbean lone parents' use of Income Support. The current evidence suggests that Black and especially

⁴ New Deal for Communities (NDC) is one of the most important area-based initiatives ever launched in England. It is a flagship component to the government's National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal and is designed to help close the gaps between these 39 areas and the rest of the country. The first 17 Pathfinders were announced in 1998, the remaining 22 Round Two schemes the following year. Each NDC is working with partner agencies and the local community to implement 10 year programmes to transform these neighbourhoods. Each approved Delivery Plan attracts about £50 million, the overall Programme budget being around £2 billion. These are generally deprived areas: nine would fall within the most deprived 1,000 of the 32,000 lower level Super Output Areas derived from the 2001 Census. New Deal Partnerships are charged with devising holistic renewal programmes in order to tackle a range of interconnected problems impacting on residents in these deprived neighbourhoods. Interventions are to focus on six key outcomes community development/ engagement; improving housing and the physical environment, health, and education; and reducing worklessness, and fear and experience of crime.

⁵ Disability Working Allowance is a benefit designed to help people with an illness or disability who are starting work or who are already working.

⁶ The childcare element of Working Tax Credit reduces tax paid if qualified childcare is used.

Pakistani and Bangladeshi families are over-represented in the working families' tax credit caseload (Performance and Innovation Unit 2002, p.139). Changes to income support, in particular the increases to the child payments and the equalising of the rates for younger and older children can be predicted to make income support a more attractive option than it has been for larger families, and families with young children in particular. While positive for the overall welfare of those on benefit, these latter changes may also tend to reinforce some of the existing patterns of ethnic differentials in claiming (see section 3.2 on benefit take-up).

The Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 requires public authorities to produce race equality strategies. The DWP's Race Equality strategy document, Equality, Opportunity and Independence for All (2002b) committed itself to assessing possible differential impact of its services and policies and prioritising monitoring and evaluation in relation to the possible scale of the impact. It also committed the DWP to effective ethnic monitoring in all areas of delivery and among its employees, and to evaluations of future policy impact, on which it has failed to deliver. The Commission for Racial Equality's final report in 2007 (before its amalgamation into the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights) identified poor progress across all Whitehall departments in the implementation of race equality strategies. The bulk of this work is however concerned with issues of racial discrimination and harassment in the workplace rather than service delivery. The continuing failure to demonstrate compliance with race equality requirements in the administration of benefits has recently been confirmed by Aspinall and Mitton (2007) with particular reference to local authority provision of housing and council tax benefits. However, it is not simply the case that individual agencies reforming their practices will transform the delivery of social security to minority ethnic groups; rather that has to be part of a process which also looks more fundamentally at the context of and restrictions on people's lives (as, for example, the social exclusion unit is doing (SEU 2000), and also considers the way policy regulations themselves are created and maintained. Although there is significant diversity of circumstances and experiences among and within different ethnic minority groups, there is often a high risk of unemployment, poverty, reliance on means-tested benefits and under-claiming. There are a range of voluntary sector, community based advice services which help to improve benefit take-up amongst minority ethnic groups, although the responsibility for this task is primarily held by the relevant government agencies. Persistent disadvantage and complex barriers to both work and benefits are experienced by minority groups. The creation of destitution amongst some asylum-seekers, rising unemployment differentials and failure by the Department for Work and Pensions to implement statutory race equality strategies are all signs that indicate poor prospects for the future. This failure is characteristic of all government departments (CRE 2007) and results from lack of appropriate internal leadership and management to meet statutory requirements and the accompanying low priority placed on targets and work in this field, together with a wider lack of political will on the part of the government to prioritise action on race equality.

3.4.2 Welfare, Education and Ethnicity initiatives

The Government's recent review of progress on improving opportunities for minority groups (DCLG 2007) highlights the creation of extended schools and Sure Start Children's Centres⁷,

⁷ Children's centres are service hubs where children under five years old and their families can receive seamless integrated services and information. By 2010, every community will be served by a Sure Start Children's Centre, offering permanent universal provision across the country, ensuring that every child gets the best start in life. These services vary according to centre but may include: Integrated early education and childcare - all centres offering early years provision have a minimum half-time qualified teacher (increasing to full time within 18 months of the centre opening). Support for parents - including advice on parenting, local childcare options and access to specialist services for families. Child and family health services - ranging from health screening, health visitor services to breast-feeding support. Helping parents into work - with links to the local Jobcentre Plus and training.

targeting disadvantaged areas and working to engage and provide high-quality, integrated services to children and families as important in reducing inequalities and offering high-quality support to people from all backgrounds, tailored to their individual needs. There are now 1,309 Sure Start Children's Centres in England, and 3,500 Centres are planned for 2010. In the first phase (2004-06), Sure Start Children's Centres were exclusively developed in the most disadvantaged areas in which minority ethnic communities were strongly represented (40%) where parents can access up to 12.5 hours a week of free childcare for three- and four year olds. The stronger regulatory framework for early education in the Childcare Act 2006 set in place important new general duties on local authorities to improve outcomes for all children and reduce inequalities between them. The Early Years Foundation Stage⁸, which was launched on 13 March 2007 and comes into force in September 2008, sets out a comprehensive statutory framework for children's learning and development, focusing on the individual needs of children in early education and childcare settings, and is underpinned by an ethos of personalised learning and development for every child (DCLG 2007, p.18). Providers of these services will be across all sectors, private, voluntary and public.

Declining GCSE attainment for Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage pupils is seen as being caused by family circumstances such as housing, income and health, as well as peer pressure, all impact on children and young people's performance in school, and the government aims to tackle these through a combination of mainstream and targeted programmes. Initiatives to improve minority ethnic achievement at school include the 'Aiming High' programme, the Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG)⁹, the Black Pupils' Achievement Programme¹⁰ and a cross national programme to raise attainment among Gypsy/Roma and Traveller pupils which was launched in September 2006, with 11 local authorities and 48 educational settings are offer targeted support.

The Government also highlights initiatives and projects such as:

- REACH, seeking to identify recommendations that would lead to real improvements in the attainment and aspirations of Black boys and young men. This is an independent group of practitioners who were tasked with identifying good practice by DCLG.
- ELAMP4, the e-learning and mobility project offer distance learning opportunities to children who travel during the school year (GRT people), using laptops and data cards together with learning materials. This is DfES/DCSF project which provides funding to local authorities to employ outreach staff.

⁸ The Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) brings together: Curriculum Guidance for the Foundation Stage (2000), the Birth to Three Matters (2002) framework and the National Standards for Under 8s Daycare and Childminding (2003), building a coherent and flexible approach to care and learning. All providers are required to use the EYFS to ensure that whatever setting parents choose, they can be confident that their child will receive a quality experience that supports their development and learning.

⁹ EMAG is provided by the DCSF to schools and local authorities for the support of minority ethnic pupils. EMAG-funded staff are frequently deployed to support the integration and achievement of new arrivals. Ofsted's report *The education of asylum-seeker pupils* recognised the vital role school staff funded by the EMAG played in supporting asylum-seeking pupils and their families. Teaching was at its most effective where there was close collaboration, planning and support between class teachers and EMAG staff.

¹⁰ The aim of the programme is to work with Local Authorities (LAs) and schools to focus on raising the attainment of all Black pupils and by doing so raise overall attainment. The programme aims to:

- support schools to develop leadership (senior and middle managers') capacity to lead a whole school approach to raising achievement of Black pupils
- develop knowledge and understanding of the specific issues facing Black pupils and equipping teachers with the skills to respond to them
- develop LAs' capacity to support schools to raise Black achievement
- work to mainstream issues around raising achievement within the national strategies

- Strategies to reduce the disproportionate exclusion of Black pupils, for example through mentoring and mediation schemes.
- Recruiting entrants to teacher training from minority ethnic backgrounds, currently 10%.
- Online guidance for schools on tackling bullying related to racism, religion and culture ethnic groups, as well as specific groups such as Travellers, refugees and asylum seekers.
- Initiatives to improve support for parents
- Skills coaching aimed at adults for whom a lack of skills is the main barrier to finding and keeping work, helping them to improve their employability, Leeds is one of the trial areas targeting minority ethnic groups
- Improving funding for English for speakers of other languages (ESOL).

Overall, there is official government recognition that raising attainment and minority ethnic groups is a key component of national strategy. However, initiatives and policy implementation are highly uneven and ethnic inequalities remain highly durable with deteriorating outcomes for GRT young people. A recent critical review of this field argues that such inequalities are locked into the UK education system and that policy is not designed to eliminate this but to 'sustain it at manageable levels' Gillborn (2008).

In a recent review of the proposed Education and Skills Bill, the Traveller Law Reform Project (TLRP 2008, see section 2.3) argued that the existing barriers of bullying and racism against Gypsies and Travellers that are common in schools and colleges contribute to their low attendance record. The endemic problem has been the reluctance of local authorities to respond to the needs of GRT people, for example the London Gypsy and Traveller Unit states that there has been no strategy on how to provide adequate, useful vocational training for the 14-16 year-olds whom the Government recognised were not benefiting from school. They argue that there is a need to oblige all local authorities to have a Traveller Education Service resourced commensurate with the population identified in Gypsy and Traveller Accommodation Assessments, without which many children would completely drop out of the system. The experience of TLRP member groups in London is that where no Traveller Education Service exists, very poor practice is common in schools, especially concerning bullying and discrimination (TLRP 2008).

4. Inter-ethnic relations and conflicts in the light of public discourses and policy-making

4.1 Inter-ethnic relations and conflicts, and ‘hot’ issues

In the UK the leading government agency concerned with antiracism, racial equality and multiculturalism, the Commission for Racial Equality, was abolished in 2007, in its final summing up of the state of inter-ethnic relations it said:

“Britain, despite its status as the fifth largest economy in the world, is still a place of inequality, exclusion and isolation. Segregation – residentially, socially and in the workplace – is growing. Extremism, both political and religious, is on the rise as people become disillusioned and disconnected from each other. Issues of identity have a new prominence in our social landscape and have a profound impact upon race relations in Britain. An ethnic minority British baby born today is sadly still more likely to go on to receive poor quality education, be paid less, live in substandard housing, be in poor health and be discriminated against in other ways than his or her white contemporaries. This persistent, longstanding inequality is quite simply unfair and unacceptable.”
(CRE 2007, p.2).

It has been replaced by the new Commission for Equality and Human Rights with a much wider brief for different forms of social division. The Traveller Law Reform Project, along with many other organisations, thinks that the proposals will weaken existing protection for ethnic minorities, including Gypsies and Irish Travellers. They argue that Gypsies and Travellers benefited little from race equality legislation until the Race Relations (Amendment) Act was passed in 2000, that voluntary guidance does not work and that a focus on race equality is needed which may be lost in the harmonisation of equality legislation and agencies. In applying ‘modernisation’ and managerialist priorities to equality legislation, protection against discrimination and the statutory responsibilities of public authorities and agencies have been eroded through the principle of ‘proportionality’ (no need to take any action which might be disproportionate to the benefits of that action’). This is a move back to voluntarism, allowing public services to only address issues of ethnicity, racism and related inequalities as they see fit (Gillborn, 2008, p.131-132). Here a school may wish to act to narrow achievement gaps, tackle racist bullying or encourage greater parental involvement, but there is no statutory obligation to do so. Despite public and media debate at the time, the moment has passed, and this issue will only emerge again on public and news agendas dependent on the mobilisation of minority groups and the success of the new Commission.

As regards Gypsies and Travellers they currently fare very badly in many dimensions of equality including longevity, health, education, political participation, influence and voice, identity, expression and self-respect, and legal security. Particular conflicts have arisen over housing and sites, media coverage and wider hostility where anti-gypsy prejudice is often expressed with significantly less shame attached to expressing it than is attached to expressions of prejudice against other groups. Also the criminalisation of this group has been accompanied by many high profile case and conflicts including where they have been criminalised for being homeless (since those living on unauthorized encampments are very often legally homeless), criminalised for pursuing a nomadic way of life, and collective punishment for the crimes of specific individuals, whereby whole settlements are evicted because of the behaviour of certain of their members (TLRP 2007). Many Gypsy and Traveller families have been forced off the land they owned and found it increasingly difficult to find stopping places which has brought them into greater conflict with other people and local institutions. Reduction in local authority sites and growth in the GRT population means that now over 30% of this group live on unauthorised sites or having nowhere to stop they are sometimes forced to occupy public places, which overall has a huge detrimental impact on health, mortality, education and labour market position (TLRP 2008).

More broadly in the UK diverse and highly durable forms of racist hostility provide a constant source of tension and conflict including, anti-Gypsyism, Islamophobia, anti-Black racism and anti-Semitism. Despite significant developments in policy and procedures across many institutions there is a 'racial crisis' where increased understanding and evidence accompanies entrenched racism. Sources of inter-ethnic and intercultural conflict in the UK are cultural, political and economic and include opposition to the recognition of difference and super-diversity, contested control of territory and land (particularly for GRT people) and disputes over access to social housing, schools and other resources. Newly articulated forms of hostility, hatred and grievance have been suffered by refugees, asylum seekers and other migrant groups to the UK. More widely everyday cultural ignorance, miscommunication and misrecognition of difference lead to offensive behaviour, affronts to dignity and lack of respect which have all lead to various forms of conflict (Hemmerman et al 2007, Law 2008b).

A recent case study of racist hostility and racist victimisation in the fieldwork site of the city of Leeds is given below:

Box 4.1 Racist Hostility and Racist Victimisation in Leeds

This study arose from a set of local agency concerns about increasing racist hostility and violence in an area of low-income social housing in Leeds, together with a strong sense that what is needed is firstly, a better understanding of how racist hostility works and, secondly, more effective action to respond to this highly durable problem. Fieldwork with victims, residents and agency staff to examine these issues was carried out by Ian Law, Lou Hemmerman, Ala Sirriyeh and Jenny Simms from the Centre for Ethnicity and Racism Studies at the University of Leeds from January to June 2007 (Hemmerman et al 2007).

- Racist hostility and violence in Leeds has proved to be highly durable despite increased levels of reporting and improvements in policies and practices of relevant agencies.
- Dealing with individuals, by either supporting victims of racist violence or taking action against perpetrators has left community-wide patterns of racist hostility largely untouched.
- Victims of racist violence identified widespread hostility in the area combining overt aggressive racism particularly from children and young people, more covert everyday racist talk from older people and intimidatory extreme right activity, as well as some positive interaction with local people.
- The drivers of racist hostility include white resentment of black and minority ethnic families' ability to access social housing, jealousy of lifestyle and possessions, and perceptions of unfair preferential treatment. Strong local family/community networks enforce hostility, hound families out and maintain an atmosphere of fear and intimidation. Poverty, abandonment and disempowerment and associated shame, rage and anger were often channelled into racist hostility and violence.
- Asian groups were the most unwelcome and hated in this area and Black African families were highly visible key targets of racist hostility.
- Victims identified the failure of agencies to respond effectively given the scale of widespread racist hostility and the weakness of enforcement processes.
- Poor levels of service to victims and poorly implemented race hate policy together with a strong desire for more effective work with local communities were stressed by

A continuing linkage between blackness, violence, masculinity and dangerousness and the ensuing high profile misrepresentation of young black men in the news media has been exacerbated by both government and media response to a series of shooting, stabbings and related violent incidents in the UK (Sveinsson 2008, Law 2002). National controversy over black male youth has focussed on the problems of gangs and gang-related violent crime, under-performance in education and the labour market, school exclusions, over-representation in the criminal justice system, absentee fathers and low aspirations. In response, John (2008) argues that there are a large number of young black men who have high conformist aspirations and who succeed. These paradoxical trends may in fact be complimentary, as highlighted in section 1.2.3, with increasing internal social and economic division occurring amongst this group.

Media coverage of Gypsies and Travellers has historically been markedly hostile and, as noted above the most recently arrived Roma in the UK have been subject to highly visible media hostility and vilification (Craske 2000). This group probably receives the most unfavourable media coverage of any minority group, with headlines like 'Stamp on the Camps' being used by the Sun newspaper in calling for government and police action on Gypsy and Traveller sites (BBC News 11 March 2005).

Media hostility towards Bangladeshi migrants has been clearly evident since their arrival in the UK, but patterns of media coverage have changed over the last thirty years, for example the BBC was recently accused of pro-Muslim bias by Sikh and Hindu leaders because of the large number of programmes showing Islam in a positive light, a total of 41 programmes since 2001 (Independent 8 September 2008). The following section provides an account of this process of change (Law 2008c).

Studies of the news across the UK have through the 1970s and 1980s generally have found the coverage of migrant and minority issues to be confined to a set of limited topics (Law 2002):

- Immigration and associated debates over numbers, illegal entry, fraudulent activities, forms of confinement and control, and the threat to society, culture and nation,
- Crime with special attention given to racialised crime such as mugging, rioting, drugs offences, prostitution and violent offences,
- Cultural difference, which is often inflated, negatively interpreted and linked to social problems, including inner city decline and unemployment,
- Ethnic relations, including inter-ethnic tension, violence and discrimination.

In addition, the silence on a range of topics of relevance to ethnic minorities, the prominence given to white news actors, and the marginalisation of minority representatives, minority women and anti-racist voices have been subject to criticism. Analysis of selected sources from the British press in the 1980's showed that in only 3.8% of items on minority ethnic affairs were groups allowed to speak for themselves. Comparing analysis of headline coverage in 1985/86 to 1989 van Dijk (1991) notes that, 'ethnic reporting has become less negative and aggressive'. Overall, coverage is seen as less blatantly racist than in the 1960's and 1970's but that stereotypes and definitions of minorities as a 'problem' and 'threat' are still a persistent problem (van Dijk 1991: 245). Most studies of race in the news are highly selective and miss the 'big picture' of the complete set of themes and range of stories presented. The benchmark empirical study presented fully in *Race in the News* (Law 2002)

aimed to address this gap in knowledge and called for an inquiry into institutional racism in news organisations. This study showed a significant shift in coverage between the 1980's and the 1990's, moving from overt hostility to anti-racism towards the presentation of an 'anti-racist show'. It was argued that, this 'great anti-racist show' may, in some news organisations, be operating as an outward, empty attempt of mere display masking continuing normative and progressive whiteness in news organisations, racial and ethnic inequalities of power and employment and a collective failure to provide appropriate quality news services for black and minority ethnic communities and consumers. Such a 'show' may well, therefore, be playing against a backcloth of institutional racism. Nevertheless, in the case study of British news, just under three quarters of news items studied presented a broadly anti-racist message, including items which sought to expose and criticise racist attitudes, statements, actions and policies, which addressed the concerns of immigrant and minority ethnic groups and showed their contribution to British society, and which embraced an inclusive view of multi-cultural British identity. There are a complex of factors which account for this process including changing cultural, political and government discourse over race issues, changes in minority ethnic employment profile in some news organisations, increasing recognition of anti-racism and multiculturalism in regulatory environments and competitive rivalry in news production.

The growing strength of broadly anti-racist news values goes hand in hand with a significant core group of news messages which foster racism, animosity and hatred. In the British case study, about a quarter of news items conveyed a negative message about minority groups. The daily repetition of linkages between race, violence, dangerousness and crime is a constant feature of news in general. Also, key 'old' news frames, or traditional racist messages, persist i.e. the presentation of selective groups of citizens and migrants as a welfare burden who are prone to deception, fraud and other forms of crime and, hence, racialised forms of social control are justified including race-driven forms of policing and discriminatory forms of immigration control. By these means black, Asian and other migrant groups are constructed as a social problem in a range of ways, often with little attention to real social welfare issues amongst those communities e.g. homelessness, poor housing conditions, poor educational opportunities and restricted provision of health services and social welfare.

Reporting on migration issues was found to be a continuing source of racial hostility. This has been frequently led by government sources with concern expressed over abuse, fraud and deceit and other forms of illegal activity. News coverage of this issue has been shown to be often characterised by sloppy journalism with little attention to the real costs and benefits of complex migration flows. In these ways the news media, particularly the press, selectively repeat, re-work and re-invent a simple pattern of key racist messages which have helped to build a respectable, coherent, common-sense whiteness. In addition, the crucial 'steering' role of the major political parties, and in particular government leadership on these issues was established as central to the rise and fall of media hostility to racialised migrant groups.

In the absence of adequate representation of minority ethnic groups in major news organisations, particularly at senior levels, readers, listeners and viewers from those groups will probably continue to remain concerned about racial and ethnic bias in the production of news and dissatisfied with the quality and appropriateness of news services for them. Despite these patterns of inequality news output has undergone a significant transformation in its coverage of minority ethnic affairs and migration. Nevertheless, the persistence of a significant core of hostile racist news messages and the failure of legal and regulatory action to provide an effective response to these problems warrants more comprehensive action.

There is no doubting the fundamental shift and focus in representation of race in the news that has taken place in the last five to ten years with the obsessive focus on and debate surrounding Muslim issues. This was clearly shown prior to 9/11 by John Richardson in his book, *Mis-representing Islam, the racism and rhetoric of British broadsheet newspapers* (2004). His research found that broadsheet newspapers argued predominantly that Muslims are homogenous, separate, inferior, the enemy and that they can be regarded as Islamophobic, predominantly reframing Muslim cultural difference as cultural deviance and increasingly as

a cultural threat, whether a military or terrorist threat, or a threat to the democratic stability of other countries or a threat to women. Underlying this is a central dominant idea that Muslims are essentially barbarians in need of civilisation.

Lastly, there has been new research on the role of the local press which shows a highly uneven picture. A comprehensive review of local press in and around Leeds, the fieldwork location (Law, Basi and Farrar 2006) concluded that more than three quarters of news stories were either unbiased or displayed a positive stance towards ethnic minorities. The most negative stories (35 items) were those on allegations of election fraud within the Asian community. In the crime stories, ethnic minorities as victims of crime appeared, as well as cases where the perpetrator was black or Asian. In the stories about community engagement, almost a third were supportive of ethnic minorities and the rest were neutral. The *Bradford Telegraph & Argus* displayed the most positive attitudes towards ethnic minorities' engagement in community issues. So, despite the negative coverage of asylum seekers, there were several positive stories on race particularly focussing on community engagement, multiculturalism, and women as key voters in the Asian community." Patterns of improving coverage of race, ethnicity and migration in the British press are further supported by this study. We need to recognise the positive contribution local press can play in improving community relations and understanding of ethnic diversity.

In relation to press coverage of asylum seekers persistent themes of reducing migrant rights, the burden on the welfare state and the dishonesty of migrants have been regularly presented with active shaping of editorial hostility. A 2004 study by ICAR (Information Centre about Asylum and refugees) showed how this directly contributes to increased community tension and harassment of asylum seekers, but it did also show how the local press were more positive in some areas. This is confirmed by Finney (2004) in her PhD work on press portrayal of asylum seeker dispersal. She shows how the South Wales Echo took a very different perspective to national discourse and examines how positive and humanitarian-focused coverage contested and challenged negative portrayal (Law 2008c).

4.2 Major policy strands and fit with education policy

The present policy context is the result of an accretion of changing phases and themes, these have recently been mapped out by Gillborn (2008). Education has often been the most high profile policy field where changing national and local government priorities are signalled and implemented. From 1945 to the late 1950s racial discrimination legislation was seen as unnecessary despite strong popular racism. These issues and ethnic diversity were largely ignored in government policy. From the late 1950s to the late 1960s a cross-party political consensus emerged advocating strong racialised immigration controls and weak protection against discrimination to manage the perceived de-stabilising effects of minority migration. In education, assimilation was a key goal with a focus on dispersal and English language teaching. Cultural pluralism and integration came to dominate policy rhetoric into the 1970s with an emphasis on minorities changing and adapting to 'fit in'. Increasing community, ethnic and religious-based and antiracist protest led to the popularisation of multicultural and antiracist education across local education authorities through the 1980s, but schools had great freedom to ignore these developments if they wish, and many did. From 1986 onwards there was a weakening of these movements and a government drive to curb and push back these developments. The introduction of a National Curriculum which failed to acknowledge race and ethnic diversity is indicative of this position.

New Labour from 1997 onwards signalled a change of direction with a welcome explicit focus on the significance of these issues, but this more progressive stance lacked a fundamental understanding of racism and equity issues (see Box 4.2, Somerville 2007, Gillborn 2008). Following 9/11, government policy moved from 'naïve' to 'cynical' multiculturalism, (in other words a move from promoting the values and organisations

concerned with different minority cultures with little commitment to equality to a view that this was misguided and primarily led to increasing divisions between communities which then required action to promote social cohesion) and signalled a return to integrationist and assimilationist priorities with an increasing perception that multicultural policies had failed through encouraging greater ethnic division. In the wake of the urban disturbances of 2001 much policy discussion has focussed on the goal of community cohesion. To some extent this has replaced an earlier emphasis on social exclusion and inclusion, in part because some analyses of those events suggested that self-segregation of minority ethnic communities was a factor in undermining cohesion. Following the 7/7 attacks, the rights and perspectives of the white majority became increasingly asserted with calls for stronger intervention to improve integration, community cohesion, security and contemporary assimilation, summed up by Gillborn (2008) as 'aggressive majoritarianism'. In education this is exemplified by attacks on wearing the veil by Muslims in school in new guidance on school uniform codes which emphasised security, integration and cohesion which was quickly interpreted by the media as 'a school ban on veils'. Here, looking different is seen as a 'common sense' threat to national society and local community cohesion. This indicates a deteriorating policy climate and one in which it is increasingly difficult to prioritise fundamental race equality and ethnic diversity objectives and which shows greater concern for white racist sentiments. The attacks in the UK provided justification for increasingly punitive and disciplinary policies in a range of fields.

Box 4.2 New Labour policies on race, ethnicity and schooling

1997-2001 Naïve multiculturalism

Emphasis on equal opportunities in schools in policy documents
 Symbolic break with Conservative colour-blind policy by acknowledgement of racial and ethnic inequalities and commitments to ethnic monitoring and best practice
 Key policy change proving state funding for Islamic schools

2001-2005 Cynical multiculturalism post 9/11 attacks

Genuine horror, strategic fascist mobilisation and racist news coverage post 9/11
 Attacks on multiculturalism follow the growing public anger and sense of desire for retribution
 Renewed calls for integration and action on asylum seeker children in schools
 Calls for scrapping of multiculturalism by CRE, diversity seen as destabilising

2005- Aggressive majoritarianism post 7/7 bombings in London

Increased calls for 'disciplinary agendas', Blair comments 'we're not going to be taken for a ride' and emphasises 'duty' of minorities to integrate
 UK 'sleepwalking to segregation' according to CRE
 Political attacks on the wearing of veils by Muslim women
 Introduction of English language requirement for British citizenship
 Call by Brown for compulsory community service for would-be migrants
 Emphasis on security, integration and cohesion in school policy lead to headlines such as by the BBC 'Schools allowed to ban veils'.

(Source: Gillborn 2008)

5.0 The state of the art in research on inter-ethnic relations and minorities

5.1 Ethnicity and some key issues

The process of becoming a minority, minoritisation, has been examined extensively in the British sociologies of race relations, racism, migration and ethnicity (see Appendix 4. for a full discussion). Here there has been a key shift in intellectual inquiry from studies drawing upon the sociology of race relations to studies drawing on the sociology of ethnicity. In a recent examination of ethnicity and public policy Peach identifies the ‘turn to ethnicity’ in British academic work, which has been partly driven by some key intellectual concerns including a historic neglect of gender, and a failure to both address intersectionality and racial, ethnic and cultural homogenisation and essentialism;

“Challenging the dominant British discourse on racial discrimination and race relations have been scholars concerned to unpack racial categories and develop a more nuanced account of ethnic differentiation, gender differences and generational differences.” (Peach 2005, p.179).

Interestingly, this set of theoretical concerns is also mapped out by Gillborn (2008, p.36-41) in his review of current debates in Critical Race Theory and education, indicating that attention to these problems does not necessarily involve the rejection of racism as a central focus and an inevitable move to privilege the role of ethnicity. Ethnicity has been a long standing but marginal theme in British social science since the late 1960s. In recent years, events that have highlighted the importance of ethnic and racial divisions include the report of the Macpherson inquiry into the investigation of the murder of Stephen Lawrence, the urban disturbances of 2001 and 2005, and the growing controversy over asylum seekers and refugees. In addition, the events of 9/11 and 7/7 brought to the surface already emergent tensions around the situation of Muslim communities and served, simultaneously, to highlight the intersection of global and local issues that had always been central to Britain’s emergent multi-ethnicity (Mason 2003).

The leading contribution of Modood’s work on ethnicity is widely acknowledged and his theoretical position is located as a bridge between political theorists of multicultural citizenship including Parekh and Kymlicka and the long established tradition of sociological investigation of post-imperial migrant settlements highlighted above. His emphasis on the need for ‘context-sensitive’ theory and inquiry is seen as leading to theories of multiculturalism that fit specific national societies prior to systematic comparative inquiry (2005b, p.189). He does not offer a comprehensive theory but emphasises five key dimensions of ethnic difference. These include cultural distinctiveness (norms and practices such as arranged marriage), identity (affective meanings that may motivate or demotivate), strategy (differential responses to a set of circumstances that may contribute to group consciousness), creativity (group innovations e.g. clothing styles) and disproportionality (differential structural characteristics e.g. unemployment). The purpose here is to capture subjective and objective features of a group defined by descent. As with Jenkins (1997), Mason (2003) and Mirza (2000) there is a central concern here to explore why certain social contexts over-determine or reduce the significance of ethnicity. The increasing recognition of both the highly durable nature of both racism and ethnicity and their complex and dynamic character is driving continued intellectual work in these fields.

5.1.1 Intersectionality and hyper-diversity

Intersectional analysis remains a leading edge debate in racism and ethnicity studies, feminist studies, disability studies and related fields of social science. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1990, 1991) distinguishes between structural and political intersectionality, indicating the importance of both examining the interactions and outcomes of structures of inequality and also examining the ways in which political ideologies and rhetoric interact to marginalise and deny key issues, such as the marginalisation of women or issues of disability. Philomena Essed (1990, 1991)

has used intersectionality as a tool to identify intertwined gender, race, ethnic, economic and educational factors in shaping specific expressions of everyday injustices. Their work has helped to stimulate debates in international politics and within the UN there is now increasing recognition that women do not only experience exclusion and discrimination and solely on the grounds of gender, but also age, disability, health status, race, ethnicity, caste, class, national origin and sexual orientation. For example, Avtar Brah (1996) has elaborated an account of these intersections in examining global diasporas. Most recently the work of Sylvia Walby has been concerned to address the theorisation of multiple intersecting social inequalities drawing on complexity and systems theory (2007). Her work retains a focus on gender and intersectionality in Europe and examines the wider implications of these debates in the context of sociological theory. This work on intersectionality is indicative of a trend in these debates which has been to move away from a central focus on racism or ethnicity to seeing these as just some of the key features of contemporary patterns of oppression and globalisation. Even for those scholars who seek to retain a central focus on these issues, e.g. racism, this can still lead to an investigation of social complexity as the recent collection by Murji and Solomos (2005) on racialisation indicates.

As highlighted at the beginning of this paper, recent debate has highlighted the problem of hyper- or super- diversity where professionals and managers face substantial dilemmas in responding to the needs of culturally complex societies (Arai 2005, Vertovec 2006, Mir 2007). This expands the notion of intersectionality and identifies a range of specific dimensions in concrete national and institutional contexts which require systematic scrutiny to identify opportunities and constraints and the varying impact on particular groups and categories of people.

5.1.2 Ethnicity, social capital and the labour market

There has been enormous expansion in the study of social capital and its implications for policy across a wide range of fields including economic growth, social exclusion, health, civic regeneration, volunteering and community self-help (ONS 2001, Babb 2005). Development of methodologies, to examine these networks and their shared norms that facilitate cooperation within and among groups, has focussed on measurement of five aspects, civic participation, social networks, social participation, reciprocity and trust, and perceptions of localities with over twenty government and independent surveys providing data in the UK. The literature, for example on ethnic minority businesses has often made reference to the significance of aspects of within-community, bonding social capital as being of particular significance in their development and success (Zhou 2005), but this is highly contested. Valdez's work (2002) suggests that ethnic reciprocity has a marginal effect which may often be positive but may also be negative. There is a parallel discussion in the literature on the negative effects of bonding social capital, for example in relation to gang/crime cultures (DCLG 2006b), which is also examined in work on Chinese gangs, extortion and enterprise in New York (Chin 2000). The recent DCLG report (2006b) also acknowledged that Government strategies for building cohesive communities will have little chance of success without addressing disparities in economic well-being. Consideration of the role and impact of the various dimensions of social capital in relation to education raises a series of questions. To what extent, for example, does the reduction of educational inequalities and exclusions contribute to increasing trust and reciprocity, local leadership in strengthening civic values and commitment to inclusive citizenship and the strengthening of bridging social capital across communities, and to what extent does this challenge the 'parallel lives thesis', in other words to what extent does this increase meaningful social interaction.

The *Families and Social Capital* research group (2002-2006) at London South Bank University have explored the relationship between ethnicity and social capital and identified that minority ethnic communities draw on social capital in their families and communities, for example young Black Caribbeans use aspects of their bonding social capital heritage to respond to social exclusion (http://www.lsbu.ac.uk/families/ESRC_Group_report.pdf).

The Gender, Social Capital and Differential Outcomes project, which is part of the Leverhulme Programme on *Migration and Citizenship* (2003-2008) led by Modood is currently researching how similar migrant groups may achieve divergent economic, educational and cultural outcomes. This project examines Asian Muslims in two communities of Pakistani heritage in Manningham in Bradford, and in Slough in question in three ways. It employs the notion of social capital to examine how community values, norms and structures may determine whether these groups achieve economic social mobility, and explores questions of social capital through a gendered and generational analysis, asking how men and women may enact community values differently (<http://www.bristol.ac.uk/sociology/leverhulme/ethnicitycitizenship/leverhulme/>).

5.1.3 Community Studies

There is increasing research interest in challenging the conventional use of ethnic categories through exploration of diversity within and between ethnic communities as society is becoming more diverse due to changing patterns of migration and globalisation. This is exemplified in the new series of community studies being carried out by the Runnymede Trust which continue a long tradition in British sociology (see appendix 3.) This latest series has explored the lives of Bolivian, Ecuadorian, South African, Cameroonian, Vietnamese, Nepalese, Thai and Romanian migrants to the UK (<http://www.runnymedetrust.org/projects/communityStudies/reports.html>). These reports highlight widely differing experiences and community contexts and no meta-analysis of the output from these varying studies has yet been made. The reports highlight differing patterns and experiences of migration the UK, establishment of informal and formal community networks, and labour market experiences, for example racial discrimination reported by Cameroonians and difficulty in getting their qualifications recognised by employers in the UK forcing them to start their education from scratch. Many of the reports deal specifically with community experiences in London

5.1.4 Parallel research programmes

In the UK three major current research programmes provide a wealth of direct and indirect research findings which will be of value to the overall understanding of the questions raised by the EDUMIGROM project. These are briefly introduced with an exemplar case study.

The Arts and Humanities Research Board, *Diaspora, Migration and Identities* programme is currently running (2005-2009) This programme is concerned to develop our historical and cultural knowledge on aspects of diasporas, migration and identities, which includes the spheres of languages, religions, literature, material culture and the visual or performing arts. This seeks to explore the role, modes and stages of migration in human history, the transnational and cross-cultural interconnections that contribute to the formation of subjectivity and identity, and the representation and performance of these interconnections and points of contact). One exemplar case study from the programme explores the experiences of belonging, place and diaspora of South Asian children in East London, many of whose families retain close transnational links with their places of origin. It identifies how these children (aged 8-13 years old) experience and represent 'transnational lives', whether this involves travel to 'the homeland', or being part of families and communities in which people constantly move. It seeks to ground analysis of cultural hybrid and involves close collaboration with local community and arts groups (www.diaspora.ac.uk).

The Economic and Social Research Council, *Identities and Social Action* programme is soon to finish (2004-2008). This programme funds 25 projects the construction of identity, the relationship between identities, social exclusion and conflict. It explores who we think we are, and how identity can determine who people argue with, distance themselves from, embrace, marginalise, include or exclude. One exemplar case study examines identities, educational choice and the white middle class and one key finding was the persistence of racial

segregation *within* urban socially diverse secondary schools with white middle-class children clustered in top sets, often benefiting from ‘Gifted and Talented’ schemes, with little interaction with children from other backgrounds. These children rarely had working class friends and their few minority ethnic friends were predominantly from middle-class backgrounds. It was clear that there was little evidence of social mixing despite the ethnic mix of the school as a whole, confirming the persistence of embedded ethnic and racial divisions (www.identities.org.uk/).

The Leverhulme Trust, *Migration and Citizenship* research programme (2003-2008) led by Tariq Modood and referred to above in the social capital section, consists of eight projects and is concerned to examine the management of diverse and complex migration movements and the management of cultural, ethnic, religious and ‘racial’ differences. This programme is looking at the experiences of a wide range of ethnic groups. One specific project is examining patterns of racial and ethnic segregation with a specific focus on education. In the UK the residential segregation of ethnic minorities results in educational segregation, and this project seeks to examine the educational performance of minority students and to what extent educational segregation restricts or reinforces their attainments, particularly as education is a key factor in the transition to employment. (www.bristol.ac.uk/sociology/leverhulme/ethnicitycitizenship/leverhulme/).

5.2 Under-investigated issues and implications for policy

The significance of ethnicity in differing everyday contexts e.g. home, work or education. How do claims and attributions of ethnicity play out in the everyday lives of individuals and institutions? What governs claims and attributions of ethnicity? What is the significance of our inherited categorisation and measurement practices? How, and under what circumstances, are distinctively ethnic groupings formed? How do such groupings relate to religious and faith communities? Under what circumstances do asylum seekers utilise the ethnic route to regaining a sense of social positioning? Similarly new patterns of belonging and cultural hybridity engendered by generations of mixing and movement offer creative solutions, demonstrating the possibility for antiracist solidarity and an holistic multiculturalism for all. Yet little is known about socially situated patterns of social change and transformation.

The significance of ethnicity for social identities. To what extent are ethnic identities of primary significance when ethnic differences appear to be present? To what extent are identity choices structurally constrained by processes of exclusion, of racialisation and, perhaps, even by measurement systems designed to address exclusion? Why are some differences defined as ethnic and others not? What implications do these definitions have for our understanding of majority ethnicities? How does ethnicity relate to ‘race’? Can the answers help us to problematise and deconstruct ‘whiteness’? How are we to analyse the place of sub-national (or state) communities such as the Scots, Welsh and Irish? What light can be thrown on this by comparative analyses of sub-state (or national) communities elsewhere in the world – such as the Balkans?

The investigation of how differing sectors and institutional contexts understand, make sense of and manage the provision of services to multi-ethnic client groups. Issues of ethnic managerialism and super diversity have been identified in a variety of UK and EU policy domains including health, benefits, housing, social services, higher education, news media and ICT (Law 1996, 1997, 2002, Law et al 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006). A dysfunctional consequence of research in this field and other related policy fields could be identified as the unwarranted privileging of ethnicity in understanding and policy termed ‘ethnic managerialism’ (Law 1997, Law and Harrison 2001, DCLG 2006b). Here the essentialist, mechanistic and homogenous use of ethnic labels to refer to complex and diverse patterns of

identification, needs and aspirations, combined with delegation of strategy and action to regional or local managers leads to poor policy, provision and practice. This work identifies, in particular, three key concerns including fundamental tensions in modernist approaches to racism and ethnicity, the failure to adequately conceptualise these ideas and carry through the implications of this for policy and lastly, the pitfalls of ethnic managerialism. Science, technology and rational bureaucracy have all provided contexts for both the elaboration of racist and antiracist ideas, hence technocratic and managerial solutions to racism and ethnic diversity cannot be relied on and are fraught with difficulties and unintended consequences, such as reinforcing ethnic conflict or producing new forms of racial exclusion. Measuring racial discrimination and inequalities using comparison of outcomes against the white norm, rather than needs or preferences, is also a conventional but highly problematic feature of both research and policy. Looking to patterns of social and occupational participation more widely, how effectively do conventional policy agendas handle voluntary exclusion? Is the social inclusion agenda implicitly assimilationist?.

Ethnicity data. There is an urgent need for a review of conventional ethnic category systems in the light of the changing terrain of ethnic diversity in Britain and beyond. The emphasis on exploring micro ethnic diversity within and between different minority ethnic groups in different localities was highlighted in both the Runnymede Trust community reports and the Leverhulme programme on ethnicity and citizenship(see section 5.1) There is also a need for improved longitudinal data sets that will allow much more fine tuned analyses of shifting patterns of ethnic difference, disadvantage and advantage and the ways in which ethnicity interacts with other dimensions of social identity, as indicated by the innovative methodologies being developed by the Timescapes project (www.timescapes/leeds.ac.uk).

The significance of ethnicity for governance and citizenship. What are the implications of these issues for governance and government? How do they relate to the legal dimensions of citizenship and social participation? Most analyses of citizenship in the context of ethnicity focus on the processes by which minorities are excluded from access to full citizenship rights – either formally or substantively. However, in legal and political terms, citizenship is characteristically seen as embodying a complex of rights and duties. What implications would voluntary exclusion – for example from the armed services – have for a model of citizenship that emphasises duties as well as rights? Why should this be regarded as a problem for minority ethnic groups but not for the bulk of the majority population that exercises a similar choice? To what extent, then, are political and legal conceptions of citizenship also implicitly assimilationist? What level of normative and value diversity within a multi-ethnic society is consistent with the minimal level of cohesion necessary for us to speak of a society (or national community) at all? How do collective rights play against individual rights? What role can the concept of human rights play in reconciling differences of emphasis? How will human rights, race-relations legislation, equality and rights commissions at regional and national levels impact on racial and religious equality? How do we achieve mainstreaming of multicultural, antiracism and racial equality issues and facilitate joined up thinking in government policy? Should British multiculturalism adopt a model of relative cultural pluralism, universal shared values, shared procedural values or a more distinct politics of difference? (Mirza 2000, Mason 2003).

The nature of ethnicity and claims making. To what extent may ethnicity be deployed as a resource? Under what circumstances may it be a liability? How do we analyse the strategic use of ethnicity as a resource in making claims – for example to leadership credentials? How do we find ways to hear the unheard in such situations – as, for example, in the characteristic invisibility of women in much research on ethnicity?

The recent review of ethnicity and the labour market strategy in the UK (DCLG 2006a) usefully identifies a set of knowledge gaps and challenges. The under-investigated issues raised here include the need to understand the impact of the spatial concentration of

minorities on labour market outcomes, the differential labour market outcomes within 'white' groups e.g. for Gypsy/Roma, Turkish or Irish groups which are obscured in aggregated data sets, the nature of linkages between spatial factors and education outcomes, the differing perceptions of public services across ethnic and religious groups, the impact of racism in the workplace, the need to evaluate the effectiveness of racial harassment policies, the need to assess the impact of the new Employment Equality (Religion and Belief) Regulations, 2003, and lastly, the need to review and gather evidence of 'what works' in community cohesion initiatives.

Cross-sector learning on ethnicity. The need to bridge the gap between policy and theorisation, as recently noted by Ram et al. (2006), and the need to build cross-policy learning on how to effectively respond to questions of racism and ethnicity provide two key challenges here. For example, what might ethnicity and education policy learn from the long and successful experience of the Housing Corporation's Black and Minority Ethnic Housing Policy (MDA 2005, Housing Corporation 2005)? This has been heralded as one of the 'success stories of contemporary Britain', without parallel in Europe in developing black leadership and black empowerment.¹¹ A track record of innovative research on minority ethnic needs assessment and racial discrimination is a particular feature of the housing field. Another of the many possible examples that might be helpful here is Department of Health action plan on delivering race equality in mental health care (2005). Taking the best from these policies including the elements addressing compensation, empowerment, participation and community engagement, effective needs assessment, protection from discrimination, positive action and investment may collectively inform more thorough and systematic policy development.

¹¹ The importance of the black housing movement is increasingly being recognised for its success in policy intervention, with local authorities, housing associations and the Housing Corporation, not only in housing but in related fields of social care and social welfare. From the 1950's onwards, immense energy has been devoted to the development of hostels, refuges from domestic violence, schemes for young homeless and the elderly and a whole variety of innovative housing projects by black and minority ethnic groups across the country. Some of these initiatives developed into black-led housing associations, but the 1974 Housing Associations Act contributed to the demise and absorption of some into larger mainstream associations. The supplementary role of such provision, the use of conventional procedures and forms of activity and the link with earlier community relations welfare work have all facilitated the establishment of credibility and respectability with government agencies and hence a relatively 'secure niche' in the local state. This 'strong' position, particularly in comparison to other anti-racist organisations, has provided an organisational base for sustained lobbying and policy intervention both nationally and locally. Resources, networks and experience were therefore available to drive the expansion of black-led housing associations in the 1980's when positive discrimination in capital housing allocations from the Housing Corporation had been successfully secured. The Housing Corporations' Black and Minority Ethnic Housing Association Strategy began in 1986 and one of its chief objective was to substantially increase the number of registered black-led associations. About 40 viable, independent, effective associations were established to meet the needs of minority ethnic people and which are managed by committees of whom at least 80% are from those communities. Housing investment of 750 million over five years for these associations to provide new homes was approved. Increased revenue grants, the transfer of at least 2,400 homes from established associations to black-led associations and training programmes were designed as key mechanisms to assist progression to independence and viability. In 1991 over 51,000, or 5.9%, of all minority ethnic households were in this sector of housing. The importance of the black-led housing associations should not only be measured in terms of stock size or financial reserves their importance in shifting professional and political perceptions is of paramount importance. The official explanation for supporting this Housing Corporation strategy refers to compensatory arguments in seeking 'redress' for 'historic inequalities', empowerment arguments in seeking to expand the 'opportunities for ethnic minority people to have control' and individual rights arguments in seeking to improve 'access to social rented housing' (Law 1996).

Racism and ethnicity in global and comparative contexts. Taking the highly durable nature of racism and ethnicity seriously in sociological thinking and interrogating the ways in which social, cultural and political significance is given to these ideas in widely differing places and times is a fundamental task. Rather than abandoning a general theory of how these operate as many commentators have suggested (Modood 2005b) because of the difficulties of grasping the totality of the ways and means by which they operate, it is argued that such a theory requires a global approach, avoiding the pitfalls of generalising from regional or national standpoints. These issues, and the development of global approaches, are an increasing trend in this field (see, for example Bhattacharya, Gabriel and Small 2002; Spickard 2005, Macedo and Gounari 2006). Globalisation also impacts on the local through the medium of direct and vicarious international contacts. Thus community reproduction is frequently mediated through marriage to partners from the country of 'origin'. Domestic politics in countries of origin and international events more widely can shape both intra- and inter-group relations in the countries of settlement. A sense of imagined community with the place of origin also helps to shape cultural reproduction and, more often than is typically recognised, processes of cultural innovation and renewal. Examples of these processes can be found in the realms of both religion and language (Mason 2003). What can we learn from comparative models of multiculturalism in Australia, New Zealand, Northern Ireland, Canada, USA, Malaysia, South Africa and the Caribbean and ethnicity across and within different regions of the world?

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Appendix 1

Selected English-language bibliography

This critical and comprehensive text provides an excellent foundation for understanding the overall social context for this group.

Clark, Colin. and Greenfields, M. 2006. [Here to Stay: the Gypsies and Travellers of Britain](#), Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press

This sums up the Government's educational response to inequality and marginalisation for these groups.

DCFS (Department for Children, Schools and Families). 2008. *The Inclusion of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Children and Young People*. London: DCFS.

This article explores Gypsy Travellers' changing views on their children's education. It highlights the positive means some schools use to encourage greater involvement of Gypsy Traveller parents. It argues that current educational policy needs to be re-developed to incorporate more effective and affirmative responses to interrupted and nomadic learning. It draws heavily on interviews with Gypsy Traveller families in an effort to give 'voice' to an under-represented community.

Bhopal, Kalwant. 2008. "Gypsy Travellers and Education, changing needs and changing perceptions", *British Journal of Education Studies*, vol. 52, 1. pp.47-64

A landmark text which draws on Critical Race Theory to provide a fundamental critique of the racialisation of education policy in the UK.

Gillborn, David. 2008. *Racism and Education, confidence or conspiracy*, London: Routledge

A leading voice in the field draws together a lifetime of work on Muslims in the UK.

Modood, Tariq. 2005, *Multicultural Politics, racism, ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

An extremely valuable set of essays which address political mobilisation, family dynamics, educational attainment, employment and other spheres for ethnic minorities in the UK and draws systematic comparison with the USA. This may be the best place to start for an assessment of ethnicity in the UK.

Modood, Tariq, and Teles, Steven M. (eds.). 2005. *Ethnicity, Social Mobility and Public Policy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.222-253.

Accessible overview of 2001 Census data on ethnicity.

Office for National Statistics (ONS). 2006. *Focus on Ethnicity and Religion*, Basingstoke; Palgrave Macmillan.

A hugely detailed summary of the development of government policy on ethnicity post-war, the 'integration' agenda, data on ethnicity in most policy fields and the mass of government initiatives taken.

Performance and Innovation Unit (PIU). 2002. *Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market: Interim Analytical Report*, London: Cabinet Office.

Two texts which provide foundational reading on the present state of immigration policy in the UK.

Sales, Rosemary. 2007. *Understanding Immigration and Refugee Policy*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Somerville, William. 2007. *Immigration under New Labour*, Bristol: Policy Press.

A seminal paper which examines the dimensions of super-diversity in the UK.

Vertovec, Steve. 2006. *The Emergence of Super-Diversity in Britain*, Centre for Migration, Policy and Society, Working Paper No. 25, Oxford: University of Oxford.

Appendix 2 Website resources

Commission for Equality and Human Rights www.equalityhumanrights.com
ESRC Ethnic Minorities in the UK, Migration in the UK, Fact Sheets
www.esrc.ac.uk/ESRCInfoCentre/
Ethnic Minority Employment Task Force www.emetaskforce.gov.uk/
Home Office www.homeoffice.gov.uk/
Refugee Council www.refugeecouncil.org.uk
Runnymede Trust www.runnymedetrust.org
Social Exclusion Task Force www.cabinetoffice.gov.uk/social_exclusion_task_force.

Gypsy, Roma and Traveller organisations

Travellers Law Reform project www.tlrp.org.uk
Friends, Families and Travellers www.gypsy-traveller.org
The Gypsy Council www.thegypsycouncil.org.uk
Irish Traveller Movement in Britain www.irishtraveller.org.uk
London Gypsy and Traveller Unit www.lgtu.org.uk

Appendix 3. Statistical data on ethnicity

Website links

Office for National Statistics (for 2001 census data)

www.statistics.gov.uk/census

Focus on ethnicity and identity

www.statistics.gov.uk/focuson/ethnicity/

Census nuggets comprise:

population by ethnic group

www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/expodata/spreadsheets/D6588.xls

www.nomisweb.co.uk/output/dn87000/1410318437.xls

www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=263

country of origin

www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=1312

www.statistics.gov.uk/statbase/expodata/spreadsheets/D7547.xls

www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=459

www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=459&Pos=1&ColRank=2&Rank=1000

ethnic groups in Britain by age

www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=456

religion and ethnicity

www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/commentaries/ethnicity.asp

www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=460

www.statistics.gov.uk/cci/nugget.asp?id=954&pos+2&colrank=28=224

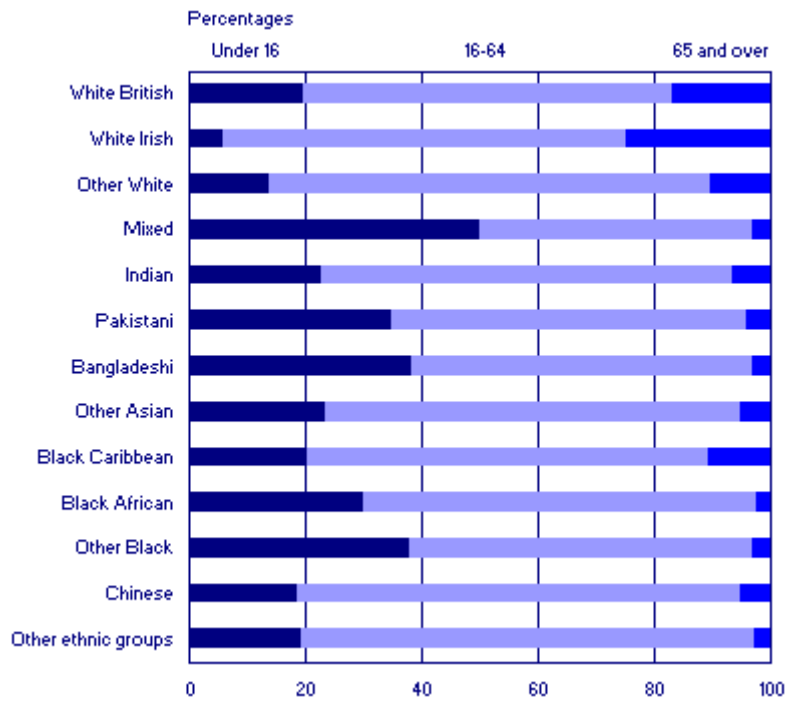
National Centre for Languages (CiLT) - information on languages spoken in the UK population

www.cilt.org.uk/faqs/langspoken.htm

List of tables in this appendix

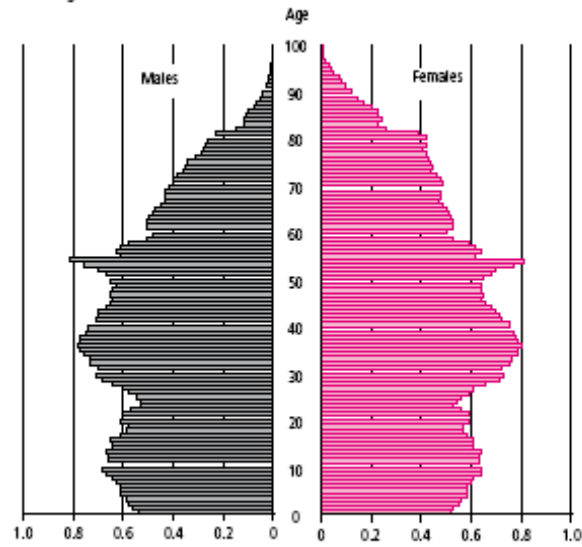
1. Age distribution by ethnic group in the UK, April 2001
2. White British population by sex and age, April 2001
3. Bangladeshi population by sex and age, April 2001
4. Black Caribbean population by sex and age, April 2001
5. Religious composition of ethnic groups in the UK, April 2001
6. Largest ethno-religious groups, April 2001
7. Primary and secondary pupils first language 2008
8. Non-white population by area, 2001
9. UK Segregation indices: measures of dissimilarity (evenness) and isolation (exposure)
10. Ethnic diversity by local area, April 2001
11. Household type by ethnic group, April 2001
12. Average household size by main ethno-religious group, April 2001
13. Working age population by ethnic group, sex and highest qualification, April 2001
14. Unemployment by ethnic group and sex, April 2001
15. Working age population by socio-economic classification by sex and age, April 2001
16. White British working age population by socio-economic classification and sex, April 2001
17. Bangladeshi working age population by socio-economic classification and sex, April 2001
18. Black Caribbean working age population by socio-economic classification and sex, April 2001

Table 1. Age distribution by ethnic group in the UK, April 2001



White British population: by sex and age, April 2001

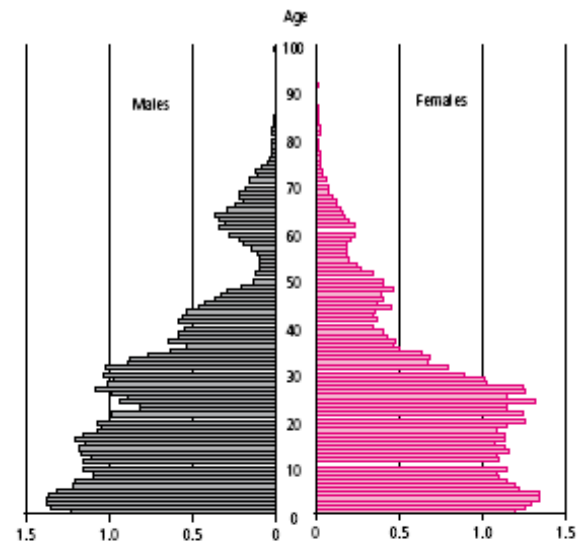
Great Britain
Percentages



Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

Bangladeshi population: by sex and age, April 2001

Great Britain
Percentages

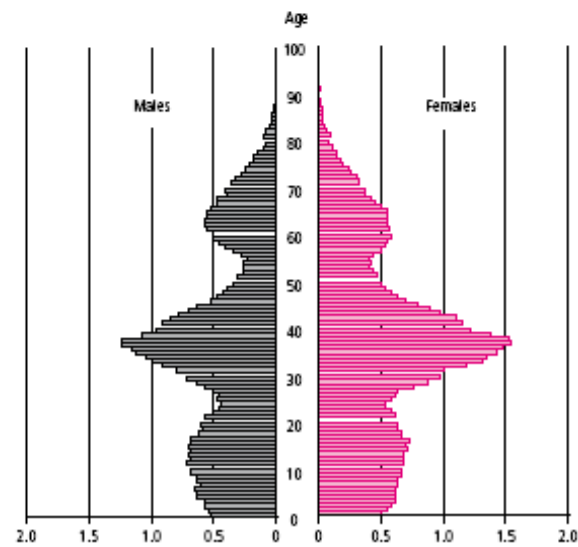


Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

Figure 2.9

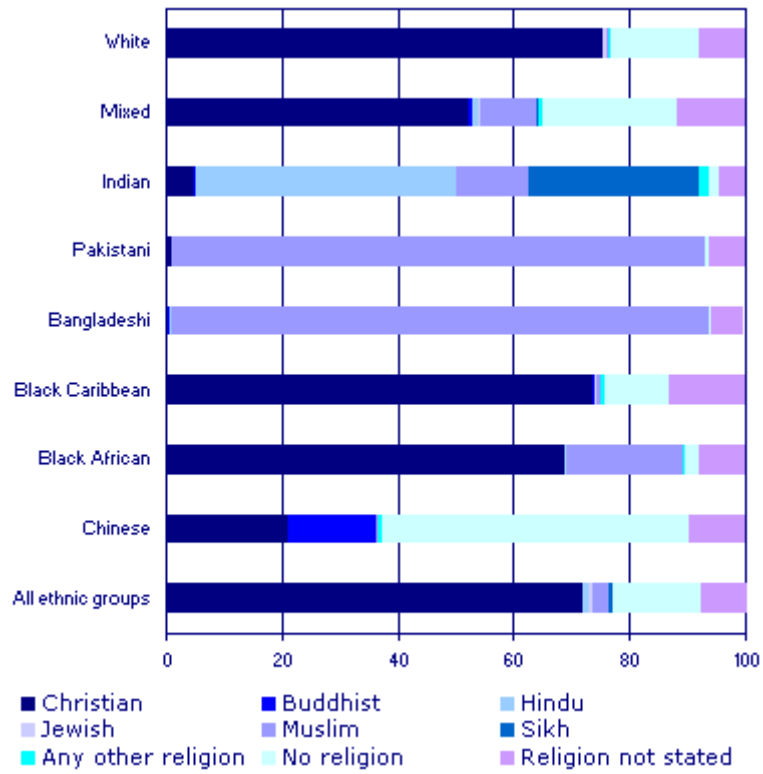
Black Caribbean population: by sex and age, April 2001

Great Britain
Percentages



Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

Table 5. Religious composition of ethnic groups in the UK, April 2001



Largest ethno-religious groups,^{1,2} April 2001

Great Britain

Percentages and numbers

	Proportion of total population	Proportion of ethnic group	Proportion of religious group	Total population (Numbers)
White British Christian	66.8	75.7	93.0	38,137,157
White British No religion	13.8	15.7	91.7	7,886,968
White British Jewish	0.4	0.4	84.0	224,467
White British Muslim	0.1	0.1	4.0	63,891
White British Buddhist	0.1	0.1	34.2	51,006
White Irish Christian	1.0	85.7	1.4	592,218
White Irish No religion	0.1	6.2	0.5	42,569
Other White Christian	1.6	62.9	2.2	895,729
Other White No religion	0.4	16.1	2.7	228,646
Other White Muslim	0.2	8.3	7.4	117,713
Other White Jewish	0.1	2.3	12.4	33,126
Mixed Christian	0.6	52.3	0.9	352,616
Mixed No religion	0.3	23.3	1.8	157,271
Mixed Muslim	0.1	9.7	4.1	65,592
Indian Hindu	0.8	44.8	84.4	471,480
Indian Sikh	0.5	29.2	91.3	307,096
Indian Muslim	0.2	12.6	8.3	132,566
Indian Christian	0.1	5.0	0.1	52,128
Pakistani Muslim	1.2	91.9	43.2	686,179
Bangladeshi Muslim	0.5	92.4	16.5	261,380
Other Asian Muslim	0.2	37.5	5.8	92,761
Other Asian Hindu	0.1	26.3	11.7	65,175
Other Asian Christian	0.1	13.5	0.1	33,319
Black Caribbean Christian	0.7	73.7	1.0	417,053
Black Caribbean No religion	0.1	11.3	0.7	63,645
Black African Christian	0.6	68.8	0.8	333,530
Black African Muslim	0.2	20.0	6.1	97,109
Chinese No religion	0.2	53.0	1.5	128,935
Chinese Christian	0.1	21.1	0.1	51,387
Chinese Buddhist	0.1	15.1	24.7	36,809
Other ethnic group Christian	0.1	32.8	0.2	75,233
Other ethnic group No religion	0.1	14.0	0.4	32,162
Other ethnic group Muslim	0.1	26.0	3.8	59,675
Other ethnic group Buddhist	0.1	15.3	23.6	35,140
Largest ethno-religious groups^{1,2}	91.6	.	.	52,281,731

¹ Excludes ethno-religious groups with populations of less than 30,000 people.

² Eight per cent of respondents chose not to state their religion. The percentage classified as religion not stated was greater in Black and Mixed groups.

³ '.' not applicable.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

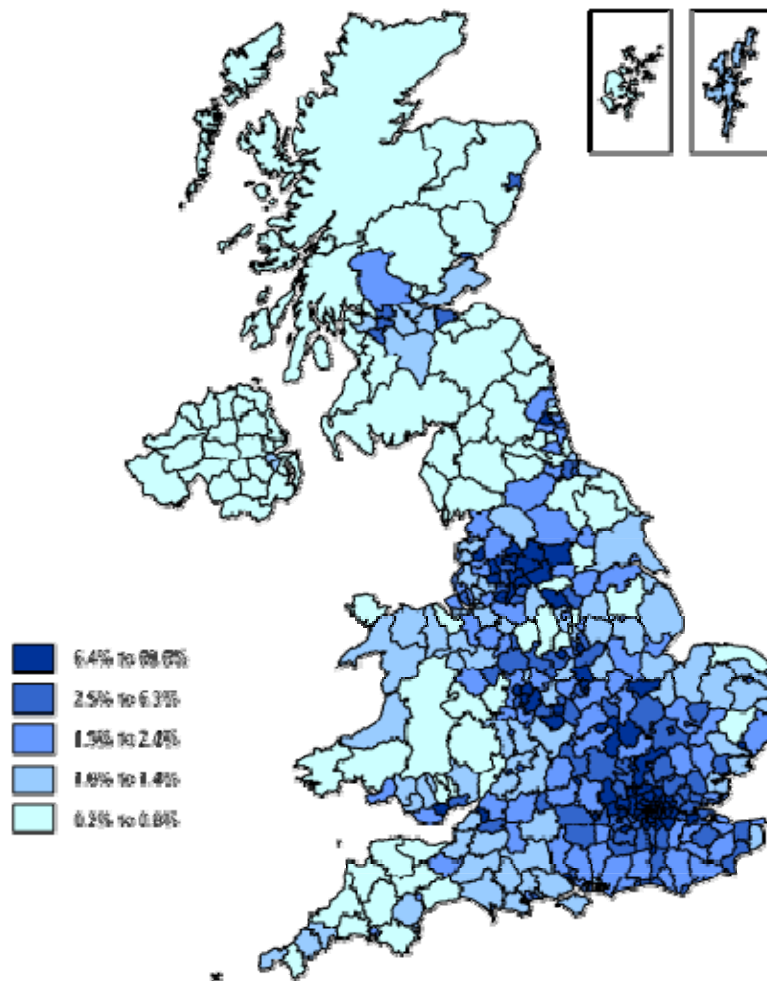
Table 7. Primary and secondary pupils first language other than English, 2008

Language	Number
Panjabi	102,570
Urdu	85,250
Bengali	70,320
Gujarati	0,880
Somali	32,030
Polish	26,840
Arabic	25,800
Portugese	16,560
Turkish	16,460
Tamil	15,460
French	15,310
Yoruba	13,290
Chinese	13,380
Spanish	10,000
Persian/Farsi	8,510
Albanian/Shqip	8,350
Other	8,160
Tagalog/Filipino	7,990
Akan/Twi-Fante	7,230
Pashto/Pakhto	7,090
Hindi	6,740
Italian	5,090
Nepali	4,860
German	4,500
Shona	4,420
Lithuanian	4,350
Swahili/Kiswahili	4,180
Malayalam	4,030
Greek	4,010
Russian	3,840
Kurdish	3,740
Lingala	2,850
Vietnamese	2,790
Caribbean Creole English	2,670
Igbo	2,610
Dutch/Flemish	2,530
Slovak	2,510
Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian	2,170
Czech	1,870
Japanese	1,700
Thai	1,570
Pahari (Pakistan)	1,490
Luganda	1,470
Korean	1,430
Romanian	1,420
Tigrinya	1,310
Sinhala	1,260
Bulgarian	1,220
Caribbean Creole French	1,120
Katchi	1,050

Amharic	1,050
Malay/Indonesian	1,020
Other language codes, 189 categories	20,860
Other than English language not provided	175,680
Total	815,00 (12.5%)

(Source: School census,
<http://www.dcsf.gov.uk/rsgateway/DB/SFR/s000786/Language081b.xls>)

Table 8. Non-white population by area, 2001



(Also see interactive maps of ethnic minority communities in the UK
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/flash/0,,1690291,00.html>).

Please provide a brief methodological note on the computation of the dissimilarity and isolation indices.

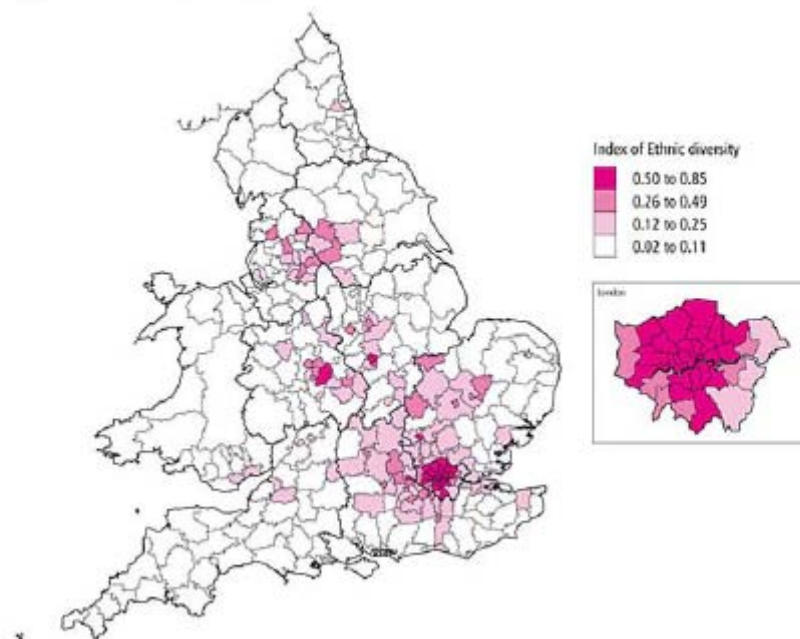
	Dissimilarity Index	Isolation Index
Black Caribbean heritage	0.7092	0.1009
Black African heritage	0.7458	0.1146
Black other heritage	0.6523	0.0565
Indian ethnic origin	0.6881	0.2093
Pakistani ethnic origin	0.756	0.2558
Bangladeshi ethnic origin	0.7725	0.2875
Chinese ethnic origin	0.4482	0.0089
Other minority ethnic origin	0.613	0.1751
Asian	0.6978	0.3241
Black	0.6867	0.1992

Table 9. UK Segregation indices: measures of dissimilarity (evenness) and isolation (exposure)

(Source: Burgess, Simon and Wilson Deborah. 2004. *Ethnic segregation in England's schools*, CASE paper 79, London: LSE)

Table 10. Ethnic Diversity in the UK

Ethnic diversity: by local authority area, April 2001
England and Wales



How to interpret the Fractionalisation Index of diversity

The Fractionalisation Index of diversity is relatively straightforward to calculate and interpret. It produces scores that represent the probability that two people chosen at random within a given area will belong to different groups. A high score means that there is a high probability that two people drawn randomly from the area will belong to different groups, and therefore that the area is highly diverse. For example, the London Borough of Brent had an ethnic diversity score of 0.85, representing an 85 per cent chance that two people drawn at random from Brent would be from different ethnic groups. A low score means that the area is not diverse, or in other words that it is homogeneous in terms of its ethnic or religious composition. For example, Easington local authority in the North East had an ethnic diversity score of 0.02, representing a 2 per cent chance that two people drawn at random from Easington would be from different ethnic groups. If the diversity score was zero, this would indicate that there was no chance of two people being from different groups as there was only one group in the area. See the Appendix at the end of this chapter for more details.

Table 11. Household type by ethnic group

Household type: by ethnic group,¹ April 2001

Great Britain	Percentages									
	One person			One family and no others				Other households		
	Pensioner	Other	All one person households	Pensioner families ²	Married couple families ²	Cohabiting couple families ²	Lone parent families ²	All one family households	Other households	All households = (100%) (numbers)
White British	15	15	31	9	37	8	9	64	6	21,439,962
White Irish	18	20	37	9	30	7	10	55	8	383,805
Other White	9	20	28	5	36	9	8	58	14	587,947
Mixed	5	25	31	2	25	11	18	56	13	149,508
Indian	4	12	15	3	53	2	8	66	19	319,887
Pakistani	3	9	12	1	51	2	11	65	23	180,349
Bangladeshi	2	7	9	1	54	2	11	68	24	62,505
Other Asian	4	15	19	2	48	3	9	62	20	82,943
Black Caribbean	10	28	38	3	19	7	23	53	9	276,404
Black African	3	27	30	1	24	6	20	50	20	178,452
Other Black	5	29	34	1	17	7	28	53	12	31,631
Chinese	4	23	28	2	41	4	8	56	16	82,784
Other ethnic group	3	21	24	1	44	5	10	60	16	76,544
All households	14	16	30	9	37	8	10	63	7	23,852,721

¹ Of household reference person.

² One family consisting only of related people of pensionable age (men aged 65 and over and women aged 60 and over).

³ One family in which at least one person is below pensionable age with or without dependent children.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

Average household size: by main ethno-religious groups,¹ April 2001

England and Wales

	Average household size	All households (=100%) (Numbers)
White British Christian	2.3	14,833,624
White British Buddhist	2.0	30,014
White British Jewish	2.2	98,606
White British Muslim	2.8	17,242
White British No Religion	2.4	2,886,000
White Irish Christian	2.2	303,710
White Irish No Religion	2.1	23,652
Other White Christian	2.4	353,252
Other White Jewish	2.6	13,985
Other White Muslim	3.0	42,135
Other White No Religion	2.3	90,555
Mixed Christian	2.5	78,299
Mixed Muslim	3.1	14,468
Mixed No Religion	2.3	33,346
Indian Christian	2.6	20,917
Indian Hindu	3.2	144,635
Indian Muslim	3.7	36,106
Indian Sikh	3.6	84,700
Pakistani Muslim	4.2	158,137
Bangladeshi Muslim	4.6	57,242
Other Asian Christian	2.7	12,397
Other Asian Hindu	3.4	20,307
Other Asian Muslim	3.4	29,217
Black Caribbean Christian	2.3	202,846
Black Caribbean No Religion	2.1	33,507
Black African Christian	2.7	125,033
Black African Muslim	3.1	32,723
Other Black Christian	2.5	19,909
Chinese Christian	2.4	18,315
Chinese Buddhist	2.8	12,756
Chinese No Religion	2.7	38,400
Other ethnic group Christian	2.8	23,190
Other ethnic group Buddhist	2.6	11,067
Other ethnic group Muslim	3.2	19,613
All households²	2.4	21,660,475

¹ Of household reference person.

² Includes households not shown in table due to small numbers.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics

Working-age population:¹ by ethnic group, sex, and highest qualification, April 2001

England and Wales

Percentages

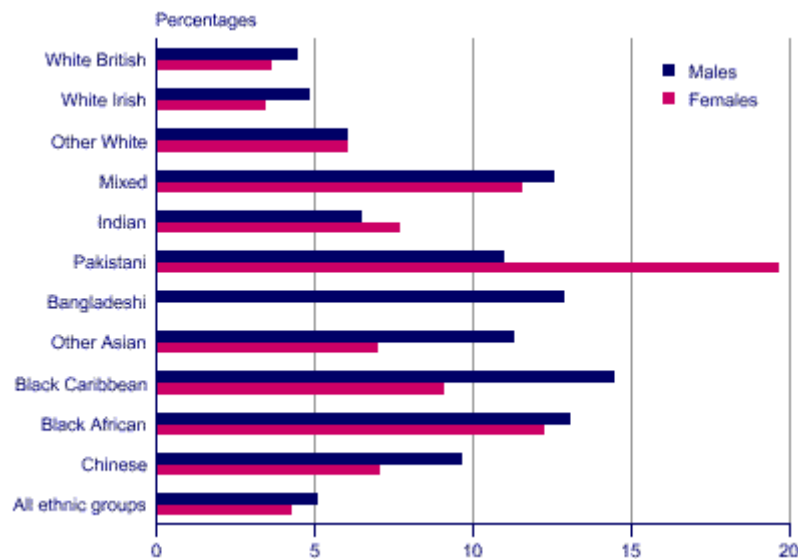
	Men				Women			
	Degree or equivalent	Other qualifications ²	No qualifications	Total (=100%) (numbers)	Degree or equivalent	Other qualifications ²	No qualifications	Total (=100%) (numbers)
White British	19	57	24	14,363,102	19	58	23	13,309,867
White Irish	26	42	32	215,555	32	43	25	198,062
Other White	43	40	17	470,310	46	41	13	523,045
Mixed White and Black Caribbean	13	61	26	44,335	16	62	22	49,906
Mixed White and Black African	27	55	19	19,808	27	55	18	21,036
Mixed White and Asian	30	53	16	46,108	30	54	16	45,070
Other Mixed	32	52	16	38,318	34	52	14	42,601
Indian	35	44	21	360,042	29	45	26	352,547
Pakistani	22	43	35	218,086	16	41	43	209,342
Bangladeshi	17	41	42	80,810	11	41	48	80,177
Other Asian	35	48	17	96,349	31	50	19	72,573
Black Caribbean	15	58	26	173,088	26	60	15	200,163
Black African	43	47	10	152,345	36	50	15	167,415
Other Black	19	61	20	25,621	23	63	14	30,252
Chinese	38	39	23	82,534	39	38	23	88,149
Other ethnic group	45	35	20	73,171	43	33	24	95,497
All people	21	55	24	16,459,582	21	56	23	15,485,702

¹ Men aged 16–64, women aged 16–59.

² Includes 'A' levels, GCSEs and vocational qualifications.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics

Table 14. Unemployment by ethnic group and sex, April 2001



Labour market status of working-age population:¹ by sex and ethnic group, April 2001

England and Wales					Percentages
	Economically inactive	Unemployed	Working part time in main job	Working full time in main job	All (=100%) (numbers)
Men					
White British	17	5	6	71	14,363,102
White Irish	23	5	5	66	215,555
Other White	23	6	8	64	470,310
Mixed White and Black Caribbean	27	14	9	50	44,335
Mixed White and Black African	30	12	9	49	19,808
Mixed White and Asian	29	8	9	54	46,108
Other Mixed	30	9	10	51	38,318
Indian	22	6	8	64	360,042
Pakistani	31	11	13	45	218,086
Bangladeshi	32	13	22	33	80,810
Other Asian	28	8	10	55	96,349
Black Caribbean	23	13	7	57	173,088
Black African	29	13	10	48	152,345
Other Black	28	15	9	48	25,621
Chinese	35	5	9	51	82,534
Other ethnic group	34	8	9	48	73,171
All men	18	5	7	70	16,459,582
Women					
White British	28	3	29	40	13,309,867
White Irish	30	3	23	44	198,062
Other White	35	4	19	42	523,045
Mixed White and Black Caribbean	38	8	20	34	49,906
Mixed White and Black African	41	7	18	34	21,036
Mixed White and Asian	38	5	20	37	45,070
Other Mixed	38	6	19	36	42,601
Indian	37	5	19	39	352,547
Pakistani	70	6	11	14	209,342
Bangladeshi	73	6	9	11	80,177
Other Asian	47	5	16	32	72,573
Black Caribbean	27	7	19	47	200,163
Black African	40	10	16	35	167,415
Other Black	35	9	19	37	30,252
Chinese	43	4	16	36	88,149
Other ethnic group	48	5	15	32	95,497
All women	30	3	28	39	15,485,702

¹ Men aged 16–64, women aged 16–59.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics

Working-age population:¹ by National Statistics Socio-economic Classification,² sex and ethnic group, April 2001

Great Britain	Percentage					
	Managerial and professional occupations	Intermediate occupations	Routine and manual occupations	Never worked and long-term unemployed	Full-time student	Occupation not stated or inadequately described
Men						
White British	33.8	16.7	34.7	3.0	6.6	5.4
White Irish	35.7	17.3	28.6	4.2	5.5	8.8
Other White	42.4	14.3	21.6	4.5	14.3	3.0
Mixed	28.4	12.5	26.6	8.1	20.9	3.4
Indian	33.9	17.2	25.7	3.5	15.7	4.1
Pakistani	18.1	18.5	30.7	8.7	18.2	5.8
Bangladeshi	13.6	12.9	40.1	8.5	18.8	6.2
Other Asian	30.9	15.7	23.9	9.0	16.8	3.7
Black Caribbean	24.4	14.4	37.2	9.0	9.5	5.6
Black African	28.5	11.0	23.8	10.1	24.6	2.0
Other Black	23.3	11.9	33.2	10.8	16.8	4.0
Chinese	25.3	19.3	17.2	3.4	32.9	2.0
Any other ethnic group	33.0	10.5	19.2	10.3	24.6	2.4
All men	33.5	16.5	33.7	3.4	7.8	5.2
Women						
White British	26.7	20.2	30.5	3.6	7.3	11.8
White Irish	35.1	15.5	24.8	4.9	6.2	13.5
Other White	35.5	17.3	18.7	7.1	13.4	7.9
Mixed	25.7	15.5	22.2	9.6	20.2	6.9
Indian	22.5	18.1	24.5	12.8	14.1	7.9
Pakistani	9.6	9.4	15.9	44.1	14.7	6.4
Bangladeshi	7.5	7.3	14.9	49.3	15.5	5.5
Other Asian	22.9	14.8	19.1	20.6	15.7	6.9
Black Caribbean	30.2	20.0	24.6	6.3	10.6	8.3
Black African	23.0	12.0	21.7	16.2	23.0	4.2
Other Black	24.2	17.3	25.4	9.4	16.9	6.9
Chinese	23.2	17.2	17.4	8.8	27.7	5.8
Any other ethnic group	23.5	12.5	22.2	16.1	18.7	7.1
All women	26.7	19.6	29.3	5.0	8.2	11.3
All people of working age						
White British	30.3	18.4	32.6	3.3	6.9	8.6
White Irish	35.4	16.4	26.6	4.6	5.8	11.2
Other White	38.7	15.9	20.0	5.9	13.9	5.6
Mixed	27.0	14.1	24.3	8.9	20.5	5.2
Indian	28.1	17.7	25.1	8.2	14.9	6.0
Pakistani	13.8	14.0	23.3	26.3	16.5	6.1
Bangladeshi	10.5	10.1	27.3	29.1	17.1	5.8
Other Asian	27.4	15.3	21.8	14.1	16.3	5.1
Black Caribbean	27.6	17.5	30.2	7.5	10.1	7.1
Black African	25.6	11.5	22.7	13.4	23.8	3.2
Other Black	23.8	14.8	29.0	10.0	16.9	5.6
Chinese	24.2	18.2	17.3	6.2	30.2	4.0
Any other ethnic group	27.5	11.6	21.0	13.6	21.2	5.1
All ethnic groups	30.1	18.0	31.5	4.2	8.0	8.3

¹ Men aged 16–64 and women aged 16–59.

² See Appendix Chapter 2.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

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White British working-age population:¹ by National Statistics Socio-economic Classification² and sex, April 2001

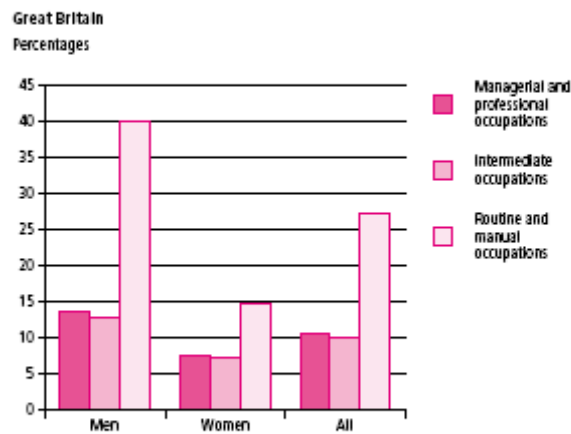


1 Men aged 16–64, women aged 16–59.

2 See Appendix Chapter 2.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

Bangladeshi working-age population:¹ by National Statistics Socio-economic Classification² and sex, April 2001



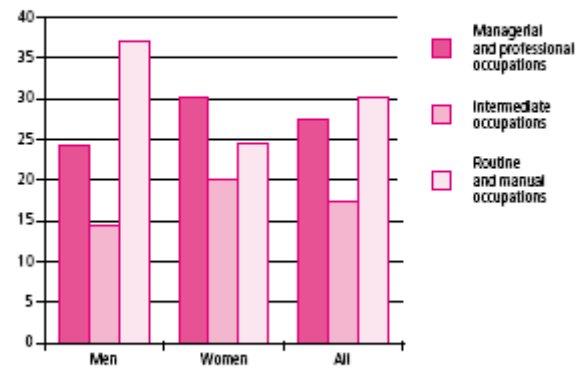
1 Men aged 16–64, women aged 16–59.

2 See Appendix Chapter 2.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

Black Caribbean working-age population:¹ by National Statistics Socio-economic Classification² and sex, April 2001

Great Britain
Percentages



¹ Men aged 16–64, women aged 16–59.

² See Appendix Chapter 2.

Source: Census 2001, Office for National Statistics; Census 2001, General Register Office for Scotland

Appendix 4.

Background note on the development of the British sociology of race relations

American scholarship has been highly influential on British research, from the impact of the Chicago School of sociology upon studies of black and white relations in England and Wales during and since the early 1940s, to the role of the Ford Foundation in funding research into inter-ethnic problems in Britain's cities during the 1950s and 1960s (Clapson 2006). *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) by Du Bois, the Chicago Commission on Race Relations study *The Negro in Chicago* (1922), Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944) and Drake and Clayton's *Black Metropolis: a study of Negro life in a Northern City* (1945) provided a track record of seminal empirical studies examining racism and material conditions in American urban contexts. This inspired sociological research in Britain. Kenneth Little's *Negroes in Britain: a study of racial relations in English Society* (1948) was one of the first examining the history of the black presence in Britain and life in Cardiff's black community and the pervasiveness of racist myths of the 'mental inferiority' of black people' and the 'biological ill-effects of racial crossing' amongst children and in English culture. Continuing this tradition, John Rex along with Robert Moore produced a classic empirical study *Racism, Community and Conflict* (1967) which examines these issues in the context of Birmingham. This unites a conflict perspective with the descriptive model of residential segregation and zonal structure of the Chicago ecologists, seeing the city as a class struggle for housing where interest groups use their power in the market situation. Black migrants are forced into 'zones of transition'. Differential access to employment is linked to discrimination in the housing market, which is mediated by the social and cultural resources migrant communities bring with them and the development of accommodative institutions. Explanation of social life in Birmingham draws on structural imperatives, cultural definitions and social interaction (Bailey 1975). This study confirms that racism is embedded in post-colonial societies and is intrinsic to social relations of power and domination. It also confirms that racism can act independently from class, for example through exclusion from state welfare and public services.

The contribution of John Rex and Michael Banton to the study of race, racism and ethnicity, who have both have been significantly influenced by Weberian ideas and the work of Park and others in Chicago, has recently been examined in two articles both in the leading journal in the field, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (Jenkins 2005, Barot 2006). They have played a leading part in the development of the British sociology of race relations in the post-war period. John Rex's core contribution to this field over many years includes placing conflict at the heart of sociological analysis of race and ethnicity, development of an internationalist, historical account of race and colonialism, applying a Weberian understanding of class to race relations situations and markets, and linking these together in analysis of the welfare state (Jenkins 2005, Williams 1989). For Rex, ethnic groups are real, races are not. But, analysis of race relations, race relations situations and racial stratification in labour and housing and education is seen as appropriate where ethnic groups construct beliefs in racial hierarchy and act on them through exclusion and discrimination. Nevertheless, his focus on ethnic minorities and ethnic mobilisation, on the one hand, and on the other the primacy of Weberian conceptions of class as deriving from market position have led to criticism that he has given inadequate attention to the centrality of racism in post-colonial contexts. In addition, to the fundamental critique that the 'race relations' problematic has implicitly legitimised the notion of race as real, Rex has been criticised for focussing on black people rather than on structures of white domination (Jenkins 2005: 203-4). Drawing on a Weberian model of social action Rex identifies the core issue for sociology as 'the problem of conflict'. It is the norm, where class relations and markets lead to structures of group formation and conflict between them producing plural societies and inequalities of power. Jenkins identifies a similar problem to Weber in the assumption that pursuit of class interests will reduce affective ethnicities and

lead to fragmentation and decline of ethnicity. The dangers of such a position given the durability and renewal of ethnic conflict across the globe are clear. The value of Rex's focus on class and conflict, despite the problem of economic reductionism and a failure to address gender, is that this suggests the 'utter implausibility of peaceful co-existent (egalitarian) multiculturalism' (2005: 207). Overall, Rex has made a major contribution to this field which has recently been acknowledged in a wide-ranging collection (Abbas and Reeves 2007).

Michael Banton was similarly concerned to examine the settlement and experiences of colonial migrants in the UK, for example in his first book, an ethnographic study of *The Coloured Quarter* in London's East End (1955). Following Little and anticipating Rex, Banton provides a sociological account of British 'race relations' locating this in the international context of colonialism. Similarly, the interests and issues of black Caribbean migrants to the UK in the 1940' and 1950's were dealt with by the government's Colonial Office, which was part of the Foreign Office. It was the race riots in British cities in 1958 that brought home the significance of managing domestic 'race relations' and thereafter these issues became the concern of the Home Office and British race relations policy followed. Banton provided a comparative account of social action and the utilisation of race to construct differing systems of race relations around the world identifying peripheral contact, institutionalised contact, acculturation, domination, paternalism, integration and pluralism as his typology of race relations situations (1967, 68-76). Rex sets out a more specific typology of these situations which included frontier competition, unfree labour, exploitative/harsh labour, inequality in caste systems, other hierarchies of inequality, cultural pluralism, urban stratification/underclass, pariah outsiders and scapegoats. In all these contexts racial belief systems are seen as politically linked to structures of exploitation and oppression. To these rather over-simplified and macro accounts, Banton contributed a counter-balancing focus on micro individual social action through his rational choice theory and a central focus on competition in shaping racial and ethnic relations (Banton 1983, Barot 2006). Here, individuals use physical and cultural differences to create groups and categories through inclusion (ethnic groups) and exclusion (racial groups). Group interaction produces boundaries determined by the intensity and form of competition. Here a focus on individual action for example in the housing market led to a sustained concern to address racial discrimination, as for 'every act of discrimination someone is responsible and should be brought to account' (Banton 1996). Banton pursued this objective in his work on the International Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination from 1986-2001. The political value of this activism is much less open to attack than a rational choice theory approach to understanding ethnicity. It's methodological individualism atomises the social, it neglects the affective sphere of human action, values and structural causes of human behaviour, and it's core notion of individual optimisation cannot be tested or falsified (Malesevic 2004: 119). The contribution of this theory is to treat more seriously the rationality, or internal logic, of ethnic relations, racism or nationalism, rather than dismissing them as irrational, as well as encouraging calculation of the benefits derived by social actors from such actions as race/ethnic hate or discrimination. This assists in elaborating the motives for such behaviours but these accounts need to be placed in wider macro and meso structural, political and cultural contexts.

The 'race relations problematic' which tends to assume that races were, therefore, real things who came into conflict with each other, interacted and, hence, these processes became an object of study has been much criticised. Miles (1993), Goldberg (1990) and Guillaumin (1980) have consistently argued against the use of the race idea in social analysis as it is seen to necessarily suggest that certain social relationships are natural and inevitable. The belief or implicit suggestion that races are real is therefore treated with the utmost suspicion, race is seen to be essentially ideological and the analytical task is to explain why social relationships are interpreted in this way. This position has been inflated into a general criticism of the resulting experience of race relations policies in the UK from the 1960's onwards by Lloyd (1994, p.230) as they are seen as, 'reinforcing the racialisation of social relations in

contemporary Britain'. So, racial divisions are seen to have been actively created by policies which have been concerned to challenge racism and racial discrimination. This is seen as resulting from the persistent use of the notion of race in bureaucratic, technical, academic and political discourse. Race has been given an official reality in race relations legislation, race relations policies, race relations courses and programmes of study, and party political agendas. In other words, the continued use of the race idea is seen as reinforcing dominant common-sense ideas that different races exist and have a biological reality. The rejection of race as an analytical tool in this way raises a number of problems. Firstly, thorough critique of the mythical notions of race and race relations implies that not only are there no real relations between races but that it is meaningless to search for equality or justice between races. Are we to reject these ideas as well? How far should political calculation of the potential effects of using such terms, or indeed research to establish the previous impact of race discourse be considered before use of such terms is dismissed. The race idea can be employed to articulate strategies of liberation and emancipation, and to highlight existing racial divisions in order to facilitate political mobilisation without necessarily increasing those divisions. Indeed, it may be established that such action achieved its objective of a reduction of some aspects of racial divisions, for example in political participation. The value of such strategic essentialism, where race may be invoked in political struggle cannot be theoretically assumed to have a racist political effect. The use of particular concepts and their discursive articulation with others, e.g. biology, sexual difference, or rights, will determine their political and policy implications. So, it cannot be assumed that the concepts of race and nation will only be used to articulate domination and exclusion or that ethnicity will only be used to articulate cultural pluralism. This points to a set of analytical concerns as the object of study. These include, firstly the active construction of the social world by those who articulate racism, secondly the political, economic and ideological processes which have determined the use of race to comprehend patterns of migration and settlement, and thirdly analysis of law, policies and practices which have drawn on ideas of race and which have been concerned to respond to or regulate such real social processes. The work of Little, Banton and Rex shares a common concern to address these issues and to map the British and international context and, together with an increasingly wide range of other scholars, they helped to inaugurate a major field of study (Banks 1983). This field has increasingly moved to privilege a focus on ethnicity and this move is considered in section 5.1 in this paper.

(Extract from Law, Ian. 2009 forthcoming, *Racism and Ethnicity a Global Analysis*, London: Pearson)