

THE PRICE OF RACE
INEQUALITY

THE
BLACK MANIFESTO
2010

THE PRICE OF RACE INEQUALITY

■ Introduction

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

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

To all those who would ask if we are now beyond Race, this Manifesto answers no. Today we can objectively measure structural inequalities, discrimination and disparities in the criminal justice system, employment, education, poverty, health and housing. Disparate outcomes for Black and Minority Ethnic¹ people in the UK have NOT been eliminated and, in fact in some areas, have increased. The government must place race equality at the forefront of its agenda, and create the optimum conditions to eradicate poverty and injustice.

The current economic crisis poses a unique challenge to Britain. As a nation we face an unprecedented and long-term economic recession and a widening of the inequality gap. Ensuring that Britain creates the conditions to eradicate poverty and puts racial equality at the forefront of the social and economic agenda will be critical to successfully meeting these challenges.

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

The recommendations and policy suggestions set out in this Manifesto are especially timely, with over 100 marginal seats where the votes of Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)² citizens can determine the outcome. This "swing vote" leverage thus provides a real opportunity to bring the race equality agenda to the attention of political parties.

This Manifesto sets out the evidence of race inequality in Britain today and provides constructive recommendations for political parties and any new Government to consider. This is in the context that Black and Minority Ethnic communities are 'creditors not debtors' and have contributed economically and socially to British development over hundreds of years. Recent figures indicate that by 2011 the economic

¹ We refer throughout this document to Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) people as those who would define as Asian, African or Caribbean or Black. We believe this should include Chinese, Arab and others who self define as Black or Minority Ethnic

² The Title "The Black Manifesto" is designed to encourage political unity of all people of colour.

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worth of BME communities will be as much as £300 billion. Black and Asian consumers are also estimated to earn up to £156 billion after tax income, with young men being the biggest consumers and spending £32 billion every year³. Thus, achieving economic justice, race equality and social inclusion is not just critical to forging the "new" inter-cultural, inter-racial Britain. It is an economic and moral necessity for the nation as a whole.

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

For example:

1. The REACH Report⁴ published in 2007 identified that the current costs of tackling educational underachievement, unemployment and BME over-representation in school exclusions and in the Criminal Justice System was about £808 million a year (based on a 2006 index). If the current situation were to continue over the next 45 years without any change, the total costs will amount to a staggering £24bn. This is a cost the country can ill afford.
2. It has been estimated that the cost of the over-representation of Black people in psychiatric hospitals could be up to £100 million in London alone⁵.
3. The Business Commission 2007 reports⁶ that the unemployment gap between Black and White communities is not economically sound for the UK, and will become even more so because BME communities will be an increasing percentage of the working age population.
4. The proportion of working age BME people in Britain is estimated to rise from 11.5% to 19% in 2018. Yet, the employment gap has persistently remained at about 15% for the last twenty years. Around two-fifths of people from BME communities live in low-income households, twice the rate for Whites, and more than half of people from Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic backgrounds live in low-income households⁷.

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

Manifesto Objectives

1. To set out the agenda for achieving race equality for the next government - with a particular focus on economic justice.
2. To motivate, empower and inspire politically disengaged and unrepresented Black and Minority Ethnic communities to become active citizens and agents for positive change.
3. To demonstrate the strategic importance and power of the UK BME electorate in the forthcoming elections.
4. To challenge the political parties and new Government to engage in a policy debate with BME communities, and commit to introducing new measures, which may include legislation, designed to reduce poverty, deprivation and inequality, and to increase BME social mobility.

³ Weber Shandwick 2007

⁴ The Reach Report - 2007 Communities and Local Government Department www.communities.gov.uk/publications/communities/reachreport

⁵ Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2006

⁶ 60/76 The Business Commission on Race Equality in the Workplace - October 2007

⁷ *ibid*

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

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

We will encourage comment and suggestions to ensure that the Manifesto becomes a document that continues to track key challenges and the efficacy of government responses. We welcome ideas or documents from organisations, government departments, public and private sector bodies as their contributions will help us create an information base on the progress of Race Equality in the UK and create an online policy repository and discussion forum for new ideas. It will also provide independent monitoring and assessment of the effectiveness of a new Government efforts to tackle race equality in the UK.

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

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

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

Action agenda for the next government

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

*“Vision without action is daydream.
Action without vision is nightmare.”*

Japanese proverb

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

1. ECONOMIC INCLUSION AND

1a. BME COMMUNITY FUNDING

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

2. DEMOCRATIC INCLUSION

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

3. EMPLOYMENT

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

4. POVERTY

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

5. EQUALITY LEGISLATION

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

6. EDUCATION

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

7. HEALTH

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

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8. CRIMINAL JUSTICE

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

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

9. HOUSING

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

10. ENVIRONMENT

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

11. ASYLUM AND IMMIGRATION

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

12. FOREIGN POLICY

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

13. ARTS / OLYMPICS

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

14. FAITH

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

15. A FRAMEWORK FOR RACE

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

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

A Pledge to Rescue Our Youth

by Maya Angelou © 2006

Young women, young men of color,
we add our voices to the voices of your ancestors who speak to you over
ancient seas and across impossible mountain tops.
Come up from the gloom of national neglect, you have already been paid for.
Come out of the shadow of irrational prejudice,
you owe no racial debt to history.
The blood of our bodies and the prayers of our souls have bought you a future
free from shame and bright beyond the telling of it.
We pledge ourselves and our resources to seek for you clean and well-
furnished schools, safe and non-threatening streets, employment which makes
use of your talents, but does not degrade your dignity.
You are the best we have.
You are all we have. You are what we have become.
We pledge you our whole hearts from this day forward.

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1. Economic Inclusion

“Those who own much have much to fear”

Rabindranath Tagore

Facts

- The price tag for bailing out UK banks has hit £850 billion pounds but Britain's spending watchdog - the National Audit Office⁸ says the final cost to taxpayers will not be known for years.
- Poor and low-income families are pushed to unscrupulous money lenders who charge extortionate lending rates - as high as 1,000% interest on loans. The poorest in society spend about four times their disposable income to repay unsecured loans than affluent households.
- The banking sector has used its power to squash attempts to secure greater transparency surrounding banking activity in under-served areas and markets. There must be a clear duty for banks to publish data about their lending and corporate responsibility practices. Banks must be required to release data on their lending patterns in order to verify that they are conducting their business activities in an inclusive and non-discriminatory manner. All data must be capable of analysis by ethnicity and gender.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Introduce a Community Reinvestment Act, with built-in mechanisms for targeted reinvestment in poor communities and guarantee that any future tax on banks such as the suggested "Tobin Tax" should have ring-fenced funds for the poorest communities and investment in community finance infrastructure.
2. Introduce a package of financial reforms to include the UK Community Reinvestment Act; 1% of bank profits and 10% of the dormant accounts invested in poor communities and invest in programmes for civic engagement through the voluntary and community sector. We also call for 0.5% of bank profits and 2% of dormant bank account monies to be ring fenced and invested in BME communities. In addition we call for a legal limit to be set on interest rate charges.
3. Ensure that the financial services regulatory authorities and the Bank of England set out a clear race equality monitoring framework
4. Regulate the unofficial loan market and introduce a responsible credit cap to fix an upper legal limit on the amount of interest that can be charged for a loan.

1a) BME Voluntary and Community Sector

*“You can't cross the sea merely
by standing and staring at the water”*

Rabindranath Tagore

Facts

■ In the December 2009 pre-budget report, the Chancellor announced details of a Central Reclaim Fund, which will hold unclaimed assets from dormant bank accounts. The Fund will be operated by the Co-operative Financial Services (CFS) under the Financial Services Authority. The aim is to return dormant assets to their owners if they come forward, and reinvest the remaining money in a range of charitable causes. Implementation is scheduled for this summer and is estimated to be worth £400m.

■ BME voluntary and community organisations and social enterprises have their roots in tackling discrimination and promoting equality. Public sectors cuts in funding will disproportionately affect BME communities. With continuing inequalities and a growing BME population the need for BME-specific services is set to grow rather than diminish⁹.

■ There are between 15 and 17,000 BME voluntary and community organisations, 28% employ more than 8 staff, 49% employ between 4-8 staff, with the remainder employing three or less staff. On average, 10 volunteers on a weekly basis support each organisation.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Invest 1% of bank profits and 10% of the dormant accounts in poor communities and in programmes for civic engagement through the voluntary and community sector. We also call for 0.5% of bank profits and 2% of dormant bank account monies to be ring fenced and invested in BME communities.
2. Conduct a national consultation and review of the BME Voluntary and Community Sector focusing on a comprehensive review of existing funding streams and processes and how charitable giving in terms of public sector capital assets, private sector corporate social responsibility monies and public donations can be further incentivised.
3. Recognise and publicly support the importance of the BME Community and Voluntary sector in promoting civic participation, social and economic inclusion.
4. Explain how the Social Investment Wholesale Bank (SIWB) can be utilised to support BME social enterprise and how local independent representative panels can help make decisions on where funds should be invested.

2. Democratic Inclusion

*“Vanity asks the question is it popular,
politics asks the question will it win,
conscience asks the question is it right”*

Dr. Martin Luther King

Facts

- Most pundits see the 2010 Elections being decided by less than 30 seats. Recent research edited by the renowned political scholar Prof Shamit Sagar highlighted that BME communities could significantly influence over 100 seats in this election race.
- Women only shortlists worked - of 646 MPs elected in 2005, 128 were women, the highest number ever¹⁰. One in five MPs is now a woman. Labour's 98 women MPs were three times higher than in 2001 and three times less than in 1997. Of the three main parties, Labour, with 28%, has the highest proportion of women MPs, the Conservatives have 9% and Liberal Democrats 16%. Fifteen MPs elected in 2005 were from BME groups. Five of these were elected to Parliament for the first time.
- Work on voter registration has improved over a fifteen year period - from 27% BME non voter registration, to 18% -20% in 2008 but there is still a long way to go and voter turnout has decreased over the years from 83% in 1950 to 61.4 % in 2005¹¹.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Institute automatic voter registration for all citizens and compulsory voting. This would include allowing voters to vote for "None of the Above".
2. Introduce a proportional voting system.
3. Establish BME only shortlists for Parliament and local councillors until the under representation is eliminated - as recommended by the All-Party Speakers Conference in late 2009.
4. Ban all extremist parties in the UK and clarify the position on extremist representation in the political process - for instance, why is the extreme far right allowed to have a political party in the UK while extremists from other persuasions e.g. Al Qaeda, cannot.

3. Employment

“Social Inclusion and justice is dependent on Economic Inclusion and economic justice”

Equanomics UK

Facts

- The employment gap between BME communities and the rest of the population currently stands at approximately 15% - only 1.3% lower than in 1987. It is estimated that the gap will take 25 -30 years to eradicate if the government does not enact new solutions and remedies.
- The DWP October 2009 report¹² of a 'sting' operation where candidates from different ethnicities with similar skills and qualifications applied for the same jobs clearly shows that discrimination in employment practices and requires legislative intervention. Levels of discrimination were more pronounced in the private sector with levels of 35% compared to 4% within the public sector.
- Pakistani and Bangladeshi Muslim and Black African Christian men demonstrated a 13-21% differential in the pay gap compared to a White British Christian male of the same age and with the same qualifications and occupation.
- Differences in unemployment rates are as great for the 'second generation' as for those born outside the UK. Women from most ethno-religious backgrounds have hourly pay between a quarter and a third less than a White British Christian man with the same qualifications, age and occupation.¹³
- London Citizens¹⁴ found that people working in the hotel and catering sector were the lowest paid of all the low paid workers they surveyed; almost one in five were paid below national minimum wage, with the rate doubling for BME and migrant workers.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Enable affirmative action in employment (modelled on the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Act), to overcome low BME pay, inherent discrimination and the persistent and tenacious employment gap.
2. Ensure that the minimum wage continues to increase over time in real terms and abolish age differentials in the minimum wage.
3. Ensure that legislation and practices to prevent discrimination in employment are applied and enforced in the public, voluntary and private sectors and ensure effective action where equality is absent.

¹² Department for Work and Pensions Research Report No 607 October 2009 'A test for racial discrimination in recruitment practice in British cities' Martin Wood, Jon Hales, Susan Purdon, Tanja Sejerssen and Oliver Hayllar

¹³ An Anatomy of Economic Inequality 2010 London School of Economics for the Government Equalities Office

¹⁴ Fairpay Network 2007 'Not Just for the Good Times' www.fairpaynetwork.org

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4. Poverty

*“...the rich must not ignore the poor
because both rich and poor are
tied in a single garment of destiny...”*

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Facts

- Four million children in the UK live in poverty, costing £40 billion a year, or £2,500 for every family in the UK¹⁵. This is broken down as follows: 25% of White children, 56% of African Children, 60 % of Pakistani children and a staggering 72% of Bangladeshi children¹⁶
- Around two-fifths of people from BME communities live in low-income households, twice the rate for White people, and more than half of people from Bangladeshi and Pakistani ethnic backgrounds live in low-income households.¹⁷
- Pakistani and Bangladeshi households have a median equivalent net income of only £238 a week compared to the national median of £393. Nearly half are below the poverty line.¹⁸
- In 2007/08, 13½ million people - 22% of the population - in the UK were living in households below this low-income threshold, an increase of 1½ million compared with the three previous years.¹⁹

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Ensure that its Child Poverty Strategy explicitly recognises the position of Black and Minority Ethnic children and propose targeted interventions that are regularly monitored and the results published.
2. Ensure scrutiny of the effectiveness of public services in tackling the disadvantage rooted in ethnicity, whether in the fields of employment, education, housing, or regeneration - for example by utilising the socio economic duty of the Equality Act 2010.
3. Ensure respect for all vulnerable people in the UK who are destitute, regardless of their citizenship status, in recognition of their human rights.

¹⁵ TUC 2007 www.tuc.org.uk/welfare/tuc-13840-f0.cfm

¹⁶ CRE report 2007 'A lot done, a lot still to do'

¹⁷ *ibid*

¹⁸ *An Anatomy of Economic Inequality 2010* London School of Economics for the Government Equalities Office

¹⁹ [Data from Joseph Rowntree Foundation and The Poverty Site]

5. Equality Legislation

“We want a society that is founded on the idea and the fact of equality of opportunity, so that the primacy of the individual will be clear legally, clear morally and clear practically.”

Michael Manley

Facts

■ The new government will have the power to decide what specific duties are attached to the new Equality Act. There are proposals to replace the specific duties (inc. requirements for equality schemes, monitoring and impact assessments) and allow authorities themselves to set equality objectives - and it is proposed that they may not have to cover all protected groups.

■ This could mean that the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 designed to tackle institutional racism becomes redundant. Community engagement roundtables hosted by Equanomics UK and the Roots Research Centre/1990 Trust highlighted the need to organise to defend the positive provisions of the Race Relations Act, and prevent any regression and gutting of current race equality legislation.

■ There are suggestions that a Bill of Rights should replace the Human Rights Act - placing more responsibilities on individuals. The Human Rights Act must be maintained as State protection for everyone's universal human rights. It should be strengthened to have a free standing right of non discrimination.

■ £145 million that has been allocated to fighting Muslim extremism under the banner of the PREVENT²⁰ programme, not on the basis of identifiable terrorist risk but in direct proportion to the number of Muslims in an area. The anti-terror dividends these measures have yielded are highly questionable.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. To commit to 'No Regression' on the Human Rights Act and Race Relations Amendment Act. The Equality Act, soon to be law, does not mandate or include the specific duties to be attached to the Act. New proposals would replace current specific duties and enable public bodies to set their own equality objectives, possibly for only two grounds of equality.
2. Maintain the provisions of the Human Rights Act and require efficient monitoring and enforcement by the EHRC. It should be strengthened to have a free standing right of non discrimination.
3. Withdraw the PREVENT programme in its current form as it unfairly criminalises and targets Muslim communities.

6. Education

“The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed”

Steve Biko - Speech in Cape Town, 1971

Facts

- The Runnymede Trust²¹ report that Black Caribbean boys remain three times as likely to be permanently excluded from school and twice as likely to experience fixed-term exclusion. These figures vary from area to area, with some areas where Black boys are six times more likely to experience permanent exclusion. There is no nationally collected data on the use of in-school exclusion units or the likelihood or speed of reintegration into mainstream schooling.
- The government spends £6 billion per year on the higher education system, whilst it has spent an estimated £12 billion so far on the war in Afghanistan²², and £850 billion on bailing out the banks²³.
- The proportion of Black students increased from 14.9% in 2003/4 to 17.2% but they are twice less likely to be accepted to Cambridge than White students. The success rate in 2008 for the students who declared their ethnicity was 14 per cent while the overall success rate for applicants was 27 per cent²⁴. There are more Black students studying at London Metropolitan University than in the entire Russell Group (top 20 universities in the country)²⁵.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Introduce new legislation to end the growing economic segregation in the British education system including schools, colleges and the Russell Group of Universities and ensure a proportionate intake of low-income children in the best performing schools.
2. Abolish student fees and loans for the poorest students.
3. Institute the collection of data (locally and nationally) on the use of in-school exclusion units and the efficiency of reintegration into mainstream schooling. This should then be an area for OFSTED inspections to monitor.
4. Enable affirmative action in higher education institutions, where there is under-representation of Black students and staff. This should start with the Russell Group of Universities.

21 <http://www.runnymedetrust.org>

22 *The Independent*, 15 November 2009, *War in Afghanistan: Not in our name*, Jane Merrick and Brian Brady in London and Kim Sengupta in Kabul

23 *Reuters UK*, 4 December, 2009, *Bank bailout cost hits £850 bln* <http://uk.reuters.com/article/idUKTRE5B300J20091204>

24 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/4614150/Black-students-struggling-to-get-into-Cambridge.html>

25 <http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-files/Education/documents/2006/01/03/tableethnicity030106.pdf>

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7. Health

“Some believe there is nothing one man or one woman can do against the enormous army of the world's ills - against misery, against ignorance, or injustice and violence. Yet many of the world's great movements, of thought and action, have flowed from the work of a single person.”

R.F. Kennedy

Facts

■ There are staggering differentials by ethnicity in health outcomes, these are detailed in the AFIYA Trust²⁶ Manifesto. This is particularly worrying because of the life threatening nature in disparities of Coronary Heart Disease, Cancers and Diabetes:

Prevalence of suffering a stroke among African Caribbean and South Asian men is 70% higher than the average²⁷; Asian women have a higher risk of oral cancer. Black men and women have a higher risk of cancers of the stomach and liver, and Black men have a higher risk of prostate cancer and are more likely to die younger from this (NCIN 2009); People from BME communities are up to six times more likely to develop diabetes (APG and Diabetes UK 2006).

■ NHS Trusts are moving to a system of 'World Class Commissioning' for all services, however the 11 competencies and sub-competencies do not make explicit reference to race equality.

■ Black Mental Health UK²⁸ has also detailed disparities in mental health prevention and care. It has been estimated that the cost of the over-representation of BME people in psychiatric hospitals could be up to £100 million in London alone (Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2006).

■ 72% of male and 70% of female sentenced prisoners suffer from two or more mental health disorders, bearing in mind that of all those sentenced to custody in 2006, one in five were from a BME group and these rates are on the increase²⁹.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Call an independent inquiry with guidance from the EHRC and the Care Quality Commission into the racial disparities in health services and outcomes and the failures of the Delivering Race Equality programme for Mental Health. It should then produce an action plan with targets to eliminate inequalities and to bring health experiences of minority communities on a par with the general population.
2. Ensure that World Class Commissioning competencies build in race equality explicitly.
3. Set targets and deliver solutions through its partnership between the Ministry of Justice and Department of Health regarding how they will improve delivering race equality programmes to improve the mental well being of BME offenders in criminal institutions.

²⁶ www.afiyatrust.org.uk

²⁷ Race equality in health: the key to world class commissioning. Race for Health http://www.raceforhealth.org/pdf/Race_equality_in_health.pdf [Accessed 13th January 2010]

²⁸ <http://www.blackmentalhealth.org.uk>

²⁹ *Ibid*; quoted from 'Prison Reform Trust Bromley Briefings Prison factfile', June 2008).

8. Criminal Justice

“Our greatest glory is not in never falling but in rising every time we fall”

Confucius

Facts

- Recovered funds from criminal activities were £148 million for 08/09 - previously split between frontline services, such as the police, and government departments involved with the criminal justice system (CJS). Nationally the police service and criminal justice agencies do not reflect the diversity of the communities they serve. BME people represent 4.6% of police workforce, the Parole Board (2.4%), the Judiciary (3.5%) and Magistrates (6.9%)³⁰.
- BME communities are seven times more likely to be subjected to stop and search. Of the searches carried out in 2007/08, 13% were of Black people, 3% of people of Mixed ethnicity, 8% of Asian people and 1% of people of Chinese or other ethnic origin. This is an increase of 8% on 2006/07, and is the highest figure since 1998/9.
- BME communities were 3.8 times more likely to be arrested and are significantly less likely to be cautioned 16% compared to 24% of White citizens.
- 27% of the Prison population is BME. They receive longer sentences than their White counterparts when tried and convicted at a Crown Court. Whilst 1.3 per 1000 of White British citizens are in jail, a staggering 6.8 per 1000 African Caribbean citizens are imprisoned.
- The DNA database - ruled unlawful by the European Court of Human Rights. - holds information of those who have been arrested but never actually charged or found guilty of a crime. Black young men (including mixed race) could be as much as 50% of this database³¹. These measures have never been sanctioned by any Act of Parliament and there is no independent oversight of the database or an independent appeals procedure for unconvicted people who want their DNA removed.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Abolish Section 44 stops (Terrorism Act 2000) and to establish clear race targets to reduce the numbers of PACE and Section 60 (Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994) Stops and Searches until there is no racial disparity in the numbers being stopped.
2. Take all non-convicted people off the DNA and respect the decision from the European Court of Human Rights, that the retention of innocent people's DNA is illegal.
3. Invest monies recovered from criminal activity in community sector anti-crime projects working in the poorest neighbourhoods.
4. Implement affirmative action legislation that would allow the setting of national recruitment quotas in an effort to expedite and increase the number of Black recruits entering the police service and other areas of the CJS where the workforce is not reflective of the general population.

³⁰ All figures from Ministry of Justice: Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System - 2007/8

³¹ factCheck: Black men on the DNA database

By Channel 4 News Updated on 24 November 2009

9. Housing

*“A different world cannot be built
by indifferent people”*

Peter Marshall

Facts

- Black African and Bangladeshi people are more overcrowded in social sector housing than in other tenures. This is a problem in London particularly in areas such as Tower Hamlets, Newham and Ealing, where a greater proportion of Black African and Bangladeshi people are concentrated and where there is the worst overcrowding in England.³²
- Currently, people from BME backgrounds are around three times more likely to become homeless than their White counterparts. Amongst the BME populations, those of Black African and Black Caribbean origins are twice as likely to be accepted as homeless as those of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins.
- Debates surrounding problems with housing have been exploited in the past by the far right to ignite tensions between BME communities and national majority communities (such as the British National Party's 'Africans for Essex' claim, which was proved to be false).³³
- BME Housing Associations, once a prime example of social enterprise in BME communities have now nearly been wiped out by takeovers or excessive regulation. This undermines the best hope BME communities had for independent fund creation.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Ensure that mortgage lending by publicly owned financial institutions is inclusive, sensitive and race-impact tested to meet the needs of BME customers. Lending practices should be monitored by ethnicity.
2. Support the re-establishment of BME Housing Associations and with them the prospect of creating independent funding in the BME enterprise sector.
3. Investigate the impact of economic downturn on BME communities and their access to the housing market.
4. Mandate that local authorities, the Housing Corporation and their partner agencies develop comprehensive strategies to better prevent and respond to homelessness for BME people³⁴.

³² 'Housing needs and aspirations of ethnic minority communities' (Oct 2008), Housing Corporation

³³ Commission for Racial Equality (2007) *A Lot Done, A Lot Still To Do* Belmont Press

³⁴ *ibid*

10. Environment

*“They say my work is just a drop in the ocean.
I say the ocean is made up of drops”*

Mother Theresa

Facts

- 'The Copenhagen Climate Summit is an historic failure. Its main outcome - the three-page Copenhagen Accord - is nowhere near the legally binding agreement that millions of us expected of our world leaders. Currently we are heading into the danger zone of a 3 °C rise in global temperatures, the consequences of which would be devastating for humanity and the world we live in.' (cited from Greenpeace website)
- The UK has legal and non legal commitments under the Aarhus Convention and Agenda 21³⁵ to ensure the fair treatment and meaningful involvement of all people regardless, of race to implement and enforce the right to a clean and healthy environment for all.
- A predicted 1.2 million people by 2020 could be in green jobs if proper investment is created. It is important that BME communities who are presently under-represented in the environment sector are provided skills and job opportunities in this green transition.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Commit to improving evidence based environmental policy interventions that are inclusive and specific to BME people in relation to cause, effect and remedies and ensure such policy includes a review of impacts on BME communities.
2. Work with BME organisations to take forward the 'agreements' of the Copenhagen Accord on Climate Change noting that it is not a legally binding document and very little work has been undertaken to assess the impact on BME people in the UK and around the world.
3. Improve and develop green job and low carbon community opportunities for BME communities.

11. Asylum and Immigration

“No individual or nation can be great if it does not have a concern for the least of these”

Martin Luther King

Facts

- In December 2009 medical researchers from the Royal College of Pediatrics and Child Health revealed that the detention of hundreds of children in immigration camps across Britain is harmful and ministers were urged to change the policy.³⁶
- Britain detains approximately 1000 children per year in its Immigration Removal Centres. Children seeking asylum in the UK are the most vulnerable in society who require special and humane treatment.³⁷
- The Home Office states that accession nationals, between May and September 2004 alone contributed approximately £120 million to UK GDP and paid approximately £20 million in tax and national insurance.³⁸
- The UK is host to only 3% of the world's refugee population. In a 2004 in a YouGov poll, 51% of White Britons and 35% of non-White Britons had either a fairly low or very low opinion of people seeking asylum in Britain.³⁹

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Allow asylum seekers to work while they are waiting for a decision and provide an amnesty for all asylum seekers who have been waiting more than three years for a decision.
2. Respond with an effective action plan to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) concerns about increasing racial prejudice against ethnic minorities, asylum seekers and immigrants reflected in the UK press and media and the reported lack of effectiveness of the Press Complaints Commission to deal with this issue.
3. Support the Citizens for Sanctuary Pledge⁴⁰ which is directed at securing justice for people fleeing persecution and rebuilding public support for sanctuary, as a basis for initiating and sustaining a more positive public discourse around asylum and refugee issues.

³⁶ Robert Verkaik, *The Independent*, Thursday, 10 December 2009

³⁷ Robert Verkaik, *The Independent*, Thursday, 10 December 2009

³⁸ http://www.ind.homeoffice.gov.uk/ind/en/home/news/press_releases/new_figures_show_accession.html

³⁹ YouGov, 2004.

⁴⁰ www.citizensforsanctuary.org.uk

12. Foreign Policy

*“Wars of nations are fought to change maps.
But wars of poverty are fought to map change”*

Muhammad Ali

Facts

- Sir Lawrence Freedman⁴¹ says the total cost of the Iraq war is now valued at £9bn. It is estimated the total cost of Iraq and Afghanistan has been £17bn.
- 271 British soldiers have been killed in Afghanistan. 179 have been killed in Iraq.
- Open Democracy⁴², found a clear majority of respondents want parliament to take a central role in foreign policy decisions, with 85% saying that "Parliament as a whole" should decide Britain's main foreign-policy objectives in pursuing British interests abroad, compared with just 13% for "the Prime Minister, ministers and their advisers".
- 89% said that Britain should seek agreement through the United Nations for action to deal with states that endangered British and western interests and should seek to comply with international law. Only 8% favoured the use of armed force by Britain acting alone or with allies.
- The ongoing occupation of the Palestinian territories now enters its fifth decade, 1.5 million people in Gaza are living in poverty.
- British public diplomacy serviced by organisations such as the British Council and BBC World Service, as well as its 260 embassies, high commissions and consulates in over 140 countries, need to reflect the diversity of British society.

Required actions

1. Ensure that Britain never again makes the costly mistake of entering an unnecessary war by revising the conditions for making Foreign Policy decisions to include more stringent criteria, including giving Parliament the power to recall itself in the case of emergency.
2. Make clear its policy and intended actions on a two state solution for Israel and Palestine, challenge the current siege in Gaza and increase its aid efforts to ameliorate the condition of poverty.
3. Abolish the ministerial veto, which enables government to block the release of information that is approved by the information commissioner.
4. Uphold international law regardless of the political standing of the perpetrators of the crimes, ensure that the Government pursues its policies vigorously and leads the international community in prosecuting crimes under international law.

⁴¹ CHILCOT INQUIRY MEMBER

⁴² Weir, S. and Burrell, S., *In whose name? Democracy and British foreign policy*, 2006, available at http://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization-institutions_government/british_foreign_policy_3202.jsp

13. Arts and Olympics

*“When the playing field is even,
the rules are public, the goals are clear,
and the referees are fair, we can excel”*

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson snr.

Facts

- The 2012 Olympics were won by 1) promising a regeneration legacy for the communities around the Olympic site - where some of the poorest BME - particularly Bangladeshi communities live and 2) this would be a games celebrating young people and diversity in Britain and equality and diversity would be built into all aspects - from procurement to volunteers.
- Of the thirteen Cultural Olympiad programmers in the regions not one of them is from a BME background. Similarly, the London 2012 culture team and its senior advisors are totally unrepresentative.
- Overall of 115,250 senior leaders in the creative and cultural sector, only 310 are females, from a Black or Black British background (1%).

Required actions

We call upon the government to:

1. Ensure that the promises for the 2012 Olympics on: regeneration in the East End of London; equality and diversity as central tenets and a celebration of Britain's diversity and youth - are fulfilled. We call for an interim report on these matters which details how these elements have been addressed. In particular we want the report to cover:
 - How equality has been built into every service / infrastructure concerned with building the Olympics and in particular into procurement - detailing how many businesses involved are BME businesses.
 - Employment of BME staff at every level and in every organisation working on the Olympics - to include a breakdown by gender and disability.
 - How the Cultural Olympiad will reflect equality and diversity at both a leadership and creative level.
 - How the volunteer programme and connection with cities outside of London is progressing.
2. Invest in a clear long-term strategy to enable the skills and opportunities for BME leaders in cultural institutions - in accordance with national policies around equality.
3. Fund talented and under-privileged BME artists at a grassroots level, otherwise ignored, in community projects to run alongside the mainstream success of Black music.

14. Faith

*“First man: sometimes I'd like to ask God why he allows poverty, famine and injustice to continue when he could do something about it'.
Second man: what's stopping you ?
First man: I'm afraid he might ask me the same question ”*

Anon

Facts

■ The religious make-up of the UK is rich, diverse and complex with over 170 distinct religions recorded by the 2001 Census.⁴³ Faith within BME communities often plays a fundamental role in strengthening cohesion, unity and solidarity as well as providing an invaluable contribution to the country on a spiritual, social, political and economic level.

■ In 2001, Black African /Caribbean people made up approximately 2% of the population, with over 2/3 of the church going population in London; 7% throughout the UK.⁴⁴ Such figures clearly indicate that BME-led church membership is rising quickly nationally.

■ The post 9/11 and 7/7 policy reactions have served to change the way in which all Muslims and BME people in general are perceived. There has been a shift from celebrating diversity to suppressing difference and deriding multi-culturalism which has encouraged racism to flourish. This is dramatically depicted in the film 'My Name is Khan'.

Required actions

We call upon the Government to:

1. Build on the reach of faith organisations and resource them to build social programmes which tackle poverty and unemployment.
2. Act to halt the increased demonisation of Muslims in sections of the media with a range of measures to include a strengthening of the Press Complaints Commission and an EHRC inquiry.
3. Create two faith advisers to the government who are linked to the EHRC and who are backed by an interfaith reference group.
4. Institute a review of the changing face of race equality post 9/11 and 7/7. The suggested title is the Khan review.

⁴³ See Crabtree, V (2007) *Religion in the United Kingdom, Diversity, Trends and Decline*
http://www.vexen.co.uk/UK/religion.html#BI_024

⁴⁴ See <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/commentaries/ethnicity.asp> and <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4704925.stm> 2005,
<http://www.intercessuk.org/iuk2/>

15. A Framework for Race

“Vision is not enough; it must be combined with venture. It is not enough to stare up the steps. We must step up the stairs”

Vaclav Havel

The post 9/11 and 7/7 policy reactions have served to change the way in which all Muslims, BME people and race in general are perceived. There has been a shift from celebrating diversity, rigorous attention to race equality via the Lawrence Inquiry, legislation via the 1998 Human Rights Act and 2000 Race Relations Amendment Act to suppressing difference and deriding multi-culturalism which has encouraged racism to flourish. A simultaneous and similar reaction to the disturbances in northern towns in 2001 has also served to shift the burden of inequality to BME communities themselves. And we are witnessing a widespread down playing of race, racism and institutional racism.

The shifting ground has caused a great deal of discussion and debate - and this in itself can be constructive as it causes us to rethink what is required to deliver equality and a reasonably harmonious society. With that in mind, last year Equanomics-UK and the Roots Research Centre hosted roundtable discussions on Institutional Racism and the Equality Act in 9 cities, engaging community activists and formulating policy recommendations to halt this regressive trend.

This manifesto proposes a statutory race committee of the EHRC (a statutory disability committee was set up at the opening of the EHRC in 2007) to:

- a) Ensure a stronger focus on race equality and to build it into the business plan of government, setting clear cross-departmental objectives and actions for Race utilising the action points from this Manifesto.
- b) Monitor and audit progress on the objectives and actions.
- c) Develop sustainable and reciprocal relationships with Black communities across the UK for the purpose of long-term engagement in advising the work of the Race Committee and of the EHRC as a whole.
- d) Produce an annual 'State of Race Equality Report' further to the 'Strategic Plan' of the EHRC. This should benchmark race equality positions in 2010 in every area of social and economic policy and be updated every year.
- e) Monitor racism in the media.
- f) Commission research and analysis for future planning.

The Race Committee should have an equitable gender balance, representation from BME disabled, BME gay and lesbian groups, BME elderly and youth groups and faith groups. It must have a minimum of 75% people from BME communities, chosen for key skills and competencies based on a track record.

THE PRICE OF RACE INEQUALITY

Contributors and supporters

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

This manifesto was co-ordinated by



Equanomics UK
www.equanomics.org.uk



Roots Research
Centre/The 1990 Trust



JUST West Yorkshire



Operation Black
Vote
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The Afiya Trust -
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Campton Bell
www.camptonbell.com



Better Banking Campaign
www.betterbanking.org.uk



NICEM -
www.nicem.org.uk



Urban Forum -
www.urbanforum.org.uk



JCORE -
www.jcore.org.uk



Supporting the
BME Community
and Voluntary Sector

Black Development Agency
www.blackdeva.org.uk

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NUS Black Students Campaign -
www.nus.org.uk/en/Campaigns/BlackStudents



Black Mental Health UK -
www.blackmentalhealth.org.uk



Cambridge Black Students Campaign



Capacity Global



Sikhs In England -
www.sikhs.org.uk



www.metbpa.com



National Black Police Association
<http://www.nationalbpa.com/>



Friends of Al Aqsa - www.aqsa.org.uk



Steve Biko Housing Association -
www.stevebikoha.org

SOCIETY OF BLACK LAWYERS

BLACK CHRISTIAN LEADERS FORUM

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Supporters

OXFAM



Brookes and Warner
Partnership



The Broadway



Rare Company



Apna News -
www.apnaonline.net



Migrant Workers North West -
www.migrantworkersnorthwest.org



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