The Anti-Racism 'Industry': A Case study of the perspectives of those working in the 'race' sector in Scotland

Author: Fiona Campbell
Degree: PhD

Department of Applied Social Sciences
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Strathclyde University

November 2014

Declaration of Authenticity

'This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree.'

'The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.50. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.'

Signed:

Date:

The Anti-Racism 'Industry': A Case study of the perspectives of those working in the 'race' sector in Scotland

Since the London bombings in July 2007 there has been political and press criticism of multiculturalism as both a concept and a 'lived reality' in the UK. Politicians and government reports have argued that multiculturalism has led ethnic minorities to live 'parallel lives' and encouraged a failure of integration into British life (Cantle, 2001). The policy and conceptual shift from multiculturalism towards integration and community cohesion has had direct impacts for anti-racism campaigns and groups, especially the small, grassroots organisations, who rely heavily on funding from the 'top'.

Multi-strand equality work has been promoted since the creation of the Single Equality Bill 2010 and the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC). This has created uncertainty among those working for smaller voluntary sector organisations, as they fear that the merging of equalities signals a 'dilution' of 'race' equality work. This thesis explores the consequences of the generic/mainstreaming equality approach for small grassroots BME campaigns in Scotland, and argues that financial dependence on funding disempowers these organisations. Furthermore, the dependence on funding means that those in decision-making positions construct and define the needs of the BME sector, and direct anti-racism work without proper consultation with those working at the grassroots level who have 'real life' frontline experience. This is particularly relevant in Scotland as equality legislation is a reserved matter.

This thesis draws on interview data gathered from a range of equality workers, mostly from small grassroots organisations, and analyses whether the values of those working directly with the BME community correlate with the values set out in government discourse. This is particularly relevant as these organisations rely on funding from the government to survive.

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

Background and Context

Anti-racism is more than the pursuit of equality. Since the MacPherson report, it is 'widely accepted that people should be treated according to their needs' (Cathcart, 1999, p. 416). These needs are varied and are not only specific to different ethnic groups; they are also intertwined with the different identities of the individual (sexuality, gender, class, age and disability). Historically 'race', gender and disability have developed their own equality framework, although other characteristics were considered, ultimately the focus was on a single equality issue for example 'race'. However, multiple identities and various needs have been at the centre of contemporary public and policy debates and there has been a move towards a more generic equality framework, which incorporates all equality strands. This generic approach seems problematic as it is 'widely accepted' that people should be treated according to their needs, and raises the question of whether the values that underpin 'race' equality have changed as the focus has moved away from tackling inequality on a single strand level.

The Single Equality Act (2010) and the creation of the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in 2009, which merged existing equality commissions on 'race', gender and disability, and introduced 6 new protected characteristics including age, religion and belief, pregnancy and maternity, marriage and civil partnership, sexual orientation and gender reassignment, signified the changing framework of equalities work (Great Britain, Equality Act, 2010). The government justification for this move was centred on the argument that it would avoid a 'hierarchy of oppression', where one characteristic is ranked higher than the others and given more attention. Instead, it is argued, that all equality strands should be seen both publically and legally equal (Parekh, 2002). However, grouping all equality strands together does not guarantee that a hierarchy would be avoided and it has the potential to de-focus expertise on all equality strands. Furthermore, it raises

questions over the ability of a generic framework to treat different groups and individuals according to their needs as, although different forms of discrimination have similarities, there are marked differences in the way discrimination is experienced and how people organise to resist it. This has the potential for conflict and a key question that should be addressed is who is responsible for defining the needs of BME people? Furthermore, do these definitions reflect the values expressed by grassroots organisations?

Community groups and voluntary organisations have played an integral role in the development of greater equality, and have established and maintained a focus on challenging racism and discrimination. These groups have been influential actors in determining the needs of ethnic minority groups. In 1985 the head of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), Peter Newsam, 'acknowledged the valuable contribution of organisations and individuals' and called for a 'concerted effort to reduce the level of racial discrimination', concluding 'the task of… providing equal opportunities for all citizens is certainly not beyond reach. What remains in question is the strength of society's commitment to bring it about' (Sanders, 1998, p. 36). Newsam's claims highlight two central concerns in this thesis, the idea of a commitment to bring about equality and the contribution of individuals and organisations.

An increased professionalization of 'race' equality work in the 1980s raised a debate about the type of organisations that decide the needs of ethnic minorities (Kundnani, 2007a; Sivanandan, 1982). Organisations are generally split between large organisations (governments, think tanks, quangos such as the EHRC) and smaller organisations (non-profit, voluntary organisations, charities) working directly with BME people. 'Race' equality campaigns have been increasingly directed by financial concerns as 'some voluntary organisations are undoubtedly facing a choice between closure and survival with sub-optimal funding or delivery arrangements that can threaten independence of voice, action or purpose' (The Baring Foundation, 2012, p. 6). Furthermore, voluntary organisations have

increasingly become more involved in public service delivery, in 2010 almost a third of charities claimed to be delivering services (The Baring Foundation, 2012, p. 6). This raises questions about whether the concentration on service delivery affects campaigning and lobbying activities. In the absence of campaigning and lobbying groups, who will define the needs of the BME population and who will decide how best to meet the needs of BME people? Throughout this thesis, I will argue that the problems of defining needs, and the tensions between the government and the rest of the equality 'industry', have weakened the fundamental purpose of 'race' equality, which is to challenge racism, promote equal opportunities and ensure people are treated according to their needs. Furthermore, I will argue that a generic approach has undermined the focus and expertise needed to tackle racism.

Terms of Reference: Equality, 'Race', Racism, Anti-Racism and the 'Industry'

'Race'

In their edited collection, *Racism,* Bulmer and Solomos note that 'scholars and researchers show little sign of agreeing about what we mean when we use notions such as *race, racism, ethnicity* and related social categories' (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999, p. 7). However, they claim a common theme amongst scholars is that 'the very notion of *race* has no fixed and unchanging meaning' (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999, p. 7). They use a working definition claiming racism is ideological and is based on the belief that certain 'races' are biologically inferior and these beliefs rationalise inequality (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999, p. 4). Similarly, Miles outlines the complexities of defining the concept of 'race' and racism as neither concept is static and both are contested. Miles exemplifies this by noting that post World War Two (WW2) there was 'a critical appraisal of the claim that 'race' was a biological fact' (Miles, 1999, p. 345). This was largely due a 'growing body of scientific evidence which undermined the idea of 'race' as natural, discrete and fixed subdivisions of the human species, each with its distinct and variable cultural characteristics and capacity for

'civilisation'' (Miles, 1999, pp. 344-345). The idea of 'race' as natural was also undermined post WW2 as the argument that certain 'races' were inferior had been promoted by Nazi Germany. Thus, the term 'race' is contested and is often written in quotation marks to distance it from biological connotations. This thesis will also use quotation marks when referring to 'race' to acknowledge the problematic nature of the term. Quotations will not be used when citing other authors or reproducing interview responses in order to avoid assumptions and misrepresenting other people's meaning.

Racism

Miles defines racism as 'any argument which suggests that the human species is composed of discrete groups [races] in order to legitimate inequality between those groups of people' (Miles, 1989, p. 49). He claims racism 'is not an act of exclusion; rather, it is an ideology of exclusion' (Kosygina, 2010, p. 52). Miles criticises writers who interpret 'race' in 'a wider range of phenomena' claiming this leads to a process of 'conceptual inflation' (Miles, 1999, p. 344). This is problematic as it incorporates other inequalities, such as class and gender, and it is difficult to distinguish between the effects of these.

In 1987, Gilroy advocated the use of 'race' as an analytical concept and a means to resist racism[1]. Gilroy is critical of what he describes as 'the coat of paint theory of racism', which he claims ignores the complexities and interrelations of racism. Unlike Miles, Gilroy claims anti-racism cannot be isolated from capital and labour and gender inequality. Instead, Gilroy locates 'race' at the 'core of politics' claiming a productive approach would focus on the 'mainstream and seeing 'race' and racism not as fringe questions but as a volatile presence at the very centre of British politics' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 244). This claim will be central to this thesis, as the focus on 'race' equality will be analysed within the generic framework.

---

[1] Although he revised his position in his paper *Race Ends Here*, he did note that 'to renounce race for analytical purposes is not to judge all appeals to it in the profane world of political cultures as formally equivalent. I am not Robert Miles' (Gilroy, 1998, p. 842).

Anti-Racism

Gilroy describes anti-racism as a 'limited project defined simply, even simplistically, by the desire to do away with racism' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 243). Gilroy claims this moves 'the ideological circuit' and makes black people 'visible in two contemporary roles - the problem and the victim' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 249). Bonnett also notes that 'anti-racism cannot be adequately understood as the inverse of racism' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 2). Gilroy is critical of the assumption that 'with the right ideological tools and political elbow grease, racism can be dealt with once and for all leaving the basic structures and relations of the British economy and society essentially unchanged' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 244). This underpins contemporary anti-racism and is problematic as 'this type of theory is intrinsic to equal opportunities initiatives' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 244). Furthermore, Gilroy argues the 'coat of paint' approach is doubly mistaken because it suggests that fundamental issues of social justice, democracy and political and economic power are not raised by the struggle against racial subordination' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 244). Gilroy notes that equal opportunities:

> "Afford an important interface between struggles around race and gender and they can be a locus of possible alliances. However, in the context of local authorities these initiatives can host a competition between different political forces over which of them takes immediate priority. We should therefore be wary of collapsing anti-racism let alone black emancipation into equal opportunities" (Gilroy, 1999, p. 248).

Despite his criticisms of the term 'race', Miles notes that:

> "Perhaps the strongest case made in favour of the retention of the notion of 'race' as an analytical concept arises from the fact that it has been used by the victims of racism to fashion a strategy and practice of resistance to their subordination" (Miles, 1993, p. 3).

This is central to the thesis and by analysing the responses of those who work within the 'race industry', I will argue that voluntary organisations may organise under the title of 'race' and 'anti-racism' but they are also aware of the complex relationship between racial discrimination and other forms of discrimination. The recognition of 'race', racism and anti-racism as meaningful concepts is crucial to

maintain the issue as a 'core' concern, which in turn is fundamental to maintaining the improvements already made in terms of equality and to ensure there is room for further development of this work.

Ethnicity and Black and Minority Ethnic (BME)

The Policy Studies Institute undertook a large-scale survey charting the experiences of ethnic minorities in Britain. The study explored culture and identity and noted that although the term 'black' has been used as a unifying concept, whereby minority groups unite to challenge racism, the grouping of minorities under one umbrella term is problematic as it ignores the diverse nature of 'black' people and the range of identities within this category. The report claims that 'ethnic assertiveness', whereby minority groups try to challenge unfair treatment, is emerging and notes that, similar to the changing nature of the term 'race', outlined above, 'these identities are of different sorts, and are not stable' (Berthound, et al., 1998, p. 7). The study advocated an interactive 'concept of ethnicity', which includes features such as religion, whereby identity is 'shaped partly by its original heritage and partly by racism and the political and economic relations between groups in Britain' (Berthound, et al., 1998, p. 9).

Chakraborti (2008) highlights a central consideration for those researching 'race':

> "How we can articulate the specific experiences of individuals who belong to wider minority groups without adopting a wholly relativistic position that loses the political power contained within umbrella terms such as 'black' or 'minority ethnic'; terms which highlight shared experiences of oppression that can generate anti-discriminatory policies and practices. Researching hidden communities makes visible the dominant constructions of knowledge that operate within academic disciplines and wider social and political discourses, and so as researchers we need to be aware that our work may maintain and reproduce certain dominant power relations even whilst it is producing oppositional knowledge (Chakraborti, et al., 2008, p. 35).

The term BME has been criticised for ignoring the diversity of identities and is often associated solely based on black and white racism (Liinpaa, n.d.). In this sense, it is

argued, that the term BME treats minorities as a homogenous group and leads to a simplistic analysis of racism whereby 'racial inequality and racism are sole concerns of small colour-coded groups or foreign ethnic minorities (so-called BME)' (Hampton, 2010). The Scottish Government have stated that 'the term Black and Minority Ethnic Groups (BME) should not be used, as it is a very general term, offensive to some people and inaccurate (because some categories under the White section are also small in number)' (Scottish Government, 2012, p. 8). However, the British Sociological Association (BSA) have claimed that:

> "Minority ethnic is preferred to ethnic minority because it stresses that everyone belongs to an ethnic group. Minority ethnic places the emphasis on the minority status rather than the ethnicity, whereas ethnic minority places the emphasis on the minority status of the group" (BSA, 2014, p. 4).

The potential to speak of BME communities as a homogenous group was a particular concern as it contradicts the key argument of the thesis; that the merging of equalities is flawed as it assumes that all equality strands have the same needs. However, the thesis is focused on exploring the BME sector not one specific group within the sector. The emphasis on ethnicity is specifically important for this study as it allows a broader range of groups to be included in the analysis. In particular, as BME emphasises ethnicity, the organisations that deal with religious discrimination can be included alongside organisations who deal with racial discrimination. Given that the research location is Scotland, it is necessary to include sectarianism in the analysis, which is a particular issue in this setting.

Hampton (2010) was critical of the government's inconsistent approach to analysing inequality claiming that 'at times, reference is made to a collective interest group (so-called BME), and at others, to 'Asians', 'Chinese' or 'Muslims', this, she claims, makes 'the benchmark for measuring progress... unclear' (Hampton, 2010, p. 21). In terms of undertaking a meaningful analysis of the effects of racism on minority groups, it is important to disaggregate information to present a clear overview. However, this project does not deal with a specific 'race' or ethnic group. The participants interviewed represented a diverse range of groups. The thesis engages

with a range of organisations in order to gain an insight into the structural and financial barriers faced by those working in the anti-racism 'industry'. The term BME is widely used in public bodies, policy documents and within the voluntary sector itself (Liinpaa, n.d.). The term BME is 'the most common reference used within the equalities field' (Roots Research Centre, 2010). This is reinforced by the BSA who claim BME is a term 'commonly used in public policy and in voluntary services' (BSA, 2014, p. 4). The participants in this research tended to use the term BME. Although some groups have rejected the term, they engage with it on the basis that they work within a network of funders and public bodies who use the term BME. Therefore, in order to maintain consistency with both the voluntary sector as a whole, and the language used by the respondents in this research project, the term BME will be used.

The 'Industry'

The 'race' relations 'industry' in the UK and Scotland is multi-layered, comprising of small non-profit voluntary organisations, public sector equality units and government departments and quangos. This structure developed out of struggles from the grassroots level as minorities organised and protested against discrimination (Sivanandan, 1982). These campaigns led to increased awareness of inequality and put pressure on the government to take an active role to combat discrimination. Although a positive step, the increased involvement of government has created tensions between those working at the grassroots level and the government as there was disagreement over the values that should underpin equality work (Shukra, 1998; Sivanandan, 1982; Werbner, 1991). Ballard (1992) explores the concept of a 'race relations industry', which he says has been under construction since the early 1960s:

> "There can be little doubt that an inter-connected network of state-supported institutions concerned with racial and ethnic issues has indeed come into existence over the years; and it would be strange indeed if those involved had not generated some kind of shared conceptual and analytical perspective" (Ballard, 1992, p. 481).

He cites various statutory organisations such as the Race Relations Board (RRB), the National Council for Commonwealth Immigrants (NCCI), and the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and claims that these organisations have developed a 'conventional wisdom' that researchers and policy makers accept, but, for Ballard, this shared analytical perspective is inadequate. Ballard claims such organisation should lead the debate but questions the 'conventional wisdom':

> "How adequate, most especially in conceptual terms, are the arguments and analyses which underpin current conventional wisdom? How comprehensively do they illuminate the issues at stake, and the ways in which they might best be confronted?" (Ballard, 1992, p. 3).

Ballard claims that traditional discourses around racial discrimination have over simplified 'the black experience', ignored developments that take place in local communities and failed to recognise the human ability to resist discrimination. Although Ballard acknowledges that the 'race relations industry' is not homogenous, in that they do not all think the same, he argues that the dominant ideas have penetrated through the different levels of anti-racist organisations. This structure, which developed as a result of the move towards professionalising anti-racist work in the 1960s (Kundnani, 2007a; Ballard, 1992; Sivanandan, 1982; Gilroy, 1999), whereby 'conventional-wisdom' is developed by larger statutory organisations and filtered down to smaller community based organisations, will be critiqued throughout this thesis. The literature review will examine the move towards professionalization of equality work and outline the resulting tensions in more detail.

Values

This thesis will critically analyse the impact that a merged equality agenda has had on the quality of anti-racism work. In order to evaluate whether the values that underpin 'race' equality work are appropriate it is necessary to first discuss what is meant by values, and to declare how my own values have guided the project. As discussed above, the 'race' equality sector is not a homogenous group. The

organisations who represent BME people cover a range of issues and identities. It is essential to avoid projecting criteria onto BME groups in order to allow people to express the range of issues that need to be tackled, and to understand the different solutions presented by those working in the field. Therefore, a flexible approach is needed. However, there are key values that I think should underpin 'race' equality work. These include a focus on meeting the needs of the BME community, consideration of the various needs within the sector and the ability and willingness to adapt to meet the specific needs of different groups.

The research participants consulted in this project worked with a variety of groups and many dealt with very specific issues. However, all participants noted the importance of using an anti-racist analysis to challenge prejudice. The participants recognised the need to avoid a limited and simplistic analysis of anti-racism. An anti-racist analysis should go beyond the simplistic colour analysis and should try to understand and challenge wider prejudices, such as religious intolerance. Thus, a key value is that anti-racism should challenge all forms of prejudice against minority groups.

The central argument throughout this thesis is that by merging equality strands the focus on anti-racism has been lost, the diversity within the 'race' sector has been ignored and the expertise built up within the 'race' sector has been abandoned in favour of a one size fits all model. In this sense, the new agenda has taken a homogeneous approach to tackling inequality. This merged equalities model has developed because of the structures of the 'industry', the top down perspective means that larger organisations, such as the EHRC, take the lead in directing the sector as a whole. As the grassroots groups have experience working with BME communities they are best placed to understand the needs of people on the ground floor. Therefore, a key value that should underpin 'race' equality work is that those working at a grassroots level should have a key role in directing the work of the sector. The sector should be bottom up in perspective.

Why Scotland?

An important component of this thesis is the geographical setting. Scotland has a unique political and social position within the UK. Politically Scotland has been described as a 'stateless nation' (McCrone, 1992). This is particularly relevant to the study of racism and anti-racism as equality legislation is a reserved issue, meaning that politically there are barriers to designing and introducing meaningful policies and bringing about change. Despite Scotland being an interesting setting for the study of racism, Hopkins notes that 'Scotland is largely ignored' or 'has been subsumed into research about race and ethnicity in the UK' (Hopkins, 2008, p. 113). This is problematic as it assumes that Scotland's experience of racism is the same as the rest of the UK, an assertion that is disputed by Hopkins who notes there are 'unique aspects of the Scottish context that deserve particular attention in that they structure the everyday lives, opportunities and experiences of all communities in Scotland' (Hopkins, 2008, p. 113). An example of this unique context is the issue of sectarianism, which although not exclusive to Scotland, is a prominent issue with specific implications for the cohesiveness of Scottish society. In the context of this thesis, the lack of attention to racism is twofold, not only does it lose focus on what racism means in a Scottish context, it also has implications for anti-racism in Scotland. This thesis will present the perception of grassroots organisations on both of these issues.

Why 'Race' Equality?

The effects of the merging of equalities are not exclusive to 'race'. It can be argued that merging equality strands has given a stronger platform for the new protected characteristics of age, religion and belief, pregnancy and maternity, marriage and civil partnership, sexual orientation and gender reassignment. In a generic framework, these new strands will benefit from the experience of the established equality strands ('race', gender and disability). However, as already noted, the merging of strands has the potential to create competition and the issue of

prioritising each strand makes the new merged equalities agenda problematic. The generic equality framework cannot give specific focus to the intricacies of 'race' and racism. Gilroy claims 'race' has:

> "Been held together, punctuated and periodised by racial politics -
> immigration, the myriad problems of the riotous 'inner city' and by the
> looney left. These terms are carefully coded and they are significant
> because they enable people to speak about race without mentioning the
> word. The frequent absence of any overt reference to race or hierarchy is
> an important characteristic of the new types of racism we have to deal with"
> (Gilroy, 1999, p. 245).

Given the association of 'race' with 'the riotous inner city' and other problematic issues, outlined below, 'race' as equality strand is in a particularly vulnerable position. This vulnerability is enhanced as, according to Gilroy, 'race' is a concept that is not being discussed openly.

Purpose and Aims and Objectives

The problematic issues related to 'race' in the 2000s have concentrated on criticisms of multiculturalism. The previous Labour Government and the current Conservative/Liberal Democrat Coalition Government have claimed that multiculturalism is divisive and detrimental to integration. The Cantle report, commissioned by the government to investigate the 'race riots'[2] in towns in Northern England in 2001, claimed that there was a 'depth of polarisation' around segregated communities living 'a series of parallel lives' (Cantle, 2001, p. 10). These arguments have been reinforced by prominent anti-racism campaigner Trevor Phillips, former head of the CRE and EHRC, who has claimed Britain is 'sleepwalking to segregation' (Phillips, 2005). Following the Cantle report, the idea of cohesion emerged in government discourse and policy. David Cameron who gave a speech arguing that young men find it difficult to identify with Britain due to a 'weakening of our collective identity' has reinforced this. He claims:

---

[2] The term 'race riots' is controversial and is contested by Burlet and Reid (1998) and Worley (2005) as a tactic to criminalise protests.

"Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values" (Cameron, 2011).

Cameron's discusses an 'extremist ideology', which he implies has been allowed to develop under the 'doctrine' of 'state multiculturalism'. These loaded terms have no reference to promoting equality. These claims have also been reinforced in the media. For example, Journalist, Melanie Phillips argues that:

"Multiculturalism has become the driving force of British life, ruthlessly policed by a state-financed army of local and national bureaucrats enforcing a doctrine of state-mandated virtue to promote racial, ethnic and cultural difference and stamp out majority values. Institutions have been instructed to teach themselves that they are intrinsically racist and to re-programme their minds in non-judgementalism. Government departments, local councils, the police and other bodies now give preferential treatment to ethnic minority candidates and projects and discriminate against white Western applications" (Phillips, 2006, p. 111).

This move in rhetoric was central to the development of this project and the design of the research questions. This thesis will explore the discourses and policies implemented in Britain to deal will increasing diversity, these include assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and the merging of equalities, all concepts that claim to improve 'race' relations. The thesis will draw on literature and interview data to analyse whether equality is at the 'core' of the generic equality framework and whether, given the concerns over segregation and terrorism referred to by the government and political commentators, it can lead to meaningful anti-racism work. Given the multiple identities within the 'race' sector, it is clear that 'race', as a single strand, is a complex issue and needs a specific focus. Although many of the issues identified in this project will transfer to other strands, the aim of this thesis is to give the focus to the problems that will arise specifically for 'race' equality. The focus on 'race' equality stemmed from the change of rhetoric on issues of anti-

racism, multiculturalism and the move away from focusing on racism as a significant problem.

Hypothesis and Research Questions

The background to the development of the generic equality agenda has been central to the development of this research project. Specifically the move away from anti-racism to the merging of equalities and integration debates has been particularly significant. These arguments provided the initial inspiration for this research project and helped to develop the research questions. The solution to the problem of racism is both subjective and varies between individuals and organisations. Thus, the main driver of this project has been to understand what is happening to the values that underpin 'race' equality. The thesis will explore whether the support for anti-racism work is strong or whether the merged equality agenda has meant that organisations have to change the type of work they do in order to get funding. This thesis is questioning Sivanandan's assertion that 'it's anti-racism that was failed, not multiculturalism' (Sivanandan, 2005). The overarching research questions that will be explored are:

1. What values do anti-racist grassroots organisations express in relation to their work?
2. What are the structural barriers to grassroots organisations carrying out their work?
3. Is the generic equality framework changing the kind of work undertaken by those working in the 'race' equality 'industry'?

The thesis will deal with three important themes, the effect of the single equality commission, the funding of anti-racism work and the impact of merging equality strands on the anti-racism worked undertaken in Scotland. Each chapter will deal with more detailed specific research questions in order to give a comprehensive answer to the main overarching questions. This also reflects the structure of the interview questions.

Chapter Four: The Impact for Scotland

1. What do the respondents identify as the specific issues for Scotland?
2. Does Scotland have a strong anti-racist structure?
3. Do the respondents feel Scotland is equipped to deal with the generic equality agenda?

Chapter Five: EHRC and the Effects of Merging Equalities

1. Do grassroots organisations agree with the strategies employed by the government?
2. Has the merging of equalities 'diluted' the development of 'race' equality work?
3. In the context of merged equalities, is there a hierarchy of equality strands?
4. Do those working in the anti-racism field see the EHRC as a gatekeeper for the government agenda?

Chapter Six: The Funding of 'Race' Equality

1. Do grassroots organisations feel restrained by financial dependence on funders?
2. In the context of funding, do the respondents feel there is a hierarchy of equality strands?
3. Has funding for 'race' equality work changed since the creation of the EHRC?

Outline of Chapters

Justification of Structure

The data is separated into three chapters in accordance with the three key themes that emerged from the interviews. The three areas covered are geographical location (Scotland), institutional structures (EHRC) and financial concerns (funding). The thesis begins by exploring the data relating to location as this sets the context for the responses. It is important to understand the specific issues faced by the

respondents working in Scotland in order to fully understand, and be able to analyse properly, the concerns relating to structure and finance. The structural concerns, specifically the creation of a single equality commission (EHRC), are explored next. This allows a clear insight into how the merging of equality strands impacts on 'race' equality work. Finally, financial concerns are outlined and analysed in conjunction with the findings from the previous two chapters. This final topic is the central concern for the majority of voluntary organisations as the distribution of money has specific impacts that are dependent on location and structure. Thus, financial concerns must be analysed alongside geographical and structural concerns.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The Development of 'Race' Relations in Britain

In order to fully appreciate the empirical data of this thesis it is fundamental to place the concept of anti-racism in context. A chronological history of how 'race' relations developed in the UK from the WW2 until the present day will be outlined in chapter two. The chapter will look at two key aspects, firstly, government responses to minorities and the development of equality legislation and, secondly, the development of anti-racism in terms of organisation.

This chapter will specifically focus on four main government approaches to dealing with immigration including, assimilation (1940s/50s), integration (1960s and 70s), multiculturalism (1980s/90s) and generic equality (2000s). Contrasting the historical development with contemporary debates will allow for a more in-depth analysis and will give a strong basis for understanding the current situation. Furthermore, the overview of grassroots and political developments are particularly important for understanding the empirical evidence that will be presented in the preceding three data chapters, as it gives context to the responses from those working directly in the equality field.

This overview will include the political context and the theoretical development of anti-racism. The chapter will show how grassroots organisations formed from the efforts of minorities who were suffering from racism and discrimination. The chapter shows that anti-racism campaigns developed as a reaction to racism and will explore the link between racism and the development of anti-racism. This line of argument is central to the thesis, as it establishes that in order for a strong anti-racist ethos to exist there needs to be an understanding and acknowledgement of the existence of racism, and a commitment to tackling it by both the policy makers and society as a whole. This will give a basis for understanding how the grassroots organisations developed, their role in improving 'race' relations and the current position of the grassroots sector.

The chapter will look at some of the key arguments surrounding the formalisation of equalities and explain how equality work developed into an 'industry'. The chapter will then move on to look at the merging of equalities, the creation of the CRE and the EHRC and the reasoning behind it. This will link with the central question of the thesis: What values do anti-racist grassroots organisations express in relation to their work? Is the generic equality framework changing the kind of work undertaken by those working in the 'race' equality 'industry'?

Chapter Three: Methods

How was the research conducted?

This chapter will look at the practicalities of the research project and outline the methods used to gather the information. The chapter will outline how the research questions were developed, the sample of participants, how the respondents were selected, the types of organisations consulted, the location of the research, how contact was established, the interview techniques, the format of the interviews and the ethical considerations. The chapter will outline how the data was analysed and organised and how quotations were selected and interpreted. It will also explain how the statistical data was gathered. Furthermore, the interpretive approach and

my role as the researcher will be outlined. There will be a discussion about the problems that arose throughout the research. This will include an outline of the practical issues that became apparent when interviewing and the issues that arose in the analytical stage. A clear explanation of the language, such as the use of the word 'industry', used in the interviews will be outlined. It will also include an explanation of how the respondent's anonymity was achieved.

Chapter Four: The Impact for Scotland

What do the respondents identify as the specific issues for Scotland?

The chapter will explicitly outline the Scottish specific issues and argue that there is a problem with racism in Scotland. The chapter will look at specific issues raised by the respondents such as the relationship between poverty and 'race'. It will also look at the issue of sectarianism exploring the perceptions from both the local organisations and larger ones such as the government and the EHRC. The amount of anti-sectarianism work will be explored as well as the respondent's feelings about whether the issue is dealt with appropriately. Furthermore, the section will look at the recent developments regarding the introduction of new legislation and the changes to funding for anti-sectarianism work. It will be argued that there is a move towards criminalising the issue rather than treating it as an equality issue.

Does Scotland have a strong anti-racism structure?

The chapter will argue that despite having smaller numbers of minorities, Scotland faces increased barriers in terms of effective equality structures. The chapter will look at the structures that are in place in Scotland to promote equality and challenge racism. This will include looking at institutions such as the NHS, the criminal justice system, employment opportunities and political representation. The chapter will also look at the strength of grassroots organisations and their ability to influence the government. In particular, the chapter will examine the impact of devolution on equality legislation and anti-racism work in Scotland. This is particularly significant as equality legislation is reserved to Westminster.

Do the respondents feel Scotland is equipped to deal with the generic equality agenda?

The chapter will look at the 'numbers debate' which is the perception that Scotland has low number of minority groups and therefore does not have a significant problem with racism. The chapter will argue that this perception is both false and has detrimental impacts on the development of anti-racism in Scotland. The politics and the development of racism in Scotland will be explored in the context of devolution. The section will look at the implications of reserved equality legislative powers on the type of anti-racism work undertaken in Scotland. The section will look at the research on 'race' and racism that is directed from a Scottish perspective in order to see whether this is supported and undertaken. It will also look at the implications of Scottish organisations being reliant on research that is produced and focused on either an English or UK wide perspective.

The chapter will also look at the 'numbers debate' from an internal perspective. Firstly, the section will outline the implications of, and improvements made since, the creation of the Scottish Parliament. It will look at the respondent's experiences of working with MSPs. The chapter will look at the level of understanding London based decision makers have about the Scottish context, and the understanding of decision makers in the central belt of Scotland on rural equality issues. The infrastructure throughout Scotland will be explored to gauge the quantity of equality work and whether the move towards the mainstreaming and merging of equalities is viable and beneficial for Scotland.

Chapter Five: Merging of Equalities and the EHRC

This chapter will explicitly outline the move towards the merging of equalities and the creation of the EHRC. The chapter will look at the main themes identified by the respondents regarding the merging of equality strands. Specifically the chapter will explore the values expressed by the respondents and will explore the issues and politics of working with the government. The section will use the data gathered from the fieldwork and present the arguments of the interviewees.

Do grassroots organisations agree with the strategies employed by the government?

The chapter will explore the values the respondents express about their work and whether they feel the values of the EHRC are sufficiently focused on anti-racism. The chapter will look at the respondent's feelings towards the importance of equality. Specifically the chapter will look at the respondent's opinions on policies, namely multiculturalism and community cohesion.

Has the merging of equalities 'diluted' the development of 'race' equality?

The chapter will focus on the merging of equality strands. The main themes of this section will be looking at whether 'race' equality has been 'diluted' since the merging of the EHRC and whether the respondents felt there is still a need for a 'race' specific body. Furthermore, the section will look at whether the respondents feel the EHRC maintains a focus on 'race' equality and whether it can progress the work of the CRE. The section will explore the policing role of the EHRC in order to understand the impact the organisation has on equal opportunities.

In the context of merged equalities, is there a hierarchy of equality strands?

The chapter will explore whether there is a hierarchy of equalities and, if so, which equality strand is at the top, which is at the bottom and which is most vulnerable to 'dilution'. The chapter expresses the respondent's fears that all equality issues are being 'diluted' and that equality strands are going to be competing against each other for attention and funds. Furthermore, the chapter will explore the move towards multi-strand work[3] . Both the potential benefits and problems with this new initiative will be outlined. Ultimately, the chapter will explore whether the respondents feel that enough progress has been made towards 'race' equality to justify merging the issue with other strands.

---

[3] Multi-strand work is collaboration between different equality strands and organisations to do joint equality projects.

Do the respondents feel the EHRC is a gatekeeper for the government's agenda?

The chapter will explore the credibility of the EHRC. Specifically it will look at the respondent's opinions about whether the EHRC is an appropriate body to take 'race' equality further. The chapter will explore whether the merger happened with the intention to progress 'race' equality work or whether it was financially driven. The EHRC's links with the government will be explored in order to see whether they actively influence the government policy or whether they are influenced by it. The EHRC hold various consultations where they invite people from a variety of organisations and groups, academics, voluntary sector organisations, public sector workers, to comment on their strategic plan and projects. The chapter will look at whether respondents feel that the EHRC consultations are genuine and whether they feel their input is influential. The chapter will explore the respondent's awareness of who the EHRC are and what they do. The chapter will analyse the experiences of a variety of different groups who have worked with and been funded by the EHRC. It will also look at the respondent's views of EHRC consultation. Ultimately, the aim is to gauge whether the EHRC is influenced by the top rather than by the grassroots organisations.

Chapter Six: Funding

This chapter will focus on the funding structure of 'race' equality work. The chapter will relate to the previous chapter which comments on the move away from recognising the specific needs of the BME community. The chapter will give specific focus to the politics of applying for funds. Specifically the chapter will explore the issues of multi-strand work outlined in chapter five (EHRC) and the issues faced when undertaking partnership or collaborative work to gain funds. Furthermore, the chapter will build on the arguments laid out in chapter two (Literature Review) that claim that integration and assimilation are used interchangeably and that the specific needs of each equality strand are being de-focused.

Do grassroots organisations feel restrained by financial dependence on funders?

The chapter will outline the infrastructure, development of the organisations consulted, funding budgets and the types of funding available. Specifically there will be a focus on capacity building, long and short term funding, and the types of projects that get funding. Furthermore, the section will look at the impact of funding budgets in order to gauge how high a priority equality is and whether the generic approach was a financial decision. The chapter will explore the objectives of the organisations, funder's objectives, funding fashions and funding competition. Many of the respondents were involved with service provision, the chapter will explore the reasons for this and the barriers they face when trying to influence and lobby the government. This will be specifically linked with the literature presented in chapter two (literature review) which will discuss the problems and tensions between statutory bodies and grassroots organisations. Drawing on the literature, the thesis will argue that lobbying is a fundamental element in order to assert strong anti-racism values and redistribute power to smaller organisations. This will allow an insight into whether there has been a weakening of anti-racism activities.

The chapter will compare the objectives of funders with the objectives of smaller grassroots organisations in order to see whether there is a conflict. The difference between small organisations and large ones in terms of finance, activities and influence will be explored. The process of applying for funding will also be explored to identify any potential barriers. The chapter will explore the requirement for organisations to prove the need for their service and the barriers this creates for smaller organisations.

In the context of funding do the respondents feel is there a hierarchy of equality strands?

The chapter will look at the type of equality work that is funded and will explore the move from funding specific projects to multi-strand work. The impact of this change on local organisations will be examined. The chapter will examine which

equality strand is most affected by this change. The chapter will also explore the tensions between the professionalism of larger organisations and the informal working practices of smaller organisations. The practical concerns for small organisations in the competitive funding environment will be explored. The chapter will also examine whether 'race' organisations are losing out from EHRC funding by comparing the amount given to each strand. This will show whether or not 'race' equality is receiving less money and will demonstrate that the respondents concerns from the previous chapters are valid.

Has funding for 'race' equality work changed since the creation of the EHRC?

The chapter will examine the relationship between the government funded EHRC and the government itself. The chapter will draw on the literature that argues there is a correlation between government rhetoric and the EHRC (Finney & Simpson, 2009). This will be linked with literature that outlines the government's criticisms of institutional racism, Trevor Phillips' denial of institutional racism, the Cantle report's call to move towards cohesion and the prominent and public debates on 'Britishness'. The chapter will look at the implications of the EHRC's relationship with the government and the impact of the EHRC funding cuts for smaller organisations. The overall aim of this chapter will be to explore whether the respondents see the lack of funding from the EHRC as further evidence that anti-racism and other equality work has been weakened.

Chapter Seven: The Conclusion

The final chapter will draw the arguments of the thesis together. It will refer specifically to the research questions outlined at the beginning of this introduction. The chapter will acknowledge the limitations of this project and outline areas that could be developed further. Finally, the chapter will present some recommendations for policy makers, funders and equality organisations.

This thesis aims to show that the merging of equalities will create a weakened approach to fighting discrimination for all equality strands. However, the merging of equalities is already underway and it is unlikely to reverse. It is not the intention to make unrealistic or idealistic recommendations to undo what has already been done. The aim is to present a powerful reminder that racism is not a solved problem. By focusing on the concept of anti-racism, and the virtue of challenging racism, the aim is to remind those who have legislative, financial and theoretical power to put this concept at the core of what they do.

The following chapter will explore the literature in more depth. Specifically it will look at the historical development of racism and anti-racism in Britain. This chapter will highlight the dominant approaches to managing 'race' equality, the development of anti-racism and the theoretical work of both 'race' and anti-racism.

Chapter Two: Literature and Theoretical Review

Introduction

Bulmer and Solomos warn against 'ignoring the history of racism and seeing contemporary forms in almost complete isolation from the past'. They claim that by looking at the historical development 'the range of factors and processes that have gone into the making of specific racist discourses, practices and effects' will be uncovered (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999, p. 9). This, they claim, allows a deeper insight into the complexities of 'race' and the influence of different social relations such as slavery, colonialism, imperialism as well as class and gender. Miles concurs claiming that 'the impact of racism is always mediated through a wider set of social relations' and that 'racism should not be interpreted as continuous and unchanging' (Miles, 1993, p. 149). This chapter will explore how racism has developed in UK from the 1940s when post war periods of migration began to change the demographics of Britain. This is a period of specific interest as 'immigration control and race relations debates were intertwined from the beginning' (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 25).

The chapter will trace how various governments have viewed immigrants and how they have tried to manage the impact of diversity in Britain. The chapter will examine four main concepts that have been implemented to deal with diversity. These include assimilation, the model used in the 1940s and 50s, integration, used in the 60s and 70s, multiculturalism, used in the 80s and 90s and generic equality which was introduced in the 2000s. The chapter will analyse these concepts in relation to the experience of racism. Specifically there will be a focus on the workplace, education and housing, as discrimination has been prominent in these areas and has prompted minority groups to organise themselves. The analysis will also compare government strategies for controlling immigration with the various

official 'race' equality policies that have been introduced since the 1940s. This will give an insight into the values of 'race' equality. Furthermore, the chapter will look at how minorities have come together and developed grassroots organisations to tackle inequality. Official equality policies have brought about significant improvements and were developed, in part, because of grassroots organisations who protested against unfair immigration laws and the discriminatory treatment of ethnic minority groups. However, it will be shown that there is a tension between those working at a grassroots level and official, government led anti-racism. The increased government support led to a professionalization of the anti-racism movement. The development of these links, especially in the 1980s with the development of multiculturalism, and subsequent tensions between the grassroots and government will be discussed throughout the chapter. This theme will be specifically addressed in the later sections of the chapter, which explores contemporary developments and the move towards a generic equality framework. The chapter will also include Scottish specific literature as the location of this project is set in Scotland. Finally, the chapter will detail the key theoretical perspectives that will be used throughout which will set the groundwork for analysing the preceding three data chapters.

Post War Migration

After the Second World War Britain had a shortage of labour and needed to recruit workers from abroad to meet the workload demand. Immigration started slowly. On the 22nd June 1948, 492 Jamaicans arrived on the Empire Windrush. Three weeks later it was reported that 76 of the new arrivals had found work in foundries, 15 worked on the railways, 15 were labourers, 15 were farmworkers, 10 were working as electricians, and the rest were involved in clerical work, coach building and plumbing (Fryer, 1984, p. 372). Over the next five years, only a small number of immigrants from the West Indies entered Britain. In October 1948, 180 people arrived in Liverpool aboard the Oribita. Three months later 39 people arrived on the Reina Del Pacifico, and in the summer of 1949, 253 West Indians arrived in

Britain on the Georgic. In 1950, a few hundred West Indians came to Britain to find work, and the numbers increased each year. In 1951 and 1952, 1000 immigrants arrived in the UK from the West Indies; in 1954, 26,000 immigrants arrived; in 1956, 22,000 immigrants arrived, and in 1957 and 1958, 16,000 immigrants arrived in Britain. Ten years after Windrush had docked 125,000 West Indian people had moved to Britain since the end of WW2 (Fryer, 1984, p. 372). In the 1950s, the population of people from the Indian subcontinent also grew, and rural workers from India and Pakistan were encouraged, by British officials, to work in Britain. By 1958 there were 55, 000 Indian and Pakistani workers in Britain (Fryer, 1984, p. 373). In Scotland because of an expanding economy and sever labour shortages there was a 'substantial growth in immigration from what had recently become the two countries of India and Pakistan' (Bailey, et al., 1995, p. 36).

These immigrants were initially welcomed and 'British industry gladly absorbed them' (Fryer, 1984, p. 373). In order to fill vacant positions employers sought to recruit abroad. In 1956, London Transport carried out a recruitment drive in Barbados and hired 3787 Barbadians within 12 years. In 1966, they began a recruitment drive in Trinidad and Jamaica. As Britain was in need of extra workers even the 'Tory Health Minister, Enoch Powell, welcomed West Indian nurses to Britain' (Fryer, 1984, p. 373). The new immigrants were young and skilled, 'a great majority of the West Indian settlers were in their twenties. And they had plenty to offer Britain' (Fryer, 1984, p. 373). Of those who arrived only 13% of men and 5% of women had no skills, 1 in 4 men and half of women were non-manual workers, and 46% of men and 27% of women were skilled workers. However, 'by the late 1950s more than half the male West Indians in London had lower-status jobs than their skills and experience fitted for them' (Fryer, 1984, p. 374). Fryer claims that the new settlers felt disappointed and disillusioned as a result of both their 'unrealistic expectations' and the widespread prejudice and stereotyping they suffered which excluded them from equal access to work and services:

"More than two-thirds of Britain's white population, in fact, held a low opinion of black people or disapproved of them. They saw them as heathens who practised head-hunting, cannibalism, infanticide, polygamy, and 'black magic'. They saw them as uncivilised, backward, people, inherently inferior to Europeans, living in primitive mud huts in the bush, wearing few clothes, eating strange foods, and suffering from unpleasant diseases. They saw them as ignorant and illiterate, speaking strange languages and lacking proper education" (Fryer, 1984, p. 374).

These concerns over 'uncivilised', 'uneducated', and 'inferior' immigrants were used as justifications for the implementation of assimilation policies undertaken in the 1940s and 50s.

Assimilation

Bourne notes that assimilation is the process 'in which there is one dominant culture and/or religion into which new ethnic groups have to fit and be absorbed' (Bourne, 2007b, p. 2). Miles (1993) draws on Anderson's concept of the nation as an 'imagined community' to explore the concept of assimilation. Miles notes that 'like nations 'races' are imagined' as they have 'no real biological foundation' and 'all those included by the signification can never know each other'. Furthermore, Miles notes that 'races' are 'commonly imagined as communities' as characteristics such as skin colour are 'interpreted as a sign that the persons share some fundamental essence that constitutes an unalienable bond between them' (Miles, 1993, p. 57). Miles notes that this is both inclusive and exclusive process as the identity of 'us' as white is an inclusive process which is paralleled by the 'exclusion of all those who lack that characteristic' (Miles, 1993, p. 58). Miles refers to this as the 'criteria of belonging', that is, the characteristics that are considered essential to become a member of the imagined community that is called the nation' (Miles, 1993, p. 135). Thus, for Miles, 'race' is ideological. This policy of assimilation was in force in the 1940s, which was the beginning of mass immigration to Britain.

After the Second World War Britain had a labour shortage, 'at one point, the government calculated more than a million additional workers would need to be

found from outside Britain in order to resolve the shortage, although this estimate was later scaled down' (Miles, 1993, p. 132). Post World War Two (WW2) citizens of the British colonies had full UK citizenship and the right to work in the United Kingdom. In 1948, The British Nationality Act (BNA) was passed which divided British citizenship into two categories (citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies and citizens of the Independent Commonwealth Nation States). Rosen (2003) claims that the BNA influenced the 'character of post war immigration' as it essentially protected the right of Commonwealth citizens to enter the UK, work, settle and bring families' (Rosen, 2003, p. 89). However, the government was concerned with the 'stock' of immigrant that would come to Britain, and focused on their perceived ability to assimilate into British life' (Miles, 1993, p. 140). Thus, the government focused the recruitment drive in Europe. In 1946 a scheme for the resettlement of Poles and the European Volunteer Worker Scheme (EVW) were developed. Initially 157,000 Polish immigrants entered Britain and were followed by Italian workers (BBC, 2002). Rosen claims 'most of the immigrants and refugees who came to Britain immediately before, during and after the Second World War were white' (Rosen, 2003, p. 89). This signifies that the model equated the ability to assimilate with skin colour, the European migrants were thought to be culturally closer to Britain and therefore had the potential 'to be transformed into 'good Britons'' (Miles, 1993, p. 140).

On the 22nd June 1948, the Empire Windrush docked at Tilbury London with 492 workers from the West Indies (Blackstone, et al., 1998, p. xii). According to Hansen (1999), the Labour government 'had not expected the immigrants' (Hansen, 1999a, p. 90). Although the workers from the Commonwealth had legal rights to settle in Britain, the idea of immigrant workers caused controversy within the government who almost from the beginning expressed a mixture of 'panic and fear of impending racial conflict' (Rich, 1986, p. 15). Miles notes that 'neither state officials, government ministers, nor opposition politicians made any concerted attempt to mobilise the hostility expressed by 'our own people' towards European migrants' (Miles, 1993, p. 152). In comparison, 'their reaction to the arrival of a few hundred

British citizens from the colonies was different 'this was a migration that they wanted to stop, despite the continuing labour shortage' (Miles, 1993, p. 152). Sivanandan (1982) concurs with this view stating that 'the message that was generally percolating through to the children of the mother country was that it was their labour that was wanted, not their presence' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 4). Two days after the arrival of Windrush the Prime Minster, Clement Attlee, received a letter from eleven MPs complaining that controls on the movements of these black British subjects were needed to prevent an 'open reception centre for immigrants not selected in respect to health, education, training, character, customs and above all, whether assimilation is possible or not' (Carter, 1993). Hansen (1999) and Winder (2005) note that after the arrival of Windrush, the Minister of Labour, George Isaacs, told Parliament that he hoped '… no encouragement will be given to others to follow their example' (Hansen, 1999a, p. 68). This hostility continued in the 1950s as 'a powerful suspicion of black immigration was to be found in both parties' (Hansen, 1999a, p. 92). Carter (1993) reinforces this noting that the Labour government had a secret cabinet committee to explore the possibility of controlling immigration for black people. This was abandoned as the numbers were low (about one to two thousand per year) and a 'discriminatory piece of legislation' would bring 'political difficulties'. However, 'the cabinet was careful not to rule out the possibility of controls and the Home Office was instructed to keep an eye on the level of black immigration' (Carter, 1993, p. 10). Anti-immigrant propaganda 'was not directed against all immigrants but only against those who were not white, and thus 'immigrant' became a racist word in debate' (Dummett, 1998, p. 206).

Resistance and Self Organisation

The black immigrants did not meet the 'criteria of belonging' and so were confronted with hostility across society. Castles and Kosack (2010) take a Marxist approach to explaining the relationship between discrimination and labour. They argue that although 'both indigenous and immigrant workers share the same relationship to the means of production' (Castles & Kosack, 2010, p. 32), 'it is a

divided class' as the immigrant's civic and labour rights are restricted by immigration legislation and they are also discriminated against by 'informal discriminatory practices based on racialism or xenophobia' (Castles & Kosack, 1972, p. 14). They claim that for indigenous workers 'immigrants are regarded not as class comrades, but as alien intruders who pose an economic and social threat' (Castles & Kosack, 2010, pp. 34-35). This prevents working-class unity, racialism assists the capitalists in their strategy of 'divide and rule' (Castles & Kosack, 2010, p. 35). The focus is not on 'race' or 'race' relations but the connections between capital accumulation, migration and class and so 'hostility is based on the position of immigrants in society and not on the colour of their skin' (Castles & Kosack, 1972, p. 16). Sivanandan gives more emphasis to the impact of skin colour. He argues that racialism worked on a 'free market basis', as it 'did not debar black people from work per se' but 'it operated instead to deskill them, to keep their wages down and to segregate them in the dirty, ill-paid jobs that white workers did not want' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 3).

Sivanadan argues that in the 1940s and 50s there was a 'racial division of labour' as Asians were generally employed in factories, foundries and textile mills and Afro-Caribbean's worked in the service industry. Castles and Kosack note that the 'concentration of immigrants in certain industries is less marked' than the rest of Europe but concur that 'different immigrant groups have varying patterns' (Castles & Kosack, 1972, p. 11). Sivanandan claims that among these there were 'ethnic jobs' and 'ethnic shifts', which segregated different immigrant groups and 'provided little ground for common struggle' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 5). This is reinforced by Cole and Virdee who claim there was 'little evidence of collective resistance against … racist exclusionary practices from any workers until the mid-1960s' (Cole & Virdee, 2006, p. 51). Another factor affecting this was the relatively small black workforce, which meant 'resistance to racial abuse and discrimination on the shop floor was more spontaneous than organised – but both individual and collective' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 5).

The resistance was further complicated as black workers did not receive support from trade unions. Wrench and Virdee (1995) claim that trade unions have traditionally had two primary aims. The first is to try to limit the labour supply and the second is to improve and equalise wages and conditions. Post WW2 the unions were unable to limit the labour supply. Vranken claims this was mainly because 'indigenous workers were reluctant to take the low-paid, low status jobs themselves' (Vranken, 1990, p. 55). Wrench and Virdee (1995) claim that although the first strategy was unsuccessful, racism meant the 'second strategy was only reluctantly embraced' (Wrench & Virdee, 1995, pp. 7-8). They note that 'in many industries white trade unionists insisted on a quota system restricting black workers to a maximum of (generally) 5 per cent'. Trade unionists also 'negotiated with management that the principle of 'last in first out' at a time of redundancy would not apply if this was to mean that white workers would lose their jobs before blacks' (Wrench & Virdee, 1995, p. 8).

This exclusion was apparent throughout society and those arriving on Windrush were 'met with small but noisy crowds with placards saying 'GO HOME' (Winder, 2005). Castles and Kosack (1972) and Sivanandan (1982) note that racism prevented black immigrants gaining access to good quality housing in both the public and private sector. In response minority groups organised themselves, Afro Caribbean's pulled their saving together to buy property while Asian's gathered together through an extended family structure and operated 'mortgage clubs' to gain access to property (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 6). A 'colour bar' excluded black immigrants from mainstream society. Thus, West Indians began to organise clubs and welfare associations 'or met in barbers' shops and cafes and on street corners' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 4), whereas Indians and Pakistanis 'found their social life more readily in their temples and mosques and cultural associations' where they got help with language, filling out forms and seeking employment (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 5). Thus, unsurprisingly given the varied issues different groups faced, although discrimination affected all immigrants, Asian and African, initially there was no united resistance to it.

In the 1950s community based resistance increased. Although 'these early organisations generally ended up as social and welfare associations', they nurtured 'black self-organisation and self-reliance', unified the communities and were the beginning of strong foundation for future struggles (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 6). Immigrants became less tolerant of racism seeking alternative work when confronted with discrimination. In the 1950s there was an increased right wing presence and the National Front (NI) and Oswald Mosely's Union Movement, carrying the slogan 'Keep Britain White', was gaining notoriety (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 8). This contributed to the eruption of racial tensions in areas such as Birmingham, Nottingham and West London; most notably there were disturbances in Notting Hill in 1958. Sivanandan claims that the violence of Nottingham and Notting Hill had 'impressed on the West Indian community the need for greater organisation and militancy' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 10). Organisations such as the Coloured Peoples Association was set up and, after the Notting Hill disturbances, the West Indian Standing Conference. Sivanadan claims, in response to state sanctioned institutional racism which provided a foundation for fascism, the 'mosaic of unities' resolved itself 'into a more holistic, albeit shifting, pattern of black unity and black struggle' (Sivanandan, 1982, pp. 8-9).

The assimilation model of the 1940s and 50s required immigrants to merge into the dominant culture. There was concern within the government and from the public that immigrants who did not meet the physical 'criteria of belonging' posed a threat to British culture. This is exemplified in the preference for European immigration over Commonwealth immigrants who had a legal right to be in Britain. Thus, as Miles argues, discrimination was ideological but it also had wider social implications for minorities. Racist values, government policies, discrimination in the workplace and in housing prevented black immigrants from assimilating into society. Faced with discrimination minorities provided practical and emotional support for each other, and began to organise themselves against the racism they faced from both the state and wider society.

Integration

The 1960s was a 'period of mass immigration to Britain from the Commonwealth' (Castles & Kosack, 1972, p. 9). Between 1948 and 1962, approximately 500,000 new Commonwealth immigrants entered the United Kingdom (Hansen, 1999a, p. 95). In 1962, the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 'restricted admission of Commonwealth settlers to those who had been issued with employment vouchers' (Snow & Jones, 2011) [4]. However, according to Cole and Virdee (2006) the 1962 Act had as its 'primary objective the curbing of non-white labour from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean' as Irish immigration was unaffected (Cole & Virdee, 2006, p. 50). Furthermore, it was 'racialist campaigns [which] led to the stopping of unrestricted Commonwealth immigration' (Castles & Kosack, 1972, p. 9). There was still a concern that immigrants would change the culture of Britain, and the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill 1968 introduced a requirement for immigrants to demonstrate a 'close connection' with the UK. On the 22nd February 1968 the Home Secretary, James Callaghan, announced that the British passports of Kenyan Asians were no longer valid and '200,000 individuals holding only British citizenship were abandoned, effectively stateless' (Hansen, 1999b, p. 810). According to Hansen, this piece of legislation was controversial:

> "For some, the act was the most shameful piece of legislation ever enacted by parliament, the ultimate appeasement of racist hysteria. For others it was the Labour party and, particularly, Callaghan at their finest - purposeful and decisive in the face of immense pressure, and at last in touch with the working and lower-middle-class voters to whom the government owed its office" (Hansen, 1999b, p. 810).

By 1971 legislation was passed stipulating that British passport holders overseas had to have a work permit and prove that they had a parent or grandparent born in the UK. This did not apply to areas of the former Empire with predominantly white populations (Icons, n.d.). In 1972, over twenty thousand British passport holding

---

[4] In 1965, there was a White paper on Immigration from the Commonwealth stipulating that 8500 employment vouchers were to be issued each year. This was reduced from 30,130 in 1963 (Gardner, 1995, p. 47).

Ugandan Asians came to Britain after being expelled by Idi Amin (Blackstone, et al., 1998, p. xii). The increased immigration raised concerns both politically and amongst the British public.

In Britain, by the mid-1970s the population of Caribbean and Asian people, originating largely from post-1945 migration, had been resident for more than two decades and the numerical increase was due more to natural reproduction than to immigration. There emerged during this decade a 'new' political discourse within the British state which asserted that it is natural for people to prefer to live amongst 'their own kind' and therefore natural for people to discriminate against those not to be considered part of that common community. Barker (1981) described this as the 'new racism' as 'such arguments either made no mention of, or in some cases specifically rejected, the idea of a hierarchy of 'races', thereby disengaging... with that particular discourse of the other which... has a history which extends back to the late eighteenth century' (Miles, 1989, pp. 62-63).

Maisuria (2006) claims 'social apartheid was visible' in 1970s Britain and ''No Irish, No Blacks and No Dogs' was the sign that hung outside many establishments such as pubs and letting agents' (Maisuria, 2006, p. 95). Many 'race' hate organisations such as the White Defence League were formed (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 9) and the majority white population were becoming more intolerant of immigrants. In October 1963, white parents in Southall insisted on separate classes for their children because 'coloured' children were holding back their progress. These claims were backed up in December 1963 by the Commonwealth Immigrants' Advisory Council (CIAC)[5], who claimed 'the presence of a high proportion of immigrants' children in one class slows down the general routine of working and hampers the progress of the whole class, especially when the immigrants do not speak or write English fluently' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 14). There was a fear that white parents would remove their children and leave predominantly immigrant schools. Sir Edward Boyle, the Minister of Education, dispersed minority ethnic children to

---

[5] The CICA was a welfare and integration advisory organisation for the Home Secretary.

ensure that there was only '30 per cent in any one school' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 75).

In April 1968, Enoch Powell gave his anti-immigration Rivers of Blood speech. In the speech, Powell stated the 'West Indian does not become English by being born in England and by carrying a United Kingdom passport' (Powell, 2007) and claimed that continued immigration would mean 'the black man will have whip hand over the white man' (Powell, 2007). This 'exacerbated a climate of racism' (Maisuria, 2006, p. 95). Despite the fact that Powell was sacked the following day, by the Conservative Party leader, Edward Heath, his speech was met with great support. Powell received 43,000 letters and 700 telegrams supporting him by early May, with only 800 letters and 4 telegrams against (Heffer, 1999, p. 449). A Gallop opinion poll showed that 74% agreed with what Powell had said in his speech, 15% disagreed, 69% felt Health was wrong to sack Powell and 20% believed Heath was right (Heffer, 1999, p. 467). Miles claims that 'the logic of Powell's argument can be found in the political debate of earlier conjunctures' (Miles, 1993, p. 160). Sivanandan claims it was a case of 'what Powell says today, the Tories say tomorrow and Labour legislates on the day after' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 24). Saggar (2003) notes that despite his dismissal, Powell's intervention was significant as it 'appeared to reinforce the perception that the Conservatives alone understood the make- up of public attitudes on the issue' (Saggar, 2003, p. 179). This theory was confirmed in two studies of the 1970 general election, which suggested the Conservative win was affected by the perception that they had a tougher stance on immigration. This support existed in a wider context of negative attitudes towards 'race' in general. By 1979 around a third of voters reported that 'recent attempts to ensure equality for coloured people had gone too far' (Saggar, 2003, p. 181).

Official Resistance

By the 1960s immigration was changing the demographics of the nation and Britain 'for the first time, [had] to find solutions to the new problems arising out of its transformation into a multiracial society' (Lester, 1998, p. 23). The official policy of

the government was moving towards integration. In 1966, Roy Jenkins defined integration as 'equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance'; this meant 'that there would be 'no active policy of cultural assimilation to British norms' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 22). However, there was a tension between immigration policy and the development of equality policy. According to Marr 'the greatest changes of the Labour years was achieved by Roy Jenkins' (Marr, 2007, p. 251)[6]. It is apparent at this time that anti-immigration was politically popular. In light of criticisms, Jenkins displayed a genuine commitment to furthering equality. This thesis is questioning whether governments still display a genuine commitment to anti-racism.

The 1965 Race Relations Act (RRA) was brought in to combat the 'colour bar', which was the common practice of banning non-white people from using public services or entering public places. Bam-Hutchison claims that although the Act marked the start of Equality and Diversity legislation in the UK, it was 'a limited piece of legislation' and was 'more about 'relations' rather than 'racism'' (Bam-Hutchison, n.d.). Shukra notes that 'the British government seemed to fear the possibility of a black power influence', and 'in July 1967 on the same day that Roy Jenkins announced the Government's intention to extend the RRA of 1965 in housing, employment, insurance and credit facilities, he banned Stokely Carmichal[7] from Britain' (Shukra, 1998, p. 25). Spencer (1998) argues that the harsh 'content' of immigration policy which signals to the public that 'particular kinds of foreigners would not be welcome members of British society' contradicts the 'race' relations policy which dictates that 'existing members of minority communities in Britain should be accepted as equal members of society' (Spencer, 1998, p. 77). For Sivanandan, in light of the immigration laws that were being passed, this move 'towards anti-discrimination legislation' signalled that 'hypocrisy too had to be

---

[6] Jenkins also campaigned for social reform on many issues including, the abolition of hanging and the reform of abortion and divorce laws. He also criticised the persecution of homosexuals and said 'immigration laws need to be made more civilised' (Marr, 2007, p. 252).
[7] Stokely Carmichal was an American civil rights activist and honorary Prime Minister of the American Black Panther Party.

nationalised'. He claims that the 1962 Immigration Act meant 'racism was respectable, sanctioned, but with reason of course; it was not the colour, it was the numbers - and for the immigrants' sakes - for fewer blacks would make for better race relations' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 12).

The 1965 Act established the Race Relations Board (RRB) and National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants (NCCI). Sivanandan regards these institutions as 'ineffectual':

> "To ordinary blacks these structures were irrelevant: liaison and conciliation seemed to define them as a people apart who somehow needed to be fitted into the mainstream of British society – when all they were seeking were the same rights as other citizens" (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 17).

Rex agrees stating that 'all the major institutes set up by the government to deal with problems of race relations have been paternalist in nature' (Rex, 1979, p. 87). Furthermore, Rex claims 'they come into being together with the introduction of immigration control for commonwealth citizens, and all of them bear the marks of that origin' (Rex, 1979, p. 87).

Rex argues that the NCCI was an elitist organisation that was 'conceived in a mild way as a built-in political lobby for the immigrants'. Furthermore, the RRB 'could not deal with key areas of housing and employment and could do nothing more fearsome, legally speaking, than to conciliate the contending parties when there was a dispute' (Rex, 1979, p. 88). Sivanandan concurs suggesting that not only did the NCCI fail to integrate minorities it hindered their struggle:

> "If NCCI failed to integrate the 'immigrants', it succeeded in disintegrating 'immigrant' organisations – the moderate ones anyway and local ones mostly – by entering their areas of work, enticing local leaders to cooperate with them (and therefore government) and pre-empting their constituencies. Its greatest achievement was to lure the leading lights of CARD [Campaign Against Racial Discrimination] into working with it, thereby deepening the contradictions in CARD" (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 17).

The 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act extended anti-discrimination law to include housing, employment and service provision. Cole and Virdee (2006) claim that the 1968 Act was a result of pressure from the formation of anti-racist groups (mentioned above) and academic evidence which demonstrated that 'racial discrimination in the labour market ranged from the 'massive to the substantial' (Daniel, 1968, p. 209). The RRB was given stronger enforcement powers and the NCCI was replaced with the Community Relations Commission (CRC) and Local Community Relations Councils (LCRC) were introduced. Jacobs claims:

> "This was an important development since, unlike the NCCI, the new commission had statutory recognition and was assigned with the task of promoting good relations through funding and encouraging of activities of the local CRCs. This provision for what was essentially a centralized funding of community relations involved a line of responsibility starting in the Home Office, running through the commission and ending with the CRCs and local black organizations. Many organizations consequently became highly suspicious of this lineage and distanced themselves from the community relations agencies, remaining critical of their government connections" (Jacobs, 1986, pp. 36-37).

Miles and Phizacklea (1979) describes the CRC as 'a body which did not even pretend to be a political body' and claims that it 'misdefined the problems of ethnic minorities essentially as problems of cultural difference... it was not equipped to deal with the political questions which were increasingly being posed by the immigrant leaders' (Miles & Phizacklea, 1979, p. 88). However, others saw this as a positive step as it legitimised the position of black leaders in relation to government (Jacobs, 1986, p. 37).

The Race Relations Act 1976 significantly strengthened the law. Hansen claims this was a product of Jenkins's work (Hansen, 1999b, p. 812). The Act defined direct[8]

---

[8] According to the Home Office (1977) direct discrimination is 'where a person treats another person less favourably on racial grounds than he treats, or would treat, someone else' (Solomos, 1989, p. 43).

and indirect discrimination [9]and established the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), which replaced the RRB and the CRC, as the official body charged with protecting minority groups against discrimination. This developed 'a class of collaborators who would manage racism and its social and political fall-out' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 38). In addition, the government gave money to 'key black self-help groups' from the Urban Aid Programme but Sivanandan claims this aimed to 'stamp out the breeding grounds of resistance' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 38). Cole and Virdee (2006) agree that the RRA was 'largely ineffectual in challenging the prevalence of racism and exclusionary practices because of the sheer magnitude of the problem', but claim that, 'its introduction nevertheless represented a highly symbolic indication of the commitment to combat racism and exclusionary practices by the state under pressure from the organized labour movement and radicalised communities' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 54). Lester (1998), who was involved in the drafting of the 1976 Race Relations Act, explains that the definition of indirect discrimination is too 'technical' and that it contained unnecessary exceptions and limitations. Most of the areas left unregulated by the Act sit in the governmental arena (criminal justice system, the police and immigration procedures) 'precisely where the individual is most vulnerable' (Lester, 1998, p. 25). Furthermore, Lester claimed that:

> "The new Commission for Racial Equality was under resourced, and not always keen on using its considerable investigative and enforcement powers to tackle the really important but really different problems of discrimination. Subsequent interpretations of the Act by the courts has occasionally undermined its aims and objectives and has left it ill equipped to perform the role originally envisaged" (Lester, 1998, p. 25).

Furthermore, the absence of protection against religious discrimination was highlighted during the debates for the 2000 Race Relations (Amendment) Act:

---

[9] According to the Home Office (1977) indirect discrimination is 'defined as consisting of 'treatment' which may be described as equal in a formal sense as between different racial groups, but discriminatory in its effect on one particular racial group' (Solomos, 1989, pp. 43-44).

"Currently, it is perfectly legal for an employer to put up a sign outside his factory gate or shop saying, "Muslims need not apply". It would be very difficult to do anything about that under the provisions of the 1976 Act" (Hansard, 2000, p. vol 345 col 1244) .

This was reinforced in a statement from the Association of Muslim Lawyers (AML) which stated that the Act 'has been much more than simply a symbolic statement as it has led to very real practical changes in British society' (Maroof, n.d., p. 1). However, the AML criticised the CRE for failing to challenge the lack of attention given to religious discrimination. Furthermore, it was highlighted that 'the law itself is discriminating between different religious groups' as 'ethnic groups possess both a long shared history and a cultural tradition of their own' (Maroof, n.d., p. 2). This definition has been applied to Jews and Sikhs but not Muslims or Hindus (Maroof, n.d., p. 2)[10]. Thus, the equality legislation, although symbolic, was too simplistic to tackle the issues with enough force. Furthermore, the organisations set up to monitor and tackle racism were criticised for failing to consult with those in the grassroots.

Grassroots

Bonnett (2000) and Gilroy (1987) claim that an anti-racism consciousness developed in the 1960s. As noted, above indirect discrimination was widespread for minority groups. Newsam (1998) cites employment as a particular issue as 'with the same qualifications as white school leavers, black youngsters were having to attend many more interviews with far less success; and they knew it' (Newsam, 1998, pp. 243-244). Solomos claims that black youths were socially constructed as a 'problem' in social policy, law and order, unemployment policy and in the context of urban disturbances' (Solomos, 1988, p. 2). Furthermore, Solomos claims 'evidence of high levels of unemployment, low levels of attainment in schools and homelessness among young blacks continued to accumulate during the early 1970s' (Solomos, 1988, p. 93). Kundnani reinforces this claiming 'in law they were British subjects but

---

[10] The article states that Muslims can find protection under their national origin rather than their religious background.

in practice they were coloured immigrants' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 40) as they survived at the bottom of society especially in the workplace where they were concentrated in the lowest paid jobs that white people refused to do. However, Kundnani (2007) argues that despite Britishness being 'implicitly aligned with being white' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 40) the immigrants that had already arrived had fundamental rights, such as the right to vote, the right to stand for election, the right to access the welfare state and the right to join a union:

> "Because they arrived at a time of growing equality across society and expanding public services, they were able to use this foothold of rights - proclaimed but not practiced – to mount the beginnings of a struggle against injustices they faced" (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 40).

The immigration legislation of 1971 took away equal employment rights for Commonwealth workers meaning that they had the 'same labour market situation as aliens' (Castles & Kosack, 2010, p. 33). Sivanandan claims that the 1971 Act must be analysed in conjunction with the 1971 Industrial Relations Act:

> "For if the Immigration Act affected the black peoples (in varying ways), the Industrial Relations Act which put strictures on trade unions and subjected industrial disputes to the jurisdiction of a court, the National Industrial Relations Court (NIRC), affected the black working class specifically. As workers, they were subject to the Industrial Relations Act's overall attack on the class (and later to the government's three-day week). As blacks, they were subject to the Immigration Act's threat of deportation – as illegal immigrants or for acting in ways not 'conductive to the public good'" (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 28).

Wrench and Virdee (1995) claim that until the end of the 1960s the Trades Union Congress (TUC) were against special policies for minority members claiming it would 'discriminate against the white membership' (Wrench & Virdee, 1995, p. 9). They cite examples of discrimination involving management and union collusion in discriminatory practices, such as paying Asian workers lower wages, barring them from promotion, or selectively making them redundant. Frustration over working conditions, mostly among Asian workers who performed menial work, led to strike action. This highlighted trade union racism as 'every action on the part of the Asian

workers was either unsupported or opposed by the trade union to which they belonged' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 22). There was also a rise of right wing groups such as the National Front, who played on the divisions between black and white workers and gave open support to the white trade unionists in some of these disputes (Phizacklea & Miles, 1980, pp. 93-94). The strikes involved specific 'cultural questions' such as time off for religious festivals, prayer breaks and religious dress but 'because of trade union opposition to such 'practices', the struggle of the class and the struggle of the community, of race, became indistinguishable' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 22). Wrench and Virdee (1995) claim the strikes in the late 1960s and early 1970s were 'characterised by a strong support of Asian workers by local community associations and an equally noticeable lack of support by a local trade union' (Wrench & Virdee, 1995, p. 20). This is reinforced by Sivanandan who claims 'the support from their communities and community organisations was unwavering' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 22).

There was increased organisation by black and white trade union activists, and in the early 1970s, the TUC began to develop policies on racism. Cole and Virdee (2006) claim that the state attempted to curb trade union activity throughout the 1960s and 1970s. This, they claim led to an increased class-consciousness and led to a shift from secular politics and 'a formation of a current of white anti-racism'. Thus, 'by the late 1970s Britain had a significant anti-racism movement built around dual ideological currents of 'racial' formation and working class solidarity' (Cole & Virdee, 2006, p. 55). For example, thousands of white and non-white workers undertook secondary picketing to support South Asian women on strike during the Grunwick dispute (Cole & Virdee, 2006, p. 54). Cole and Virdee claim that white anti-racism was influential in building anti-racism organisations such as the Anti-Nazi League. Furthermore, high profile anti-racism was developing such as Rock Against Racism (1976). Organisations such as the Pakistani Workers' Association (1961) and the West Indian Workers' Association (1961) were formed to protest against the discriminatory legislation. As a result of a lack of trade union support, minority workers organised themselves 'outside the factory walls, making such

organisations more 'community based' than 'work-based', and in subsequent industrial disputes they would draw upon such groups' (Wrench & Virdee, 1995, p. 20).

The two most important umbrella organisations were the Co-ordinating Committee Against Racial Discrimination (CCARD) in Birmingham, and the Conference of Afro-Asian-Caribbean Organisations (CAACO) in London (Sivanandan, 1982). In September 1961, CCARD was established (Shukra, 1998) and was an offshoot of the collaborative approach initiated by Indian Workers Association (IWA), as it was:

> "A federation of immigrant organizations and sympathetic British groups in Birmingham. CCARD had public meetings, demonstrations against the introduction of Immigrant laws in December 1961 and organized activities against the colour bar in pubs to test the Race Relations Bill" (Shukra, 1998, p. 17).

In September 1961 'CCARD led a contingent of blacks and whites through the streets of Birmingham in a demonstration against the Immigration Bill' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 11).

Shukra likens the activities of CCARD to pressure group activity (Shukra, 1998, p. 17)[11]. However, organisation was not straightforward as tensions arose within grassroots campaigns. The IWA was interested in developing political links and leading IWA members, such as Jagmohan Joshi, 'attempted to extend their influence beyond the Indian community and into the political sphere. To achieve this, links were made with other activists and organizations, which included black organisations in order to 'build black consciousness' (Shukra, 1998, p. 16). Similar links were cultivated with the labour movement and the Labour Party, despite criticisms of the latter (Shukra, 1998, p. 16). The 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act developed links further as it 'forced immigrant organisations to address the

---

[11] The campaign work against new immigration controls included the production of pamphlets and documents criticising immigration policy. For example, they produced a pamphlet in 1961 entitled 'Why Control Immigration' and created a documented response to the Government's 1965 white paper (Shukra, 1998, p. 17).

mother of racial discrimination on a national basis' (Shukra, 1998, p. 17). However, Shukra notes 'as early as 1961, differences of opinion about the most effective way of organising gave rise to tensions between the IWA GB and the Southall Indian activists' (Shukra, 1998, p. 17). Southall had closer links with the Labour Party motivated by the Labour pledge to repeal the 1962 Act if elected:

> "Like the IWA-GB, Southall IWA was keen to develop a broad based response to the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill and so participated in CCARD's London based equivalent Conference of Afro Asian Caribbean Organisation (CAACO). Through CAACO meetings, marches and shared platforms, Southall IWA developed its connection with Labour representatives" (Shukra, 1998, p. 18).

Labour's failure to change immigration policy caused controversy in both IWAs 'about the most appropriate level of support which could be given to the Labour Party and emergent 'race relations' bodies such as the NCCI' (Shukra, 1998, p. 19). The IWA Southall continued to support the party in the 1964 election whereas IWA-GB made a stand against Labour. However, all IWAs operated on the premise that it was necessary to lobby state institutions. This pressure group approach 'was the political basis on which many of these early groups joined together by affiliating to CARD' (Shukra, 1998, p. 19).

Shukra claims that there was a 'radicalisation of organizations in the late 1960s' (Shukra, 1998, p. 3). The black struggle was beginning to spread from the US. Werbner claims that unlike the US, Britain does not have a 'black' leader as ethnic representatives are often met with suspicion:

> "This is because the majority of ethnic leaders at the local level deal with the state within the parameters defined by the state. Their intercalary position is necessarily the focus of both conflict and co-operation with the state for communal grants and individual welfare provisions, or debate policy issues of multi-ethnic committees established under the auspices of the local state. On the other, they protest against state policies through their individual associations" (Werbner, 1991, pp. 13-14).

After a visit from Martin Luther King, CARD was set up (December 1964). CARD was the 'first substantial post war attempt of black and white activists to intervene in

national British politics on the 'race' question' (Shukra, 1998, p. 19). By 1964, it 'embodied aspirations for a strong, national anti-racist lobby of Indian, Pakistani and African-Caribbean activists with their allies' (Shukra, 1998, p. 19). Between January 1964 and the summer of 1967 'CARD was the main British 'race relations' organisation' (Shukra, 1998, p. 20). It was a legislation-based organisation and 'in its first month of existence, CARD's work centred almost exclusively on lobbying for amendments to the 1965 Race Relations Bill (Shukra, 1998, p. 21). However, it faced controversy over its membership to the NCCI:

> "In the process of lobbying, CARD activists developed closer ties with more government officials, MPs and public bodies than any other race-related group in Britain. For the state the creation of such links was part of its integration strategy: an approach which gave local community leaders a stake in the social system… For example, by lobbying for legislation against racist attacks, CARD activists developed a channel of dialogue and negotiation with British authorities which accommodated the concerns of the establishment" (Shukra, 1998, p. 21).

Like the IWA, there were tensions within CARD over political alliances with the Labour Party as:

> "Some of CARD's founders and activists were already involved in the Labour Party and saw it as a channel through which legislation change could be implemented and sympathetic individuals who wielded influence could be found, whilst others tended towards maintaining a distance from it" (Shukra, 1998, p. 21).

As a result of these tensions, CARD disbanded in 1967 and Sivanadan claims 'the Government had effectively shut out one area of representative black opinion. But an obstacle in the way of the next Immigration Act had been cleared' (Sivanandan, 1982, pp. 17-18).

In 1965 Malcolm X visited London and 'in his wake was formed a much more militant organisation, the Racial Action Adjustment Society (RAAS), which 'took in, on both counts, the African, Asian, Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American dimensions of the struggle and the struggles in the workplace and the community' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 20). Although RAAS had a bad reputation for having 'no politics but the

politics of thuggery'[12], Sivanandan argues that 'RAAS, or black militancy generally, would not have had the backing it did but for the growing disillusion with the Labour Party's policies on immigration control and, therefore racism' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 16).

In June 1967, The Universal Colored People's Association was formed after the visit of Stokely Carmichael. Unlike the US, 'black' became an identity that was inclusive of all the main 'non-white' social groups that were subject to racialization' (Cole & Virdee, 2006, p. 51). Kundani concurs claiming the late 60s and early 70s saw the formation of a political movement that incorporated a variety of different groups, as 'calling oneself 'black' was as much a statement of belief as it was of belonging' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 41). By the 1970s, the secular politics of the 60s had 'shifted to new territory as the younger generation confronted racism head on' (Mirza, et al., 2007, p. 22). For Kundnani, the collective connection, influenced by the Black Power Movement in America, was a fight against assimilation and 'a need for an independent struggle against racism' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 43). Werbner (1991) concurs claiming there was a 'common consciousness' and a move towards the 'creation of a transcendent 'black' unity' as 'alongside the movement towards the establishment of specific ethnic, cultural, religious or political institutions [was] an increasingly more dominant move to articulate the experience of racism' (Werbner, 1991, p. 19). Anti-racist campaigners developed and became increasingly interested in the concept of diversity and mounted campaigns for the provision of Halal meat in schools, faith education, positive images of ethnic minorities and Islamic clothing[13]. Goulbourne claims that:

> "Relatively non-contentious matters such as food preference and life-styles
> ...[become] important items on the agenda of some groups, and should be

---

[12] This reputation stemmed from the fact the organisation was inspired by the controversial Malcolm X and 'it was written up in the press, often as a novel and passing phenomenon, and appeared (in a bad light) on BBC's Panorama programme (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 20).
[13] Searle cites the example of thousands of Sikhs protesting against the refusal of Wolverhampton Transport Committee to allow Sikh bus crews to wear beards and turbans on duty (Searle, 2008, p. 5).

seen as aspects of the politics of cultural identity which are now relevant for groups in both the majority and minority ethnic communities" (Goulbourne, 1998, p. 188).

Thus, although there were separatist issues and politics, the 1960s and 70s saw the beginning of a strong collective anti-racist struggle that sought to fight racism, demand equality and emphasise identity. Despite a move towards more cultural objectives, there were still concerns about inequality in public areas such as the police. FitzGerald claims that 'the issue of 'race' and crime was first raised by minority groups and campaigning organisations in terms of police harassment of black people' (Fitzgerald, 1998, p. 162). He exemplifies this with the Scrap Sus campaign, which was formed with the goal of repealing section 24 of the 1824 Vagrancy Act, under which 'people and disproportionately black people were arrested by the police on suspicion of being about to commit an offence' (Fitzgerald, 1998, p. 161). Sivanandan notes that in 1969 the UCPA and the Caribbean Workers' Movement were actively monitoring police brutality in Manchester and London and organising demonstrations. The 'number of 14-16 year old males - white and black - sent to custody more than doubled between 1971 and 1981' and black youths 'constituted over a third of detention centre and borstal populations in South England' (Webster, 2007, p. 123). For Webster 1979-83 and 1992-98 were 'periods of intense politicization of youth crime' and were 'punitive and intensely radicalised' (Webster, 2007, p. 123). Racism on the streets of Britain was growing and the level of crime directed at minorities was causing frustration. This frustration was intensified as the officials denied there was a problem. In 1972, police forces gave evidence at a House of Commons Select Committee on Police Immigrant Relations stating that:

> "Coloured immigrants are no more involved in crime than others nor are they generally more concerned in violence, prostitution, and drugs. The West Indian crime rate is much the same as that of the indigenous population, the Asian crime rate is very much lower" (House of Commons, 2007).

However, by the late 1970s 'there had been a significant escalation, polarisation and indeed politicisation of the debate around race and crime' (Fitzgerald, 1998, p. 161) which forced the Metropolitan police to admit they were wrong.

Key activists such as Darcus Howe, a prominent member of the British Black Panther Movement (1970-73)[14], emerged in the 1970s. Howe worked at the Mangrove restaurant[15]which was targeted 12 times by police between January 1969 and July 1970 on suspicion of drug dealing (Bruce & Field, 2010). Howe and the Black Panthers organised a demonstration on 9th August 1970 where 150 people protested against police harassment. The police responded with 700 officers and mobilised Special Branch's 'black power desk' to monitor the protest. The demonstration ended in violence between the protesters and police. Reginald Maulding, the Home Secretary, described the protesters as 'black power conspirators determined to destroy the British police and called for a Special Branch report' (Howe, 1998). This resulted in the arrest of nine people (The Mangrove Nine) who were charged with 'inciting members of the public to kill police officers, making an affray, and a whole range of charges from GBH to common assault' (Howe, 1998). It was claimed that the trial was political from the outset and 'Home Office documents reveal this was a deliberate strategy to target and decapitate the emerging black power movement' (Bruce & Field, 2010). Castles and Kosack state 'the Mangrove case shows the type of repression which may be expected by any immigrants who dare to organize themselves'. Furthermore, they claim 'close police control over the political activities of immigrants is the rule throughout Europe' (Castles & Kosack, 1972, p. 15). After a 55-day trial Howe and four others were acquitted and the judge dismissed 12 police officers' statements which he claimed, 'equated black radicalism with criminal intent' and acknowledged that there was 'evidence of racial hatred on both sides' (Field, 2010). This was a

---

[14] A movement inspired by the US Black Panthers. The movement was locally organised but had an overall aim to specifically address the issues faced by British black people.
[15] Howe claims that Notting Hill had 'become the black culture capital of the UK and perhaps the headquarters of radical chic' and 'at the centre of it all was the Mangrove restaurant' (Howe, 1998)[15] . The Mangrove, owned by Fran Crichlow was described as 'the beating heart of the area's West Indian community' (Bruce & Field, 2010).

concrete acknowledgement of racial discrimination in the Metropolitan Police Force. Howe (1998) claims 'those were the days of the wild west. Today, 'race' relations is dominated by the jacket-and-tie brigade who do not intend to take a single risk' (Howe, 1998).

In the 1960s and 70s the politics of 'race' was officially concentrated on the concept of integration. Increased numbers of minorities in Britain led to organisation, political lobbying and the development of equality legislation. Multiculturalism was introduced in the 1980s as a response to the campaigns of the grassroots organisations of the 1960s and 70s. Cannon (2006) argues that multiculturalism in Britain was a result of post war debates on non-white immigrants and 'the trajectory of these debates went from 'keep Britain white' through 'assimilation' and 'integration' to multiculturalism' (Cannon, 2006, p. 1). Sivanandan concurs claiming that multiculturalism was 'partly a counter-Powellism built through grassroots, united anti-racist struggles and was based on a genuine respect for Britain's diverse cultural groups' (Bassi, 2007).

Multiculturalism

Official Resistance

The 1980s has been described as the 'hey day' for the development of equality policies (Hunter & Swan, 2007, p. 378). Finney claims:

> "*Multiculturalism* in social policy respects distinct group identities based on shared histories or cultures or languages or practices. A multicultural perspective does not see group identities as being at odds with integration and does not view affiliation with one group as meaning detachment from or opposition to other groups. While a multicultural social policy was never defined explicitly with that label, in Britain from the 1980s to 1990s government funding and policy recognised group differences as a legitimate guide to the spectrum of needs in an integrated society" (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 17).

This approach was promoted through official government rhetoric. Bassi claims that Scarman's conclusions 'paved the ideological way for the local government

appropriation of multiculturalism' (Bassi, 2007). The Scarman report was commissioned to investigate the 1981 Brixton 'riots'. The report denied institutional racism, claimed poverty and disadvantage of minority groups were key underlying factors of the tensions and called for a 'multi-racial, multi-cultural approach, which would recognise the different needs and ethnic communalities in society' (Mirza, et al., 2007, p. 23). Cole and Virdee (2006), however, argue that recession, the implementation of neo-liberal policies and public sector funding cuts offer a better explanation of the 'riots'. They claim that evidence suggests that although white youths were involved in the disturbances, 'race' dominated the policy debate as the anti-racists claimed the 'riots' were solely related to racism and the media claimed it was the criminality of blacks. Both explanations 'ignored the plight of white working class youths' (Cole & Virdee, 2006, p. 56). They describe the disturbances as protests which marked 'the first substantial number of black young people born in Britain [beginning] to assert their rights and [reject] assimilationist tendencies imposed on them' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 76). Cole and Blair claim 'the manner in which these disturbances were projected via media and official sources such as the Scarman report (Home Office, 1981) seemed to fix in the minds of white society the image of young black people (especially males) as representing trouble' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 76). The negative representations transcended into education. Kundnani claims that the series of urban disturbances throughout the 1980s reinforced the 'disruptive' image of black children.

The 1981 Rampton report confirmed racism was a major factor in the educational attainment of West Indian children. In 1985, the Swann report was commissioned to investigate the future of education in a multicultural context. The report confirmed some of the findings of the Rampton report, promoted the notion of multiculturalism and recommended 'schools intervene to correct the 'rootlessness' that a weak family structure had passed onto African-Caribbean children' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 45). Sarup (1986) and Troyna (1993) criticised the Swann report for taking a superficial focus on cultural elements rather than inequality, which had been 'core of the community campaigns' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 79).

Kundnani argues that this report enhanced the negative imagery and perception of minority groups and blamed them for their own inequality:

> "By the end of the decade, the idea had been entrenched in the public mind that African Caribbean families had a cultural propensity to failure, with disproportionate numbers of single, unemployed mothers bringing up children likely to end up in crime. If it was their 'alien' culture that was the primary cause of African-Caribbean poverty, then British society could absolve itself of responsibility" (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 45).

Gaining political support for minority groups in education became more difficult in the late 1980s because of the increasing political support for the work of Charles Murray, a political scientist from the United States. From the early to mid-1980s, Murray was arguing that:

> "Overly-generous welfare provision promotes dependency, the breakup of the nuclear family household, and socialization into a counter-culture which devalues work and encourages criminality" (Marshall, et al., 1991, pp. 22-44).

Rupert Murdoch's Sunday Times brought Murray to the UK in 1989 where he was commissioned to write a series of articles on the British underclass, on the 22nd May 1994; Murray used this platform to argue that:

> "Britain needed to return to the traditional values of marriage and the two-parent family in order to ensure social stability" (Hunt, 1997, pp. 629-648).

That same year Murray published *The Bell Curve*, a book that argued that black people had lower average intelligence than white people. Murray argued that affirmative action in education had gone too far claiming:

> "Universities today cannot publish the data on their admitted students and hope to persuade the public (or specialists in education) that their policies are reasonable" (Hernstein & Murray, 1994, p. 476).

Adding that:

> "Ending affirmative action as it is currently practiced will surely have other effects. Affirmative action does in fact bring a significant number of

minority students onto campuses who would not otherwise be there. Perhaps the overall percentage of some minorities who attend college would drop. But their white counterparts at the same level of ability and similar socioeconomic background are not in college now" (Hernstein & Murray, 1994, p. 476).

As a result of such discourses, black students were represented as violent troublemakers and Asian students presented as passive and studious. According to Cole and Blair (2006) 'this notion of the 'passive Asian' student was juxtaposed against the 'aggressive' student of Caribbean origin' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 76). According to Tomlinson (1984) this notion became a 'stick to beat the West Indian pupil with' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 76). In contrast, the notion of the passive Asian student was directed mainly at girls, which in turn implied cultural subordination. This became 'a stick to beat the Asian man as well as 'proof' of the cultural inferiority of these groups' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 76). Kundnani backs up this assertion:

> "The African Caribbean family was construed as having too little culture, the Asian family had too much. For Asian children the problem was that they were caught in an apparent identity crisis, falling between the cultures of their parents and British society, such that neither commanded authority and rebelliousness resulted; such was their 'ethnic disadvantage" (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 46).

In a speech to the Conservative Philosophy Group Casey, of Cambridge University, criticised Scarman for his 'trivial' report, which he claimed, misdiagnosed the cause of the disturbances. Instead, Casey's Salisbury report argued that 'race' and culture were linked and involved shared language and customs not just physical appearances:

> "...When one traced their origins, with a preponderance of West Indians. And they reflected habits particularly characteristic of Jamaica, including that general rebelliousness that I have mentioned (and, incidentally, that curious interest in fire). In fact the interpretation given by the radical young blacks themselves, in the teeth of bien pensant sociologists, was the most plausible: that the riots were directed at the police-that is to say, at the representatives of lawful authority which restrains the West Indian lifestyle

which seems to include drugs and other unlawful activities" (Casey, 1982, p. 23).

Furthermore, Casey claimed that 'the only radical policy that would stand some chance of success is repatriation of a proportion of the immigrant and immigrant-descended population. Voluntary, assisted repatriation is one possibility, and, on the face of it, the most humane' (Casey, 1982). In schools associates of the Sailbury report such as Ray Honeyford, the head of a Bradford school with a majority Asian intake, wrote articles arguing:

> "Through a process of minority intimidation, the decent and tolerant majority culture was being eroded in schools. African Caribbeans suffered from a flawed 'family structure and values' and came from homes that lacked 'educational ambition'; Asians displayed a 'hysterical political temperament' and were 'obstinately backward'. The 'fundamentally decent' whites had been abandoned by the authorities to the disorder and confusion that immigration had introduced" (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 44).

Although Honeyford was dismissed, the government accepted these claims by implementing the 1988 Education Reform Act, introducing a national curriculum and making Christian collective worship a compulsory daily element.

Gabriel claims the centrally co-ordinated national curriculum was 'against developing a curriculum which is tailored to the needs, and reflective of the traditions of a particular locality, and the experiences of its communities' (Gabriel, 1994, pp. 78-79). Gabriel claims there was 'bias… towards the teaching of an Anglo centric curriculum which reinforced the experiential gap between schools and local black and ethnic minority communities' (Gabriel, 1994, pp. 78-79). Blair and Cole reinforce the claim that ethnic inequalities in education were attributed to minority characteristics rather than discrimination. They argue that in the early twentieth century 'the attitudes and images projected by school texts... and reinforced in government statements and policies served in part to racialize the children of colonial and post-colonial immigrants as a problem' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 70). Furthermore they claim that 'the curriculum of the early twentieth century was

overtly racist' and these 'imperialist texts could still be found in school libraries well into the 1980s' (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 74).

Bonnett claims the Act was an attempt 'to sweep away the influence of anti-racism'. Thatcher introduced this reform at a Conservative Party Conference in 1987 by saying that young people's opportunity for 'a decent education... is all too often snatched from them by hard-left education authorities and extremist teachers. Children who need to be able to count and multiply are learning anti-racist mathematics, whatever that may be' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 152). Furthermore, Kenneth Baker, the Secretary of State for Education introduced this legislation by stating 'the pursuit of egalitarianism is now over' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 152). Fisher claims:

> "The 1988 Act changed the power relationships in education, shifting control away from local education authorities and upwards to the Secretary of State and central institutions, the most important being the (then) Department for Education and Science. The purpose of the Act was not, however, primarily structural. It was driven by an intention to dictate to state schools what was to be taught and how it was to be assessed in an attempt to control from the centre and drive up standards" (Fisher, 2008, p. 256).

Fisher claims the Act was popular as it embraced 'parent power', 'statutory testing and new forms of school management outside local authority control were supposed to give parents the ability to move their children to high-performing schools' (Fisher, 2008, p. 257). Kundnani's interpretation of the latter is that it increased segregation by enabling parents to choose other schools for their children if they felt that their local school had too many ethnic minorities. Kundnani suggests that 'Asian ghettos schools' with an expectation of failure explained by 'cultural problems' were the consequence of this Act. Gabriel (1994) reinforces this claiming the 'open enrolment' and 'local management' created:

> "Different classes of schools with some, often those attracting a predominantly white middle-class intake, better resourced than others" (Gabriel, 1994, p. 79).

Multiculturalism did recognise the specific identities of minorities, leaving behind the assimilation requirement. However, the recognition of identity was not positive as minorities were represented badly in the media, education and politics. This also hindered the struggle against racism.

Discrimination was apparent in all aspects of society. Lester notes that in the 1990s ethnic minorities lived in poorer housing than whites, unemployment among Black African, Pakistani and Bangladeshi populations was more than three times the national average. There were proportionately more minorities in prison and fewer in positions of responsibility. There were no High Court judges of ethnic minority origin, 'only 1.4 per cent of the armed forces were black or Asian, and while ethnic minorities made up 1.7 per cent of the police service, there are no ethnic minority officers above the rank of Chief Superintendent' (Lester, 1998, p. 23):

> "In May 1996 a survey found that 59 per cent of black people and 39 per cent of Asians had experience of racism, over one fifth of them experienced physical rather than only verbal abuse... Of white people, 31 per cent admitted to being at least slightly prejudice, 4 per cent (representing 1.5 million) to being very prejudice" (Spencer, 1998, p. 75).

Despite this, Lester notes that in the 1990s the government had 'consistently taken the view, in Europe and in its reports to the various international human rights monitoring bodies, that for the purposes of tackling racial inequality the 1976 Act [was] entirely adequate' (Blackstone, et al., 1998, p. 23).

Bonnett (2000) notes that there have been numerous societies that have had a 'backlash' against anti-racism but claims that 'the most explicit and debated challenges to anti-racism are to be found within western countries' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 147). Bonnett also argues that the abolition of the Greater London Council (GLC) (1986) and the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) (1990) represents 'one of the most striking manifestations of the Conservatives' determination to root out anti-racism from local politics' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 152). Gilroy concurs and employs the term 'multi-culture', rather than multiculturalism, claiming that Britain does not have a multicultural ideology as 'the desire to forge it died long ago in the ashes of

the ILEA and GLC, which had been trying to challenge and re-work the outmoded discourse of assimilation' (Gilroy, 2005, p. 57). Kundnani (2007) suggests that Thatcherism and the state took an active role to suppress minority political expression. He claims they developed a discourse of nationalism that failed to see Britain as 'a multinational state, of which England was one nation' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 43). Instead 'an ethnicity of Englishness in all but name replaced the sense of citizenship that the downsizing welfare state could no longer embody' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 43).

Bonnett suggests that in the 1980s and early 1990s criticisms of anti-racism were intense and claims there was a move towards what he calls 'anti anti-racism' which was 'a tendency with sufficient power to shape the way people understand what anti-racism actually is' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 149). Bonnett notes that anti-racism in the 1980s became a 'political liability' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 153). He also claims 'looney left' stories were a daily feature of newspapers reporting such things as 'the alleged banning, by left wing local authorities, of the nursery rhyme 'Baa Baa Black Sheep', along with black garbage bags and all reference to black coffee in staff canteens' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 153). Bonnett argues that British Conservative 'anti anti- racism' falls into two camps, those who view anti-racism as 'interventionalist and contrary to their *laissez faire* principles', and those who see it as a threat to British culture. Bonnett argues 'for the latter group it often appears as if anti-racism is, in and of itself, offensive, while for the former anti-racism is simply not seen as the 'job of the state'' (Bonnett, 2000, pp. 151-152). Bonnett notes that under the Thatcher government:

> "These two strands gained greater authority within the party and were able to influence, if never entirely dominate, government policy. The two themes were brought together, and the tension between them concealed, by an emphasis on the *unnecessary and unwanted* nature of anti-racism" (Bonnett, 2000, p. 152).

Bonnett claims the British press supported the Conservatives distaste of anti-racism:

> "Indeed a high profile campaign against anti-racism continued throughout the 1980s in nearly all British newspapers (Murry, 1986; Gordon, 1990). The two central themes that developed within this campaign were that a) anti-racism is a product of the extreme left, and b) anti-racism is anti-white and anti-British" (Bonnett, 2000, p. 153).

Margaret Thatcher echoed Enoch Powell's 1968 speech by suggesting that 'this country might be rather swamped by people with a different culture' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 43). The media picked up this warning:

> "The *Daily Mail*, in a series of articles on immigration, with headlines such as 'They've taken over my home town', gave real life stories of 'culture swamping" (Sivanandan, 1982, pp. 43-44).

Spencer notes that an opinion poll taken after Thatcher's swamping comments showed an increase (from 9% to 21%) of people who thought that immigration was an 'urgent issue facing the country' (Spencer, 1998, p. 80). This suggests the publicity of Thatcher's comment legitimised such expression and views. This continued throughout the 1990s.

The 1991 census was the first census to have a question on ethnic group and showed 'the ethnic minority population of Britain was 5.5 per cent of the total population' (Lester, 1998, p. 22). Despite the low number Michael Howard, the then Home Secretary, introduced the 1996 Asylum and Immigration Act claiming that immigration control was essential to promote good relations[16]. Spencer claims that the government used 'emotive language and imagery' (Spencer, 1998, p. 91) when discussing immigration. Lester illustrates the contradiction in the government's claim that a strict policy is essential for good 'race' relations by referring to the Parliamentary debates on the 1996 Bill which, he claims, shifted from boasting about 'Britain's generosity' for helping victims of persecution to claims of abuse:

---

[16] Spencer notes that 'the 1996 act formed part of wider provisions to limit access for asylum seekers, illegal immigrants and some temporary visitors to employment, welfare benefits and public services' (Spencer, 1998, p. 78).

"The Home Secretary and Conservative MPs spoke of 'a great deal of abuse', of 'money being wasted on people who do not deserve it, do not need it and have no right to it', of 'wage rates for labouring jobs (being) undercut by bogus applicants who are working for a cheap price... the term 'bogus' was used pejoratively by Conservative and Labour MPs to describe asylum seekers no less than forty seven times during the Second Reading debate" (Spencer, 1998, p. 81).

Lester notes that although by the 1990s it was less socially acceptable to express negative views about black and Asian people within the United Kingdom, 'fewer inhibitions constrained the expression of such views about immigrants, foreigners and refugees' (Spencer, 1998, p. 75). This language was adopted by the media and 'the beginning of the 1990s represents the moment when the image of refugees started to be characterised by the negative features' (ICAR, 2012, p. 11). The media reproduced the language of the government reporting that 'floods of immigrants were coming to Britain' and living on benefits[17] [18]. Public opinion was also hostile, in 1994, 60% of people thought immigration should be limited for Asian people, 54% wanted to limit West Indian immigration and only 30% thought Australian immigration should be limited (Spencer, 1998, p. 75). The arguments shifted from assimilation and integration towards concern over numbers and negative traits of incomers. This was contrary to the aims of multiculturalism.

Bourne argues that 'multiculturalism *as policy* emanated from both central and local government as a conscious attempt to answer racial inequality (and especially the resistance to it after the 'riots' of 1981 and 1985) with cultural solutions' (Bourne, 2007b, p. 2). Mirza (2007) argues that an important feature of the shift towards multiculturalism from the 1980s onwards was that the government, who introduced many multicultural policies at both a local and national level, supported the shift (Mirza, et al., 2007, p. 17). The 'turn to diversity' (Hunter & Swan, 2007, p. 378) that took place is significant as it marks a more formalised government oriented approach to 'race' equality. Modood argues that in the 1990s 'thinking on

---

[17] Lycett, A (1991) Bogus Refugees 'Bleed Pounds 100m out of Britain', 13th November 1991, The Times (Lycett, 1991)**.**
[18] Daily Mail (1999) Come on In, Mail Investigation Reveals How Scandalously Easy it is for Bogus Asylum Seekers to Enter Britain, 27st November 1999, Daily Mail (Daily Mail, 1999).

multiculturalism not only incorporated aspects of the anti-racist critique of the 1980s but began to take the Muslim challenge with a new and deserved seriousness' (Modood, 2007, p. 15). However it was:

> "Not welcomed by all who had argued for the need to outlaw race discrimination. Some radical activists saw the celebration of cultural traditions as a dilution and professionalization of resistance to racism, emphasising difference in place of the common need to confront institutional racism" (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 76).

Kundnani argues that the adaptation of multiculturalism as a political concept marked the beginning of a move away from grassroots anti-racist struggles towards a more formalised 'race' relations 'industry'. Hunter and Swan (2007) highlight the critique around the professionalization, formalisation and bureaucratisation of equalities' and claim that 'this bureaucratisation has effects for the broader politics of equality, one of which is that this de-radicalises such work, constraining and narrowing its effects and focus' (Hunter & Swan, 2007, pp. 1-2). Hunter and Swan (2007) also argue that 'these moves formalised a class of equality professionals, who became co-opted and de-radicalised' (Hunter & Swan, 2007, p. 5). This point is emphasised as 'a civil servant as high up in the UK equalities elite as the Head of Government's Women and Equality Unit, continues to claim the title 'activist'' (Hunter & Swan, 2007, p. 7). Thus, multiculturalism in the policy context is argued to have weakened and de-radicalised anti-racism. This constraining effect was experienced on a practical funding level.

Funding

Multiculturalism and the 'idea of diversity spawned a massive infrastructure of policies, funding streams, voluntary and semi-governmental organisations and professional occupations' (Mirza, et al., 2007, pp. 23-24). Mirza claims this had the effect of segregating and dividing communities from each other:

> "In order to gain resources from the public purse or even garner media attention, particular groups have to claim they are unfairly disadvantaged. The effect over the past two decades has been the emergence of ethnically

or culturally specific lobby groups, each arguing their own corner for more money, resources and support for their particular identity" (Mirza, et al., 2007, p. 24).

Bourne (2007) reinforces this argument stating that funds were locally and nationally allocated on the:

"Basis of redressing ethnic needs and problems. Such funding inevitably promoted competition between groups as to which was more ethnically and culturally disadvantaged and therefore more deserving of help – thus emphasising their (ethnic) differences rather than their (social) commonalities leading to separatism and culturalism" (Bourne, 2007a, p. 2).

Mirza's analysis of multicultural policies was that it 'emphasised difference at the expense of shared national identity and divided people along ethnic, religious and cultural lines'[19]. Mirza also claims that:

"Islamist groups have gained influence at local and national level by playing the politics of identity and demanding for Muslims the 'right to be different'. The authorities and some Muslim groups have exaggerated the problem of Islamophobia, which has fuelled a sense of victimhood amongst some Muslims" (Mirza, et al., 2007, p. 6).

However, unlike Mirza, Bourne claims that 'multiculturalism lost its anti-racist roots and remit and became institutionalised. It ceased to be an outcome of the struggle for equality emanating from below, and became, instead, policy imposed from above' (Bourne, 2007a, p. 3). Bassi (2007) acknowledges that funds did, to some extent, have positive implications but claims:

"The consequence of such funding has been to pit one self-defined ethnic minority group against another, breeding resentment within the non-white populations and resentment from a by-standing white ethnic majority. Local government multiculturalism began a process that marketed and depoliticised cultural diversity, and which focused on getting a series of "communities" and "community leaders" to join the ranks" (Bassi, 2007).

Bassi opposes the concept of multiculturalism on the basis that it 'ignores the socio-economic conditions that foster racism, decentres anti-racist politics and descends

---

[19] Mirza is an advisor to Boris Johnstone.

into a crude, apolitical cultural relativism' (Bassi, 2007). Sivanandan claims that the

shift went from a fight for 'equal opportunities to equal opportunism' (Sivanandan,

1989). However, unlike Mirza, who uses language that implies racism was

exaggerated, Sivanandan claims it was underplayed and the focus on ethnicity was

'a backward move both conceptually and in the struggle for equality' (Finney &

Simpson, 2009, p. 37). Kundnani concurs claiming that these multiculturalists'

policies were 'a mode of control rather that a line of defence' and were used by the

government 'to soften the sharp edges of black politics' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 44):

> "Multiculturalism in this sense referred to a set of policies directed towards
> taking African-Caribbean and Asian cultures off the streets – where they had
> been politicised and turned into rebellions against the state – and putting
> them in the council chamber, in the classroom and on television, where they
> could be institutionalised, managed and commodified" (Kundnani, 2007a, p.
> 44).

Thus, according to Kundnani multicultural policy was aimed at ending the radical

black movement and stopping protests. Gilroy claims that after the 1981 'riots'

'anti-racists became a discrete and self-contained political formation. Their activism

is now able to sustain itself independently of the lives, dreams and aspirations of

the majority of blacks from whose experience they derive their authority to speak'

(Gilroy, 1999, p. 243).

Chouhan and Lusane claim the 1980s Thatcher government never sufficiently

addressed racism as they 'continued to reinforce the denial of the structural nature

of racism' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 5). In a funding context, the denial of

institutional racism concerned BME organisations as they 'thought this signalled a

retreat from the goal of racial equality and perpetrated a denial of institutional or

any kind of racism' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 6). This failure of government to

address the structure of racism had a knock on impact for BME organisations that

were being established at the time:

> "In this climate, the Black and Voluntary Community Sector struggled to
> establish a platform for its own development, something that would need to
> receive significant funding. Several undaunted activists continued to make

the case for Black empowerment – not, as the common view would have it, to simply create enclaves of resistance, but to ensure that empowerment meant being able to operate in and influence mainstream society in political, social and mainstream arenas" (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 6).

This reinforces Bonnett's claims that the Conservative 'anti anti-racist' approach was a way of pushing the drive for equality off the agenda as:

"The attacks mounted on multiculturalism and affirmative action are characterised, not by an interest in developing alternative ways that private business might create equality (cf Kahlenberg, 1995), but by an antagonism to the very idea that equality can or should be socially engineered" (Bonnett, 2000, p. 154).

Despite the critical discourse on equality, anti-racism at a grassroots level was building. Anwar (1998) claims the previous generation 'on the whole, tolerated prejudice, discrimination and harassment, perhaps at the price of settling in Britain' (Anwar, 1998, p. 191). The younger generation of minorities were 'no longer willing to accept the explicit denigration that their parents once did' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 6). Kundnani reinforces this claiming that 'those who were born or grew up in the UK wanted to remake society, not just be tolerated within it' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 42). Cole and Blair (2006) claim that minority groups were active in fighting discrimination in education as parents organised faith based teaching, language support and additional classes. Resistance was also apparent in the workplace as post-war black migrant workers had an ideological commitment to the principles of unionism:

"The Policy Studies Institute (PSI) survey showed that in 1982, 56 per cent of Asian and West Indian employees were union members, compared with 47 per cent of white employees" (Wrench & Virdee, 1995, p. 8).

Despite concerns over TU commitment to 'race' equality Wrench and Virdee claim by the late 1970s and early 80s the TUC were developing anti-racism education and training materials. However, Rosen claims the employment Acts of 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1993 'continued the process of whittling away trade union power' (Rosen, 2003, p. 61).

In the 1980s it was noted that there was a high proportion of African Caribbean and Asian law graduates opting for careers at the Bar, law centres and local authorities, 'on qualifying, however, this new generation found their paths to the profession as effectively blocked as they had been for their parents' (Goulbourne, 1998, p. 188). In response the radical society of black lawyers was formed:

> "The society's main aim has been to improve access to justice in Britain, but in practice perhaps their main achievement has been to convince first the Bar Council, and the more reluctant Law Society, to examine their exclusionary practices and introduce new and fair codes of conduct in relation to recruitment and the provision of services to the public. Through vociferous and militant protest, these lawyers managed slowly to bring about a recognisable degree of change in the profession" (Goulbourne, 1998, p. 189).

Protests were also mounting. On Monday 2nd March 1981 the Cross Massacre Action Group, an umbrella body, held a march to protest against the Metropolitan Police for their 'neglectful and ineffective policing' after the New Cross Fire[20]. This became known as the Black People's Day of Action.

The Stephen Lawrence case was a turning point for 'race' relations. In 1993 Stephen Lawrence, a young black student, was murdered in an unprovoked and racist attack. Although the police publically acknowledged the Lawrence murder was a racial attack, they failed to conduct the investigation as a racist incident (See Cathcart, 1999). The criticism was publicised primarily from the efforts of grassroots organisations and the Lawrence family. On the 6th May 1993, Nelson Mandela met the Lawrence's and publically stated:

> "The Lawrence's tragedy is our tragedy. I am deeply touched by the brutality of the murder – brutality that we are all used to in South Africa, were black lives are cheap.' There words were backed by Mandela's 'unique moral authority' and were strong as 'he was drawing a parallel between race relations in Britain and life under apartheid" (Cathcart, 1999, p. 104).

---

[20] In the 18th January 1981, 13 young black people were killed in a house fire while attending a birthday party. The fire was suspected to be a racist arson attack.

Stephen's mother, Doreen Lawrence, criticised the police for the 'shameful' treatment the family had received, she stated:

> "They are patronizing us and when they do that to me I get very angry. They are not dealing with illiterate blacks. We're educated. It's time they woke up to our people. Why is it that the leader of a foreign country shows us sympathy while our own government has expressed no interest at all" (Cathcart, 1999, p. 104).

The public criticisms made by the family put pressure on the police to conduct an internal review (known as the Barker Review) and in October 1993 Chief Superintendent John Baker concluded that the investigation 'has been progressed satisfactorily and all lines of inquiry correctly pursued'[21] (Cathcart, 1999, p. 190). Barker was later described (at the inquest) as 'the author of a cover up' (Cathcart, 1999, p. 342). The lack of government and police support meant the Lawrence family relied on support from anti-racism activists such as the Anti-Racist Alliance (ARA). The ARA was a black led umbrella group, which gave support to black people, like the Lawrence family, by 'tapping into a network of black experts and professionals' [22]. At this time there were refreshed calls 'for government action on racist violence and it added fuel to an argument then being aired that Parliament should create a new offense of racial harassment' (Cathcart, 1999, p. 109)[23].

In 1994, after the police failed to mount a public prosecution, the Lawrence family pursued a private one. This was again supported by grassroots organisations such as the Southall Monitoring Group who helped raise money. However the trial, which took place between the 17th – 25th April 1996, failed[24]. In February 1997 an inquest into the murder took place but the suspects refused to answer any

---

[21] The report was not made public and initially the Lawrence's did not have access to it.
[22] The ARA helped the Lawrence family to find a lawyer, cope with the public interest and deal with security issues. The ARA contacted the Black Lawyers' Society who recommended lawyer, Imran Khan.
[23] Although initially the grassroots organisations had provided vital support to the Lawrence family, they became disillusioned with the campaigns.

[24] The evidence of Duwayne Brooks, the key witness, was not allowed as it was deemed unsafe by the judge.

questions. After the inquest Imran Khan announced that the family were taking the case to the Police Complaints Commission (PCC) and the Chairman of the CRE, Sir Herman Ouseley, called for an independent public inquiry into the case (Cathcart, 1999, p. 285). The complaint was investigated by Kent Police Force who acknowledged faults in the investigation but concluded there was no evidence of racism. However, given the pressure put on the police from the family, the CRE and Imran Khan the public inquiry went ahead [25]. The MacPherson report was commissioned by the Home Office in 1999 to investigate the handling of the case. The report rejected Scarman's 'bad apple theory' (Cathcart, 1999, p. 350) noting:

> "The Association of Chief Police Officers ACPO define a racial incident as 'any incident in which it appears to the reporting officer or the investigating officer that the complaint involves an element of racial motivation, or any incident which includes an allegation of racial motivation made by any person" (Cathcart, 1999, pp. 351-352).

Furthermore, the report gave a 'new definition and a new recognition of institutionalised racism' (Cathcart, 1999, p. 404) defining it as:

> "The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racial stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (MacPherson, 1999, p. 28).

This report reinforced the idea that racism existed on a structural and institutional level and acknowledged that institutional racism was apparent in the Metropolitan Police. Furthermore, part two of the report claimed institutional racism 'existed in other police forces and in other institutions across the country' (Cathcart, 1999, p. 409). The inquiry clarified that it was the implementation of policies rather than the policies themselves that were racist:

---

[25] The prosecution involved the Lawrence family, Duwayne Brooks and the CRE and the defence involved the Metropolitan Police and the Crown Prosecution Service (Cathcart, 1999, p. 313).

"Unwitting racism can arise because of lack of understanding, ignorance or mistaken beliefs. It can arise from well-intentioned but patronising words or actions. It can arise from unfamiliarity with the behaviour or cultural traditions of people or families from minority ethnic communities. It can arise from the racist stereotyping of black people as potential criminals or troublemakers. Often this arises out of uncritical self-understanding born out of an inflexible police ethos of the 'traditional' way of doing things. Furthermore, such attitudes thrive in a tightly knit community, so that there can be a collective failure to detect and to outlaw this breed of racism. The police canteen can too easily be its breeding ground" (Cathcart, 1999, p. 413).

Cathcart claims that the Lawrence case changed 'race' relations in Britain as 'ideas such as unconscious or institutional racism have been thrust into the mainstream' (Cathcart, 1999, p. 413). Kundnani reinforces this claiming:

"Crucially, the inquiry had the effect of broadening discussion of race relations from questions of managing cultural differences between communities to questions of the political relationships between non-white communities and the state. The implication was that the fight against racism was not just against personal prejudices but for human rights, justice and accountability" (Kundnani, 2007a, pp. 130-131).

It is evident that the report was a result of the family struggle and the help they received from grassroots anti-racist activists. This forced the police, government and public to recognise institutional racism. Chouhan and Lusane (2004) claimed the Lawrence inquiry highlighted 'the critical view of many Black Voluntary and Community Sector groups that short-term, unsupported or inadequate funding led to unsustainable projects and, even worse, to accusations of failure by the sector to meet goals and objectives' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 6). Furthermore, it highlighted the concern that many racial attack-monitoring projects had funding cuts as they were considered to be 'too political' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 6). Following the inquiry there were 'renewed calls for racial attacks monitoring from community-based projects' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 6). Thus, the Lawrence campaign helped to highlight the issues faced by voluntary organisations and got 'race' on the agenda.

New Labour publicly embraced MacPherson's findings and Jack Straw declared, 'twelve months after the publication of the Stephen Lawrence Report, that over half of the recommendations had been implemented'. Furthermore, 'he championed the amendment of the Race Relations Act, outlined the initiatives towards monitoring and retention of ethnic minority staff in the public services, the recuperation of racial awareness training and a review of the National Curriculum to foster diversity' (Back, et al., 2002, p. 447). The Race Relations Amendment Act was passed in 2000, under a Labour government, and placed a duty on the police to promote 'race' equality.

Generic Equality

Official Response

After the criticisms of the Conservative government's multiculturalism policies, when New Labour came to power in 1997 'there was great anticipation in the embattled trenches of black and anti-racist politics' (Back, et al., 2002, p. 445). Despite Labour's promises after the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, the number of racist incidents reported by the police increased almost fivefold from 10,997 to 51,187 between 1993 and 2011 (Burnett, 2012, p. 91). An IPCC report noted that:

> "Over one-third of cases in which a Black detainee died occurred in circumstances in which police actions may have been a factor (the proportion rises to almost one-half if the cases of accidental death where the police were present are added) – this compared with only 4% of cases where the detainee was White" (Hannah, et al., 2011, p. 2).

Furthermore, the report noted 'when the BME groups were combined for analysis, people from BME groups were significantly more likely to be restrained than White people' (Hannah, et al., 2011, p. 27). Between February 2000 and April 2001, there were 91 deaths, which occurred as a result of racist attacks or while in police custody (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 27). In 2011 the Guardian reported that three black detainees died in police custody in 2010 and that an annual march to draw attention to the increase in deaths of black people in custody was 'expected to be

the largest yet' (Taylor & Muir, 2011). Burnett claims that there has been 'almost no acknowledgement' of this increase 'aside from claims by the police that this is simply a reflection of better recording practices' (Burnett, 2012, p. 92). Despite the statistical evidence, the Labour government moved away from tackling institutional racism. David Bunkett, the Education Secretary at the time, called institutionalised racism a 'slogan' that 'missed the point' and rejected the report's call to implement an anti-racist element to education claiming 'we have tended to downplay our culture and we need to reinforce pride in what we have'. As part of his role as Home Secretary, which he was appointed to in 2001, he became the Chair of a group tasked with monitoring the implementation of the MacPherson report but he rarely attended meetings. Kundnani (2007) claims that by this time 'Home Office schemes to tackle institutional racism were playing second fiddle to the new intergrationism with its emphasis on reinvigorating national identity' (Kundnani, 2007a, p. 131).

Back et al (2002) criticised the Labour government, and specifically Blunkett, for 'changing terms of public debate' (Back, et al., 2002, p. 446). This refers to the discussion around citizenship tests, English language and forced marriage:

> "Such language reminds one not of the debates of the seventies, eighties or even nineties, but of the assimilationist language of the sixties. It smacks of language that somehow refuses to stay in the past" (Back, et al., 2002, p. 446).

Worley (2005) has focused on the language of community cohesion and argues that the concept has been used as a mechanism for the de-racialization of discourse and 'the policy demonstrates concerning features as it signals a move away from multiculturalism towards notions of assimilation'. Worley (2005) claims 'this harks back to the policies of the 1960s and 1970s, in which cultural differences were seen as a barrier to integration' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 9). Chouhan and Lusane describe the government approach to tackling racism as 'abysmal' and claim it has:

> "Fuelled a racist backlash against the Lawrence inquiry, particularly as a result of David Blunkett's comments on 'swamping' and 'whingers' and

denials of institutional racism. Its failure to address racism head on and lack of a consistent policy is, in our opinion, a decisive factor in the level of racism" (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 6).

After 9/11 and following the disturbances in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley the Home Office commissioned the Cantle report to explore the motivations, (including the causes, consequences and actions to address) behind the northern disturbances. The report cost £50,000 (Ghetto Britain: 30 Years of Race, 2006) and suggested that a lack of social cohesion between different ethnic groups was responsible for the unrest, and that the failure of ethnic minorities to integrate into British culture has led to people living 'parallel lives':

> "The depth of polarisation of our towns and cities. The extent, to which these physical divisions were compounded by so many other aspects of our daily lives, was very evident. Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives. These lives often do not seem to touch at any point, let alone overlap and promote any meaningful interchanges" (Cantle, 2001, p. 10).

Cantle linked the notion of 'citizenship' with the need for 'a clear primary loyalty to this Nation' (Cantle, 2001, p. 20). Worley argues that the idea of community is used as a 'a tool of social policy' and is 'linked to notions of active citizenship' and 'individual responsibilities' (Worley, 2005, p. 486). Worely notes that the Cantle report employed these notions as 'it was this lack of contact that came to be seen as a central motivating factor for the civil disturbances which had occurred, not issues of racism, deprivation and extremism' (Worley, 2005, p. 487). This implies that those involved in the 'riots' had put their ethnic or religious identity first, instead of their national identity' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 9). This assertion is not reinforced by official statistics, which show that the majority of ethnic minorities describe themselves as British. Four out of five black Caribbean people and three-quarters of Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis described their national identity as British, English, Scottish, Welsh or Irish. For people of mixed ethnic origins the figure was 87% and 81% in the 'other black' category (Carvel, 2004). Furthermore,

the policy demonstrates features that are of concern as the 'shift away from affirmations of British multiculture towards a (re)embracing of older notions of assimilationism within a newer, *de-racialized, language of social cohesion*' (Worley, 2005, p. 488). Multiculturalism was identified as a cause of divisions and 'in its place are ideas of integration, community cohesion, national identity and citizenship' (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 13). David Blunkett welcomed the findings of the Cantle report and called for a national debate on citizenship. The UK Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act of 2002 introduced a system of testing migrants wishing to settle in the UK. It required those applying for naturalisation as British citizens - and from 2007 those applying for Indefinite Leave to Remain (ILR) - to pass a test. New immigrants are also required to participate in a citizenship ceremony where they swear allegiance to the Queen and demonstrate a good level of English.

Blackledge (2006) argues that the ESOL classes are the front line of government security policy. He links the development of government discourse concerning social unrest in northern towns, the identification of poor language and citizenship skills with a threat to national cohesion and national security (Blackledge, 2006). McNamara and Shohamy (2008) argue that the introduction of language and citizenship tests coincides with 'the growth of ethnic diversity, internal ethnic tensions, and the emergence of the discourses of homeland and border security and national identity as a protection against external terrorist threats' (McNamara & Shohamy, 2008, p. 91). Blackledge claims language tests are 'a new gatekeeping mechanism… potentially preventing a group of willing residents from participating in the democratic process, and from accessing their rights' (Blackledge, 2006, p. 27). Blackledge points to the extension of language testing to spouses of citizens as discriminatory as it is a requirement that largely affects British Asians. For McNamara and Shohamy, such tests violate 'the right of people to use their (own) language', and the refusal to grant citizenship for reasons of language competence is 'a violation of basic human/personal rights to welfare, education and other social benefits' (McNamara & Shohamy, 2008, p. 93).

Wetherell claims the common values aspired to in the Cantle report are vague and notes the contradiction between community cohesion strategies and other government policies such as the war on terror (Wetherell, 2007). In 2006 the Racial and Religious Hatred Bill was passed making it an offense to incite hatred based on religion. The Bill was Labour's third attempt to pass anti-religious discrimination legislation (Maer, 2009, p. 1). The provision was originally part of the Anti-terrorism Crime and Security Bill in 2001. This highlights the controversial link between the perception of minorities as a problem and equality legislation. This problematic discourse has gained strength, as there is public concern that minorities are failing to integrate. Furthermore, despite Britain being below the world average for immigration, the public express concern over the number of immigrants and different religious groups. A You Gov survey interviewed over 1000 first, second and third generation immigrants, new arrivals and white natives from January 17th-21st 2008. The survey showed that 83% of all Britons feel there is an immigration crisis and 84% think immigration should be reduced or stopped completely. The survey showed that 69% of British people feel they are losing out because migrants are being given special treatment; 66% feel that their jobs are being undercut by immigrant workers; 58% feel that there is an immigration crisis; 40% believe immigrants work for less pay; 21% say their job prospects are more difficult because of migrant workers; and 60% think that immigration is making Britain a more dangerous place to life (Dispatches: Immigration the Inconvenient Truth, 2008). These arguments follow Saggar's 'race' card theory as it links disadvantage with a lack of integration rather than linking it with evidence of discrimination.

Since the events of September 11 and 7/7, there has been a 'vilification of Muslims' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 11). This is exemplified in the following headlines: 'Almost a quarter of Muslims believe 7/7 was justified' (*The Daily Mail*, 6 August 2006) (Slack, 2006); 'Whites being lured into Islamic terror' (*The Telegraph*, 2 July 2006) (Rayment, 2006). Islamophobia has been defined as 'the intolerance of religion (Parekh, 2002, p. 247), of culture (Modood, 1997, p. 4) and of its people (Halliday, 1999, p. 898)' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 11). Allen argues that 'the

prejudice, discrimination, and hatred of Muslims and Islam' is increasingly 'seen as right, reasonable, or just' (Allen, 2004, p. 23). This is highlighted in a speech given by David Cameron:

> "We must also proscribe organisations that incite terrorism against people at home and abroad. Governments must also be shrewder in dealing with those that, while not violent, are in some cases part of the problem. We need to think much harder about who it's in the public interest to work with. Some organisations that seek to present themselves as a gateway to the Muslim community are showered with public money despite doing little to combat extremism. As others have observed, this is like turning to a right-wing fascist party to fight a violent white supremacist movement. So we should properly judge these organisations: do they believe in universal human rights – including for women and people of other faiths? Do they believe in equality of all before the law? Do they believe in democracy and the right of people to elect their own government? Do they encourage integration or separation? These are the sorts of questions we need to ask. Fail these tests and the presumption should be not to engage with organisations – so, no public money, no sharing of platforms with ministers at home" (Cameron, 2011).

The link between organisations 'doing little to combat extremism' and terrorism is a substantial jump and is problematic in that it not only does it link terrorism with Muslims but it places the requirement to combat terrorism on the Muslim community. This also raises questions over the values placed on the work of grassroots organisations.

The moral panic happens when 'a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media' (Cohen, 2002, p. 1). Salgado-Pottier uses Cohen's theory of the moral panic to explore how Pakistani and Bangladeshi youths have been given the role of the foreign 'folk devil' previously attributed to young working class youths and black youths in relation to mugging in the 1980s. Salgado-Pottier claims Asians have been associated with

gang violence and urban disturbances[26]and claims the media have exaggerated these events. The younger generations of Asians are depicted as prone to 'reactive religious fundamentalism' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 5):

> "The concept of community cohesion is both a diagnosis of this state of affairs and a rather vague and shaky solution in an area where it is unclear just what policy and governments might achieve. The broadness of the concept has some advantages but it increases the puzzles around implementation. It sets a moral compass and ideal (one which is highly attractive to many but not without its critics). It poses immensely difficult issues of balance between commonality and diversity, equality and security. And in practice community cohesion appears to address UK citizens unevenly turning Muslim groups, for instance, into problems while at worst the intolerance of white citizens can become celebrated as part of national identity" (Wetherell, 2007, p. 9).

Worley (2005) claim the disturbances were classified as 'riots' in order to meet the criteria of the Riot Damages Act of 1886 and impose harsher sentences:

> "This label was contestable due to the number of people involved, the scale of damage and the claims by the young men that their initial intention was to protest against police racism. It seems that the media and the state intentionally represented these disturbances in the gravest manner in order to justify accusations of rootless violence and to implement the highest legal penalties possible. However, if we look to the causes of the disturbances, there is a seemingly endless list of justified reasons behind this unrest" (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 9).

The Cantle report argued that the 'equalities agenda' has focused on minority groups rather than need which may exclude other communities, namely poor, working class white communities. Burnett claims 'the harassment, abuse and violence experienced by thousands of people from black and minority ethnic (BME) communities each year, have remained almost entirely absent from the political agenda' (Burnett, 2012, p. 91). The Cantle report has been criticised for marginalising poverty and Islamophobia, focusing instead on the failure of Muslims to integrate outside their community and ignoring other social problems and the

---

[26] The term 'disturbances' is sometimes used in place of 'riots' or 'race riots' ' to avoid the disparaging connotations the latter terms carry as well as the sensationalist vocabulary used by the tabloids' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 11)

presence of the BNP (Bagguley & Hussain, 2003; Hussain & Bagguley, n.d., p. 3).
The BNP gained 6500 votes in Oldham West and 5000 in Oldham East after the
'riots' (McGhee, 2005, p. 43). Finney and Simpson reinforce Hussain's argument:

> "Evidence of disadvantage in employment for a minority ethnic group, for
> example is now as likely to be associated with ethnic difference and
> disengagement with British society, as it used to be associated with
> disadvantage associated with individual and institutional racism.
> Government policy encourages community cohesion and discourages public
> spending on group-specific resources. This shift in explanations of inequality
> does not deny the existence of racism but adds pressure on minority groups
> to feel responsible for the predicaments that they may face" (Finney &
> Simpson, 2009, pp. 31-32).

This was a move away from acknowledging institutional racism towards blaming
multiculturalism for over tolerance. Sivanandan argues that institutional racism is
'woven, over centuries of colonialism and slavery, into the structures of society and
into the instruments and institutions of government, local and central' (Sivanandan,
2005). The MacPherson report 'passed over the myth of cultural compensation as
the antidote to racism and established institutionalised racism instead as the
problem that needed to be tackled' (Sivanandan, 2005). However, he claims the
concept was 'virtually killed off by the tabloids and the Right' (Sivanandan, 2005)
and this means 'it's anti-racism that was failed, not multiculturalism' (Sivanandan,
2005).

In 2000, a report by the Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain, the
Parekh Report, advocated a public discussion on what it means to be British.
Parekh acknowledges the positive contribution the RRA 1976 and the amendment
in 2000 but he claims that it will be insufficient to address all components of
institutional racism sufficiently. Parekh claims that the Acts do not 'reflect or
promote understanding of the wider nature of racism' (Parekh, 2002, p. 265) and
calls for legislation to outlaw religious discrimination. Parekh suggested that the
government:

"Formally declare the United Kingdom a multicultural society and issue a draft declaration for consultation. The declaration would have implications for policing, criminal justice, school curriculum, cultural policy, health and employment" (Parekh, 2002, p. 278).

The report identified seven principles to complement its recommendations, which had a strong focus on tackling racism and disadvantage. Parekh claims that a statement on multiculturalism would have four important advantages; it would have symbolic significance as 'it would recognise the inescapable reality of cultural diversity and the country's collective commitment to cherish it' (Parekh, 2002, p. 278). Secondly, it would encourage public and private sectors to promote diversity and equality; thirdly it would 'stress that the country is both a community of citizens and a community of communities, both a liberal and a plural society' (Parekh, 2002, p. 278). Fourthly, 'it would challenge the view of the UK as a broadly homogeneous society, and acknowledge that cultural diversity is not new, simply the consequence of post war immigration, but a central fact of the country's long history and continuing source of creativity' (Parekh, 2002, p. 278).

Modood describes Parekh's report as 'the best public policy statement on multiculturalism in Britain' (Modood, 2007, p. 17) and promotes multiculturalism as a 'form of integration that best meets the normative implications of equal citizenship and under [the] present post 9/11, post 7/7 circumstances stands the best chance of succeeding' (Modood, 2007, p. 14). However, large sections of the press reported that Parekh's recommendations equated Britishness with racism. Modood claims that this was a 'distortion' of Parekh's meaning:

"The story a country tells about itself to itself, the discourses, symbols and images in which national identity resides and through which people acquire and renew their sense of national belonging, had to be revisited and recast through public debate in order to reflect the current and future, and not just the past, ethnic composition of the country" (Modood, 2007, p. 18).

The recommendations of the Parekh report give great emphasis on the need to eradicate all forms of racist prejudice. The recommendations for public bodies to pay specific attention to the inclusion of minority groups are fundamental.

The Parekh report recommended a Single Equality Act and a single equality commission arguing there needs to be greater harmonisation and simplification of equality legislation. Parekh claims a Single Equality Act would mean 'the principle of equality is recognised as indivisible, solidarity is promoted among people experiencing or facing discrimination, and inconsistencies between different statutes cannot arise' (Parekh, 2002, p. 266). Parekh acknowledges that the 'principle disadvantage is that the various fields have their distinctive features and constituencies' and the argument that 'campaigning activities might therefore lose sharpness of focus' (Parekh, 2002, p. 267). However, he claims 'the advantages of a general principle of equality, embodied in a single statute, outweigh the disadvantages, and that the dangers can be avoided' by the supplementation of 'regulations and regularly updated codes of practice on specific subjects'. Furthermore, Parekh claims that a Single Equality Act would need a single equality commission to enforce it. He acknowledges:

> "The main fears about a Single Equality Commission as far as race equality issues are concerned are that specific expertise built up since 1976 might be lost or dissipated and campaigns on race issues might be watered down. There might be wasteful rivalries between different departments in a single commission, not least for shares of the overall budget, and the chief officer might not have the credibility required to make authoritative statements about racism. The difference between various kinds of discrimination might be neglected and the distinctive mechanisms and components of racism underplayed, and the turbulence caused by major organisational restructuring could set the cause of race equality back years" (Parekh, 2002, p. 267).

Parekh (2002) claims that 'such fears must be taken seriously and carefully debated' (Parekh, 2002, pp. 267-268) but claims that 'providing there are carefully thought out safeguards to maintain a sharp focus on race equality, we believe a single commission would be more powerful and effective than several smaller ones' (Parekh, 2002, p. 268). Furthermore, Parekh claims 'the internal structure of the commission should be the subject of substantial discussion and consultation. There also needs to be a Human Rights Commission' (Parekh, 2002, pp. 268-269).

On the 16th February 2006, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) announced the creation of the EHRC. The new super quango comprises of the CRE, the Disability Rights Commission (DRC) and the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC). The EOC and DRC merged on the 1st October 2007, the CRE joined two years later in 2009 (DTI, 2006). The new Commission adopted religion and belief, pregnancy and maternity, marriage and civil partnership, sexual orientation and gender reassignment as new protected characteristics. The EHRC was created as a result of the Equality Act 2006, which was superseded by the 2010 Equality Act and brings all anti-discrimination legislation together.

The principles behind Parekh's recommendations, equality, fairness, acknowledging multiculturalism, are strong. The report places a great emphasis on the issue of racism and the need to tackle it. However, the recommendation to promote equality through a generic framework is misguided. Although Parekh acknowledges the potential disadvantages of a single equality structure and presents strong principles to maintain the profile of 'race' equality, he does not present a strong case to show how commitment to and expertise in all strands would be maintained. These questions were first raised by the CRE. The CRE initially rejected the idea of the super quango claiming it was 'bad for race, bad for equality' (Doward, 2005). In 2004 Trevor Phillips, the then head of the CRE, issued an 'unequivocal rejection' of the plans for the EHRC (Frean, 2004). The plans were also rejected based on consultations carried out by the CRE 'which showed it had little support from the black and ethnic communities' (Labour Research, 2004). The CRE's official response to the merger plans stated:

> "We think it is simplistic to suggest that all forms of discriminatory treatment are similar, and misleading to suggest that they will all be susceptible to similar remedies. This does not make one kind of inequality more important than another – but it does make the task of explaining why both need to be addressed by the same body extremely challenging" (CRE, 2005, p. 5).

The change to a Single Commission was a result of EU directives, which required protection for additional characteristics. The EHRC was set up and is funded by the government. The contrast between the CRE's rejection and the formation of the EHRC add to the argument that professionalizing equality is not progressive. Goulbourne notes that:

> "Since authorities aid the establishment of such groups, and since authorities control funds and other resources, they can sometimes destroy what autonomy groups have. After all, decision-making authorities are not themselves neutral bodies simply responding to extraneous pressure. They have their own interests and agendas as well as wider constituencies to take into account, and they are themselves competing in a wider and unpredictable or uncertain political environment" (Goulbourne, 1998, p. 188).

Many of the criticisms of multiculturalism have come from high profile anti-racist 'activists'. For example Trevor Phillips reinforced the findings of the Cantle report and the idea that multiculturalism has created a destabilising influence over 'Britishness', by claiming Britain was 'sleepwalking to segregation' (Phillips, 2005). Finney and Simpson argue that Phillips claims have 'legitimised other vocal proponents of race and migration myths such a Migration Watch UK and the British National Party' and has 'contributed to the claims being used to frame political thinking, media reporting and public opinion' (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 15). This adds substance to the claim that anti-racism has suffered from being professionalized.

Finney recognises the good work of the EHRC but expresses concern that 'by promoting messages based on misinterpretations and invention of evidence, the Equality and Human Rights Commission and other powerful institutions are sustaining myths that will be damaging to their own agendas' (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 8). Kundnani is also critical of the generic approach claiming that the anti-racist movement that developed in the 1960s 'provided the infrastructure for campaigns, such as that of Stephen Lawrence's family, which culminated in the MacPherson report' (Kundnani, 2007b, p. 36). Kundnani is critical of the 'limited

infrastructure of anti-racism associated with the Commission for Racial Equality'
and claims the commission's ability to take on discrimination cases under the 1976
RRA 'has been reduced in favour of the duty in that Act to 'promote good race
relations''. Furthermore, he claims the merger of the CRE will further erode this
work. For Kundnani this and the formation the Commission on Integration and
Cohesion is representative of an 'integrationist agenda', which is 'hostile to
independent community organising and grassroots campaigns for racial justice'. He
claims that 'the new integrationism encompass[es] the entirety of the government's
race relations strategy' which has meant 'the landmark recognition of institutional
racism in the MacPherson report has been diluted and police racism has not been
examined as a factor in the 2001 riots' (Kundnani, 2007b, p. 36).

Fekete argues that contrary to the public debates 'anti-racism is treated as though
it were a dirty word and anti-racist organisations side-lined' (Fekete, et al., 2010, p.
3). Fekete criticised the government's decision to abandon their commitment,
made at the 2001 World Conference against Racism, to design a National Action
Plan against Racism. Fekete is further sceptical about the government's claims that
the 'equal opportunities and community cohesion agenda was adequate to deal
with racism' as ' six years after the National Plan against Racism was abandoned,
levels of racial violence, as well as religiously-aggravated assaults, are once again a
cause for concern' (Fekete, et al., 2010, p. 64). Although statistics show that racially
motivated crime recorded by the police has fallen over the last five years (2006/07
to 2010/11) in England and Wales, the 2010/11 British Crime Survey (BCS) showed
that the risk of being a victim of personal crime was higher across all BME groups
compared to white groups. Furthermore, from 2006/07 to 2010/11 there was a
0.8% decrease in the risk of white people being a victim of personal crime.
Although there was also a decrease for BME people, the figure was 'not statistically
significant' (Ministry of Justice, 2011, p. 12). The fear of crime is also more
significant for BME people. The BCS shows that BME children, 'avoided travelling
on buses because they were worried about their safety or avoided using a mobile
phone in public all or most of the time (22% and 30% respectively) compared to the

White group (14% and 22% respectively)' (Ministry of Justice, 2011, p. 12). In terms of suspects, there was a decrease in the overall arrest rate and specifically there was a decrease in arrests for White people. Arrests for Black and Asian people increased and 'per 1,000 of the population, Black persons were Stopped and Searched 7.0 times more than White people in 2009/10 compared to 6.0 times more in 2006/07' (Ministry of Justice, 2011, p. 13).

Gilroy (2006) claims that multiculturalism has suffered a 'death by neglect' and highlights the problematic relationship between multiculturalism and the 'multiple anxieties of the 'war on terror' (Gilroy, 2006, p. 1). Furthermore, Gilroy argues that the 'demise' of multiculturalism represents a move away from anti-racism highlighting the success of anti-immigration policies across Europe claiming that 'xenophobia and nationalism are thriving' (Gilroy, 2006, p. 1). Fekete's claim that racism is a 'cause for concern' will be illustrated and reinforced throughout this thesis. Lentin argues that ' it is ironic that many people who for at least two decades have questioned and proposed alternatives to the multicultural model now find themselves, by default, defending it – in case it is replaced by arrangements of a significantly *less* progressive and more anti–cosmopolitan nature' (Lentin, 2004, p. 1). The fear that the new generic agenda weakens anti-racism and the expertise that have built up through years of focused single strand work are central to this thesis.

Scottish Literature

The historical overview has shown the patterns of immigration, issues of racism and resistance to discrimination that took place at a UK wide level.   This is relevant to Scotland as the professionalisation of equality has developed on a UK wide basis, and post devolution issues that are more relevant to minority groups, such as immigration legistlation and equality policy, continue to be controlled by Westminster (Hopkins, 2004a). However, despite the similarities between Scotland and other UK countries there are marked differences in the experiences of ethnic

minorities and the way racism affects these groups. Scotland is different in terms of politics and nationalism and therefore has a unique experience of 'race' (McCrone, 2001; Dwyer & Bressey, 2008; Hopkins, 2004b). Research that focuses on a UK wide perspective tends to ignore the unique Scottish context, and therefore policies that are developed from this basis are flawed (Dwyer & Bressey, 2008; Hopkins, 2004b; Kelly, 1998; Bailey, et al., 1995). It is essential for a Scottish specific approach to be undertaken to ensure equality policies deal with the real isues that affect ethnic minorities in Scotland (Cant & Kelly, 1995).

Despite the limited portfolio of research into 'race' in Scotland, since the 1990s there has been a growing body of literature that explores Scotland and its unique relationship with 'race' and racism. Two key themes emerged from the literature in Scotland. Firstly, the literture highlighted the numbers led approach which assumes a low number of ethnic minorities means there is no racism. This is contested by academics who highlight both the existence of racism within Scotland, the type that mirrors other parts of the UK, and identifies unique types of discrimination and barriers that ethnic minorites face in Scotland. Secondly, the literature highlighted structural problems within Scotland that hinder the progress of 'race' equality. These include a lack of research in Scotland, a lack of poitical appetite to tackle 'race' inequality and a weaker BME voluntary sector in comparison to the voluntary structure in England. It is important to examine the existing Scottish literature as it highlights the importance of the location of this thesis. This thesis will draw on the existing literature and contribute to building a wider information base that focuses on the unique Scottish context.

Numbers debate

The literature highlights the flawed perception that as Scotland has a smaller number of ethnic minority people racism is not a problem (Arshad, 2003; Cant & Kelly, 1995; Hopkins, 2004b). This logic often associates racism as an English problem, something that does not affect Scotland (Miles & Dunlop, 1987). Arshad claims 'any suggestion that Scotland, its people and its institutions might be

institutionally racist runs a risk of incurring defensiveness if not disdain' (Arshad, 2003, p. 142). Cant and Kelly (1995) criticise the assumption that a low number of minorities means an absence of racism for placing the responsibility for racism on the victims. Furthermore, they claim that this assumption negatively implies that there is no chance of an equal multicultural society (Cant & Kelly, 1995). For Cant and Kelly the numbers debate is a distraction from challenging racism and ensuring the needs of the BME community are met (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 3). Arshad claims 'sentiments such as 'we treat everyone the same' or 'we have no ethnic minorities here, so we don't have a problem' need to be deconstructed and located if inequality is to be addressed' (Arshad, 2003, p. 145). The philosophy behind the number led approach is detrimental to the progression of racial equality in Scotland. Furthermore, this assumption is not based on real evidence, as research into 'race' in Scotland is limited.

The research into 'race' in the UK is vast and wide ranging but research that focuses on 'race' in Scotland is more limited. Bailey (1995) claims 'quantitative data on the Scottish situation has therefore had to be inferred from English data' (Bailey, et al., 1995, p. 36). Arshad (1999) reinforces this claiming 'Scotland has avoided the realities of confronting racism as a door-step issue as most reports on racial harassment and racial crime have been largely drawn from evidence in England and Wales' (Arshad, 1999, p. 221). An audit of research on 'race' in Scotland noted that 'there was a dearth of robust, statistical data on minority ethnic people' (Netto, et al., 2001). The audit also noted that there was a lack of large-scale studies, longitudinal studies and studies comparing the majority and minority population (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 154). Furthermore, the audit notes that the limited research was concentrated on housing, education, social care and health, whereas research exploring access to justice, employment and enterprise and poverty was lacking. The study also showed that the research location was concentrated in Edinburgh and Glasgow at the expense of other Scottish cities and hardly any research was conducted in rural areas. The literature that does exist claim that the reasons for the numbers led approach range from a political unwillingness to acknowledge the

problem of racism in Scotland, to a lack of structures pushing for a more anti-racist approach (Netto, et al., 2001; Hampton, 2010). Before these issues are discussed in detail a brief overview of the evidence that racism does exists in Scotland, and the issues specifically affecting Scotland, will be outlined. This will highlight the simplistic and unhelpful nature of the numbers led approach in Scotland.

Various research projects have shown that everyday experiences of racism are apparent in Scottish society (Qureshi, et al., 2002; Hopkins, 2004b; Hussain & Miller, 2003). This has taken place in key areas of society, such as employment, health, crime and social life, and has wide-ranging implications. Reports have noted that discrimination impacts on ethnic minorities access to work as unemployment rates amongst ethnic minorities are higher than the national average (Runnymede, 2010). Studies have also shown that young ethnic minorities receive lower responses to job applications than white applicants (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 157). Health inequality is higher among certain ethnic groups and minority people face increased barriers to accessing health and support services (Netto, et al., 2001). In Scotland, the number of racist incidents recorded by the police has risen 10% from 4911 in 2010/11 to 5389 in 2011/12 (Scottish Government, 2012a). The statistics 'has increased for the first time in five years, and is now at its highest level since the statistical collection began' (Scottish Government, 2012b). Arshad (1999) highlighted the worrying figures on racist incidents showing 'Scotland's black/minority ethnic groups were at least three times as likely to suffer racist incidents as black/minority ethnic people in England and Wales' (Arshad, 1999, p. 222). A survey by the Scottish Executive in 2002 showed that 35 per cent perceive racism to be a 'frequent' problem and in 2000, 67 per cent had heard of between one and ten racist incidents (Scottish Government, 2002). Kelly (1998) highlighted inadequate structures in criminal justice, access to translators and interpreters, access to appropriate legal help and an under representation of ethnic minorities in the police and courts (Kelly, 1998, p. 4). A social attitude survey in 2002 revealed that one quarter of Scots admitted to being racist (Bryce & Humes, 2008). According to Clayton (2005) 'public displays of racism and anti-racism are common

in many parts of the Clydeside area, including posters organizing rallies and graffiti in support of the National Front, the BNP and the Anti-Nazi League' (Clayton, 2005, pp. 102-103). This brief overview highlight the existence of racism and shows that Scotland faces similar types of racial discrimination to those identified across the UK. However, the literature also highlighted experiences of discrimination that are unique to Scotland. Two prominent areas concerned geographical location and sectarianism.

The geography of Scotland is a particular factor in making Scotland a unique context. Although ethnic minorities are concentrated in the larger cities, there is a presence of minorities across Scotland (Cant & Kelly, 1995; de Lima, 2011). The literature highlights the perception that in a rural context, as is the case with Scotland as a whole, there is a perception that a small number means there is no problem with racism (de Lima, 2011). The numbers debate is particularly apparent in this context because the 'image of the rural is deceptive as issues of ethnicity and race have rarely been associated with the countryside' (de Lima, 2011, p. 43). Discussions and analysis of rurality have often excluded ethnic minorities. De Lima (2011) notes there is no concrete definition of 'rural' and the debates surrounding how rurality should be defined have 'yet to take into account the views and needs of rural minority ethnic dwellers' (de Lima, 2011, p. 38). The lack of attention to rural areas in Scotland is problematic:

> "given that geographically, a large proportion of Scotland is rural. The concentration of minority ethnic people in urban areas does not preclude the need for examining the circumstances of the small, diverse and dispersed minority ethnic population that is spread across every local authority area in Scotland" (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 165).

For de Lima two key issues underpin discrimination in a rural context. Firstly, there is a continuing lack of commitment to racial equality at a strategic level, and secondly the demographics and special features of minority people amplify the discrimination they experience. This is reinforced by Netto et al (2001) who claims 'research conducted in rural areas suggests that the minority ethnic population in

these areas face additional difficulties in accessing services to those faced by their urban counterparts, due to lack of recognition of their circumstances and particular needs by service providers' (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 157). De Lima (2011) notes that there has been a 'numbers led' rather than needs or rights led' approach to equality in rural areas 'with key public, private and voluntary sector agencies often reluctant to recognise that they have a responsibility to address the needs of minority ethnic communities' (de Lima, 2011). De Lima argues 'an examination of government policy documents reveal that the neglect of ethnicity in rural research and theoretical discourses is also parallel by neglect in the rural policy arena' (de Lima, 2011, p. 42). Furthermore, de Lima identifies a wide range of barriers faced by ethnic minority groups in the areas of education, health, business, capacity building and representation in decision making, which she claims makes 'the nature of racial equality work precarious' (de Lima, 2011, p. 48). Research into experiences of ethnic minorities in rural areas has shown a 'persistence of negative stereotypes and attitudes towards minority ethnic groups across Scotland, while the chances of being a victim of a racist assault may be higher pro rata in rural rather than urban areas' (de Lima, 2011, p. 36). Therefore, 'the needs for anti-racist action in predominantly white areas may in fact be more important because of a greater likelihood that racist practices and attitudes go unchallenged in the absence of routine contact with minority ethnic people' (de Lima, 2011, p. 36). Despite the increase need for an anti-racist presence, research has shown that there is a lack of infrastructure in rural areas to tackle racial harassment (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 159). The absence of effective challenges to discrimination was a key element identified across Scotland.

The literature also highlighted sectarianism as having a greater impact on Scotland. Kelly (2003) argues that sectarianism shares similarities with racism and is not sufficiently challenged in Scotland. Furthermore, despite sectarianism being commonly identified as a specifically Scottish problem there is little research that details its effects, and projects set up to try to combat this type of prejudice are usually small and underfunded (Clayton, 2005, p. 107). The issues faced by those

attempting to highlight and challenge sectarianism in Scotland will be explored further in chapter 4.

Scotland structures

Having established the existence of racism in Scotland this section will look at the structural problems of tackling inequality in Scotland. By structures, I mean institutions, public services and anti-racist organisations. A fuller analysis of the structures will be undertaken in chapter 4; this section will outline the two key areas identified in the literature, politics and BME organisations.

Miles and Dunlop (1987) claim that, unlike England, since 1945 there has be no racialization of the political process in Scotland but they emphasise that this does not mean there has been an absence of racism (Miles & Dunlop, 1987, p. 98). Horne (1995) argues that there is always a potential for racialization to occur reinforcing the argument that the assumption that there is no racism problem in Scotland is mistaken (Horne, 1995, p. 7). Furthermore, Horne argues that the numbers debate has kept racism off the political agenda in Scotland. Mann (1992) claims racism has been more central to the development of nationalism in England than it has in Scotland, which has led to the existence of racism in Scotland being downplayed (Maan, 1992, pp. 201-7).

The tendency for racism to be left of the Scottish agenda has been attributed to the fact that equality policy is a reserved matter. However, in 1999 the Equality Unit was set up within the Scottish Executive meaning that the Scottish Parliament had a committed unit to deal with equality issues (Runnymede, 2010, p. 19)[27]. Arshad and Diniz (2008) claimed that the establishment of the Scottish Parliament led to increased support for 'race' equality within Scotland' (Arshad, 2003; Arshad & Diniz, 2008). However, Hampton(2010) has claimed that 'race' is often invisable in Scottish political agendas and it is disregarded as a politically reserved issue despite

---

[27] The respondents were concerned about this unit being disbanded. The reason it was to be disbanded was because a more mainstreamed agenda was coming into practise.

the Scottish Parliament having 'control of the levers for change' (Runnymede, 2010, p. 2).

Analysis of Scottish policy documents has highlighted gaps. The research audit found that minority ethnic people are racially disadvantaged in several key policy areas including employment, housing, education, health and access to services (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 157). De Lima examined Scottish Executive documents on social justice, produced since 1999, and found that, with the exception of documents relating to access to employment and higher education, there is a lack of references to minority ethnic groups:

> "Race/ethnicity do not appear to be embedded in the milestones and targets established to address social inclusion. With little or no disaggregation of data by ethnicity, it is virtually impossible to assess if and how the needs of minority ethnic groups are being met in relation to each of the groups prioritised in the social justice documents" (de Lima, 2003, p. 659).

Thus, a lack of political appetite to tackle racial inequality, and an inadequate approach to the design of policy highlight problems in the political approach to racial equality. These problems are apparent on a UK wide basis, but the literature highlights that Scotland's political situation enhance these problems. This is further exacerbated as the BME voluntary sector are less developed in comparison to England.

The audit into 'race' research noted that a key strength of the BME sector in Scotland was 'its intimate knowledge of needs, cultural background and awareness of race equality issues, and extensive experience of working with this section of the population' (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 163). However, it is limited by a 'lack of a political voice and the inability to plan strategically, due to limited and short-term funding' (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 163). The report noted the role BME voluntary sector play in service provision and use the growing number of black-led housing associations, which are set up to combat the disadvantaged housing circumstances of ethnic minorities, as an example of the type of provision that comes from the

sector. However, these projects 'continue to be absent in Scotland in contrast to their growing presence in England' (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 163). The numbers debate, the unique problems experienced in Scotland and the tendency for 'race' to be less prominent on the Scottish political agenda enhance the need for a strong anti-racist voluntary sector. However, the same variables contribute to a weaker BME voluntary sector as such organisations depend on funding from statutory institutions. A lack of funding hinder the BME voluntary sector and limit their ability to influence political decisions. This means that Scotland have a weaker BME voluntary sector in comparison to England, which leaves Scotland more vulnerable in the context of a merged equality agenda. The creation of the EHRC and the move away from tackling 'race' specific discrimination 'has had some serious implications for the race equality sector in Scotland' (Runnymede, 2010).

The data chapters will pick up on the issues identified in the literature review, analyse the problems Scotland has in dealing with 'race' discrimination, and look at how the weaker BME voluntary sector cope with the creation of the EHRC.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter has explored the historical and political development of 'race' relations in the UK and outlined the four main approaches that have been undertaken (assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and generic equality). The historical overview has shown that 'race' equality has developed because of those on the grassroots level pushing for change. There are three key themes that have emerged in the historical overview, which will inform the theoretical framework for this thesis. These include the homogenisation of ethnic groups, the structure of 'race' relations, looking specifically at the hierarchy of organisations, and the idea that 'race' and racism are becoming invisible discourses.

Homogenising Ethnic Minorities and the Resistance to Racism

Modood (1998) argues that, despite the various identities incorporated in the term 'black', there is a tendency of anti-racists and sociologists to treat black and ethnic minority people as a homogenous group. Modood claims that from the 1960s the logic of anti-racism was underpinned by the idea that:

> "As racial discrimination was a commonly experienced problem by those whom white people thought of as 'coloured' or 'black', analysis and anti-racism action would be enhanced if all potential victims of white racism were to be described primarily as 'black'" (Modood, 1998, p. 294).

However, the experience of racism varies between different groups and there are different methods of challenging discrimination, as exemplified in the early secular organisations established in the 1940s (Sivanandan, 1982). The differences between minorities 'have become as important and as significant to life-chances, as the similarities' (Berthound, et al., 1998, p. 7). This is reinforced by de Lima (2004) who argues 'increasingly, debates on race and ethnicity emphasise the importance of moving beyond fixed and rigid notions of racialised identities, taking into account the multidimensional aspects of individual and group identities' (de Lima, 2004, p. 654).

By focusing solely on the concept of 'black', other types of discrimination are ignored. A full analysis of the impact of racism should take into account 'the character of racial prejudice and discrimination' (Berthound, et al., 1998). By doing so, the analysis would also consider the type of discrimination that is based on culture. Berthound (1998) describes cultural racism as something that is:

> "Targeted not at non-whites in general, but at certain groups which are perceived to be assertively 'different' and not trying to 'fit in'. Such racism uses cultural difference to vilify, marginalise or demand cultural assimilation for groups who also suffer colour racism" (Berthound, et al., 1998, p. 9).

Ballard (1992) is also critical of the widespread use of simplistic and over homogenising notions of 'the black experience'. Ballard argues this approach obscures the variety and complexity of exclusion and leaves no room to explore the

dynamic and creative character of minority responses. Ballard criticises the failure of policy makers and researchers to recognise that reactive developments are often community specific and tend to be localised. He also criticises the tendency to disregard culture as a meaningless phenomena arguing this overlooks the vital dimension of human motivation. Chakraborti (2010) reinforces this in his study of hate crime policy:

> "While we know more about the experiences of BME… and LGBT communities in a broad sense, crass generalisations are often made that result in the overlooking of specificities and intersectionalities of victimization within these broad–brush categories. Making generic assumptions about diverse communities at the expense of learning about the diverse experiences of those who are all too often subsumed through the labelling of such communities gives us insufficient information about who the victims of hate crime really are and the context behind their vulnerability (Chakraborti, 2010a, p. 21).

Chakraborti's claims highlight the need for caution when analysing 'these broad-brush categories' as 'there are no 'one size fits all' solutions' and 'we need to refrain from drawing neat, overly simplistic conclusions based on our assumptions and instead use these multiple realities as the basis of our empirical journeys' (Chakraborti, 2010a, p. 22). In order for effective anti-racist analysis to take place there needs to be an approach that takes 'ethnic diversity seriously' as:

> "The research perspective which focused on a black-white divide emphasised the various minorities' common experience of racial exclusion. While that was, and remains, an important theme, it is now clear that the characteristics and experiences of the different minority groups require a more complex analysis" (Berthound, et al., 1998, p. 8).

The emphasis should be on the diversity within ethnic groups:

> "Above all, ethnic minority groups are not all the same, nor are they countless and substitutable for one another. Rather, in their distinctive ways, they are part of the social pattern which has to be described and explained" (Berthound, et al., 1998, p. 9).

Although this thesis does not pay specific attention to the individual identities of ethnic minorities, as the main purpose is to examine the sector, the exploration of

the needs of different groups is central to the thesis. Drawing on the arguments above, the thesis will examine whether the merging of equality strands has exacerbated the tendency to treat ethnic minority people as a homogenous group. This thesis will examine whether the generic equality framework, which was established with the creation of the EHRC, has had a homogenising effect on equality work. The focus on 'race' specific work is essential to challenging discrimination, as the expertise and experience of anti-racist groups allows for a more sophisticated and effective approach to challenging the specific barriers faced by ethnic minorities (Netto, et al., 2001). This thesis will expand on the literature that warns against treating minorities as a homogenous group by critically analysing the impact of the merged equality agenda on the anti-racist voluntary sector. The merged equality agenda has the potential to homogenise all nine equality strands and approach them with the simplistic assumption that the causes, remedies and challenges faced by people suffering discrimination of various sorts are the same. Looking at 'race' specifically the thesis will engage with anti-racist, grassroots organisations to explore whether the work they carry out has changed as a result of the focus on generic equality and, if so, explore whether this has diluted the focus on 'race'.

The structure of the 'industry'

Ballard (1992) explores the idea of a 'race' relations 'industry', which he argues developed in the 1960s. He claims that the 'industry' has manufactured and maintained a 'conventional wisdom' of deprivationism, which explains racism and its impact in simplistic terms. He claims two key themes form the conceptual basis - racial discrimination and racial disadvantage:

> "Since racial discrimination is perceived as running parallel to, and thus as reinforcing the better known structures of class inequality – and since the principal perceived consequence of class inequality is social and material deprivation – it follows that the racial deprivation from which the new minorities are regarded as suffering as a result of their exposure to racial discrimination must be understood within exactly the same conceptual framework" (Ballard, 1992, p. 4).

For Ballard this deprivationist analysis fails to acknowledge diversity and has a homogenising effect, as 'the specificities of migrants own values, styles, understandings and aspirations are of little significance' (Ballard, 1992, p. 6). He claims the deprivationists are 'trapped within the confines of their procrustian conceptual framework' and work with the logic that:

> "Since the victims of racial exclusion all suffer a similar form of social disadvantage, it seemed logical to assume that when those excluded rose up to protest their position, they would do so primarily as Black people (ie as a homogenous aggregation drawing on everyone of non-European descent), and that the prime target of their protests would be material dimensions of racial disadvantage" (Ballard, 1992, p. 9).

Ballard claims that the deprivationists find black success problematic as it contradicts the simplistic premise on which they work. He claims this is dealt with by supressing evidence of success, claiming such success is untypical or casting aspersions on the motives of anyone who has produced evidence of this success (Ballard, 1992, p. 7). Furthermore, Ballard claims that deprivationists fails to see the importance of 'cultural resistance'. Ballard places great significance on resistance claiming exclusion is always resisted and strategies of resistance are culturally grounded. Ballard notes two key advantages of using the concept of resistance rather than deprivation as a guiding principle. Firstly he claims that everyone is treated as 'an active subject' and 'by the same token it wholly rejects the proposition that huge masses of people – whether "workers" or "women" or "black people" can legitimately be regarded as nothing more than passive objects of unchallengeable social processes' (Ballard, 1992, p. 5). Secondly, the resistance approach focuses on both the causes of inequality and the various and creative ways that these inequalities are challenged. Ballard claims that putting resistance at the centre means that issues of culture and ethnicity are put on the agenda as 'minority groups so often find that the avoidance of assimilative expectations is the key to both their survival and success' (Ballard, 1992, p. 6).

Ballard claims that 'state-funded bodies such as [the] C.R.E… can and should… highlight what the issues are, where they are located, and how they should be addressed'. For Ballard the primary role of statutory organisations 'is to establish an appropriate agenda for debate' (Ballard, 1992, p. 2). Ballard claims that it is too simplistic to blame a lack of political appetite for a lack of progress or change in public policy:

> "If the arguments put forward by C.R.E. … have had little or no effect on public policy-making, or on public discussion in general – and few involved… would, I suspect, deny that that was so – is it because their proposals are politically unpalatable, or is it because they are intellectually threadbare? Those who either mis-identify or gloss over the most serious issues, should not be surprised if no-one takes them very seriously" (Ballard, 1992, p. 2).

Ballard criticises the 'race' relations 'industry' for failing to understand how minority groups chose to 'organise both their personal lives, and indeed their strategies of resistance' (Ballard, 1992, p. 11).

Arshad is critical of the structure of resistance, which she claims drives the anti-racist agenda in terms of funding. Arshad claims 'the assimilationist agenda of the twenty first century is not very different from the assimilationist agenda of the 1950s and 1960s. It is however more sophisticated than its predecessor of forty years' (Arshad, 1999, p. 224). Arshad warns that the agenda is vulnerable to tokenistic gestures, which appear to speak the language of equality but fail to genuinely engage and fund effective anti-racist work:

> "The new agenda will appear to celebrate diversity and will profess loudly its intention to work towards a harmonious society. It may agree that maintaining the equality agenda must be the way forward. Short term funded projects to help intercultural education or cultural exchanges are likely to be encouraged and funded but research or projects which set out to critically examine the reality of racial discrimination are unlikely to be resourced. It will be resistant to close scrutiny and unwilling to discuss key issues around the nature of piecemeal and short-term funding for work with the black/minority ethnic communities" (Arshad, 1999, p. 224).

Arshad highlights the need for genuine consultation with 'those that genuinely wish to see racial and cultural exclusion end for the benefit of all' and notes that 'it is critical that those who shape policy and strategies to challenge exclusion and bigotry are themselves accountable to people whom are marginalised and discriminated against' (Arshad, 1999, p. 219). For Arshad this requires consultation, which takes place across the spectrum of anti-racist organisations:

> Consultation also requires a move beyond the usual suspects such as the Commission for Racial Equality, and well know black/minority ethnic organisations and individuals, to include those that often do not have seats at the table. This may mean those who consult need to go to those being consulted, rather than the usual practice of requiring those being consulted to come to the table of the power holders (Arshad, 1999, pp. 219-220).

The approach to consultation is central to this thesis, as a key value is that the work that takes place on a grassroots level has more power to positively affect the lives of ethnic minorities. Furthermore, the organisations that work on a grassroots level have greater credibility when identifying the issues that need to be challenged and the work that needs to be undertaken. This failure of those at the top of the 'industry', such as the government and the EHRC, to understand the workings of grassroots organisation is a central theme throughout this thesis.

Ballard's claim that statutory organisations have the power to direct the conceptual framework is backed up in the historical overview, which highlighted the problematic move toward multiculturalism in the 1980s. Although the government embraced the multicultural approach and increased funding for 'race' specific groups, anti-racism was highly criticised in the media and by politicians. Bonnett claimed that the government adopted an anti-anti racist approach and so the increased financial support was a way of controlling grassroots campaigns rather than progressing them. Bonnett's (2000) claim represents the power relations of the 'race' relations 'industry' as the government 'emphasis [was] on the unnecessary and unwanted nature of anti-racism' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 152) and this critical approach shaped the way people understood anti-racism. Bonnett (2000)

claims that the abolition of the GLC an ILEA exemplified the backlash against anti-racism in favour of assimilation. Kundnani's (2007) claims that the Thatcher government actively suppressed minority political expression is also a relevant criticism as it suggests that the power relations influence grassroots work and it is the 'conventional wisdom' of those who have funding power that direct anti-racism work.

The increased funding for multiculturalism led to professionalization of grassroots organisations and dependence on government funds meant that organisations had to adapt to a different agenda (Gilroy, 1999; Kundnani, 2007a; Sivanandan, 1982). This was described by Kundnani as controlled anti-racism (Kundnani, 2007a), or as Ballard would describe it, the organisations had to follow the 'conventional wisdom' of those with the funding power. The historical overview highlighted the criticisms made of the professionalization of anti-racism. Hunter and Swan (2007) are critical of bureaucratisation for de-radicalising equality work and highlight the creation of 'a class of equality professionals' who merged into part of the system (Hunter & Swan, 2007, p. 7). The historical overview highlighted the anxieties over the move to multiculturalism as some saw cultural celebrations as a mark of de-radicalisation and 'professionalization of resistance' (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 76; Kundnani, 2007a). For Goulbourne all organisations work in a wider political environment. Goulbourne also highlighted the problematic nature of the 'industry' claiming that as organisations are funded by authorities their autonomy can be compromised (Goulbourne, 1998). The move away from multiculturalism, for Gilroy (2006), represented a move away from anti-racism, which he claimed was a result of multiple anxieties of the 'war on terror' (Gilroy, 2006, p. 1). The idea that the professionalization of anti-racist work has a top down perspective, is highlighted by Lentin's (2004) claim that people who were critical of the move to multiculturalism are changing their arguments to defend it in case the anti-racist work is further de-radicalised by those who control it at the top.

This thesis will draw on the criticisms of the 'race' industry specifically focusing on the criticisms made of the professionalization of anti-racism and the limiting effect that has had on anti-racism work. The thesis will expand on these arguments by analysing whether the merging of equality strands was a decision embraced by all levels of the 'race' relations 'industry'.

'Race': An Invisible discourse

Miles has called for 'race' to be abandoned, he is critical of the 'race' relations paradigm insisting sociology employ the concept of 'racialisation' rather than 'race' in order to emphasise it as a 'social process' and to recognise it as ideological (1982,1989, 1993). Gilroy (1987) is critical of Miles's analysis claiming that it suggests 'banishing the concept of 'race' as a means to abolish racism' (Gilroy, 1987, p. 22). For Gilroy:

> "People do not encounter racism in the general or the abstract, they feel the effects of its particular expressions: poor housing, unemployment, repatriation, violence or aggressive indifference" (Gilroy, 1987, p. 149).

Gilroy claims that grassroots struggles are demeaned by Miles's claim that 'race' is merely ideological:

> "This position effectively articulates a theoretical statement of the 'black and white unite and fight' variety. The consciousness of groups which define themselves in, or organize around, what became racial discourses is rendered illegitimate because of its roots in ideology" (Gilroy, 1987, p. 23).

While Gilroy accepts the ideological element he claims organisation is the key element to change. The concern that 'race' is becoming an invisible discourse is a prominent theme throughout this thesis as the merging of equality strands has, for some, represented a dilution of 'race' equality work, this will be explored further in the data chapters. Gilroy's (1987) push to use 'race' as an analytical concept and a means to resist racism will be a central concern in this thesis. Furthermore, central to the arguments in the thesis is the idea that 'race', racism and anti-racism are complex concepts, which cannot be reduced to a one size, fits all. In this sense

Gilroy's argument that 'race' should be in the 'core of politics' will be adopted (Gilroy, 1999, p. 244).

Gilroy has been critical of the role of anti-racism which he has described as a 'limited project' with a simplistic desire 'to do away with racism', which forces black people into the role of either the victim or the problem (Gilroy, 1999, p. 243). Bonnett also notes that 'anti-racism cannot be adequately understood as the inverse of racism' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 2). For Gilroy, the structures of society need to be critically analysed to allow a more progressive approach, which places anti-racism at the centre of policy. This philosophy is a central concern for this thesis, which will critically analyse the impact of a generic equality agenda on the focus given to acknowledging 'race' inequality and promoting anti-racism.

The historical overview showed that there has been criticism of the move away from grassroots campaigns to more government led anti-racism. Gilroy (1999) claimed that after the 'riots' of the 1980s anti-racism became a 'discrete and self-contained political formation' with little relation to the people suffering from racism. Worely claimed that the concept of community cohesion was a means to de-racialize discourse and signalled a move away from multiculturalism to assimilation. Both Back et al (2002) and Worely (2005) claimed that there was a move back towards notions of assimilation that were dominant in the 1940s and 50s. Other academics have expressed concern over the move away from recognising institutionalised racism, especially as high profile anti-racist activists, such as Trevor Phillips, have spoken about a shift away from institutionalised racism and advocated a focus on integration (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004; Kundnani, 2007a).

The current equality agenda is carried out under a generic framework. A Single Equality Act and the EHRC aim to tackle all equalities under one umbrella have replaced the 'race' specific laws and agencies. The variety and scale of racial inequality described throughout this chapter show the complexities of tackling racism. Considering these issues are difficult to challenge, and the complex issues

that will arise for each of the other protected characteristics, a single agenda may struggle to maintain the focus and expertise needed to develop 'race' equality.

Parkeh's (2002) recommendation of a Single Equality Commission will be disputed in this thesis. The recommendations put forward by the Parekh report were underpinned by clear and valid principles, which advocate safeguards to ensure the quality, and focus on 'race' equality is maintained. However, as already discussed, those who work on a grassroots level are best placed to understand the needs of the communities they serve, as the structure of the 'race industry' is top down in perspective it is difficult for those working at the grassroots level to influence decision making. Furthermore, given the problems of homogenisation that are already apparent within single strand work, the move to a merged equality system will exacerbate this problem as a one size fits all equality structure will be dominant. This thesis will draw on the concerns that 'race' is becoming an invisible discourse and explore whether the merged equality agenda is exacerbating this problem. In light of the consistent inequalities, this thesis will argue that the foundations of anti-racism are not strong enough to take a generic approach.

Conclusion

This chapter has established the complex nature of 'race' relations in Britain. It has outlined the development of policies and organised anti-racism. Within the strand of 'race', there are many complex and diverse issues, which are difficult to address. Furthermore, given the financial dependence of grassroots organisations on the government, there is little room for these dominant values to be challenged. These themes will be explored further in the data chapters.

The theoretical framework for this thesis draws on three key themes. Firstly, the thesis draws on the academic literature that argues that there is a tendency for policy makers to take a homogenous approach to ethnic minorities. The literature claims that the varied experiences of racism and its impacts differ between different ethnic groups, and also varied is the resistance to such discrimination. Considering

that a homogenising and simplistic approach is apparent when dealing with a single equality strand, it is logical to assume that the merging of equality strands will exacerbate this problem.

The potential to dilute 'race' equality is enhanced with the structure of the 'industry', which, this thesis will argue, is top down in perspective. Those working at the grassroots level have the knowledge and skills to design, identify and undertake meaningful anti-racist work, but they are restrained by their financial reliance on larger statutory organisations.

The homogenisation effect and the structure of the 'industry' have, it will be argued, turned 'race' into an invisible discourse. This effect was identified by Gilroy in the 1980s and this thesis will aim to show that the effect has worsened.

Given that this thesis is theoretically grounded in the idea that the experiences of people who suffer racism should inform the work of anti-racism, a qualitative methodology was essential to gather rich and in depth data of the experiences of those working within the 'race' voluntary sector. The following chapter will outline the methodological approach taken to gather the data. The chapter will look at how the research was conducted and examine the interview process used to gather the views of people working in the BME sector in Scotland.

Chapter Three: Methods

Introduction

What are the values of anti-racism work?

The above research question, along with the problem statements set out in the introduction of this thesis are complex as the value of something is an abstract concept that is difficult to scientifically measure. Social desirability is often a barrier when questioning people about their attitudes towards racism and 'much of the evaluation of anti-racist campaigns focus more on awareness rather than impact' (Sutton, et al., 2007, p. 54)[28]. This statement is indicative of a key problem in anti-racism projects as the fieldwork suggests that much of the work done around anti-racism is 'tokenistic' rather than effective. All three data chapters refer to the effectiveness and value of 'race' relations work. Chapter four (Scotland) looks specifically at the issues faced in Scottish 'race' relations work and evaluates the impact of a generic equality framework in Scotland. Chapter five (EHRC) deals with the idea that anti-racism is 'tokenistic' by looking at the operation of 'race' relations work in a merged equality strand system. This is further explored in chapter six (funding) which details the effectiveness of 'race' relations funding structures and analyses the types of projects that get regular and secure funding. This gives an insight into the effectiveness and impact of projects that are most likely to get funding. The aim is to outline the structure of 'race' equality organisations and make recommendations that will help ensure 'race' equality work is effective at challenging racism.

Considering the problems with measuring values the initial focus of this research was on finding a researchable question. As already outlined in the introduction, the

---

[28] As 'race' is a sensitive issue, the impact of social desirability was a core concern in the design of the research. Special attention was paid to methodological techniques that would minimise the impact. Specifically attention was paid to the design of the interview questions to ensure that they were not leading and the respondents were free to give honest answers. This is covered more fully in the interview technique section of this chapter. Also, see Appendix 2.

question was directed by literature and the idea that anti-racism had become an 'industry' and so the aim was to gain an insight into the structure and operation of this 'industry'. The concept of an 'industry' implies that there is a hierarchy of equality organisations, a powerful well-funded 'top' and a smaller grassroots 'bottom', with the grassroots organisations delivering services to BME communities and the top making policy and funding decisions. Given the problems of measuring values the main thrust of the methodology used is based on qualitative research in order to gain a deeper insight into, and understanding of, the difficulties that small grassroots anti-racism organisations face. Furthermore, the research analyses whether the larger well-funded and powerful actors in the 'industry' are effective and offer the smaller organisations appropriate and sufficient support.

The main method used was informal semi-structured interviews. Twenty-two interviews were conducted with a variety of public and voluntary organisations and with key figures in the 'race' relations 'industry'. The interview themes were informed by a detailed literature review of funding policy and previous studies conducted in the area of BME third sector infrastructure. This chapter outlines how the research question was formulated, the sample of participants and how they were identified, how the participants were contacted, interview techniques and the ethical considerations that were apparent throughout the research.

Background to the Research Question

As discussed in the literature review, initially the research was concentrated on the ideology of 'Britishness' that was promoted by the government[29]; the claims that multiculturalism had led to segregation (made by key anti-racist 'activists'), and the move towards a generic equality framework with the creation of the EHRC and the Equality Acts of 2006 and 2010. Thus, in the beginning the focus was on abstract ideas. It was difficult to transform these ideas into a researchable question, especially as the concept of 'race' and racism have a long and detailed history as

---

[29] The government at the time was New Labour but the rhetoric of Britishness was voiced across political parties.

well as a large research portfolio, and so the quest to find original data was daunting.

Through a detailed literature review a chronological history of the anti-racist movement in the UK was formed. Academics, including Kundnani (2007) and Sivanandan (1989), suggested that anti-racism had been shifted away from its 'pure' grassroots form in the 1980s when the government adopted a formal multicultural ethos that was the core to 'race' relations policies. This has been criticised as the formalised approach transformed 'race' equality campaigns into an 'industry'[30]. In short, it is argued that anti-racism work was replaced with multiculturalism. This shift had systematically 'diluted' anti-racism over time and had perhaps turned 'race' equality into a cosmetic practice rather than an effective struggle (Kundnani, 2007a; Sivanandan, 1982). A significant element to the design of this research was that people in the heart of the 'race' equality 'business', namely the CRE, were suggesting that people were not 'British' enough. This was portrayed in Trevor Phillips 'Sleepwalking to Segregation' speech (22nd September 2005) which followed the tone of the Cantle report and marginalised the effects of racism by placing the blame for the 2001 'riots' on minority groups' failure to integrate. The CRE described themselves as an independent quango however, the claims that were being made by Trevor Phillips seemed to reproduce and legitimise the controversial government agenda (this will be explored in more depth in the next chapter). The merger of the CRE to the EHRC in 2009 suggested that anti-racism was being diluted. This led the research towards looking at the structure of the 'industry' to see whether there was a power imbalance with a well-funded 'top' and a small grassroots 'bottom'.

As already stated, the research question is difficult to answer and this is further complicated by the fact that the 'race' relations 'industry' is multi-layered comprising of the public and voluntary sector. In this context the public sector,

---

[30] Although the term 'industry' was not well received by all participants, this is outlined Chapter 5 (EHRC).

tend to formulate funding structures and provide financial assistance to the smaller organisations. The voluntary sector, although organisations differ in size and mission statements[31], tend to carry out their work on the ground at a local level and deliver services[32] to BME communities (Figure 1). This background analysis, and the quest to move from the abstract to the researchable, led the project to focus on the more practical concerns of 'race' relations namely the funding of organisations tasked with promoting 'race' equality. Like most PhDs, the project changed shape and focus as the research progressed but the funding element was consistent and provided some form of stability throughout.

Figure 1

---
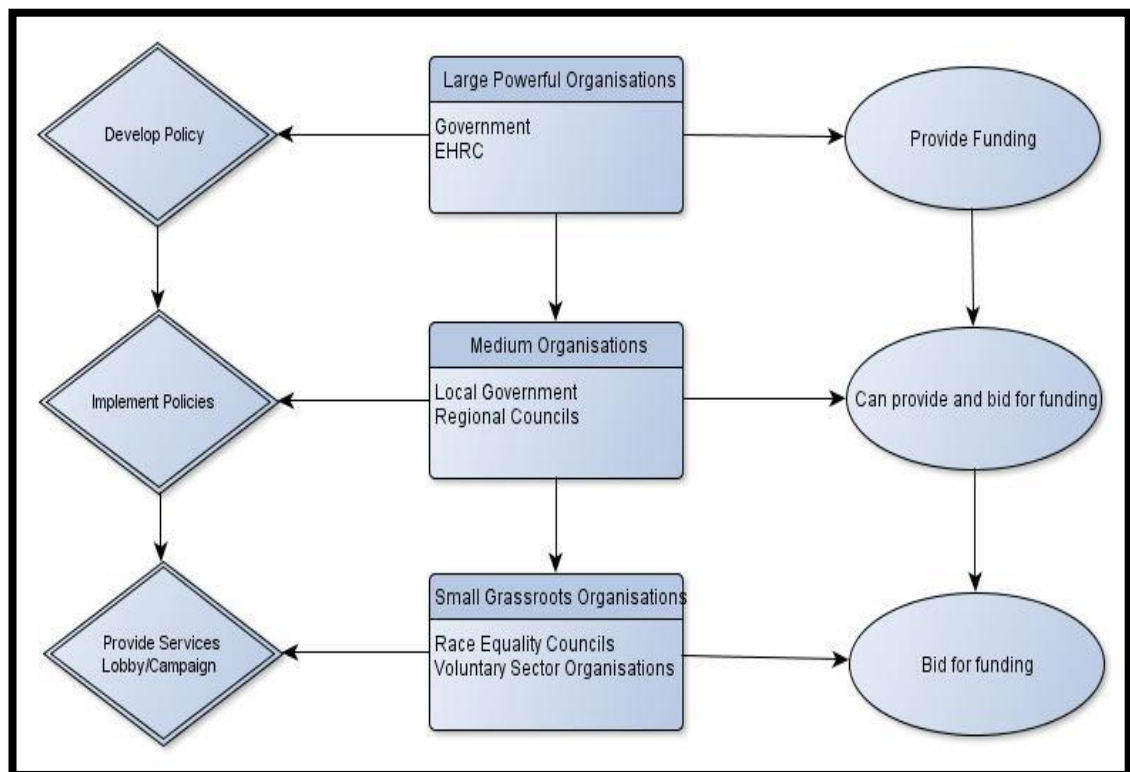
[31] For example, some organisations deal with 'race' generally whereas some organisations deal with specific groups such as refugees and asylum seekers or ethnic minority women. There are also differences between service providers and lobbying groups. This is covered in the first two data chapters.

[32] These services include health, education, advocacy, welfare rights, and employment. They can also include more basic services such as providing clothing and food to vulnerable groups such as refugees or asylum seekers.

Background to Funding of Organisations

It has been well noted that the third sector rely heavily on statutory funding, a report published in 2009 claimed that the third sector received £12 billion from statutory sources in 2006/07 (NCVO, 2009, p. 10). Larger organisations, those with incomes of at least £1 million per year, were most likely to be in receipt of government funds accounting for three quarters of the third sectors statutory income (NCVO, 2009, p. 11). The report claims that of the 40,000 organisations that receive funding from the government 27,000, mostly medium or large organisations, rely on it for three quarters of their income (NCVO, 2009, p. 10). The lack of funding makes organisations 'vulnerable' in terms of survival and the funding application process may make them vulnerable in terms of their aims and objectives. It is evident that certain types of organisations are more likely to receive funding. Mainly those organisations that undertake work that is attractive to the government and other funding organisations. This includes target driven work that can be measured so that the funder has 'something to show' at the end of the project[33]. This fact created a crucial question for the research: does dependence on government funds dictate the work of the organisations? For instance, do organisations have to apply for funds based on the government's agenda at the expense of their own aims? The same report also suggested that smaller organisations are least likely to gain government funds as it is estimated that 117,000 organisations, or 75% of the voluntary sector, mostly small organisations, do not receive any government funding (NCVO, 2009, p. 10). Thus, the research aimed to explore the situation of smaller organisations in order to understand how they operated and how they are funded. Studies on BME specific voluntary organisations have revealed that the situation is similar to the voluntary sector as a whole. A partnership study between Glasgow University and The Ethnic Minority Foundation (EMF) claimed that the total income of general charities in 2001 was approximately £15.6 million with one third of that going to 200 of the largest

---

[33] This is more suited to service provision work rather than campaigning or lobbying work and could therefore count for the imbalance between lobbying and service projects.

organisations with an annual income of £10 million. The study claimed that smaller organisations, which comprise of 90% of the voluntary sector, receive only 10% of the overall income making them 'extremely vulnerable'. The report also claimed that the majority of BME organisations are smaller placing them in the 'vulnerable' category (Reid, 2004, pp. 10-11). Thus, the focus of the research was on smaller grassroots BME organisations in order to explore the situation of the most vulnerable group. Furthermore, BME groups are concentrated in service provision and therefore have the most contact with BME communities on the ground (Reid, 2004, p. 12). Thus, it was clear that funding is fundamental to the survival of the third sector. However, it is estimated that voluntary sector income from central and local government will fall by 9.4%, this is equivalent to a decrease of £1.2 billion in 2015/16 compared to 2010/11 (NCVO, 2011). This will further disadvantage the voluntary sector as a whole and has the potential to have particularly detrimental consequences for the poorer BME sector. The threat of funding cuts makes this research project both timely and relevant. The overall sample included organisations from the voluntary and public sector allowing for a comparative analysis of their aims and objectives and an insight into the power relations between the two spheres (Appendix 1).

Ethnographic Approach

The research paradigm was interpretive arguing that there is no single social reality. The openness of this paradigm was ideal as the research was based on understanding the 'race industry', which is structured by 'historical, social, political, cultural and economic factors as well as by ethnic, racial and gendered structures' (Bailey, 2007, p. 55). Furthermore, the interpretive approach was suitable for this project as it focuses on the people and organisations involved:

> "The researcher using an interpretive paradigm asks what kinds of things people do, how they do them, what purposes activities serve, and what they mean to the participants. In other words, the researcher becomes interested in the meanings, symbols, beliefs, ideas, and feelings given or attached to objects, events, activities, and others by participants in the

setting. The goals of field research for scholars who use an interpretive paradigm involve empathetic understanding of participants' day-to-day experiences and an increased awareness of the multiple meanings given to the routine and problematic events by those in the setting" (Bailey, 2007, p. 53).

A phenomenograpic approach was adopted. Phenomenography is an empirical research approach developed by Ference Matron which aims to describe 'people's conception of reality' (Marton, 1981, p. 178). The approach has traditionally been used in education and aims to understand 'different ways in which people experience, interpret, understand, apprehend, perceive or conceptualize various aspects of reality' (Marton, 1981, p. 178). Marton (1986) claims that 'a careful account of the different ways people think about phenomena may help uncover conditions that facilitate the transition from one way of thinking to a qualitatively 'better' perception of reality' (Marton, 1986, p. 33). Thus, this project aimed to explore the different ways those working in anti-racism organisations perceive the structures and discourse surrounding anti-racism. This gives an insight into the experiences of those working on the ground floor and can therefore provide a better understanding of the varied dimensions of anti-racism work, rather than relying on the 'conceptual wisdom' of those who are higher up the 'industry' such as the EHRC.

Phenomenography takes a non-dualistic ontological position acknowledging that the participant and the subject area of study are linked. This is an ideal approach for this thesis as those who were interviewed expressed a deep commitment to equality and to the organisation that they represented. Participants also held strong feelings about factors external to their organisation, such as politics and funding, meaning that their individual feelings and emotions are informed and influenced by the subject matter. In phenomenographic research, 'the researcher chooses to study how people experience a given phenomenon, not to study a given phenomenon' (Ornek, 2008). This study aimed to explore the experience of those working in the anti-racism industry at a time when anti-racism and the way in which anti-racism work is undertaken is changing. Therefore, the thesis aimed to explore

how people were experiencing the phenomena of a move towards a generic equality framework.

A phenomenographic approach distinguishes between two ways of asking questions, or, as Marton describes it, two different orders:

> "These two ways of formulating questions represent two different perspectives. In the first and by far the most commonly adopted perspective we orient ourselves towards the world and make statements about it. In the second perspective we orient ourselves towards people's ideas about the world (or their experience of it) and we make statements about people's ideas about the world (or about their experience of it)" (Marton, 1981, p. 178).

Marton identifies two reasons for favouring the second order, firstly he argues that finding out about how people conceive of the world is interesting in its own right, and secondly he argues that questions about how people experience the world (first order) cannot be gathered from asking questions about what is known about reality as we know it (second order). Marton places importance on understanding experiences of people and looking for the 'alternative conceptions [people] may have of the phenomena or the aspects present in, related to or underlying the subject matter' (Marton, 1981, p. 183). Marton advocated that 'the perceived world' rather than the 'perceiving' person should be the focus of attention. As the central concern of this project was understanding the experiences and perceptions of those working in anti-racism, a second order approach which focuses on people's experiences of working in the 'industry' was ideal.

The interviews focused on the thoughts and knowledge of the respondent, not on my own preconceptions about the subject. I used a 'bracketing' approach meaning that both the interviews and data were approached with an open-mind and were not influenced by my own perspective:

> "The experiences and understandings are jointly constituted by interviewer and interviewee. These experiences and understandings are neither there prior to the interview, ready to be "read off", nor are they only situational

> social constructions. They are aspects of the subject's awareness that change from being unreflected to being reflected" (Marton, 1994, p. 4427).

Ornek (2008) argues that phenomenographic interviews develop as a conversation whereby the interviewee can explain their position and the interviewer can ask open questions to probe for further description. It is fundamental that the research does not put their own perspective onto the interviewee and 'it is important for the researcher not to evaluate the answers as being right or wrong'. Instead, 'the researcher should show that he or she is really interested in getting the subjects to express themselves clearly' (Ornek, 2008).

Bailey notes that 'the interviewer might engage in dialogue with the interviewee, rather than simply ask questions, particularly if an interpretive paradigm frames the research' (Bailey, 2007, p. 100). This element was particularly helpful for this project as, due to practical and financial pressures, the voluntary sector relies on information sharing and interaction with others in order to survive. Therefore, by engaging in this dialogue a much deeper understanding of the 'industry' could be undertaken. This dialogue/debate occurred from the beginning of the interviews as some participants raised their own questions about the language used, particularly the word 'industry'. This is a provocative term and was used deliberately to evoke discussion. The use of the quotation marks emphasised to the respondents that is was a talking point rather than something that had a fixed definition. This allowed me to explain my position and meaning and gave the participant the opportunity to set their own framework and reflect on their perception of the term.

The emphasis of phenomenography is on description making it an ideal framework for this thesis, which produces rich, in-depth description from the participants. Unlike phenomenology, which is primarily an individual first person approach, phenomenography explores groups of people. Phenomenography is understood 'in terms of the various meanings associated with the phenomena of interest, and the similarities and differences in those meanings' (Yates, et al., 2012, p. 98). The various experiences 'represent 'collective consciousness' about phenomena' (Yates,

et al., 2012, p. 98). Although the interviews took place on an individual level the collection of responses was analysed together to identify patterns, similarities and differences.

Following the phenomenographic approach, the data analysis was an iterative and comparative process. There responses were sorted into 'categories of description', which were compared to find similarities and variances. For the analytical stage, a more grounded approach was adopted to try to maintain a value free approach. Ideally, I would have liked to have taken a purely inductive grounded theory approach and allowed the data to fully dictate the research. Taking an explanatory approach is ideal for this project as 'grounded theory is derived from data and then illustrated by characteristic examples of data' (Glaser & Strauss, 1999, p. 5). However, grounded theory argues that there should be no hypothesis as the findings should emerge solely from the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). Grounded theory also advocates that there should be no literature review as this would establish preconceptions:

> "Generally a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research" (Glaser & Strauss, 1999, p. 6).

A central question in social research is whether any research involving human beings can be value free. Bell (1993) notes that 'interviewers are human beings and not machines' (Bell, 1993, p. 166). As already stated the research question was informed by a literature review, which directed the research and provided a focus[34]. To try to take an organic grounded theory approach would mean that I would have to ignore the pre-interview research that helped formulate the research question. This would have been difficult and could have derailed the project, as 'it is easier to acknowledge the fact that bias can creep in than to eliminate it altogether' (Bell, 1993, p. 95). Gouldner argued that researchers should be guided by their own

---

[34] The initial question tried to prove or disprove whether the EHRC were an effective institution, although the research process opened this up from focusing in the EHRC to the merging of equalities generally.

personal values, 'however unpopular these values might be', rather than the values of those they study (Jamrozik & Nocella, 1998, p. 70). Calavita supports this view arguing that 'our social position inevitably affects our perspective' (Calavita, 2002, p. 9). Becker also argues that there is no value-free way of conducting social research, stating that 'there is no position from which sociological research can be done that is not biased in one or another way' (Becker, 1967, p. 245). Value free research is an idealistic concept. However, the researcher can strive for objectivity by acknowledging bias and using strategies to minimise the impact of their values. Although elements of grounded theory, such as having no hypothesis or literature review, is unrealistic for this project I wanted to implement an element of grounded theory as I believe that in order to be as objective as possible the data should speak louder than the researcher's preconceptions[35]. However, as social science research requires this data to be assessed and interpreted, it is important to acknowledge that there is the potential for bias to influence the findings.

The literature review identified the major issues of 'race' relations, which I used to construct a template interview structure (Appendix 2). Having preconceived ideas was an issue when designing the interview questions as there is a danger of asking leading questions:

> "The interviews that you do or that you study are not asocial, ahistorical events. You do not leave behind your anxieties, your hopes, your blind spots, your prejudices, your class, race or gender, your location in global social structure, your age and historical positions, your emotions, your past and your sense of possible futures when you set up an interview, and nor does your interviewee when he or she agrees to an interview and you both come nervously into the same room. Nor do you do so when you sit down to analyse the material" (Wengraf, 2001, pp. 4-5).

Bailey notes that in social qualitative research the researcher is so central to 'what is learned' that ultimately they are a 'research instrument' as the 'field research is influenced by the characteristics of the researcher' (Bailey, 2007, p. 6). This

---

[35] I do not believe that qualitative social research can be value free. Instead, the researcher should strive towards objectivity by acknowledging their bias.

influence was minimised, as the interviews were semi-structured meaning that there were no set questions[36]. When designing and conducting interviews I was aware of my own views and strived for objectivity when designing and asking questions to ensure that they were as open as possible. For example, rather than ask 'is it difficult to get funding?' I would phrase the question in a more open way such as 'can you tell me about how the organisation is funded?' Although there are discrepancies when collecting the data, eliminating the possibility of complete objectivity, I think it is possible when the data is gathered that the analysis can *attempt* objectivity. Thus, for the analysis a more grounded theory approach could be undertaken were 'all relevant facts' were gathered and the evidence was examined to see what theory emerged' (Wengraf, 2001, p. 2).

The core principle of grounded theory is that the researcher keeps an open mind (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). Rubin warns that 'personal reactions' can interfere with the work and that you may become 'protective' of the group you are studying. I found it difficult when interviewing the EHRC as they claimed that many voluntary organisations fight each other and made things difficult for themselves. This was one of the initial interviews and although at that point I did not agree this view, other respondents working in both the public and voluntary sector verified it in subsequent interviews and I was reminded to keep an open mind. This is what Rubin calls 'cultural relativism', which involves 'recognising legitimacy in others views' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 21). Rubin (1995) states that regardless of the role of the researcher it should be 'warm and responsive' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 7). This was generally an easy task but it was difficult in two interviews were the respondents were being overtly racist. It is difficult not to react but 'part of the skill of the qualitative researcher is in being able to adapt quickly to a situation that did not go as expected' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 7). I initially thought of discounting these interviews, as I did not feel that they were representative of the 'race' equality sector. However, this would be a value led decision and would contradict the grounded theory approach, which argues that the data should lead the

---

[36] This is covered more fully in the interview techniques section.

research. I decided to include them as although they represent a very small minority they still exist and it is important to provide a complete picture of the research. Furthermore, if I am arguing that everybody's view is legitimate then although I do not agree with these respondents, I should include their voices[37]. It is also important to give a critical interpretation of such voices.

Some ethnographic research projects opt for an insider approach where the researcher immerses themself in the research environment and observes. This method is not possible when conducting interviews as interviews by their nature create an artificial environment. The artificial nature is unavoidable as the meeting has been organised and although the aim was to have an open conversation by conducting a semi-structured interview, the discussion has, to some extent, been planned as the participant has read the information sheet (Appendix 3) and decided to take part in the interview[38]. Furthermore, there is a distance created when recording a conversation as the recorder 'looks out of place' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 126). This could be more of an issue when dealing directly with vulnerable people[39] who are aware that the researcher is not involved or perhaps affected largely by the issues that are being discussed. This was not a significant concern for this project as there was no direct contact with vulnerable people[40]. The thrust of the project was exploring the impacts of anti-racism as a theoretical and organisational problem and the participant's experience of working in the 'industry'.

Rubin claims that how the respondent interprets the role of the researcher is important as 'what research role you take and how that role is seen by the interviewee affect the quality of the conversation' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 114). My status as a student helped to make the interview less threatening, I did not 'smarten up' for the interviews, I dressed smart casual. I did not appear to have an ulterior motive or to have any power. This allowed me to emphasise that I was an

---

[37] This decision is an example of using a strategy to minimise bias.
[38] It is not like participant observation, which would allow for a more natural research experience.
[39] The definition of vulnerable is given fully in the ethics section.
[40] The participants were not asked to explicitly discuss personal experiences of racism. However, some participants used their own experiences to explain their views.

outsider, not part of the 'industry' yet still approachable. However, some respondents treated me as part of the 'industry', inviting me to events they were holding and suggesting further collaboration. One participant talked about 'our' position in society, him in a well-paid job and me doing a PhD, as opposed to those who were affected by racism. The language used inferred that neither of us were directly affected by the issue we were discussing. Specifically he referred to the difficulties of 'sorting out' the problems from a distance, i.e. imposing your views on others. For example, he cited the tension created when middle class healthcare workers go into poorer areas to teach pregnant women to stop smoking. He claimed that the women in deprived areas might find it difficult to relate to a middle class professional person who they could perceive to be judging them rather than trying to help.

Many of the participants had experienced racism and used this experience to exemplify their arguments. These personal, real life accounts of the experiences of racism added value and helped to get a clearer understanding of the motivations behind the voluntary sector as, by its voluntary nature, it is directed by individuals who feel strongly and are committed to tackling the issues. However, the personal accounts can have a strong rhetorical power and can end critical conversations. In order to avoid this I did not probe the respondents to expand on their personal experiences. Instead, I asked questions that related to the structures of society and how they affects the running of the organisation and the community. This brought a more formal element back and allowed the interview to flow. I allowed the participant to lead in the interviews and went along with their interpretation of how the interview would flow in order to ensure a 'mutually acceptable research role' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 114). Thus, rather than being an insider the approach taken was one of a sympathetic outsider which was sufficient to gather the data needed. The organisational focus meant that social desirability was not a major issue and created enough distance from the individual for them to speak freely about their experiences of the sector.

Location of the Research

Rubin claims that 'the aim of qualitative research is to build theory step by step from the examples and experiences collected during the interviews' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 56). This correlates with the ethos of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1999). Initially the research was expected to be conducted on a UK wide basis in order to evaluate the differences and similarities between the four countries of Britain. Although there are many similarities for the voluntary sector in other parts of the UK the focus for this thesis is on Scotland. Initial interviews indicated that there were some specific problems in Scotland[41]; it also became apparent that to cover the whole UK would have been too broad and the data would have to be spread too thin. To cover such a large area would be difficult, costly and time-consuming considering the time scale and resources of the project.

Scotland is the second largest country of the UK, according to the 2001 census the population is 5,062, 011 (Scottish Government, 2004). The ethnic minority population of Scotland is 2.01% (Scottish Government, 2004). The ethnic minority population of the entire UK is 7.9% (OFS, 2009). This is a significant difference in demographics and so the research aimed to see whether this population difference had implications for how 'race' relations is conducted in Scotland from both an internal and external perspective. Although the Scottish Government have a remit to promote equality throughout Scotland, equality legislation is a reserved matter. This means that equality legislation is formulated and directed from the Westminster Government rather than the Scottish Parliament. Many of the respondents had experience of working in England and Scotland and felt that there was a perception that as Scotland has a low percentage of BME people there was no need for a specialised attention. The initial stages of the research showed that the funding of the EHRC was proportionately lower than the funding of the three separate commissions (CRE, EOC, DRC) given that the commission had taken on an

---

[41] These included tensions between Westminster and Holyrood, tensions between the central belt and the more rural parts of Scotland and sectarianism. These will be fully detailed in Chapter 4 (Scotland).

additional six equality strands (sexuality, age, religion and belief, pregnancy and maternity, marriage and civil partnership and transgender). Furthermore, the funding of grassroots 'race' equality organisations in Scotland was significantly affected by the merger, as for the year 2008/09 no organisation that focused on 'race' equality received EHRC funds[42]. The research looked at the effects and power relations between the different sectors of the 'race' relations 'industry'. This differed between different areas of the country as 'the social world is not an entity in and of itself but is local, temporally and historically situated, fluid, context-specific' (Bailey, 2007, p. 53).

The research did not focus on a particular area of Scotland, as the intention was to get as broad a response as possible and by focusing on the whole of Scotland both rural and urban areas could be incorporated into the research. However, unsurprisingly given the demographics of the population of Scotland most of the respondents were based in the central belt, either Edinburgh or Glasgow the two largest cities in Scotland with the largest proportion of BME residents. However, there were responses from smaller and more rural places such as Perth, Ayrshire and the Highlands (see the table below).

Types of Organisations

The respondents came from a variety of different arenas and included academic experts, people from local government and equality organisations based in Scotland. The organisations consisted of large well-funded equality organisations (such as the EHRC and the Scottish Government) and small grassroots organisations that survive on a short term funding[43]. Furthermore, contact was made with public sector organisations including the health service, local councils and further

---

[42] Details of the funding situation and EHRC budget are outlined fully in chapter six.

[43] The gap between the different organisations can be seen when visiting the premises; most of the poorly funded organisations are in run down areas compared with public sector organisations like the EHRC who have expensive offices in the city centre away from the poverty faced by BME groups. This was an interesting comparison in itself. In hindsight, it may have been useful to photograph the premises to portray the difference.

education establishments in order to gain an insight into the equality and diversity strategies and delivery in the public sector. The majority of organisations contacted were focused on 'race' equality but given that a large component of the research was on the merging of equalities people who worked on general equality were contacted in order to understand the whole picture.

Tables

Table 1

Sector	Numbers of Respondents
Public sector	9
Voluntary Sector	10
Academics	3

Table 2

Equality Strand	Numbers of Respondents
General Equality	9
'Race' Specific Equality	13

Table 3

Location	Numbers of Respondents
Glasgow	14
Edinburgh	5
Perth	1
Highlands	1
Ayrshire	1

Table 4

Gender	Numbers of Respondents
Women	12
Men	10

Table 5

Ethnicity	Numbers of Respondents
White	12
BME	10

44

Charts

Chart 1

---
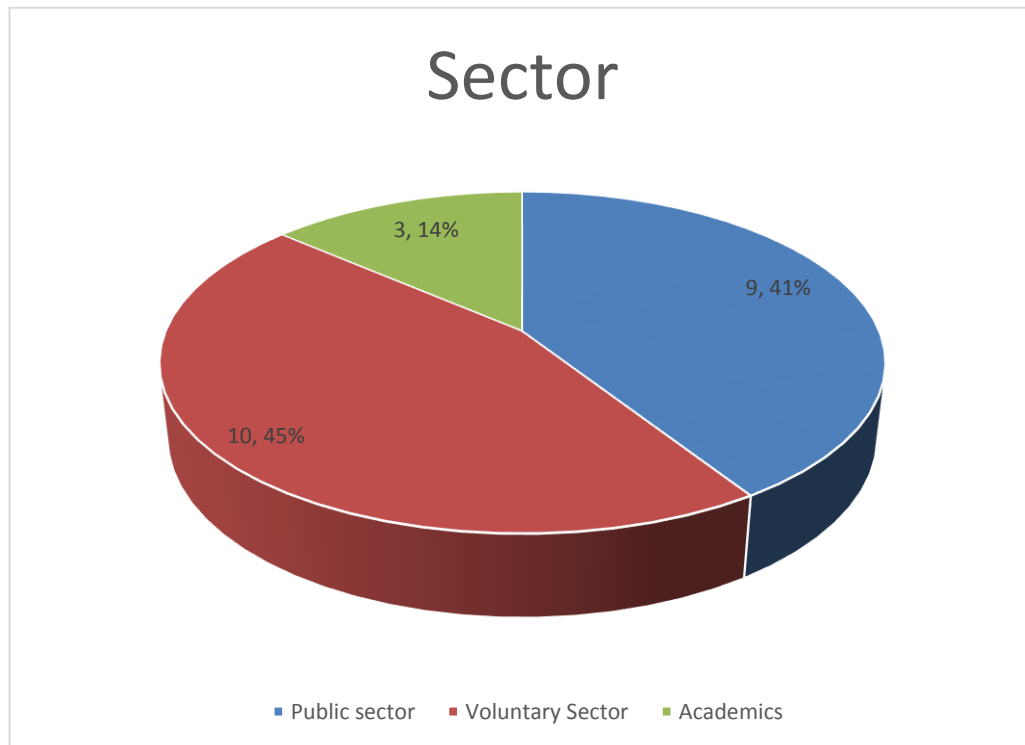
[44] These tables use information that has been split and therefore the respondents overlap in each category. See Appendix 1 for a more detailed respondent list.

Chart 2

Equality Strand

General Equality
41%

'Race' Specific
Equality
59%

■ General Equality   ■ 'Race' Specific Equality

Chart 3

Location

5%
4%
4%
23%
64%

■ Glasgow   ■ Edinburgh   ■ Perth   ■ Highlands   ■ Ayrshire
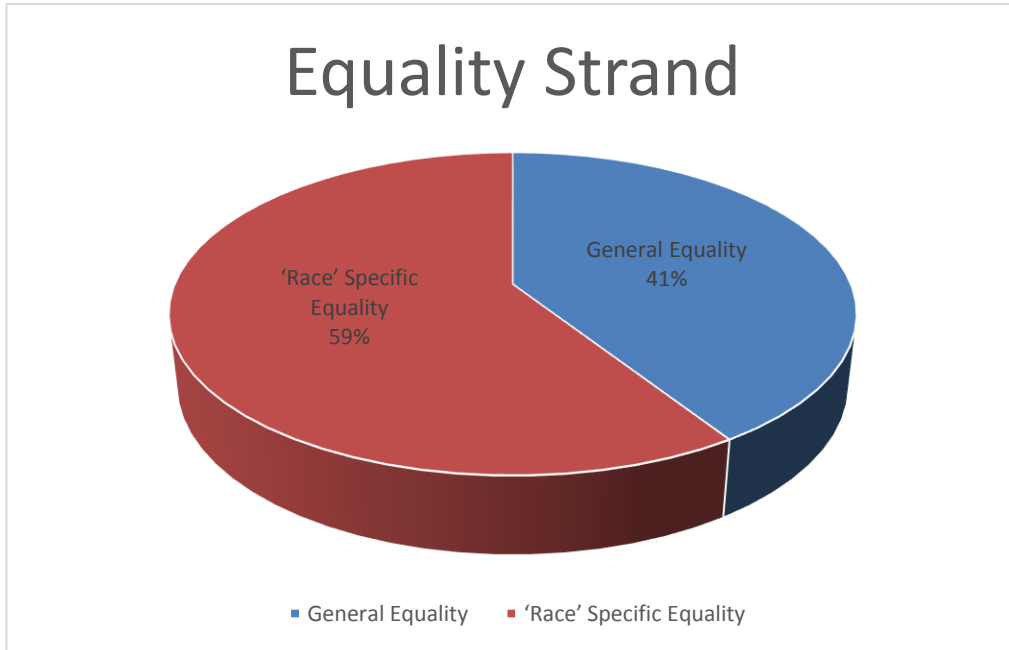
Chart 4

Chart 5

---

[45] These tables give a general representation of the respondents. They represent the organisation or project the respondent was involved with at the time of interview but do not account for other experiences and knowledge of other sectors that the respondents brought to the interviews.

Sampling

The focus of phenomenography is the identification of variation between different respondent's experiences. This means that sampling is not random as 'participants in a phenomenographic study should be selected based upon their appropriateness to the purpose of the research study, that is, they have experience of the phenomenon being explored' (Yates, et al., 2012, p. 103). The interviewees came from a variety of fields, some were involved in the public sector, some were academics and most were currently involved in the voluntary sector. Despite the varied fields, all interviewees were chosen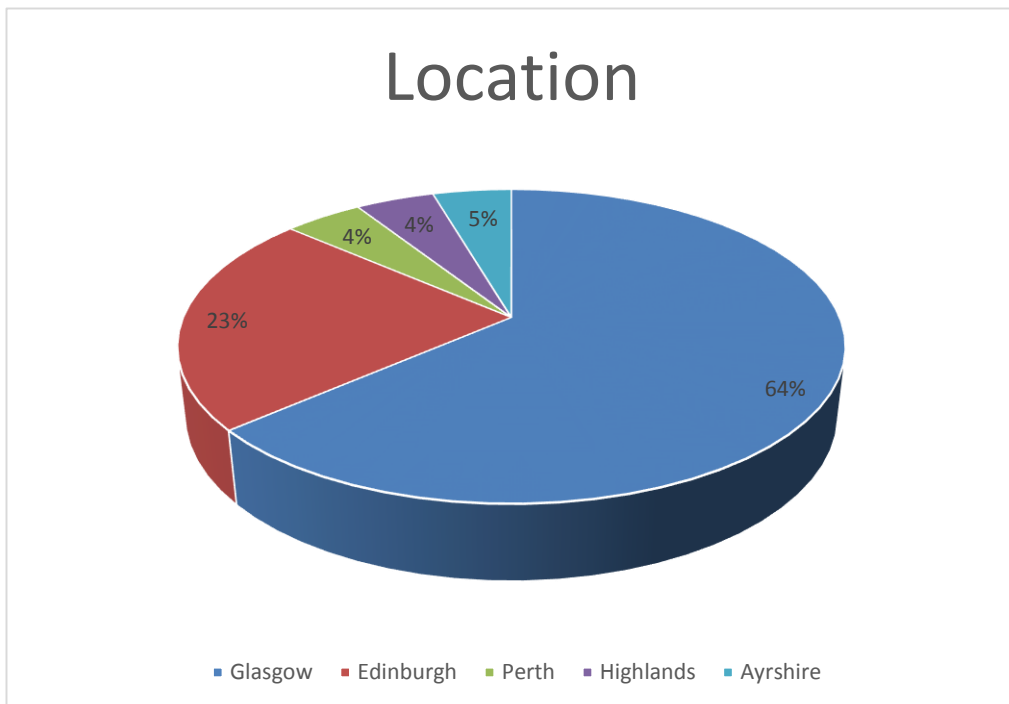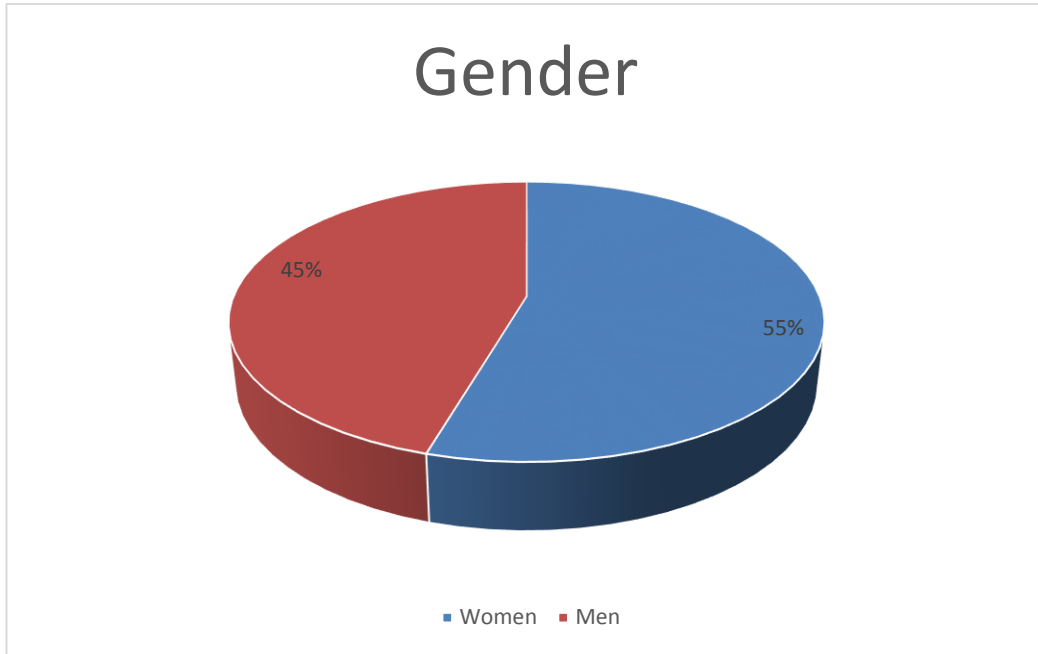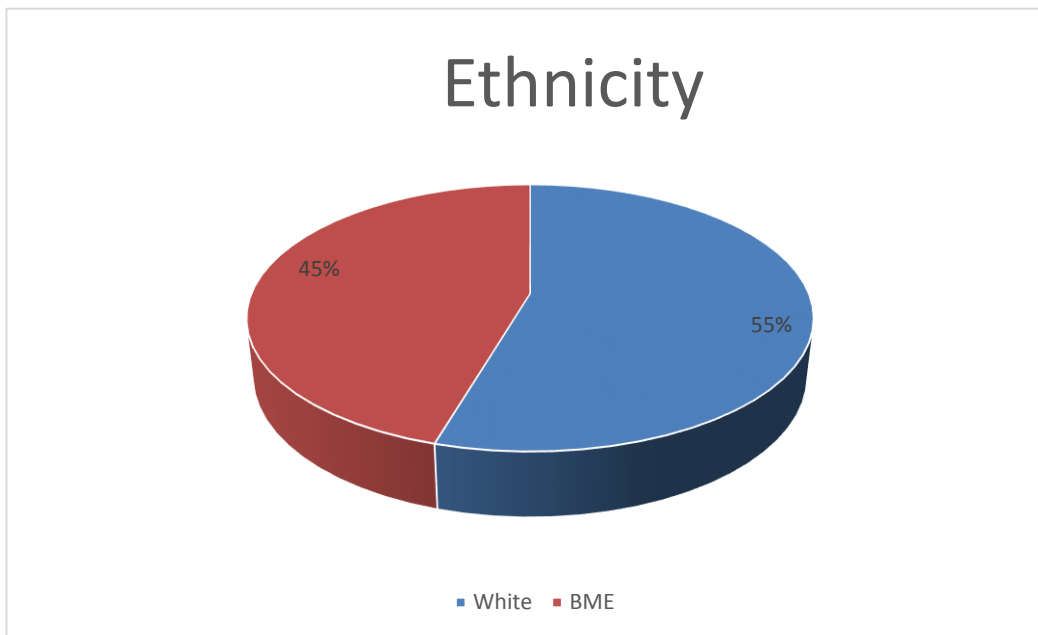 based on their connections to anti-racist or equality voluntary organisations. All respondents were working in the voluntary sector or had worked in the sector in the past. Therefore, although the participants did bring a range of experiences and perspectives to the interview, the interview focused on their experience of working in the voluntary sector.

The aim of this project was to gather in depth information about the experiences of those working in the anti-racism field with a focus on understanding the specific experiences of those working at the grassroots level. Although identifying commonalities was an important aspect of this thesis, equally important was to explore the varied experiences of those working at different levels in the anti-racism 'industry' in Scotland. Therefore, the wide sample allowed for the various experiences of the sector to be explored, while also allowing for a focused understanding of the common experiences and barriers faced by those working on the grassroots level. In short, the thesis aimed to look at the bigger picture in terms of how the merged equality agenda was affecting those working in the equality field.

Freedom of Information (FOI) requests were made to the EHRC asking for a list of successful and unsuccessful applications for funding for the years 2003/04 to 2008/09. Initially I requested funding information from 2000 – 2010. However, the EHRC responded saying they were:

"Unable to locate any CRE records prior to 2003 despite searching our archive data base and files saved on the legacy commission's computer drives" (FOI response, 26/05/09).

A FOI request was later made for a list of successful and unsuccessful organisations for the year 2009/10 but this was declined based on confidentiality. The reason for the refusal referred to an earlier and separate FOI:

"We acknowledge that in the handling of a previous request (dated 23 June 2009) for the disclosure of the information about unsuccessful applicants in relation to the CRE Grants Programme 2006-2007 and the EHRC Interim Grants Programme 2007-2008, information was provided in relation to funding applications. The information you now request relates to the most recent funding decisions by the EHRC, not historical decisions under the Interim Grants Programme or those of a legacy institution, the CRE. The public interest in preserving the confidentiality of the type of information requested is weaker in relation to older information" (FOI response, 17/02/10).

Many requests were declined if they were considered too costly. For example, I initially requested decision related documentation for the funding applications in order to analyse how funding decisions were evaluated and what factors contributed to successful and unsuccessful funding applications. The request was made on the 05th October 2009 and on the 11th January 2010, the EHRC declined:

"We have estimated that it will cost more than the appropriate limit of £450 to respond specifically to the information you have requested. Section 12 of the Freedom of Information Act makes provision for public authorities to refuse requests for information where the cost of dealing with them would exceed the appropriate limit, which for non-central government bodies like us is set at £450, calculated at a rate of £25.00 per person per hour" (FOI response, 11/01/10).

The FOI requests were useful as they provided detailed statistical information. However, the process was time consuming as it can take up to 20 days to get a response. The organisations can extend this by another 20 days if they need more time. This happened five times and took three months to get a final response when requesting the funding figures (Appendix 4). This was particularly problematic when the research project was developing as it was difficult to know what

information I was looking for and therefore difficult to make requests. This was further complicated as the FOI requests were often sent back and required refining. This happened when requesting correspondence between the Communities and Local Government Department (CLG) and the EHRC. The request was narrowed down to ask for correspondence between the CLG and EHRC in relation to the Preventing Violent Extremism Programme (Prevent). However, if a wider correspondence was available information that is more interesting could have been retrieved. FOIs were more difficult to obtain from the EHRC compared to other organisations such as the Scottish Government.

The FOI information was used to compile various spreadsheets splitting the information by country (Scotland, Wales and England) and identifying which organisations received continuous and substantial funding from the Commission. 2008/09 was split by equality strand to see whether there was a disparity between equality strands (disability, 'race', age, sexuality, religion and belief, gender). Compiling the spreadsheet was very time consuming as the location and equality strand had to be identified for each organisation[46]. The spreadsheets were used to identify 'race' equality organisations in Scotland that had had dealings with the CRE and the EHRC. All of these organisations were contacted to request an interview. Of those who responded, no one refused to take part in the research.

This list was too small and so snowball sampling was implemented. An advantage of this is that 'by interviewing people mentioned by previous interviewees, you make a start on interviewing along a social network' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 68) and it is the respondents who identify who was important allowing the data to lead the research. A disadvantage is that the snowball sample is an inexact method as it relies on respondents who may only recommend those in their own 'social network' producing one-sided data. However, as the 'race' relations 'industry' is relatively small in Scotland the danger of bias is minimised. Furthermore, I am confident that

---

[46] The findings of the spreadsheets are included in Chapter 6 (Funding).

there is a balanced sample as the interviewees came from a mixture of those in 'race' equality and those in equality generally[47].

A list from the Scottish Government's website of anti-racism voluntary organisations was also consulted. Overall, I compiled a database of over 100 Scottish organisations. However, these lists were not extensive as it did not include all Scottish voluntary organisations and did not include representatives from the public sector working in anti-racism. I wanted to contact as wide and comprehensive a sample as possible. I contacted a large Glasgow based 'race' equality organisation that specialises in capacity building for the voluntary sector, Black and Ethnic Minority Infrastructure in Scotland (BEMIS). BEMIS had compiled a database of over 500 equality organisations in Scotland. I contacted them to ask for a copy of the list but due to data protection, they refused. However, they did offer to send out an interview request on my behalf. Although it is difficult to know who they contacted this method proved to be fruitful and opened the door for many other recipients. The research was also advertised in an online equality magazine, http://enf.org.uk/blog/?p=1271 (The Equalities Network Forum, n.d.).

Sampling for qualitative interviews can be difficult compared to survey data and other quantitative studies as interviews give a 'relatively small number of people in comparison with questionnaires' (Wengraf, 2001, p. 91). The respondents for this study were self-selected and so the numbers depended on whether the respondents agreed to take part. However, grounded theory emphasises the importance of seeking out respondents until the data received is 'complete':

> "The first principle involves completeness, that is, you keep adding interviewees until you are satisfied that you understand the complex cultural arena or multistep process. When each additional interviewee adds little to what you have already learned, you stop adding new interviews. This is called saturation point" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 72).

---

[47] Snowball sampling only resulted in two respondents and so any bias was minimal.

The aim was to conduct between 15-25 interviews. In the end, 22 interviews were conducted.

Establishing Contact and Gaining Access

The respondents were contacted by e-mail initially, an invitation letter was sent requesting an interview and an information sheet outlining the details of the project was attached to the e-mail (Appendix 3). In a self-selecting sample, it is important to appeal to respondents and to make it clear that they have something to offer the research. The information sheet template was modified depending on who was being contacted. The information sheet was always honest and modifications were made to appeal to the particular respondent. For example if an academic expert was being contacted the information sheet put more focus on the theory side of the project (issues of multiculturalism, theories of anti-racism, structures of government) and if it was a local grassroots organisation the information sheet emphasised the funding and local delivery aspect of the project (funding issues, types of services). However, great care was taken to include all elements of the project to avoid being deceptive.

Using a self-selecting sample avoided any sense of coercion and ensured that participation in the research was voluntary. On occasions potential participants contacted me to say that they would be interested in taking part but when I responded by e-mail to arrange a time and place they would not respond. The participant would receive two more e-mails asking if they were still interested and if they did not respond it was assumed they had changed their mind. This only happened on two occasions. In order to avoid this non-response, when possible, the respondents that replied to the request were contacted by telephone to discuss their participation further. This was an effective strategy as the phone call allowed a rapport to be built before the interview and was important in order to avoid becoming what Rubin describes as a 'rootless stranger' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 117). Most of the calls were merely practical and were concerned with arranging a

date, time and place. However, some respondents wanted to know more about the research project before they decided whether they wanted to take part. In these cases, the respondent was told the aims of the project and were reassured that the interviews were anonymous. All respondents that were contacted by phone agreed to take part.

Most respondents who took part did so on the basis that funding and the merging of equalities were issues that they were genuinely concerned about and wanted to offer help to improve the situation. Furthermore, many of the respondents recognised my supervisors name, some had worked alongside him and so this may have been a factor in their decision to participate in the research.

Types of Interviews

The research method was focused on qualitative data through the format of semi-structured interviews. Questionnaires were considered as they would have provided a much clearer and more representative sample. However, statistical analysis of the 'industry' has already been well documented (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009; Chouhan & Lusane, 2004; McLeod, et al., 2001; NCVO, 2009; NCVO, 2011; Reid, 2004). In order to find out the sort of problems faced by small organisations a more detailed response was needed. A major advantage of interviews is that it is adaptable:

> "A skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings, which the questionnaire can never do. The way in which the response is made (the tone of voice, facial expression, hesitation, etc.) can provide information that a written response would conceal. Questionnaire responses have to be taken at face value, but a response in an interview can be developed and clarified" (Bell, 1993, p. 91).

Structured interviews were an option as they could also have provided a larger sample:

> "Given an equivalent amount of time and money, you can 'do' (prepare, do and analyse) *far fewer* semi-structured interviews than you can do fully

structured ones. They may yield much more than fully structured ones can, under the right conditions. Under the wrong conditions, they may yield nothing at all. They are high preparation, high risk, high gain and high analysis operations" (Wengraf, 2001, p. 5).

It was necessary to take this 'risk' in order to keep the data grounded and open. The semi-structured interview was most effective as those consulted had daily experience of working in the 'industry' and specific and detailed knowledge of the issues surrounding BME communities. This was carried out in the context of a policy analysis, literature, news reports and other relevant documents. I also attended events by the EHRC and other voluntary organisations. These observations also informed the research.[48]

Individual interviews were chosen for a number of reasons, first practically it would have been difficult to do group interviews especially as many of the respondents did not work 9-5 and were involved in many other activities at evenings and weekends. Secondly, methods other than one to one interviewing would have compromised the promise of anonymity. Thirdly, people may not have been as open or critical in the presence others in their field of work especially if the group included people from the EHRC or other funding bodies.

The Format of the Interviews

At the beginning of each interview, I introduced myself, briefly recapped on the research proposal, asked whether the respondents had any questions and confirmed that they gave permission for the conversation to be recorded. All

---

[48] Events Attended
- **Salford Human Rights Law Conference -** 4th -5th June 2010, Salford University, Manchester.
- **EHRC Event: Commission in Scotland calls time on consensus that threatens Scotland's future** – 13th May 2009, Edinburgh.
- **Show Racism the Red Card Show Case Event: Show Bigotry the Red Card,** 30th June 2010, Glasgow.
- **Everyone in project** – Equality Network – 25th October 2010, The Albany Learning and Conference Centre, Glasgow.

participants agreed to have the interview recorded. The interviews were conducted in an informal manner in order to allow a more natural flow to the conversation. Building a good rapport was a particular concern for this research as funding is a potentially sensitive topic and participants might feel anxious about critically discussing the issue due to fears of losing their funding or jobs by criticising more powerful bodies like the EHRC, the government or other funding bodies. The participants were therefore informed that the research would be completely anonymous in writing when the interview was requested and this promise was reinforced in person before the interview took place.

The questions followed similar themes for each interview. All of the interviews were semi-structured and there were no set questions. Instead, each interview covered five set themes:

- The organisations aims and objectives
- 'Race' relations concepts such as multiculturalism, anti-racism, community cohesion, integration and assimilation
- Opportunities to consult with and influence the government and other important decision making bodies
- The funding of the organisation
- The EHRC/CRE and the merging of equalities

When talking about the aims and objectives, the smaller organisation discussed how their organisations started and evolved and the impact it had on the local community, whereas the public sector discussed this issue in terms of legislation and targets and the impact on the 'customer'. 'Race' relations concepts were easier to discuss with academics, as they tended to have a clearer definition of what each term was. The concepts were harder to discuss with non-academics as the meaning varies between individuals. Thus, I had to be careful not to lead with my definition and try to keep the focus on the answers of the respondents. When discussing influencing the government it was easier to engage with academics and larger

lobbying organisations who understood the structures and had experience of working with the government. Some smaller organisations were service based and did not have the capacity to get involved in influencing the policy. The funding issues were easy to discuss with smaller voluntary organisations as they had experience of the issues faced in terms of funding and survival and could give detailed answers about the difficulties faced. The public sector respondents could input into working within a budget and comment on the difficulties of cuts to the service. The merging of equalities was easy to discuss and most respondents had an opinion on the impact of the merger.

These themes were consistently used in all interviews. However, given the range of respondents from a variety of different fields the questions were modified to suit each respondent as 'the interview, like an ordinary conversation, is invented anew each time it occurs' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 7). This method is what Herbert and Rubin call 'responsive interviewing' a qualitative interviewing method that is a 'dynamic and iterative, not a set of tools to be applied mechanically' (Rubin & Rublin, 2005, p. 15). This method recognises that the interview is not rigid and will differ according to the experience and input of the respondent:

> "Responsive interviewers begin a project with a topic in mind but recognise they will modify their questions to match the knowledge and interests of the interviewees. You would not talk to major league baseball players about foreign policy or to officials in the State Department about the politics of major league baseball teams. Instead, in responsive interviewing, the specific focus of the study emerges from the interaction between researcher and conversational partner. Qualitative research is not simply about learning about a topic but also learning about what is important to those being studied" (Rubin & Rublin, 2005, p. 15).

The local grassroots organisations were able to respond more fully to questions on funding and delivery and could identify the major issues for voluntary organisations. Those who were 'race' relations experts portrayed a more theoretical response with less input on the running of an anti-racist organisation. Before the interview, the respondent was researched thoroughly as it is important to 'immerse yourself in the

setting to learn what you can about the issues and start to understand the vocabulary that the interviewees use' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 77). Information on the organisations aims, funding and delivery strategy were collected as well as information about the respondent themselves, their career history and their role in the organisation. The possibility of such research varies as each participant has a different career profile and internet presence. The research was useful in understanding the ideology of the respondents and the organisations, and helped to construct the line of questioning that was effective in making the most of each interview, as the key issues identified helped to capitalise on any specific information that would be useful to the thesis.

Foddy's model suggests that 'the potential interviewee is going to encode *whatever you say and do* into a 'frame' in terms of which they will understand the forthcoming interview event. This will happen whether they realize it or not. So you must realise it, and work to avoid 'the wrong framing' by the informant' (Wengraf, 2001, p. 189). Rubin (1995) emphasises the importance of creating a shared language so that both parties have a grasp of the words and phrases used and what they mean as:

> "By being aware of your own specialised vocabulary and cultural assumptions, you are less likely to impose your own opinions on the interviewees. It is the interviewee's ideas you want to hear, and you don't want to black that communication by putting your own assumptions in the way" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 19).

This can be tied with Foucault's conception of the relationship between knowledge and power as 'whenever knowledge of any form is applied, it accompanies the exercise of powers' (Marvasti, 2004, p. 110). Foucault's analysis contends that 'that the subject (i.e., the person whose intentions and thoughts are supposedly the source of knowledge) is itself a social construct' (Marvasti, 2004, p. 110). It is important not to impose ideas onto those being studied but to use the evidence to participate:

"The work of an intellectual is not to mould the political will of others; it is through the analyses that he does in his own field, to re-examine evidence and assumptions, to shake up habitual ways of working and thinking, to dissipate conventional familiarities, to re-evaluate rules and institutions and to participate in the formation of a political will" (Foucault, 1989, pp. 462-463).

The information sheets, in order to be transparent, contained key phrases and words that were central to the project such as 'industry'. At the beginning of each interview, I defined what was meant by these terms so that if the respondent used them or wanted to challenge them they could do so easily. This also allowed the respondent to give their interpretation of the terms and worked as an icebreaker to get the communication started.

Some participants needed little prompting and led the conversation and in many instances covered all of the topics without being directed towards them. Others gave more brief answers and needed more prompts. Thus, even although the interviews did not have a specific structure, open questions were prepared in advance in order to ensure there was a good flow (Appendix 2). This also ensured that the background research was included in each interview as without these questions it would have been easy to forget to ask about specific experiences and work. There were differences in the flow of the interview depending on who was being interviewed; academics were the most daunting participants but turned out to be the easiest interviews, perhaps because they had been through a similar experience, were used to being interviewed and knew the process. It was easy to build up the relationship with them by talking about the project in detail. However, it was more difficult and perhaps important to interact with some non-academic respondents, as they needed more reassurance.

It is even easier to 'lead' in an interview than it is in a questionnaire. The same question put by two people, but with different emphasis and in a different tone of voice, can produce very different responses. Complete objectivity is the aim' (Bell, 1993, pp. 95-96). Thus, special attention was paid to tone and attitude when asking

questions. After the interviews, I took down field notes to remind me of reactions to certain issues, body language and facial expressions in order to get a clear picture of the responses given. This was especially helpful when considering the responses from different sectors. For example the EHRC and council respondents tended to have a more positive tone of voice and body language when talking about the future of 'race' relations, even when being critical, than those from the voluntary sector. It is important to consider the impact of how you ask questions. I tried to have little input into the interviews, I wanted the respondent to act as the expert or informant. This approach was undertaken in order to allow the respondent more freedom to speak in their terms with little influence from me.

As funding can be an emotive subject the questions were very open and special care was taken to avoid using leading language. Although the term 'industry' could be considered controversial language, it was used as a deliberate talking point to evoke dialogue rather than as a means to lead the respondents to give particular answer. In the invitation letter and overview the word 'industry' was written in quote marks to indicate that it was a talking point rather than an actual conclusive turn of phrase. Bell (1993) argues that 'eagerness of the respondent to please the interviewer, a vague antagonism that sometimes arises between interviewer and respondent, or the tendency of the interviewer to seek out the answers that support his preconceived notions are but few of the factors that may contribute to biasing of data obtained from the interview' (Bell, 1993, p. 139). One particular question that presented a problem was asking whether the organisation ever needed to do projects specifically for funding rather than projects that helped them meet the mission statement of the organisation. This question was difficult to ask without appearing threatening or accusatory. In order to overcome this problem that question was asked casually in the midst of conversations about funding rather than as an opening question. Furthermore, when discussing funding with voluntary organisations the expectation is for the respondents to claim that the pot of money is not big enough, the responses backed this expectation up. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed for further probing into the issues of funding.

The interviews ranged between 45 minutes to 1 hour and 30 minutes (mostly lasting 1 hour). The request stated that the interview would last one hour and so the over run was a failing on my part:

> "It may have been difficult to negotiate access and to get in the first place, but the interviewer who, once in, stays until he is thrown out, is working in the style of investigative journalism rather than social research... If an interview takes two or three times as long as the interviewer said it would, the respondent, whose other work or social activities have been accordingly delayed, will be irritated in retrospect, however enjoyable the experience may have been at the time. This practise breaks one of the ethics of professional social research, which is that the field should not be left more difficult for subsequent investigators to explore by disenchanting respondents with that whole notion of research participation" (Bell, 1993, p. 172).

This was a problem at the beginning but with more experience, the interviews were kept on schedule.

Analysing the Data

The interviews were recorded and transcribed fully. This was very time consuming as 'transcripts can take up to ten hours for a 1 hour recording' (Bell, 1993, p. 96). Transcribing should not be an afterthought when arranging where to do the interviews. Many of the respondents preferred to meet on neutral territory. On many occasions, the interview was carried out in a coffee shop. This is a more relaxed environment but I tried to arrange these interviews early in the morning so that the background noise was minimal and transcription would be easier. On occasions when this was not possible, the background noise could add up to one extra day onto transcription time.

Transcribing was the first point of analysis as by doing so many ideas and thoughts were stimulated giving me a chance to get close to the data. Transcribing has been described as:

"Running along the ground in order to jump into the air, or pushing a car along the ground to get the engine started. The point is to spark off many theoretical memos for yourself in this crucial interaction of active struggle with the transcript and active struggle of your mind as it remembers the original interview experience and also reflects on possible interpretations of that original interview process, and the data generated" (Wengraf, 2001, p. 210).

The transcripts were read several times in order to identify themes, common language and contrasting opinions (especially those that arise from different sectors).

When analysing the data I wanted to understand whether the merging of equalities was good for anti-racism and so I wanted to determine whether the data 'support[ed], modify[ed] or contradict[ed] an existing theory or policy?' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 229). However, I also wanted to take a grounded theory approach and see where the data led. I read and re-read the transcripts several times in order to identify key themes and 'description categories' (Marton, 1994). I split the interviews into public and voluntary organisation categories and identified the similarities and differences between these categories. I also analysed the data in terms of general equality and 'race' specific equality. I looked for connections between the themes themselves, for example, I looked at influencing the government and how that related to gaining funds. I looked for patterns between the amounts of influence the organisation claimed to have over the government and the funding they received. The data was analysed and coded using the Nvivo software package. This was a multistage process, initial coding, or as Strauss and Corbin (1990) call it 'open coding', involves breaking 'up multiple pages of text into more manageable segments that can be grouped together and used during later stages of the analysis' (Wengraf, 2001, p. 128). The second stage was focused coding, or as Strauss and Corbin call it 'axial coding', which further reduces the data 'combining the initial coded data into larger categories that subsume multiple codes' (Wengraf, 2001, p. 128). The Nvivo package was used primarily as an organisational tool. The quotations were sorted into themes. They were then

transferred to a word document and manually grouped into chapters. When they were sorted into chapters, they were then split into sub headings and specific quotes were selected for the thesis.

Ethics

As the research was focused on adults who worked in anti-racism organisations and experts there were no vulnerable participants or any complicated ethical considerations to take into account when conducting the research. The respondents were all over the age of 18 and had no other attributes that would merit any form of legal disclosure (University of Strathclyde, n.d.). However, ethical considerations are of paramount importance in any study. Before the fieldwork began an ethics form was submitted to the university ethics board for approval. This was a straightforward process and was approved before the research took place.

The main ethical element of the research was the promise that the responses were completely anonymous. Wengraf identifies an important distinction between anonymity and confidentiality' (Wengraf, 2001, p. 187). Confidentiality is a stronger requirement as 'it indicates that certain confidential material may not be used in any form, however anonymised' (Wengraf, 2001, p. 187). Anonymity means that the participant cannot be identified. However, Wengraf notes that there are different strains of this:

> "It can be satisfied in a weak form, at least sometimes, by changing certain identifying details (name, place, age, occupation etc.) sufficiently so that, were people who are friends and relatives of the individual to read the account, they would recognise their friend or relative as the one who had given the interview. A stronger version is one in which friends and family would not recognize the person. The strongest is one in which the informant would not recognise himself or herself in the publish account" (Wengraf, 2001, p. 187).

 Anonymity was sufficient for this project and key identifying features were changed. The respondents were given pseudonyms and their place of work was

disguised, i.e. rather than naming a specific town a vague location was given, for example West Coast rather than Glasgow (See Appendix one for a list of pseudonyms). Some respondents specifically asked for things to be 'taken off the record'. None of the respondents asked for the tape to be stopped when they gave information 'off the record' but this information was treated as confidential. I wanted to protect the individual and also the organisations as many were small and vulnerable. This is essential as people are worried about their jobs and morally it is unacceptable to put people in a vulnerable position when they have gone out of their way to help. However, maintaining confidentiality presented some difficulty when writing up, as a few of the organisations were unique, i.e. some of the organisations were one of a kind in Scotland. Furthermore, in some smaller organisations, there was only one person formally working for the organisation and so by identifying the organisation the individual's identity could be compromised:

> "Anonymity and atomization is a matter of degree of skill in changing details sufficiently so that the reader cannot identify the individual concerned but in such a way as not to destroy the social science research value of the final report" (Wengraf, 2001, p. 187).

This has meant that some compromises had to be made when arguing some points:

> "Research ethics are about how to acquire and disseminate trustworthy information in ways that cause no harm to those being studied" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 93).

Two participants expressed prejudiced views. Initially I was unsure how to handle these interviews as although it is an interesting finding I do not think that the organisation in question is very influential or active in the 'race' relations 'industry' and so does not represent 'race' relations work in Scotland. Thus, I have made it clear that I did not find these views to be representative of the voluntary sector and have ensured that the identity of these respondents, like all respondents, is completely anonymous. This avoids bringing harm to these individual respondents and the voluntary sector as a whole. In order to give respect to the respondents and ensure their confidentiality I have decided that the organisations themselves

will not be identified. However, I am willing to indicate public sector involvement as they are accountable to the public and are large enough to ensure individual respondents cannot be easily identified. There was one response from the EHRC, and other public bodies included the NHS, local councils and further education institutions. Numerous people from the Scottish Government Equality Unit were contacted but declined the request. They did not indicate why they could not participate in the project.

As previously stated the interviews were recorded with the permission of the respondent. The recorder was used because the participants were assured anonymity and that the recordings would be destroyed after the research was completed. It was made clear that the interviews would be recorded when requesting interviews but permission was requested again before the interview started. On one occasion when I asked about the EHRC the respondent was startled, looked at the tape recorder and said 'before I go on can you tell me what it is you are doing with this information' (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast). The respondent was again reassured that the interview was entirely anonymous and that a copy of the transcription would be passed onto them for their approval. The transcript was passed onto all respondents to allow them to clarify what they had said. Only one respondent sent the transcript back with corrections.

On a few occasions after the tape was switched off the discussion continued, mostly this was general conversation but on some occasions something interesting was said. Immediately after the interview extensive notes were taken and typed up with the transcription. This information was not treated as data as the information provided could not be accurately reproduced and there were enough quotations available to portray the information using the true voice of those participating in the research. The quotations used were not modified, all slang words and turns of phrase were reproduced. This was to ensure that the meaning was not tampered with and the responses were the respondent's voice and not mine.

Conclusion

Overall, the research process consists of qualitative data. This chapter has outlined how the research question was formulated. This was linked to the literature review, which will refer to debates surrounding anti-racism and the merging of equalities. Furthermore, the research was inspired, in part, by the media and government claims that multiculturalism had led to segregation and had destabilised the concept of 'Britishness'. These criticisms were particularly significant and reproduced by key anti-racism 'activists' such as Trevor Phillips. The tone of these criticisms undermined the issue of racism and reinforced the government rhetoric, especially prominent after 9/11, 7/7 and the 'race riots' in 2001, that blamed minorities for failing to integrate and underplayed the issue of racism. The accusatory tone of these statements seemed incompatible with a genuine attempt to acknowledge and challenge racism and suggested that anti-racism as a concept was being 'diluted'. Furthermore, the agreement between the controversial government agenda and Trevor Phillips (the then the head of the CRE) seemed questionable. This led the research in the direction of evaluating the effectiveness of the CRE in order to see whether they were an independent anti-racism organisation, or, whether their financial dependence on the government played a part in directing their work. The announcement of a generic equality body to replace an anti-racist specific one again suggested that anti-racism was being 'diluted' and the problem of racism was not being appropriately challenged.

In relation to the literature review, which outlines the development of anti-racism from its grassroots form to the formalisation of the 'industry', the research was directed towards exploring whether power relations were created as a result of funding structures. The research aimed to explore whether those who work in the voluntary sector concur with the views expressed by both the government and the CRE/EHRC. Taking a phenomenographic approach, the research aimed to explore whether the voluntary sector felt that the merging of equalities was a positive step for 'race' equality, and to explore the experiences of those working at a grassroots

level under the new regime. Furthermore, in light of the voluntary sectors reliance on statutory funding, the research aimed to explore the difficulties and tensions in the funding process.

The research was located in Scotland. Initially the project was to be undertaken on a UK wide basis. However, it quickly became apparent that given time and resource constraints that the research would have been spread too thin. Furthermore, it was apparent that there were specific issues for Scotland such as the tensions between Westminster and Holyrood as a result of equality being a reserved matter. It was also clear that the generic equality framework was having particular implications in Scotland in terms of funding.

As the research was based on understanding the structure of the 'industry' and the motivations of the people involved in that 'industry', the research paradigm was interpretive and took a phenomenographic approach. The key aim was to explore the experiences of those working in the equality 'industry' and to understand how the new equality framework was perceived by different equality organisation workers. This allowed an open approach that could account for the various historical, political, cultural and economic factors involved in the issue. The research aimed to engage in dialogue in order to discuss the complexities of the 'race industry' rather than asking one-dimensional questions. This was particularly useful as the word 'industry' was used to provoke discussion and the use of quote marks emphasised that the word does not have a fixed meaning and that the concept was open for discussion. This allowed the respondents to assign their own meaning and express their opinion. The use of semi-structured interviews was helpful as it provided in depth detail from people who have daily experience of working in the 'industry'. Furthermore, the use of responsive interviews allowed the research to adapt to the expertise of the respondents.

The ethnographic approach was based on grounded theory in order to allow the participants to lead the research. However, an organic grounded theory approach

requires that explanations and theories are solely directed from the data in order to avoid preconceptions and bias. This approach was problematic, as it would require no preparation for the interviews; this would include the literature review and hypothesis. Since the literature helped to design the project, a purely grounded theory approach was not possible. Furthermore, as Becker argues, social science and the study of human beings makes complete objectivity impossible. However, using an interpretive approach and acknowledging bias the aim was to use grounded theory to allow the respondents to lead the direction of the research. Thus, this project has acknowledged the preconceptions and bias of the researcher. Strategies to minimise bias were also implemented when designing the interview questions. For example, the questions were open in order to allow the respondent to answer freely without being influenced. Furthermore, the research role was unthreatening, my student status meant that although I was not an 'insider' I was not threatening and allowed the respondent to give in depth, honest answers and to lead the interview.

The analysis stage attempted to employ grounded theory as the data findings are given more prominence than the preconceived ideas. The interview transcripts were used to identify the key themes, common language and contradictory opinions of the respondents. Furthermore, quotations are heavily used throughout the findings chapters in order to tell the story through the words of the respondents rather than impose my own voice.

The project consulted with a variety of equality workers from both the public and voluntary sector. The respondents came mostly from a 'race' specific background but given the merging of equalities some respondents came from generic equality organisations. The sample of participants came from FOI requests made to the EHRC, the Scottish Government equality organisations list and the BEMIS list. When the interviews started a snowball sample was employed. A self-selecting sample was used to gain access as the participants were invited to participate in the project and given an overview of the research. The sample of the responses cannot claim

to be scientifically representative. However, I am confident through the discussions with respondents about their experience of working in the 'industry' that they had the correct expertise and knowledge to give accurate descriptions of the Scottish 'race' relations 'industry'. Furthermore, given the small pool of expertise in Scotland and the movement of people between different sections of the 'industry' I am confident that this research can provide a good insight into the issues that arise in the Scottish 'race' equality 'industry'.

Ethical considerations were paramount to the project. In accordance with the Strathclyde University Code of Ethics, care was taken to ensure the interviews were conducted ethically. Vulnerability of the respondents was minimal but the confidentiality issue was of paramount importance given that it could affect the respondent's campaign work and job. All respondents were promised anonymity and this was honoured.

The geographical location of the research will be explored in the following chapter. The chapter will examine the infrastructure of BME community groups and the quality of anti-racism work undertaken in Scotland. This will establish whether the respondents believed there are suitable structures in place that recognise the specific concerns for BME organisations and communities in Scotland.

Chapter Four: Scotland

Introduction

The literature review explored both the development of racism and the development of anti-racist campaigns and equality legislation. These campaigns and policies developed at a UK wide level. McCrone (2001) claims there is a 'neglect of Scotland by sociology' as where 'the discipline of sociology is concerned, Scotland is largely invisible' (McCrone, 2001, p. 131). Hopkins (2004a, 2004b, 2007) makes a strong argument for the notion that Scotland has a unique set of circumstances that need specific attention. This chapter will specifically focus on Scotland. The chapter will outline the issues the respondents identified as being specific to Scotland. This will set the context for the rest of the chapter and the following data chapters.

The chapter will outline the specific themes identified in the interview data. These themes include the type of racism experienced in Scotland, the structures and institutions within Scotland, including the government and grassroots organisations, and the direction and power of equality legislation. The chapter will also look at the structures in Scotland and analyse whether they are appropriately set up to deal with and tackle racism. This is particularly important as, given the move towards a generic equality framework, it is essential to have an established and strong anti-racism structure to avoid 'diluting' the issue and to ensure a focus on 'race' is maintained in Scotland. This chapter will establish whether the views of those working at the grassroots level correlate with the strategies implemented by the government to tackle inequality.

McCrone claims that 'Scotland does not fit the mainstream orthodoxies of modern sociology, for it is not a 'society' in the conventional sense. To put it simply, Scotland is not a state' (McCrone, 2001, p. 31). This chapter will explore whether the issue of racism is properly acknowledged and challenged in Scotland. This is

particularly important as equality legislation is reserved and it is important to establish whether decision makers have a good understanding of the Scottish context. The chapter will explore whether the type, substance and volume of anti-racist work undertaken in Scotland is appropriate to meet the needs of anti-racism work. Furthermore, the chapter will analyse whether 'race' equality in Scotland is more vulnerable to being 'diluted'.

This chapter, as well as the following two data chapters, draws heavily on quotations from the respondents. This is done in order to follow the interpretative phenomenographic approach, as outlined in the methods chapter, and will allow the data to lead the research. The aim of this chapter is to present the main themes and ideas identified by the participants. The main questions that will be addressed are:

1. What do the respondents identify as the specific issues for Scotland?
2. Does Scotland have a strong anti-racism structure?
3. Do the respondents feel Scotland is equipped to deal with the generic equality agenda?

What do the Respondents Identify as the Specific Issues for Scotland?

In order to understand the values of anti-racism work undertaken in Scotland it is important to understand the type of racism that exists. This is particularly relevant as racism, as noted in the literature review, is not 'continuous and unchanging' and 'is always mediated through a wider set of social relations' (Miles, 1993, p. 149). This is particularly relevant in a Scottish context as there is a perception that racism is not as prominent in Scottish society as it is in England and the rest of the UK, this will be fully explored in the next section. The failure to fully and properly acknowledge racism and its impacts on society has consequences for the type of anti-racism work that is undertaken. The respondents noted that there needs to be a better understanding of racism and how it works in a Scottish context:

The meaning of racism has to be revisited and we can find really in the context... in terms of Scotland, of understanding needs to expand to encompass sectarianism, anti-nationalism in terms of anti-English but also the colour issue is still there. But I would say to a lesser extent in terms of where the focus is, because we have other issues that we don't deal with, racism towards England, the Gypsy Traveller community (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Both the literature and the respondents identified racism as a problem throughout Scottish society. Qureshi (2002) notes that 'every day racism' is still prevalent in Scottish society (Qureshi, et al., 2002, pp. 217-219). Hopkins (2004b) reinforces this in his 2004 study into the experiences of young Muslim men living in Pollokshields. Hopkins found 'even when this research did not explicitly intend to investigate issues of racism per se, everyday experiences of racism and discrimination remain the strongest finding' (Hopkins, 2004b, pp. 11-12). Hussain and Miller's (2003) study found that '38% of ethnic Pakistanis have been harassed or discriminated against' (Hussain & Miller, 2003). Hopkins notes that '39 per cent of Pakistanis in Scotland feel that there is 'fairly serious' conflict between Muslims and non-Muslims in Scotland' (Hopkins, 2007, p. 6). The respondents reinforced these findings:

*I stood for the election and part of the constituency was ***** and it was alarming the amount of racist sentiment that was reported and you can see very well that the far right want to exploit that, and you know the last time we were in recession the far right grew considerably in Europe in the 20s and 30s (Ahmad: Male, Public Sector/Politics, West Coast).*

In comparison with England, the far right have a small influence on Scotland. However, the respondents did note that they still had a presence:

I don't think EDL/SDL is a big threat in Scotland, mostly in England so I don't think in that sense they are a big threat. Having said that the BNP in the last election got 2.2% of the overall vote for the EU election. That means 1 in 40 of every person who went to vote in Scotland voted BNP, which I find amazingly high, even though the figure is low, 2.5 % is 1 in 40... I suppose I am more concerned with people who hold those views, whether they vote for them or not. 1 in 40 who cast a vote, there must be a lot more than that who have the same feelings and attitudes and thinking (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

The literature review noted that 'everyday racism' was prominent in Britain from the 1940s onwards as immigrants were required to meet the 'criteria of belonging' (Miles, 1993, p. 58). In the 1960s racism was still prominent on a structural level and Newsam (1998) noted 'with the same qualifications as white school leavers, black youngsters were having to attend many more interviews with far less success; and they knew it' (Newsam, 1998, pp. 243-244). The Runnymede Trust identified similar patterns of employment discrimination in Scotland in a study in 2010. The study found that despite performing well in education 'BME communities seem to be faced with a barrier to meaningful employment' as unemployment for BME communities in Scotland is 15%, significantly higher than the national average of 7.6% (Runnymede, 2010, p. 15). The respondents reinforced the report and identified unemployment as a key inequality in Scotland:

> *If you look at Scotland, take young Pakistanis they are more likely to leave school without qualifications, they are more likely to be in prison, they are more likely to be unemployed and even although I don't think the problem is as acute as in England it is still a problem. There is no discussion of... what is going to be done to remedy it, why is it coming about, how do we fix it? (Ahmad Male, Public Sector/Politics, West Coast).*

> *One of the key aspects of integration will be employment... look at Glasgow, black workers are less than 1.5% mostly in low paid jobs and particular jobs as well, in a few departments (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

Linked with the idea of inequality in employment is the issue of poverty. The respondents identified poverty as a specific and significant problem in Scotland:

> *A big issue for Glasgow and Scotland, sectarianism and socio-economic status and at the moment socio-economic status isn't even included. In England and Wales it is but only for really high level organisations like NHS trusts not individual colleges. Religion and belief yes they are now in Scotland but you don't have to report data on them. So they are the big issues but class really in Scotland (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

Despite the link between 'race' and poverty being a significant concern in Scotland the respondents felt that there was a difficulty in getting 'race' recognised as a contributing factor of poverty. Thus, the respondents wanted a more

contextualised outlook with a specific focus on the relationship between poverty and racism:

> *Getting it taken seriously I think is the biggest challenge, so for example there is a policy document on poverty and it does mention minority ethnic communities in that document which is encouraging… So it is there but I am not sure they understand how highly relevant it is. The fact that such a significant proportion of minority ethnic communities are actually very poor, to what extent does that anti-poverty strategy take into account, realise the poverty of these people and include them?… My feeling is that there is still a big divide… even at the policy level between equality and policy, how well they get together in terms the bigger picture? And if they don't then that is a form of racism actually because why are they not taking into account the poor people from these communities? If you fail to do it, then it is racism and again it may be an unwitting form of racism where people don't recognise that and are not proactive. Not to say that it is easy but if you don't do it then your anti-poverty strategy is flawed (Tina: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).*

This was reinforced in the analysis of the Equality Statement Scottish Spending Review 2011 and Draft Budget. The idea that poverty and 'race' 'are not recognised' is reinforced as the words 'race' or racism were only mentioned 8 times in the document. The figures are outlined below:

Equality Strand	Mentions
'Race' and racism	8
Gender	26
Disabled/disability	87
Religion	4
Sectarian/sectarianism	9
Age	4
Sexuality	0

(Scottish Government, 2012c)*Equality Statement Scottish Spending Review 2011 and Draft Budget 2012-13.*

References to equality strands in the Scottish Government Spending Review 2012-13
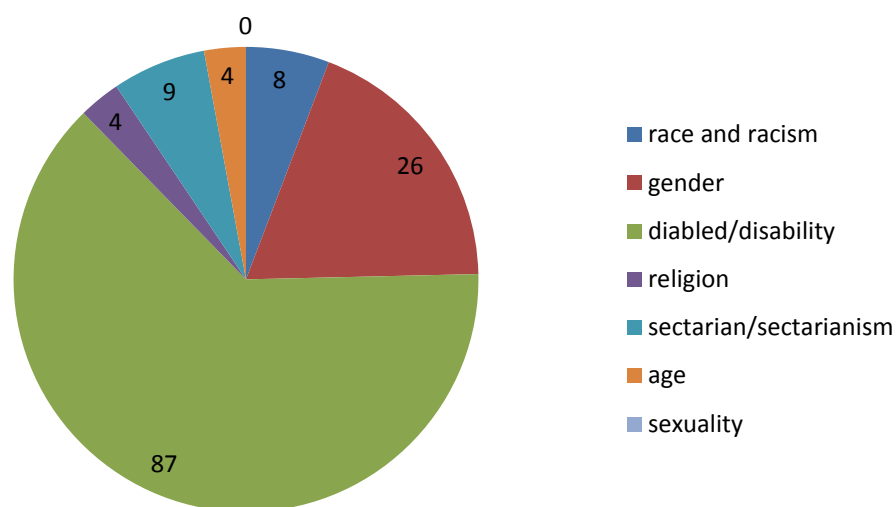
Legend:
- race and racism
- gender
- diabled/disability
- religion
- sectarian/sectarianism
- age
- sexuality

Values shown: 0, 8, 26, 87, 4, 4, 9

(Scottish Government, 2012c)*Equality Statement Scottish Spending Review 2011 and Draft Budget 2012-13.*

Although the statement does make specific reference to individual equality strands, there is a significantly different emphasis on each one. 'Race' and racism are referred to eight times whereas disability is referred to eighty-seven times. The respondents identified a link between poverty and racism but they did not feel it was challenged effectively in Scotland. This failure to acknowledge Scottish specific issues was common. The respondents felt that there was a gap in recognising and tackling the issues specific to Scotland.

Sectarianism

Kelly (2008) argued that there is a need to 'challenge the culture of complacency that allows sectarianism to fester in all levels of Scottish society' (Kelly, 2008, p. 10). Kelly uses the example of the Orange Walk to exemplify the 'culture of complacency' surrounding sectarianism as 'associated with every large march, there

are arrests for breaches of the peace, but, because the police do not record these breaches as 'sectarian', there is no record of the scale or seriousness of the incidents' (Kelly, 2008, p. 15). This was reinforced as a key concern, raised by the respondents, was that there was a simplistic definition of sectarianism, how it manifests itself throughout Scotland and the impact it has on equality. A key reason for this, identified from the interview data, was that despite the links between 'bigotry' and racism sectarianism has traditionally been left off the agenda. The respondents reinforced Kelly's idea that there was a 'culture of complacency' in terms of tackling sectarianism:

> *We don't talk so much about sectarianism and it's not so high up the agenda. How much has it moved on? A bit but look at the arrest figures at football matches and stuff for sectarian crime, maybe it has moved on a bit but I think issues of race are higher profile. New parties come in or the Government speaks about immigration and asylum seekers and all these things that are really big political issues, issues of race will come up again and again and again but who wants to talk about sectarianism? And it's so ingrained in our society it's not even that easy to talk about. What one man thinks it is, is not what another man thinks it is. Therefore, when the academics talk about it they spend all their time debating what is it. Rather than get onto an action plan, no offense to them (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

This comparison between racism and sectarianism is interesting. The idea that there is not clear definition of what sectarianism is was a key point, most of the respondents understood sectarianism as an equality issue and likened it to racism. Despite the recognition of the similarities between racism and sectarianism, those who were concentrated in anti-sectarian work perceived anti-racism work to be given more attention. This could indicate that there is a perceived hierarchy within the sector and shows that there is already the potential for conflict and resentment to develop. This should be given extra consideration as the merging of all equality strands could exacerbate these tensions. Although there may be some truth in the claims that racial prejudice is higher profile, there was little recognition, from those who focus on sectarianism, that the sector as a whole experience difficulties in getting their issues on the government agenda.

The above response indicated why sectarianism was neglected, claiming that it was a misunderstood issue and highlighting the unwillingness of politicians to approach the subject. The respondents identified what they described as 'myths' surrounding sectarianism. One of the main issues that arose was the perception that sectarianism was mainly concentrated in the West Coast:

> *What they term inter Christian Sectarianism and so what they are saying there is Catholic Protestant sectarianism, which manifests itself throughout Scotland despite popular opinion. Popular opinion I would say is that it is a West of Scotland problem, it doesn't exist here, it's not true we know that sectarianism bigotry of that nature exists throughout Scotland, that's a fact (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

> *Nah I think that's a stereotype because it means then that people in other places don't really have to bother about it... you get examples from all over the place, you get people phoning up and now that I am starting to work with employers they will tell us stuff that happens in their workplaces and whatever... Some of the organisations that want to engage in the workplace project are in West Lothian or Fife and they say aw yeah that's an issue. That's quite interesting; it kind of squashes the myth (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The lack of knowledge, from government, academics and society as a whole, on the issue of sectarianism was a recurring concern for the respondents:

> *We are quite gob smacked at the lack of depth of understanding of politicians... they talk about it as if they don't get it... there are no votes in it. And if you are going to change something, say change a culture how long is that going to take you to change? 10 years? 20 years? They get re-elected in 4. What can I change in 4 years? So politicians tend to go for things that can be changed in 4 years. So big things like cultural change they might pay lip service to it but I don't think they would then put in any energy, it is that idea that there are no votes in it (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).*

The representative from the EHRC, who admitted that sectarianism was a 'difficult' issue to challenge and understand, reinforced this lack of understanding:

> *I think sectarianism is a difficult... and again it is one of the things that it is a reality obviously but there are mixed evidence of the effect of it socially, not like racism where you have, you know, large groups of people who are*

fundamentally disadvantaged. Sectarianism flares up and is more kind of obvious at points, in football matches and so on, and marches and walks but you think what is the actual effect on life chances and on sectarianism?... If someone is determined I am sure they could find a way to discriminate against someone, but there isn't a huge lot of evidence of the effect on employment for example… the focus of law is to say that something is harassment, you are harassed just because of chance but to actually pin it down and say you are harassed just because you are a woman or you are black and it is the same for sectarianism? You have a bunch of people out, alcohol fuelled, there is violence, and you have to pin it down. Was this violence caused because they are a Catholic? Is it because they are a football fan? I just find it very difficult (Tony: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

This understanding of how sectarianism manifests itself throughout Scottish society is limited. The definition is vague and links the issue with violence, alcohol and football. Although these links are valid, it shows a limited understanding of the wider issues and consequences of sectarianism. This lack of understanding means that there is no real definition of the concept or the issues, making it particularly difficult to challenge.

The respondents who worked on the grassroots level did not reinforce the idea that the task of defining sectarianism was difficult. The respondents were confident that sectarianism shared similar attributes to racism[49]. Clayton claims that 'there are good reasons for exploring the themes of racism and sectarianism in Scotland together' as both racism and sectarianism involve oppression and exclusion. Clayton claims that both issues endure a processes of 'othering' and, the management of both problems have 'crucial implications for the identity of 'the majority'' (Clayton, 2005, p. 100). Clayton also notes similarities between the demographical elements relevant to sectarianism and racism. Like other minority groups the Catholic population is concentrated in Glasgow, comprising of 31%. However, despite the large number 'there remains a dearth of even the most simple statistical information about the prevalence and extent of sectarianism' (Clayton, 2005, p. 107). Particularly problematic for anti-sectarian movements is

---

[49] Although under the new agenda, it would be considered religious intolerance.

the lack of funding, citing the Nil By Mouth organisation, which aims to tackle

sectarianism, Clayton claims:

> "The mechanisms to bring people together exist, but projects are usually too small (and openly resisted by some…) to have the deep societal changes that are required" (Clayton, 2005, p. 110).

Kelly (2008) claimed 'it is essential to look through the prism of racism if effective

challenge to sectarian prejudice is to be achieved' (Kelly, 2008, p. 23). Michael

McMahon MSP reinforced this position claiming that sectarianism acts as a

'function of racism' (Runnymede, 2010). The respondents who described

sectarianism in similar terms reinforced this view:

> *It is actually racism that is just another form of racism dressed up (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *Now sectarianism, what is sectarianism? A lot of people see sectarianism as not being sectarianism, its banter, it's not about Catholics and Protestants it's about political issues and such like, you know? So the project we do believe that sectarianism is sectarianism and you can look at sectarianism and the meaning of the word in a number of different ways but it is bigotry, it is bigoted behaviour. Whether it is bigoted around politics whether it's bigoted around religion, whether it is bigoted around cultural factors whatever it is, it is bigotry (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The comparison between the above responses and that of the EHRC representative

show that the definition of sectarianism given from those working at the grassroots

level differs from those working in the government and statutory organisations.

The respondents were asked why they felt that sectarian issues were either ignored

or approached simplistically. This was attributed to a lack of will to approach the

issue of sectarianism, reinforcing Kelly's argument that there is a 'culture of

complacency':

> *Racism has always existed in Scotland and it shows no signs of going away but there is also a big strong anti-racist position. In terms of tackling sectarianism, I don't think we have that same tradition in Scotland of tackling sectarianism… I think people are perhaps more reluctant to tackle sectarianism and bodies, politicians and public people are less willing to*

speak out about sectarianism than they are to speak out against racism (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

I think there is a challenge to the campaign about getting people to start a debate and be willing to do something about it (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

The claim that there was a lack of knowledge on issues surrounding sectarianism was apparent by the responses from the EHRC representative who claimed that the commission did not carry out anti-sectarian work because it was a saturated field:

I think in Scotland you could say it is a bit of a crowded field, and so again trying to be strategic in what the commission would say is where can we add value or what can we spend money on that would help? (Tony: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

The description of anti-sectarianism work as a 'crowded field' was disputed by the respondents who worked on projects relating to anti-sectarianism as they claimed it was a difficult and understudied concept. Furthermore, the respondents claimed that there was very little financial support given to tackle sectarianism. The idea that people were unwilling to approach the issue of sectarianism was a recurring claim made by the interviewees. This affected the type of work carried out by the sector:

I had asked whether we should have that as a sort of separate category because we have got all these sort of characteristics which the ones we have taken fae law but we haven't mentioned that specifically. And I did a bit of call it research. I did a bit of looking about and I did find the stuff from Scottish Government, Scottish Parliament on it but it wasn't really explicit, there wasn't anything equivalent to the public sector duties on race, gender and disability so it ended up being left off (Kevin: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

This exemplifies how the lack of attention to sectarianism impacts on the strength and volume of future work. This resulted in a lack of understanding, by key decision makers, of the issue of sectarianism and its impacts. In turn, the lack of understanding led to a simplistic approach to tackling sectarianism.

The lack of understanding of sectarianism is particularly relevant as the Scottish Government has taken action to try to tackle the issue. In 2003 sectarianism became 'hate crime' under Scottish law. This means that 'anyone who commits an offense such as an assault, murder, or breach of the peace is likely to be given a stiffer sentence if the act was motivated by religious hatred – just as it would be with racial hatred' (Nil By Mouth, n.d.). On 14th December 2011 the Offensive Behaviour at Football and Threatening Communications (Scotland) Bill was passed by the Scottish Parliament:

> "The Bill criminalises behaviour which is threatening, hateful or otherwise offensive at a regulated football match including offensive singing or chanting. It also criminalises the communication of threats of serious violence and threats intended to incite religious hatred, whether sent through the post or posted on the internet. The Joint Action Group of the Football Summit has prioritised tackling sectarian and offensive behaviour at football and threatening communications" (Scottish Government, n.d.).

The new legislation is a positive move as it treats sectarianism as a crime. This is similar to the criminalisation of racial hatred. However, the above description links sectarianism solely with football, implying that this is the only setting that sectarianism can manifest itself. This reinforces the respondents claim that sectarianism is approached in a simplistic way. The idea that sectarianism is solely concentrated in football was contested by the respondents who felt that the issue of sectarianism was wider:

> *There is a stereotype that it is all to do with football and it is all West Coast, but that just lets a whole load of other people off the hook, because if you say I am not into football and I am not a football hooligan, it's nothing to do with me, and I don't even live in the West Coast then suddenly everyone else is off the hook (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The new Bill relates to alcohol abuse, drug abuse, domestic violence and police powers (Scottish Government, n.d.). In comparison, the respondents talked about sectarianism as an equality issue. Given the violence and alcohol abuse are often linked with sectarian issues; involvement from the justice department is highly relevant and important. However, sectarianism is treated as a criminal offense

rather than an equality issue. The respondents argued that sectarianism is more complicated and widespread than the legislation accounts for. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to make distinctions or claims about the best way to approach sectarianism. The aim is to establish whether the views of those working in the grassroots correlate with the direction of equality policy. Thus, the distinction between the legislation and the government policy is the key finding. Given the lack of information and understanding of sectarianism and its effects and impacts on society, it could be argued that there is no real evidence to suggest this is the best way forward.

At the time of the interviews, the respondents noted that there was a lack of funding for anti-sectarian projects and work. This claim was reinforced as there was only one organisation in Scotland that concentrated their work on anti-sectarianism. This lack of funding was highlighted in a Runnymede report into racism, which criticised previous funding cuts made to projects that work on challenging sectarianism (Runnymede, 2011). More recently, the Scottish Government has pledged to invest £3million in 2012-2013 to help tackle sectarianism (Scottish Government, 2012c, p. 137). The budget stated:

> "The bulk of this budget is provided to the NHS for Alcohol and Drug Partnerships to provide services to promote recovery from drug addiction. This budget also supports the strategic operation of Alcohol and Drug Partnerships and Community Safety Partnerships, along with a range of initiatives to tackle sectarianism, drug problems, crime and anti-social behaviour" (Scottish Government, 2012c, p. 146).

The above description again links sectarianism to alcohol and crime and in doing so ignores the other dynamics and potential social consequences. The increased funding for anti-sectarian work was a result of media coverage of tensions between Celtic and Rangers:

> "As a result of the well documented spat between two Glasgow football clubs, a number of organisations will get more money for the forthcoming year, which is good news for the individual groups and good news for the communities they serve. However, one can't help but wonder at the

government's reluctance to fund these groups prior to last week's disastrous match. And Scottish ministers still won't even offer a definition of what sectarianism actually is. Yet until Celtic and Rangers very publicly fell out with each other, Alex Salmond didn't have too much to say about sectarianism... However, with the announcement from community safety minister Fergus Ewing that seven groups are to get funding to the tune of over £500,000, it seems anti-sectarianism is back in vogue" (Third Force News, 2011).

The contrast between the respondents claims that anti-sectarianism work was underfunded and the recent change in funding arrangements is interesting. The increase in funding seems to be a result of high profile tensions between Celtic and Rangers football clubs rather than a result of engaging with those working at the grassroots level. Although the increased funding is positive, the circumstance in which it has been distributed suggests that funding decisions are not based on consultation with grassroots anti-racism or anti-sectarianism organisations. This theme will be explored further in the funding chapter.

Overall, despite the prominence of sectarianism, the respondents felt that there was a lack of understanding of the concept and the impact it has on society. Instead, the respondents felt that sectarianism was understood in simplistic terms and often discussed anecdotally as a West Coast issue, or a problem that is concentrated within football. The respondents disputed this interpretation. It is beyond the ability of this research project to advocate or reject the analysis of the respondents. The key finding is that those working at the grassroots level have a different understanding and approach to the issue of sectarianism than those working higher up in the 'industry'. The criminalisation of the sectarianism is perhaps positive as it criminalises sectarian hatred in a similar way to racial hatred. However, there are questions over how effective the new anti-sectarianism legislation will be, especially as it places sectarianism as a problem solely within football. This, for the respondents, fails to take into account the wider implications of sectarianism throughout the country and in different settings. This suggests that the government and those working in the EHRC are ill equipped to implement change. The contrasting views between the respondents who worked in smaller

organisations and the response from the EHRC representative, on the definition of sectarianism, where it exists and the scale of the issue, is particularly interesting. The representative from the EHRC described anti-sectarianism as 'a crowded field' whereas the respondents from smaller organisations felt it was misunderstood and underfunded. This reinforced the gap between those working at the grassroots level and those higher up the 'industry'. The lack of understanding and acknowledgment of the issues was seen, by the respondents, as a barrier to the progression of anti-sectarian work. The lack of engagement between the government and anti-sectarian groups on the type of work that is undertaken in Scotland raises questions over who defines the needs of equality work.

Does Scotland have a Strong Anti-Racism Structure?

In order to challenge racism it is important to have an anti-racist structure that can support and progress the ethos of anti-racism. By structure, I mean institutions such as voluntary organisations, political institutions (including government and political parties) and support services (including police, health services and education) that push for an anti-racist approach. A political structure that embraces anti-racist policies, a strong voluntary sector that has the ability to challenge racism at different levels of society, funders who will financially support anti-racist work, a criminal justice system than will tackle racism, a commitment by educationalists to promote anti-racism and a commitment from the police to tackle racist crime are key areas that could cement an anti-racist ethos within society. When asked if Scotland was well equipped to deal with diversity one respondent replied:

> *No they have never been (Alexandra: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The respondents highlighted the issue that Scotland was less equipped to deal with issues of 'race' due to a lack of experience and inadequate structures:

> *Scotland has less experience of working with ethnic minority, in living with ethnic minority (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

BBC Scotland it does employ about 5% of people who are not white, which is great, right, it's great. But you wouldn't see that in the public. So I think partly people in Scotland don't have the experience of dealing with people from other cultures and to some extent there is also the traditional sectarianism, the mutual suspicion which is already in society and I don't know to what extent that plays into this as well (Vladan: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Kelly (1998) highlighted the structural problems faced by BME communities in Scotland:

"There is no systematic ethnic monitoring of crime or court cases. There are no policies or procedures relating to language and the use of interpreters. There are no forums in which the Judiciary consult on a regular basis with minority communities. There is only one law centre dealing specifically with minority casework and both its lawyers are white. Scotland has the same legislation and procedures relating to immigration and asylum as the rest of the United Kingdom, but a much smaller pool of legal practitioners who are familiar with relevant law and procedures. Many applicants for asylum are not represented at appeals, and in Scotland, the requirement to employ a solicitor is tighter, so volunteers from community agencies cannot substitute. There are no black or Asian Sheriffs or Judges, only a small number of lawyers and there are very few black and Asian police officers. The Scottish Children's Reporters Administration carries out no ethnic monitoring of panel members or cases" (Kelly, 1998, p. 4).

These arguments were laid out in 1998 just after devolution. It shows that in comparison with England, Scotland did not have appropriate structures and experience to tackle racism. Over ten years later, the respondents were raising similar issues about the lack of structures that are needed to tackle inequality:

One example, patient monitoring in England is fairly popular, in Scotland there are health boards with less than 10% monitoring. Now similar service provision, similar training so what is so different about Scotland that they can't when in England they can? (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

I would say that English employers are more aware because they are more; it doesn't mean they are more accepting, but at least they are more understanding of the need for diversity because obviously the population of minority population is higher than in Scotland... So I would say they were more aware, more able to discuss diversity issues... In Scotland, unfortunately… I felt the organisations didn't really acknowledge or engage

ethnic minorities... I was shocked actually, because even some senior individuals in big organisations would make very stereotypical comments such as South Asians they don't want to be... they want to work in Waitross. They would actually tell me that whereas in England, they may think that but they were more politically correct (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).

These respondents had experience of working in both Scotland and England and could therefore draw useful comparisons between the two countries. Both quotes compare England with Scotland in two key areas, employment and health. The first quotation questions the reason for a lack of patient monitoring in Scotland when the same service in England routinely adopts monitoring systems. The respondent does not seen any logistical reason for this, which implies that it is an issue of willingness. The second quote make the argument more explicitly claiming that there is a lack of the most basic awareness and engagement with ethnic minorities in large organisations. The respondents felt that the structures needed to promote equality in employment and services were missing. One of the most significant inadequacies of equality in Scotland, identified by the respondents, was the lack of representation across society:

We don't have, you know, any senior ethnic minority in institutions. Scottish Executive, Glasgow, City of Glasgow Council, City of Edinburgh, we don't have any minority in managerial or whatever. The people are excluded whereas in Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield you see the Director of Education, the Director of Social Work, Chancellors of University, Vice Chancellors of University ethnic minority, visible Indian, West Indies and what have you. Consultants, Professors what have you? In Scotland we don't have that because, it is not because Scotland are more racist than English people, that's not the issue. The issue is the experience; the system is not integrated (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

No I mean the Scottish Government which has power itself to look at its own work force... that figure of less than 2% and again you don't see middle management, civil servants and the Equality Unit has no black person working on race for example, that is an obvious one to have. It perpetuates the system that we have (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

The idea that BME people are not represented properly was a concern for the respondents. The respondents were particularly concerned about the lack of representation of BME people in politics:

There are no black MSPs. There are only 129 MSPs so one would meet your target. If you don't have jobs in the civil service for example. One of the problems for Scotland I suppose to be fair to the institution is that it is smaller number it is much harder to have programmes etc. etc. So in England there are targets for civil service recruitment. So if you are looking for 10-15% you can have programmes that achieve that. In Scotland, overall you are looking at targets of 3-4% so it is more difficult to have systems in place, and obviously in small departments 2-3 people might be enough to meet the target. That doesn't mean you shouldn't do it... I think the only organisation that I know that has tried to do targets is Glasgow City Council. About 5 years ago, actually set targets for recruiting black people. But after a year, when they didn't meet them, they gave up on them very quietly (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

One respondent gave their experience of working in the Scottish Parliament. This enhanced the idea that within Scotland there is a lack of experience and understanding on how to include ethnic minorities within the political system:

It's difficult, I mean the perception among people within my own party that ethnic minorities get an easy ride, they get favours and there are people in the party that support me don't get me wrong, but the barriers far outweigh the advantages of being an ethnic minority. It comes down to institutional factors. I have been in the **** since 2003. I think it is only in the last year that I have been in the whole part and parcel of it. I always felt like a stranger within... there is this perception of there is the ethnic guy and he's here for ethnic issues, he's not really a mainstream politician. Tokenism isn't helpful, I don't want tokenism in the party, I am a competent individual and just as capable as any other individual or candidate that wants to stand for election (Ahmad Male, Public Sector/Politics, West Coast).

The lack of structure and experience identified in the interview data is particularly problematic given the move towards generic equality. According to a Runnymede report in 2010 the move away from tackling 'race' specific inequality and the creation of the EHRC 'has had some serious implications for the race equality sector in Scotland' (Runnymede, 2010). Furthermore, the report claimed that 'the disbanding of CRE Scotland... has arguably left a vacuum in the race equality sector' (Runnymede, 2010). The respondents felt that the CRE was a more effective in England:

It was better in England. The Scottish CRE was useless, good for nothing… because they never did anything, they were just very… they were bureaucrats; they were, sort of trying to act like big government. You know, another government, whereas in England, like what I said, for various reasons because ethnic minority organisations were strong, organised and they can make them accountable. The CRE in England was more accountable to its people than this one. This one, you know minority ethnic there was no big number. The ones were franchised, not well organised and what have you and they had, you know… but historically the CRE in Scotland was good for nothing for a lot of us (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

The criticisms of the CRE are significant as the respondents considered the single strand work to be stronger[50]. This is a specific concern in the context of merged equalities as single equality strands need to be strong in order to maintain power and avoid being 'diluted'. The respondents also noted that Scotland had not established a strong anti-racism network[51]:

I think black groups in Scotland are far weaker, especially in London you have a lot more radical people and groups and they come together more often and there is a more policy-oriented approach to things. In Scotland if you ask how many people are looking at policy I don't know if there would be many, or some may do it as 10% of their time whereas you have ROTA in London, the 1990 Trust with an English focus etc. You have things like the Greater London Authority doing a lot more things on race. The public sector in Scotland, it is obviously numbers but some of it is about black people in higher places... The main problem, or one of the main problems, is that lack of agitation from the black communities, so who's complaining, hardly anybody, two big black projects closed down in the last month, no complaints by anybody (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Furthermore, some respondents felt that there was room to have a 'race' specific body in Scotland:

With BEMIS, they were actually looking at whether there is room in Scotland for a race institute, for an independent race institute. So that could be something that could help. Not at government level like the CRE more independent, community... so I was commissioned to do some work interviewing stakeholders... I think there were about 20 groups so it was a

---

[50] This will be fully outlined in the EHRC chapter.
[51] This is of particular concern in the context of merging equalities.

small sample including the EHRC and Scottish Government and academics as well... I think 10 or 12 said they were in favour of having something specific on race (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).

Thus, the respondents made a clear case that Scotland is less equipped to deal with 'race' issues as there is 'less experience' in working with BME people. This is particularly concerning in the context of the new generic equality agenda as it could mean 'race' equality work in Scotland is more vulnerable to being 'diluted'. The lack of appropriate structures is particularly concerning as it represents a gap between those at the grassroots level and the decision makers. The lack of input from minority groups means that the decision makers are implementing policy without the appropriate knowledge of the issues or consultation with those working on the grassroots level.

Do the Respondents Feel Scotland is Equipped to Deal with the Generic Equality Agenda?

The literature on Scottish 'race' relations highlights the issue of the 'numbers debate'. The 'numbers debate' is the perception that Scotland has low numbers of minority groups and therefore does not have a significant problem with racism. In comparison with the rest of the UK Scotland does have a smaller minority population, the figures from the 2001 census show 'there are 101,677 BME people in Scotland, this equates to 2.1 per cent of the population' (Runnymede, 2010, p. 12) compared with 9 per cent in England (Office for National Statistics, 2003). The respondents acknowledged that there was a significant population difference but claimed that the figures were deceptive:

If you say less than 2% which is the last census, hardly worth worrying about. It depends on definitions as well 'cos if you include EU migrants, Glasgow City Council are now saying if you include all these people it is more like 12% which is very sizeable but different groups have different issues and needs. Having said that the black population is increasing and in places like Glasgow there are always going to be more like 5-6% and yet that isn't reflected in wider society (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Cant and Kelly (1995) suggests the 'numbers debate' is controversial as it implies that racism only manifests itself when there are large numbers of minorities and therefore 'puts the responsibility for racist behaviour on black people and takes it away from the white perpetrators' (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 2). The argument that lower numbers of minorities 'make for better race relations' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 12) was criticised in Sivanandan's analysis of the 1962 Immigration Act, as outlined in the literature review. Sivanandan claimed that to equate racism with the amount of immigrants in the country means 'racism [is] respectable, sanctioned, but with reason of course; it [is] not the colour, it [is]the numbers – and for the immigrants' sakes - for fewer blacks would make for better race relations' (Sivanandan, 1982, p. 12). Cant and Kelly (1995) claim that 'it is also a pessimistic argument in so far as it suggests that there can be no harmony in a multiracial society' (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 2). Therefore, the claim that a small number of racist incidents are not problematic is disputed. This also raises questions over the values attached to 'race' equality work as it implies that some racism is acceptable. Cant and Kelly (1995) argue that the numbers issue is a distraction from acknowledging the needs of the black and minority ethnic communities in Scotland and that:

> "It is important for the voluntary sector to acknowledge that, whatever the numbers in the black and minority ethnic communities, steps should be taken to identify their needs and to provide services which meet these needs" (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 3).

The respondents reinforced this:

> *That used to be an issue earlier on but we tried a lot to shatter that myth by saying this is not a numbers game. In any case we feel strongly that if it is one person suffering an inequality or lots of people it is still a principle issue of inequality that needs to be addressed. Nobody should be placed in a position... until we get that understanding of who are talking about and what the issues are you will take that view well only 2% of you suffer that… but just because we are not beating people on the streets and you know we have violence but racism is not always in that shape or form, it is not always in your face, it is subtle. Sometimes it is more the things you don't do that is the measure of how comfortable you are with it (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

Thus, 'numbers debate' has a negative effect on equality values as the focus on numbers links population size to racism rather than looking more in-depth at the complexities and injustice of inequality. It also highlights the issue that there is a need for a greater 'understanding of who [we] are talking about and what the issues are'.

Research into racial tensions and discrimination in England has been widely undertaken and developed (Hopkins, 2004a; Cant & Kelly, 1995; Arshad, 1999; Kelly, 2008; Chakraborti, et al., 2008). However it has been noted that 'there is a dearth of research about racism in Scotland' (Hopkins, 2004a, p. 1). Hopkins (2004) also notes 'the Scottish Executive's (2001) Audit of Research from a Race Perspective highlighted that, whilst there is research, it is often piecemeal and not properly funded' (Hopkins, 2004a, p. 1). Furthermore whilst research is minimal, so too is the support available for black and minority ethnic researchers' (Hopkins, 2004b, p. 2). Netto et al (2001) highlights the limitations of research in a Scottish context and the impacts on services:

> "The absence of the powerful analytical tool of ethnically disaggregated statistics hinders the ability of organisations to evaluate the accessibility and appropriateness of their services for all sections of the population. Further, the invisibility of minority ethnic people in a number of key strategic documents across the policy spectrum perpetuates a 'colour-blind' approach that does not take into account the existence of a multi-ethnic, multi-faith and multi-lingual population" (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 157).

The respondents reinforced this:

> *It is part of what we do, help mainstream race into society, but without policy change and without the right data to show whether things are working or not… these are the components or prerequisites to mainstreaming… In Scotland more than anywhere else we just don't have the data to show, so we know that anecdotally that things aren't working but we don't have proper data (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

This lack of knowledge has meant that racism is often underplayed in Scotland (Maan, 1992). It also means that there is a lack of understanding of Scottish issues and how racism had developed in Scotland. The vague information base that has

developed at a time when 'race' was a single strand suggests that the merged equality ethos will dilute the focus further.

Dwyer argues that 'Scotland is different in terms of politics, race and nation' (Dwyer & Bressey, 2008, p. 122) and that Scottish nationality is more open 'whereas nationalism in England has been more exclusive' (Dwyer & Bressey, 2008, p. 120). It is argued that racialisation has developed differently in Scotland as a result of the national question which, Mann (1992) claims, has 'displaced the influence of racism in constructing the political agenda in this period. Racism has not been as central to nationalism in Scotland as it has in England' (Maan, 1992, pp. 201-207). According to Maan 'the result of this has led some observers to deny, or at least downplay, the existence of racism in Scotland' (Maan, 1992, pp. 201-7). Miles describes the 'numbers debate' as a 'common-sense' interpretation but advocates an alternative explanation claiming that, 'what distinguishes Scotland from England is the absence of a racialization of the political process in the period since 1945 rather than an absence of racism *per se'* (Miles & Dunlop, 1987, p. 98). Horne (1995) argues that 'the conclusion that there is no racist problem in Scotland - still voiced by some institutions of government in Scotland - is ultimately mistaken because there always exists the potential for a process of 'racialisation' to occur' (Horne, 1995, p. 7). The respondents reinforced the view that the development of racism has taken a different form in Scotland than in England:

> *In terms of anti-racism we took a long time to catch up because the whole issue of race was politicised and was driven in a completely different way in England, and it was only at the turn towards the 1990s that people started pushing for recognising two things; one that racism is a problem but the way that it happens in Scotland is not in the traditional black white, colour racism (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

This reinforces the arguments of the previous section that claimed Scotland has specific issues. The unique Scottish context is highlighted by Dwyer and Bressey (2008) who argue that:

"These continuities and connections in the ways in which race and racism permeate everyday life throughout Scotland as well as across the rest of the UK are crucial in the fight for equality, the battle against racism and the fight for social justice. However, although these connections exist and it is crucial that we continue to explore and understand them, the uniqueness of the Scottish context also brings to light a number of discontinuities and disjuncture's that highlight the ways in which race and racism are different from elsewhere in the UK" (Dwyer & Bressey, 2008, p. 115).

The issue is that there is a lack of discussion around Scottish specific 'race' inequality. The respondents noted that the lack of attention to Scottish specific issues was problematic and claimed there were key differences between the situation in England and that in Scotland:

What I mean is that the experience of Scotland and the experience of England is different (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

Yeah it is completely different; there are differences in terms of the role. There are differences in terms of the critical mass, there are differences in terms of the geography and how spread out people are. It is a completely different context (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

As already discussed the perceptions of Scottish demographics and 'race' inequality was identified as particularly problematic. Hopkins notes that 'it can be difficult to transpose understandings and experiences of racism in other places and apply them to racism in Scotland' (Hopkins, 2004b, p. 1). This was reinforced by one respondent who claimed:

You need it specific to Scotland, I mean you can't transport the politics of South Africa to Scotland, it will never work and America and similarly France (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).

Hopkins notes that the political framework may be influential in Scotland as immigration legislations is reserved (Dwyer & Bressey, 2008, p. 119). Although there was not a strong call for devolved powers over equality, the respondents identified that there was an issue with Scotland having to follow legislation and agendas that were set out in England:

Yeah I think then it is a very good question because I think that in the UK, because of the strange situation that we are in with the devolved it makes it very difficult to deal with racism in the way we ought to, which is very specific to Scotland and very different from the English context. We are as you say caught in this sort of triangle of policies that are made there which are not entirely relevant here (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).

Another problem is because a lot of the legislation is Westminster etc. it sort of tends to be a London issue, and doesn't get discussed here (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

This lack of contact has impacts for the ability of those working at the grassroots level to influence decisions. The respondents claimed that in a devolved Scotland it was easier to get access to politicians but more difficult to access Westminster:

I think we do have greater access to MSPs in the Scottish Government than we do at Westminster. So the further up the political hierarchy you go the tougher it would be to get your voices raised (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

There are two aspects of it, in a devolved Scotland it's much easier to get access to senior civil servants and politicians and we can meet people on the Equal Opps Committee. Having said that as race legislation is largely reserved to Westminster that is much harder, it's much harder anyway if you are in London. So we don't have any great dealings with Westminster politicians (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

The respondents felt that the complacency and lack of understanding of London based decision makers was detrimental to effective anti-racism and equality work:

There are also issues with London not getting it. If we think of like the EHRC or the UK Government just thinking what difference does the border make? (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

Fundamentally, the way in which historically issues of race developed in this country are very different and they don't understand it and I don't even think they understand why there is always a landslide victory for Labour. They just say that is working class and are happy to say well we are like a little region (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).

England almost doesn't think of Scotland, everyday people or even the EHRC, it does have its own Scottish Office which is quite good but I don't think they

really get it that there is a difference (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).

Two issues are highlighted here, firstly the respondents note that they have more access to Scottish politics and have a greater challenge in accessing Westminster. This presents a double difficulty as the respondents cannot access Westminster as easily and Westminster based politicians are perceived to have less awareness and understanding of racism in a Scottish context. This highlights a key challenge in getting anti-racism work on the agenda and hinders the progress of equality. This was reinforced by the respondents who raised concerns that Scotland was not involved in developing legislation and designing the route that anti-racist work should take. The respondents noted that although legislation and planning have implications for Scotland it is often conducted on a UK wide basis without enough focus to Scottish issues:

> *Politicians are not dedicated, committed themselves. We need to make sure that this change happens in Scotland. So what the EHRC are doing, what they were saying was this is what we are doing in England and everything is hunky dorey. No! (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

> *When I am in Edinburgh and London I almost had to switch mental states on the train coming down because London is so different from Scotland. You have a civic engagement and civic working, and even working with the Labour party in Scotland is so different from Westminster Labour... Consultation on the Equality Bill was not devolved and run by, they say they do it in partnership, but actually it was driven by England. If we did our own consultation that was driven and supported by the Scottish Government we would have a totally different set of comments on that and I feel that on an issue like equality it is important. It just doesn't make sense to me because of the impact on everyday life and the Scotland Government whatever colour, shape or form it should be the one driving it forward not Westminster. They are an equal European member in my view (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

> *Another thing is that Scotland is meant to be involved more in the European Union. They have their own links with the EU, and apparently good relationships with the EU, but if it is GB legislation Scotland has been excluded in some of the key ones... Yeah I think England doesn't have a very good understanding of Scottish context and also often I think that if there is a call for consultations if they are introducing new legislation Scotland is*

often excluded. So they don't see it as an area that may have specific issues (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).

The above quotes highlight a central premise of this thesis as they reinforce the notion that there is a hierarchy of power within the 'race' equality 'industry'. In this case the responses express concern that decisions were taken in London with little regard for, or understanding of, the specific details of Scotland. There was not a strong call for devolved powers. However, the respondents did raise concerns that it was difficult to be involved in the development of equality legislation:

It is a very difficult question, as you probably know. I think some discussions on whether Scotland could include some specific strands or have some power within the broader UK legislation would be good. I am not sure if there is a need for just Scottish specific legislation because the issues on gender, race, disability and other strands in terms of protection needed is the same, but I think an acknowledgement of the context would be useful but not a complete separate legislation. I think that would make it more messy (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).

This shows that in addition to the difficulties grassroots organisations face in getting their voices heard by those in positions of power, voluntary organisations in Scotland have a double challenge in getting their specific needs recognised by London based decision makers. The respondents felt that partnership working and consultation was hindered by a lack of awareness from decision makers. Furthermore, the respondents felt that this was exacerbated as there was little consideration given to Scottish representatives. This was highlighted on a practical level:

I have spoken to people who have been in consultations with the EHRC and with the UK Government, where it is having people coming in through video conferencing and the people in London forgetting the people in the video conference; not taking the needs of the people in the video conference into account, like people shuffling papers right next to the mics and they are like that is really difficult for us to hear and they are like just turn your volume up. Even on that kind of scale where people in London aren't listening to people from different areas and forgetting about them. So it's really important that we maintain local offices for organisations like the EHRC because people in Scotland who work at the EHRC have a much greater

understanding of how things work up here (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

This response highlights that a lack of consideration for Scottish specific organisations is ingrained and takes effect at the most basic and practical levels. A lack of consultation means that those who have the power to direct equality work are not fully aware of the issues faced in a Scottish context. This has impacts for the type of work that is undertaken as the needs of the BME community are not appropriately of effectively identified.

Cant and Kelly (1995) argue, 'the numbers issue is a distraction from acknowledging the needs of the black and minority ethnic communities in Scotland', and that, 'it is important for the voluntary sector to acknowledge that, whatever the numbers in the black and minority ethnic communities, steps should be taken to identify their needs and to provide services which meet these needs' (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 3). However, funding applications often require proof of need. As small organisations are financially insecure they have to rely on reports produced by the Government and London based organisations[52]:

> "In recent years, Runnymede Trust commissions have published impressive reports which have stirred significant debate. However, in common with most London-based organisations, they have failed to take Scotland into account leading to serious errors and misrepresentations in what should have been 'British' documents" (Kelly, 1998, p. 1).

Thus, the participants felt that the widely held perception that Scotland had few ethnic minorities was problematic, simplistic and had wider implications that could affect how effectively 'race' equality policies and procedures were implemented across the board. This perception was problematic as equality legislation is designed and implemented without specific regard for Scotland. The respondents argued that although there is a significant demographical difference between England and Scotland, the focus on population size is unhelpful as the value of

---

[52] This is fully covered in the funding chapter.

tackling racism is reduced to a 'numbers debate' when the focus should be on eradicating racism.

Internal 'Numbers Debate'

A dominant feature of the literature on Scotland was the idea that racism was not taken seriously enough. Arshad (1999) claims 'many professionals and practitioners have now learnt the 'jargon' of equality. Many can now engage in verbal cleverness, using up-to-date terms to generate a veneer of tolerance, inclusion and respect' (Arshad, 1999, p. 223). This is important for Arshad who claims 'institutional racism is maintained through the everyday actions of individuals' and 'it is important to engage with the mindset of individuals, for it is this mindset that will set the tone for public and institutional opinion'. Arshad wants to 'address the issue of silent racism - the routine actions and thoughts that go unquestioned by members of dominant groups which in some way discriminate against members of a racial or ethnic category' (Arshad, 2003, p. 144).

Acknowledging racism is a problem in Scotland and maintaining a focus on the specific issues faced in Scotland is not solely the failure of the London based government. Miles notes that '*within* Scotland a clear differentiation is made between England and Scotland, sustained by the claim that 'race relations' is an English problem, absent north of the border' (Miles & Dunlop, 1987, p. 98). He also notes that 'various explanations for this alleged difference are offered, ranging from references to the size of the 'immigrant population' to a hypothesized 'natural tolerance' of the Scottish people' (Miles & Dunlop, 1987, p. 98). Arshad claims that if more research in racism in Scotland was undertaken notions 'of Scottish egalitarianism and friendliness may well become another national myth' (Arshad, 1999, p. 221). The respondents reinforced this argument:

> *Another discussion in terms of a perception is that Scottish people are not as racist because of their history it is more of an equal society (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).*

Yes it had been written about the fact that there is a view that it's not a problem because the numbers are so small, there is also a view that Scottish people are more egalitarian than in England. So therefore they are more liberal, broader minded, that kind of view. What that actually means is there is complacency around these sorts of issues, a lack of awareness... There is a lack of awareness around it compared to places where there are higher concentrations of minority groups, even between Glasgow and Edinburgh there are differences (Tina: Female, Public Sector, East Cost).

I think we have more of a denial thing about racism certainly, there is much more of a denial about it (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

In 2002, a social attitude survey, commissioned by the Scottish Executive, revealed that nearly one quarter of Scots admitted to being racist and 52 per cent said they would be worried if the numbers of people from other cultural or ethnic backgrounds living in Scotland were to increase. This undermines the idea of a 'natural tolerance' and 'figures like these are higher than politicians and the public would like to believe' (Bryce & Humes, 2008, p. 104). The respondents reinforced this:

We send off a thousand signals a day that are unwelcoming and we actually don't think we are unwelcoming... We think of ourselves as Scots as a friendly and welcoming nation, how we live in a bubble. How well are we welcoming these people? Because we aren't particularly welcoming and we have all sorts of prejudices (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).

Horne (1995) notes the internal 'numbers debate' means that 'it has been possible for issues such as racism to be kept off the political agenda in Scotland' (Horne, 1995, pp. 3-4). Hampton (2010) reinforced this claiming 'race equality is often invisible in Scottish mainstream political agendas and election manifestos, despite widespread pronouncement about commitment to equality and fairness' (Runnymede, 2010, p. 20). In response to the four main party's paper on 'race' equality, Hampton (2010) claimed that 'the sustained, consistent progress of race equality in Scotland remains vulnerable' as it is 'often dismissed as a politically reserved matter' (Runnymede, 2010, p. 2). Hampton (2010) claimed that the restraints of devolution are often 'exaggerated' as the Scottish Parliament 'has had

control of the levers for change – in education, health, housing, criminal justice and welfare policy' (Runnymede, 2010, p. 2). The respondents reinforced this argument and raised concerns that the Scottish Government was not committed to 'race' equality:

> *Scottish Government has some power over the civil service they could stand and do something... So it is not more power they really need. It is interesting when they talk about more powers… the specific duties under the, the current legislation give Scotland specific duties, so there is a separate consultation to England. We'll see what they come up with there... if the Scottish Government have more enforcing powers than England, we'll see if they do anything (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

In 1999, the Equality Unit was set up within the Scottish Executive meaning that the Scottish Parliament had a committed unit to deal with equality issues (Runnymede, 2010, p. 19)[53]. Arshad claimed that the 'no problem here' approach, so prevalent in mainstream Scottish thinking, no longer commands political support since the Scottish Parliament was established (Arshad & Diniz, 2008, p. 804). Arshad claims that post devolution the attention given to 'race' equality improved as there was better consultation with minority groups, and a willingness to 'talk the language of anti-racism and not just multiculturalism', but she also claims 'change has been painfully slow' (Arshad, 2003, p. 144). Hampton suggests that the focus on 'race' equality is inadequate as it 'appears to be measured by the number of Equality Acts passed rather than by the impact of these developments on experience in Scotland' (Runnymede, 2010, p. 23). Furthermore, Hampton suggests that 'political understandings of ethnicity and 'race' equality tend to be shaped by legislation rather than academic research. There is therefore a tendency by all parties to view race equality through a dated colour-coded lens' (Runnymede, 2010, p. 24). The respondents who claimed that there was not enough action by the Scottish Government reinforced the idea that social policy was inadequate:

---

[53] The respondents were concerned about this unit being disbanded. The reason it was to be disbanded was because a more mainstreamed agenda was coming into practise.

Scotland the Government is doing less now... they do less on the ground in services. And it's happening in Britain as well, across the UK (Vladan: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

...The Scottish Race Equality Statement published very quietly December 2008; there wasn't a discussion in parliament about it, which for a national statement, a national strategy almost is quiet disappointing. It is a very poor statement in my view but it has got commitments and we are now 18 months on nearly and most of them have not materialised... What they said... it is the recession so we can't do everything we wanted to do. Well I don't buy that again it never happened in the first place and if they wanted it to happen it could and even if there is a recession or not (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Has the social policy of Scotland helped its beneficiaries in the past so many years? I would say no. Because poverty is still there, discrimination is still there. Now we have the economic decline and rising debt and unemployment and what have you. Our awareness has risen about ethnic minorities in Scotland yes, about black people, about ethnic minorities, yes it has increased, improved yes, you know the awareness. However, when you look at it then, how is it, how are our policy makers trying to incorporate that into their social policy? Nothing! (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

Cant and Kelly (1995) reinforce this argument claiming that it is essential to understand 'the particular formations of racism in Scotland' in order to 'assist us in developing an anti-racist strategy that acknowledges and builds upon the experiences of Scottish history and society' (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 1). However, the interview data suggested that there was not a good understanding of racism within Scotland.

Rural

The complacency of London based decision makers represented significant problems for getting racism on the agenda in Scotland. This issue of complacency is also present internally within Scotland. There is a concentration of minority groups in the central belt of Scotland with the highest proportion living in Glasgow, 'statistics confirm that 74 per cent of Indians, 80 per cent of Pakistanis and 74 per cent of people of African origin live in Glasgow' (GARA, 2008). Despite this

concentration, the literature highlights that overall Scotland is diverse and 'there is a presence of minority ethnic households across the 32 Council and 15 Health Board areas in Scotland' (de Lima, 2011, p. 38). Therefore, it is important to recognise that the population of ethnic minorities in Scotland is 'scattered':

> "As well as the communities in the larger cities, there are more isolated households and families in towns and villages across Scotland. Towns of the size of Dalbeattie and Stornoway and Forfar include black and minority ethnic people amongst their numbers" (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 2).

The respondents outside of the central belt reinforced that there were significant numbers of BME people in Scotland and claimed equality professionals in the central belt did not appreciate this:

> *I keep shocking people when I ask them how many languages are spoken by school children in the Highlands and Islands and they talk about 5 or 6, 56 different languages, mother tongues. So we have got it you are just not looking at it. The number one rate of incidents in the Highlands is not the Polish, 27% of racist crime is against English people, the Polish is 8%. So when we talk race it is complex (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).*

> *I don't think it is lack of will but it is lack of understanding of how difficult it is... there is a lot beyond Inverness. Inverness is urban... when the government talks about rural areas in Inverness, and Inverness is a city. It may be a small city but it isn't rural (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).*

The respondents based in the central belt, including those who worked in national organisations, did not acknowledge the presence of, or problems experienced by, ethnic minorities in rural areas. This suggests that there is a lack of awareness of racism in rural areas and the work that is undertaken in Scotland is concentrated on the needs of urban ethnic minorities. This is a surprising finding given the small size of the equality sector in Scotland and it indicates that there may be misconceptions of what it is like to live in more remote areas of the country.

Research into rural issues

The relationship between ethnicity and rurality is under researched (Chakraborti, et al., 2008) (de Lima, 2011). The tendency to focus on urbanized areas 'has overshadowed the difficulties facing minority ethnic groups living in rural and isolated areas where communities are generally less subject to change, and feelings of isolation and alienation may run high' (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, pp. 383-384). De Lima (2011) notes that there is no clear definition of 'rural' and that debates surrounding how it should be defined have failed to consider the needs of ethnic minority people living in rural areas. This is reinforced by Chakraborti (2006) who claims 'the concerns of minority ethnic communities rarely feature in discussions of the rural, thus allowing simplistic and largely outdated constructions of rurality to prevail' (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 398). However, there have been a series of small scale studies that try to highlight the existence of racism and intolerance in isolated areas, which 'has been instructive not only in highlighting the problem of racist prejudice but also in encouraging the development of context-specific responses' (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 385):

> "In seeking to investigate the scope of racist victimization in rural environments, research has shown such victimization to be a common and persistent experience that manifests itself in a variety of forms and settings. It is a problem that affects all ethnic groups and all age groups, and its impact can be devastating. Moreover, it is a problem that tends not to show up in official crime figures and, as a result, is not recognized as being significant in rural areas (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 397)

Such research is valuable in shaping 'accessible and responsive services that meet the needs of minority ethnic groups living in the countryside'" (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 386).

Misconceptions of the countryside

Chakraborti and Garland (2006) highlight the stereotypical positive image of rural life which is depicted as safe, friendly, calm and are often termed 'rural idyll'. There is a relationship between the idealised countryside and feelings of patriotism and

nationalism as 'the rural is seen to capture the very essence of 'Englishness''
(Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 384). The countryside represents the 'social order'
and is 'a politically charged space and one that has been adept at signifying nation'
(Neal & Agyeman, 2006, p. 4). These images are problematic as:

> "They reinforce stereotypes of cultural sameness at the expense of those
> with 'different' characteristics, but also because they paint a 'picture-
> postcard' depiction of rurality that may be a far from accurate portrayal of
> many economically deprived towns and villages" (Chakraborti, 2010, p. 502).

Garland and Chakraborti (2006) discuss the findings of two research projects based
in Suffolk and Northamptonshire that looked into racism in rural areas. Key issues
that emerged from the reports was the expectation of the largely white, 'native'
countryside community for newcomers, including white arrivals, to assimilate into
country life. The projects highlighted the links between 'fitting in' and class as those
who are perceived to have more professional occupations are more likely to be
accepted. The expectation of assimilation is particularly problematic with those
who are visibly 'other' as they are confronted with racism:

> "Although rural populations of England are traditionally renowned for
> embodying old-fashioned virtues such as friendliness, togetherness and a
> strong sense of community spirit, a number of studies have revealed that
> these virtues are often absent when it comes to welcoming minority ethnic
> groups to the countryside" (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 389).

This is further complicated as, similar to the experience of Scotland as a whole,
there is a tendency for racism to go unacknowledged in rural areas:

> "If there are low numbers of minority ethnic people, then, so the logic goes,
> there must be little or no racist harassment" (Garland & Chakraborti, 2006a,
> p. 160).

This idealised context means 'studies of crime, deviance and, more specifically,
racist prejudice are perceived to be superfluous and more relevant to urban
environments' (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 384).

Specific problems of racism in the countryside

The literature highlights specific issues facing rural minority groups, including greater isolation, a lack of support structures, and a lack of representation in both policy discussions and decision-making. Although 'racism is inherently a similar phenomenon in both urban and rural areas, the way that it is experienced and expressed will vary, and different solutions will be required' (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 386). Studies have shown that rural racism can have a greater impact as victims live in a 'double-bind' as:

> "On the one hand, minority ethnic groups are 'invisible' in that their needs are not accounted for by existing policy and service provision; and, on the other, they are all too visible to local residents" (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, p. 386).

The rural based respondents highlighted the unique problems faced in rural areas and claimed that the central belt had a lack of understanding of these issues:

> *So to be a different race in the Highlands is to be very different... There is a sense you are more visible, the sense of other is more pronounced. So it visibly marks you as other, like you are black, like you have cerebral palsy, like you are very old then it sticks out more in a rural area where diversity is less and numbers are less, and where you are likely to be the only gay in the village and it's not a joke. It really isn't a joke because then you are very, very other. If you can choose to keep your otherness invisible some people are tempted by that (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).*
>
> *...Forgetting about people who live in all sorts of places and think that if we do something in Inverness then that covers it all, you are not getting out there and understanding the isolation and the different contexts (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

Studies have shown that, despite efforts to 'fit in' minority groups often experience a heightened sense of isolation (de Lima, 2011). Chakraborti claims that due to the small number of minority people in the countryside 'the term minority ethnic 'community' may actually be a misnomer in the rural context, given the absence of community spirit, the small number of other minority ethnic residents and the lack of support Network' (Chakraborti & Garland, 2006, pp. 397-398).

Barriers to services

The small number of minorities in rural areas not only increases feelings of isolation, it impacts on the type of services that are both available and appropriate in meeting the needs of minority groups (de Lima, 2011; Chakraborti, et al., 2008):

> "These barriers include poor access to information and advice; inappropriate and culturally insensitive services; a lack of capacity building support to develop their ability to influence service provision, and absence to address issues of discrimination, communication, language barriers; a lack of interpretation and translation facilities; stereotyping; a lack of strategic commitment and leadership; and a dearth of representation on decision making" (de Lima, 2011, p. 48).

Furthermore, Chakraborti (2010) highlights the problem of rural agencies adopting a 'no racism here' mentality which was apparent in across a range of institutions including criminal justice, education, health and housing sectors and amongst policy-makers such as local councillors, district council policy officers and other local authority workers. Chakraboti highlights the problematic relationship between minority people and the police as racist crimes were often unreported due to a lack of faith in the ability and willingness of the police to handle such complaints. This affected the services that were available to minority groups in local areas:

> "It seems that agency workers were often swayed by the relative absence of both racist incidents and significant minority ethnic populations in their official figures, and took the figures at face value, believing that racism simply 'isn't a rural problem'" (Chakraborti, 2010, p. 509).

This suggests that within Scotland there are regional differences and specific needs. One respondent noted that it was particularly difficult to get 'race' equality recognised in areas with a smaller BME community:

> *In terms of anti-racist stuff here at first I think there was nothing. There was always a feeling in Perth and Kinross that we have a small ethnic minority population so we didnae have to do anything because there is no a problem here, which meant that we were starting from basically scratch when the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 came out. We had nothing here really in terms of meeting the needs of an admittedly small BME population. So from that point of view you were either pushing an open door, or you were*

trying to educate the decision makers in the Council as to why you needed to undertake some initiatives because there was that view that we didn't really need to do an awfy lot here because we have a small population (Craig: Male, Public Sector, East Coast).

This response came from someone based in Perth, although Perth is relatively small it does have a larger population than the places studied in the rural based literature. This highlights the tendency to ignore racism in larger areas outside of the central belt. The respondents noted appropriate structures were not set up throughout the country, as the anti-racist work that is undertaken in Scotland is concentrated in the central belt:

> *So actually for the whole of Scotland you have one office in Glasgow and one office in Edinburgh and actually people forget that Scotland is quite big and has different issues of the moment that come up (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *No, there are none in Inverclyde so there is no kind of Race Equality Council. The closest would be, there are a couple of organisations in Glasgow so there are some faith based organisations and within Glasgow there are a number of voluntary sector organisations pertinent to race issues but you would be liaising with Glasgow and it is quite far away. And that's a challenge (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

A key feature adding to minority people's sense of isolation is a lack of representation in politics and policymaking decisions (Chakraborti, 2010; de Lima, 2011). De Lima notes that there is neglect of ethnicity in both theoretical discourses and in the policy arena:

> "There appears to be little or no minority ethnic presence in local authority councils, management or governing boards of schools and other relevant local and regional decision making bodies, making the nature of racial equality work precarious" (de Lima, 2011, p. 42).

The respondents from rural areas felt that the specific issues of rural Scotland were ignored. Similar to the accusations made against London based decision makers, rural based respondents claimed that people from the central belt had a lack of awareness of the needs of rural equality workers. This manifested itself on a practical level:

I think because there is a duty for the government to reach all its participants they are looking for quick wins, i.e. me to do something that will mean tick the box... but they forget all the time oh come to a meeting... at 9 O'clock on Monday or 4 O'clock on a Friday, not realising that I will get home at 10 O'clock on the Friday... So for someone to come from a rural area and be part of discussion... if it is on an Island you are talking about 3 days to come for an hours meeting. Now they are being clever they have video conferencing set up, but do you think anybody in the city will go near a video conference? You say you must have this but they say I don't know how it works. Well we need it, we need you to work it so that we can sit and not have to travel for three days (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).

We do the same with people in the rural areas of Scotland with everything being central belt... People really don't take those things into account, the amount of travel that is required and different things (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

Thus, the respondents felt that there was a lack of understanding about equality issues outside of the central belt. This represents the practical issues of getting 'race' on the agenda in Scotland. The concerns raised in terms of representing Scotland in a UK wide context were mirrored within Scotland as people who live outside of the central belt felt it was difficult to raise their specific local issues with the government or other equality workers. This is detrimental to the progression of 'race' equality work as it excludes the people best placed to define the needs of the BME community. It also suggests gaps in the understanding of racism within the sector.

Overall, the context of 'race' equality in Scotland is complicated. One issue is that Scottish 'race' equality issues are largely directed by the experience of the UK as a whole. This is problematic as the perception of Scotland by the UK is that the numbers are small and so there are no real problems that need specific attention. According to the respondents, this issue is further complicated as Scotland itself is in denial about the issue of racism and the debate often employs anecdotal arguments about Scottish tolerance that are detrimental to the development of meaningful change. The Scottish 'race' relations 'industry' is concentrated in the central belt and those who work there have a poor understanding of rural issues.

This shows that Scotland have particular difficulties in getting 'race' on the agenda and these difficulties can impact on the type of work that is undertaken.

Conclusions and Discussion

This chapter has shown that anti-racism work in Scotland is complicated by the 'numbers debate' that assumes a low number of minority people means there is no problem with racism. The participants expressed a variety of concerns regarding the lack of attention given to racism in Scotland and highlighted that in addition to common forms of racism, experienced throughout the UK, there are some specific issues that have a particular impact in Scotland.

The discussion about sectarianism in Scotland highlighted that those working in the voluntary sector understand sectarianism and racism in similar terms. However, the discussions on how to challenge the two forms of discrimination do not seem to correlate. The respondents discussed a hierarchical system that placed 'race' above sectarianism. This perhaps highlights the potential for divisions within the sector. It was clear that those whose work focused on sectarianism viewed it as an equality issue, one that needed both financial and political support and an issue that has been neglected. This contrasted with the views of the respondent from the EHRC and the government approach to tackling sectarianism. The key finding was that the issues discussed by the grassroots organisations did not reflect the approach taken by the EHRC or the government.

The lack of knowledge about Scottish specific issues is due, in part, to a lack of structures and experience in dealing with minorities. The respondents identified key areas that they felt were inadequate in comparison to equivalent areas in England, including health, employment, representation in large influential organisations and political representation. In particular, the respondents highlighted a weaker anti-racist voluntary sector that struggles to undertake lobbying activities. The lack of structures was particularly concerning given the

move towards a generic framework and emphasised the need for a specific focus on 'race' in Scotland.

The lack of structure was attributed to a wider issue the 'numbers debate', which reinforced the literature on Scottish 'race' relations. The literature highlighted that research focusing on Scottish issues is underdeveloped (Hopkins, 2004b; Kelly, 1998). This is problematic as both the literature and the respondents highlighted differences in the experience of racism in Scotland compared to England. In particular the respondents highlighted, the tensions that arise as a result of equality legislation being a reserved matter and, policies being designed in London and transported to Scotland without acknowledging the specific issues faced in Scotland. This means that Scotland was excluded and unable to sufficiently influence policy development at the UK and EU level. The lack of contact was exemplified at a practical level as it was felt that London based organisations, including equality organisations, were not considerate to the needs of other regions of the UK. This is exacerbated as there is a lack of research looking into Scottish specific issues. Research tends to focus on the UK as a whole which makes it more difficult for voluntary organisations to present their needs as funding applications often require proof of need. The lack of understanding of a Scottish specific context is well documented already. This chapter has expanded on the existing literature by highlighting the practical manifestations that voluntary organisation experience in their work as a result of the 'numbers debate'. Specifically the chapter has exposed the double challenge anti-racist organisations face in getting their issues on the agenda as they have difficulty getting 'race' issues acknowledged and the Scottish specific issues recognised.

This chapter has shown that the lack of knowledge and consideration to the needs of Scotland also worked on an internal level. An attributing factor to this misunderstanding, identified by the respondents, was the false perception that Scotland was a more tolerant society. This false perception has allowed politicians to use the reserved issue as an excuse for inaction. The respondents felt that the

unwillingness to challenge racism impacted on their work. The respondents felt that the equality work that was undertaken in Scotland was concentrated in the central belt. The rural respondents felt the presence of, and specific issues faced by, minorities in rural areas was not understood as the focus on 'race' equality was based around Edinburgh and Glasgow. The chapter also showed that the issues experienced by rural areas have similarities to areas with larger populations outside the major cities. These respondents made criticisms of the practicalities of working with people based in the city as they felt that their needs were not considered. The lack of understanding from city based equality workers created barriers that hindered the opportunity for rural based people to engage with and access the debate. This suggests that the 'race' sector in Scotland does not have a good enough understanding of the different needs within the sector. This is something that needs to be developed if anti-racism it to progress. However, the merged equality agenda is less likely to nurture a greater understanding of the 'race' sector as the focus is changing to a more generic agenda.

Although the literature has highlighted some of the problems outlined in this chapter, this discussion here has focused on the practical difficulties faced by Scottish anti-racist organisations. Focusing on the difficulties that grassroots organisations face in challenging racism adds a different dimension to the existing discussion which has largely focused on the experience of racism. If Scotland does not have a strong foundation set up to ensure 'race' equality there is a greater potential for the general equality approach to 'dilute' 'race' as a political issue. The concerns that 'race' equality would be 'diluted' with the creation of the EHRC and the Single Equality Duty are outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Merging Equalities and the EHRC

Introduction

The literature review outlined the historical development of 'race' equality. This chapter will follow on by looking in depth at the current move towards merging equality issues and the emergence of the EHRC. As outlined in the literature review, the new commission has received negative media coverage and has come under scrutiny from anti-racist advocates and academics for weakening 'race' equality work (Finney & Simpson, 2009; Kundnani, 2007b; Labour Research, 2004). A central aim of this thesis is to gain an understanding of the impact of generic equality work on 'race' specific grassroots organisations and projects. This will be done by examining what the participants identify as important issues in equality work and evaluating whether they correlate with, what the respondents feel are, the values of the EHRC.

Interacting with people who work at the grassroots level gives a clearer understanding of the issues faced by smaller organisations and gives real life examples of the impact of the new structure. This chapter will outline how the respondents described the purpose of their work. It will also outline the power relationships between the grassroots and the government, discussed here and in the funding chapter, and look at the impact that has on the values of 'race' equality work. The chapter will aim to look at whether the criticisms of the professionalized framework of 'race' equality, outlined in the literature review, are expressed by the respondents. The key questions that will be addressed in this chapter are:

1. Do grassroots organisations agree with the strategies employed by the government?
2. Has the merging of equalities 'diluted' the development of 'race' equality?
3. In the context of merged equalities, is there a hierarchy of equality strands?

4. Is the EHRC seen as a gatekeeper for the government agenda?

Do Grassroots Organisations Agree with the Strategies Employed by the Government?

As expected the respondents all reported a deep commitment to equality issues. It is useful to look at the wider issues identified by the respondents as this sets the context to their criticisms of the EHRC. This is an important area, particularly because much of the recent policy implementation in relation to 'race' equality has been top-down in perspective, that is, it has been designed with little input from the general public or smaller equality organisations. This section will look at some key issues raised by the respondents regarding equality in practice. These issues include policies and equality in the public sector.

The literature highlighted the argument that government policy was problematic; the first RRA 1965 was described as 'limited' as it was concerned more with 'relations' rather than racism (Bam-Hutchison, n.d.). Kundnani claimed multiculturalism marked a move away from anti-racism (Kundnani, 2007a). Bourne (2007a) claimed multiculturalism 'lost its anti-racism roots' (Bourne, 2007a, p. 3) and Hunter and Swan (2007) were critical of the move towards professionalism and bureaucracy, claiming that it de-radicalises, constrains and narrows the effects of equality work (Hunter & Swan, 2007, pp. 1-2). The responses echoed these concerns as they were not enthusiastic about the impact of 'race' equality policies. The respondents often referred to government policy as 'tokenistic' (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast) and ineffective. The two main concepts and policies that the respondents commented on were multiculturalism and community cohesion. The respondents questioned whether community cohesion would lead to meaningful change:

> *It is useful in the sense that there is nothing that is negative about it... All policies when they come at face value they are good policies... But the problem arises when we come to implementation... The reason being, these policies when they were devised or designed they never involve the subjects*

or the people who are meant to benefit from these policies. These policies are designed by people... you know, who don't belong to that issue, who don't belong to that class, society, who don't have any black experience. But by reading books that are written by others who manage to get PhDs through research or what have you and they talk about issues they don't know based on theory. Theory is good but theory without practise is not good. You need to have practise, you need to have sort of experience of people. How do they live? (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

It was clear that the respondents felt there was a gap between the policy makers and those who were affected by the policies. This correlates with the early criticisms of multiculturalism, for example, the Swann report was criticised for its 'superficial focus on cultural elements' instead of the inequalities that had been highlighted by community campaigns (Cole & Blair, 2006, p. 79). Similarly, Dawit was critical of the lack of knowledge of policy makers who designed policies without involving the people who 'belong' to the issues. This links with Ballard's (1992) criticisms that the 'industry' follows a flawed 'conventional wisdom' that does not fully acknowledge the complexities of 'race'. All respondents felt that the simplistic approach was detrimental to building effective 'race' relations.

According to Mirza et al (2007) and Finney and Simpson (2009) the multicultural approach aimed to recognise the specific needs of ethnic minority communities. However, the respondents viewed multiculturalism as a factual description of the demographics of the country rather than a progressive equality approach that recognises need:

Multiculturalism doesn't touch the issue of racism. Multiculturalism is having a black boyfriend; I go and eat pakora at my friend's house, that's multiculturalism (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

That's what you call multicultural events, it's so superficial. It doesn't mean that you have actually understood that you have interfaith and that's a whole wrath of other issues. It is very superficial, it is the three S's: I listen to the sitar, I touch the sari, I have a samosa, I understand everything (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

Unlike the EHRC, the criticisms made by the respondents was not that multiculturalism led to segregation but that it had failed to consider the real life

experience of minorities. The respondents made specific reference to the EHRC's criticisms that multiculturalism led to self-segregation (Phillips, 2005; Cantle, 2001):

> *Well multiculturalism has had a lot of criticism including from the Equality and Human Rights Commission, well the head of it at least I am not sure about the organisation as a whole. That was symptomatic of a wider shift (Ahmad: Male, Public Sector/Politics, West Coast).*

Back et al (2002), Worley (2005) and Chouhan and Lusane (2004) were critical of the government's claims that minorities were failing to integrate and their 'denials' of institutional racism. These issues were also raised by the respondents as specific attention was given to the claims, made by Trevor Phillips, that institutional racism was not a problem anymore and that Britain was becoming increasingly segregated (Phillips, 2005):

> *Have we sorted out the problems of institutional racism? After 25 years of institutional racism, absolutely not! It has gone underground and people have allowed it to go underground by over praising the government and saying how wonderful they are doing without any consultation or any factual evidence to back that up. I don't believe that institutional racism is over because of legislation. I think that long term considered work over a longer period; you can't just say we changed the law, they have policies in place, and we don't even have an opportunity to evaluate the impact of their policies... Did it make it worse or better for people? Nobody does that. Nobody does a focus group of people who live in a council, or who have had experience with the police or whatever, to say has things changed since 2001? And people are stills saying there is racism (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

> *...I just think it is so flawed, it is a lie, the evidence is overwhelming that we haven't shifted much, we have not mentally shifted, we now can talk the talk, I mean it has made people better at lying, in a way, for want of a better word. It has made people cover up the prejudice better, we have given them the tools to hide behind rather than to really tackle the issues and that for me has driven racism underground… and that's the direction that the CRE went, that somehow institutional racism doesn't exist (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

This reinforced the claims that racial harassment has been 'absent from the political agenda' (Burnett, 2012) and that islamophobia has been marginalised (Hussain & Bagguley, n.d., p. 3). This suggests that contrary to the claims made by Phillips,

racism and discrimination are prominent issues that are not being addressed properly. Finney and Simpson (2009) argued that the claims made by Phillips had helped shape political thinking, media reporting and public opinion on 'race'. They claim the statement had legitimised negative attitudes on 'race' and maintained 'myths' that were damaging to their own agenda (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 8). The respondents also identified negative consequences to these high profile claims as it was felt that 'race' policy was becoming an 'invisible discourse' and that that general equality was taking over:

> *Nobody talks about race, did you notice how it has become an invisible discourse? Nobody talks about race anymore and the new discourse is Human Rights. That, from an academic point of view, is very interesting. It is almost old fashioned, why is she talking about racism? (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

The literature claims that anti-racism was compromised because of multicultural approaches. Bonnett claimed that the 1980s government had an anti anti-racism approach, which emphasised the 'unnecessary and unwanted nature of anti-racism' (Bonnett, 2000, p. 152). Allen (2004) highlighted the issue of the legitimisation of islamophobia claiming that the arguments surrounding terrorism had made discrimination of religious groups seem 'reasonable' and 'just' (Allen, 2004, p. 23). This is reinforced by Salgado-Pottier's explanation of the 'vilification of Muslims' (Salgado-Pottier, 2008, p. 11). The respondents also reported that 'race' related policies did not focus enough on tackling racism[54]. This links to Gilroy's claims that 'race' is an invisible discourse:

> *We talk a lot about race, but not enough about racism. There is a lot about race, terrorism but we don't talk about the discrimination or racism people face (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

The respondents wanted a meaningful concept that would tackle the problem of racism. The government agenda and policies were seen to be dominated by anti-terrorism policy rather than anti-racism policy:

---

[54] This 'dilution' will be discussed later in the chapter. It is referred to here to display the respondent's feelings that a more anti-racist approach to policy making is needed.

The government agenda is anti-terrorism with cohesion and things. That would be the government's dominant idea. It is different for different people; it is changing all the time. Some of it is funding driven as well… So immigration types, we have gone back, immigration was a big thing and it died down for a bit, and has definitely surfaced as a main issue. Certain black communities have been forgotten because it is now migrants (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

This response shows the complexity of the issue as it implies that within the single strand of 'race' there are a multitude of different issues and perhaps a hierarchy of different ethnic groups. Bassi (2007) Sivanandan (1989) were critical of multiculturalism for emphasising the need to recognise culture over the need for anti-racist policies. The respondents repeatedly mentioned adopting an approach that was more focused on anti-racism:

Anti-racism, it looks at the structure, it looks at the system, it looks at how people are discriminated against. What are the roots of that? What are the roots causes of that? What are the history? Multiculturalism is everything is hunky dory, let's not talk about it, let's go and have nice dance… and that's the problem. So if you have anti-racist sort of policy, anti-racist work, anti-racist projects, anti-racist thinking as a teacher, as a policy maker, as a funder, as an ordinary citizen, you are thinking. The way you develop your policies, the way you teach in school, the way you communicate is different (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

The responses of the interviewees correlated with the criticisms outlined in the literature review. The interviews showed that although the respondents, like the EHRC, made criticisms of approaches such as multiculturalism the reasoning behind it was different. The respondents felt that current policies were superficial, simplistic and unrelated to practice (Bassi, 2007; Bonnett, 2000; Bourne, 2007a; Chouhan & Lusane, 2004; Hunter & Swan, 2007; Kundnani, 2007a). Instead, the respondents called for a more robust anti-racist concept that would challenge racism directly. They did not express enthusiasm for the current structure of equality organisations. This was particularly apparent in the responses from those working in the public sector.

The respondents raised concerns about equality issues in public sector organisations. The public sector respondents discussed issues faced in public bodies and raised concerns over the commitment to, and promotion of, equality. Those who worked in the public sector reported a shortage of staff directly involved in equality issues:

> *Well it would be probably a bit too overblown to call it a department because actually the only person in the college who has got equality and diversity as a distinct element within their role is me (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

Equality was repeatedly reported to be in competition with other priorities and as such was vulnerable:

> *I think you have to sometimes make those sensible business type decisions but as long as you keep as a priority, actually if we don't do this then we are falling foul of the law. The next section is if we don't do this then it damages our business and the next is if we had oodles of money and everything else we'd like to do (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

These responses implied that equality issues are not a high priority for public sector institutions but are instead treated as something that has to be done as a legal requirement[55]. This reinforces the importance of having effective laws and policies. Despite the laws to ensure equality in the public sector, the respondents reported inequalities at basic levels:

> *So for example, we could tell you the proportion of staff in the college who are white and then look at the percentage who are white and promoted and compare that to the percentage that are promoted that are not white, and I know there is not one non-white member of staff who is promoted in the college. The college isn't doing anything, there has not been a formal investigation and yet they are aware of that. The proportion of people who apply for jobs is less than the number of people who get a job and the jobs that these people apply for are generally lower paid, manual jobs done by people who perhaps lived out with the UK until recently (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

---

[55] This could be a major concern in a time of funding cuts and merging equalities.

This response highlights both inequality in the workplace and inaction in combating the barriers faced by minorities. The respondent notes that there are some monitoring which tracks employee characteristics. However, the lack of action to reduce inequality suggests that the tracking is inadequate. The Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations (SCVO) has claimed that language and cultural barriers are still preventing many BME people accessing mainstream services (SCVO, 2010b). This was reinforced by the respondents. In the NHS, respondents reported inequalities in essential services and believed that this proved the existence of racism:

> *I think the bottom line is racism has got really sophisticated and at the end of the day they say because you don't say things in a derogatory way then there is not racism. But the debate for us, the debate for people like you, is why are we still looking at service access? If we are still looking at something as fundamental as how people access a service then there is still a problem, that's the bottom line for me. If people walk up the street and you are so attune to what they need then we have no problem but we do have that problem because we are not attune to what they need (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

All public sector respondents stated that equality and diversity training was expensive, time consuming and a low priority, especially with the current budget cuts. It was also reported that specific 'race' equality training was being phased out and replaced with general equality awareness programmes. This was met with mixed feelings, as it was felt that although there was a need for a good understanding of the varying needs of different groups, specific equality training was a difficult process that involved time and money.

This section has outlined the respondents concerns that policies were ineffective and 'tokenistic' and inequalities at basic levels in the public sector were prominent. The issues raised by the respondents referred to political inclusion, immigration, education and service access. These issues have been prominent since the 1940s, as outlined in the literature review. This suggests that despite increased legislative changes to outlaw racism and promote equality, the key issues and concerns have

remained constant. Although the respondents were critical of multiculturalism, there was a feeling that the attention given to racism was becoming increasingly marginalised and that there was a need for a more anti-racist approach. These feeling have intensified with the replacement of the CRE with the EHRC. This reinforces Lentin's (2004) assertion that critics of multiculturalism are now defending it, as they fear it will be replaced by a less progressive approach. This also shows that the values that grassroots organisations felt were are appropriate to progress 'race' equality work do not match the values that come through in government discourse and policy. The respondents criticism that there is a lack of engagement with people who 'belong' to the issue, reinforces Bourne's claim that multiculturalism 'ceased to be an outcome of the struggle for equality emanating from below, and became, instead, policy imposed from above' (Bourne, 2007a, p. 3).

Has the Merging of Equalities Diluted the Development of 'Race' Equality?

Parekh (2002) advocated a Single Equality Commission arguing it would equalise statutes and promote solidarity (Parekh, 2002). He recognised the dangers of competition and the potential loss of expertise and focus on 'race' issues but argued that structures could be put in place to safeguard against these dangers. All of the respondents reported concerns that the EHRC, given its wider equality remit, would not be able to focus on 'race' in the way the CRE did. They reported that there was a fundamental difference between the CRE and the EHRC, that merging equalities had taken 'race' and racism out of people's consciousness, that the EHRC agenda was insufficient to push for further 'race' equality developments and that funding for 'race' had been compromised.

The literature noted racism is still a major issue in key areas such as policing. Finney and Simpson (2009) and Hannah et al (2011) highlight the number of deaths of black people in custody, and Burnett (2012) noted an increase in racist incidents

reported to the police. Furthermore, Fekete et al (2010) highlighted the increase in religiously aggravated assaults. The respondents used these concerns to justify their argument for a committed 'race' equality body:

> *When I left the CRE black men were 6 times more likely to be stopped and searched in England, now they are 8 times more likely to be stopped and searched, how do you argue with that? I mean give me an explanation for that if institutional racism has gone, why is it a problem? (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

However, the EHRC representative claimed that the CRE did not guarantee 'race' equality would be well represented:

> *Say the CRE were plodding along you don't know what the CRE would have done otherwise. I mean I know, I always thought from working in the voluntary sector, I didn't really understand what the CRE did, and I didn't see what they were doing so much because they didn't really have a helpline until just a year before their merger and so there wasn't really much contact, or I didn't have any contact with them. So I didn't feel it as a loss (Tony: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

However, the majority of the respondents felt that despite their weaknesses the CRE, and other specific commissions, were much more effective as they focused on a single issue and kept it in the public consciousness:

> *I think the CRE wasn't without its critics and its complications and its problems, but I think it was more important we had the CRE there and been pushing to have it more effective and more efficient and I think that's pretty much what I pick up when I go out to speak to anti-racist organisations. They say it wasn't a perfect body, it certainly wasn't a perfect body, it was far from a perfect body, but it was better that we had it and we should have been trying to influence it to stay individual rather than merge the equalities together, which we did, but to be more proactive, to become a stronger body rather to be weakened by putting all the equality strands together (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

Professor Gus John argues that CRE was an essential body as 'it had to be there to ensure that the 1976 Act was not just ignored' he claims, 'most public bodies only stirred themselves when someone dragged them in front of an industrial tribunal'. However, John also argues that 'the CRE always lacked the vital tools it needed to

succeed' as it 'needed much more money and stronger powers' (Muir, 2007). This was reinforced by the respondents:

> *The establishment of the Commission for Racial Equality was the right thing to do but I think other people might say that it was a dysfunctional body, in that it didn't achieve much, that it only focused on some and created more division with others. There is evidence to show that despite all these weaknesses it kept race on the minds of people. So it was almost a warning that you cannot ride rough shod over people's rights in terms of race. And so it served a function as a watch dog, as a monitoring agency. It wasn't given enough powers until 2001 which was to really enforce bodies to behave in a particular way. For me it was a pity that we had just got the powers in 2001 so quickly people started talking about bringing it under one umbrella body. Whilst I felt that was a very good thing in principle, I didn't think society and indeed Scotland was ready for that leap because we still hadn't levelled the playing fields for certain groups and to then sort of group them altogether under the human rights banner... I think for some it would be lets sweep this all under the carpet and forget, it is a get out clause, we can just use the one thing, we can say it is human rights, we are using a rights based approach and so all boxes are ticked (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

The CRE were criticised strongly by the respondents. However, a fundamental difference according to the respondents was, unlike the EHRC, that the CRE was the main 'race' equality body:

> *[The EHRC] is the main equality body, it is not the main anti-racist body, anti-racism isn't necessarily what they do, they also do good relations, they do communities which you know is a different thing from anti-racism. I would say if you talk about anti-racist bodies then you would really have to go to the third sector, Operation Black Vote, GARA, you would have to look into that sector (Vladan: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

> *I detect over a number of years was a shift away from case work. You know cases were people had been discriminated against either in work or on the street and they needed legal help in order to take on their case, or take on a tribunal... There was a shift from helping fund those type of cases to more PR related work, things like festivals and more cosmetic rather than helping individual people, trying to create an atmosphere and an environment in society rather than fighting injustice on an individual level. I think that happened over a number of years (Ahmad: Male, Public Sector/Politics, West Coast).*

This is an important point as the CRE, despite the criticisms of it, was seen as an official anti-racism body. Although the EHRC are a general equality body, the above description infers that the respondents do not consider the EHRC to be the leader on 'race' equality[56]. Instead, the respondents felt that the EHRC had lost the expertise and knowledge of the CRE:

> *I would say the good thing about the CRE was the focus on race, which the EHRC has lost and it became overwhelmed with all the other equality stuff and in a way it is just like the EOC, DRC its focus was very specific... At this point in time what happened to the EHRC is more people are giving to one equality strand at the cost of the others and they are then left. So if you promote one you offend the other so if you promote everybody then you don't offend anybody, but the CRE was different in terms of they had a very specific agenda and they don't have to consider who they offend. What has not been brought up about the EHRC is the human rights, the government has never signed article 12, which is on discrimination. The debate that the EHRC might be able to use that human rights perspective to promote some of those individualised strands which they have never done (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

The idea that the agenda of the EHRC was unstable and variable and that the general practice was 'take from one and give to the other' (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast) was reinforced by the majority of the respondents:

> *I have some difficulty with the EHRC at the moment in the way it picks and chooses, it becomes like a sweetie box, we will do disability this year and next year it is fashionable to do age and so on and... I can sense that kind of approach coming. I think it is problematic because I think that the way in which the Human Rights Act is excluded from any debate in the EHRC, it seems to be established and functioning as an equality body which has human rights in its name. And what it is doing there is looking at human rights as a sort of seventh strand which I think is very bizarre because I think human rights is fundamental and underpins everything we do. For me human rights should hang all these strands from it and I would fight equally for disability as I would for race and I think that there is room for anti-racism work within a human rights framework... you need to give a balance of efforts in all areas (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

---

[56] Although the EHRC are a general equality body, by taking on the responsibilities of the previous commissions, and if their claims that merging did not dilute the strands, the organisation should still stand up as the main voice for each equality strand.

Some respondents were happy with the principle of a general equality body but still questioned whether specific equality strands would be 'diluted':

> *If you are interested in the common good, in people from all walks of life, and people living in different ways a better life then it is a good idea. On the other hand some of the expertise and focus on race specifically has disappeared and there is a continuing trend of moving away from interest in race issues and this is part of that trend (Vladan: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The idea of compromising the expertise of the single equality commissions was a major concern for the respondents. The responses directly contradicted Parekh's (2002) claims that a single commission would be more practical and progressive:

> *Our organisation have a sort of concern about that because it dilutes actually the race issue, it dilutes all the equality issues. It just sort of puts them in one, sort of pot and lets them just bubble… I don't know. I think that for me it dilutes, everything is diluted… So it is easier for government departments to work with that type of set up (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

> *We did oppose the merger of the CRE to the EHRC, so that is official organisational position. We think it will dilute race equality because we are merging everything into one. I think a Single Equality Bill further adds to that problem, a dilution of race equality. If there is going to be no race equality scheme, no gender equality scheme etc. I think that there won't be as much time spent on race equality or less time even, it will be much harder to unpick what the race commitments are on a single equality scheme. If there is still for example, it adds to people thinking they can get away with single equality training because it is the law. You need a specialism, people need different areas of expertise in an organisation but that becomes very difficult and that's partly why the community planning partnership didn't work, cos it was a copy of the EHRC on a much smaller scale but the issues are different, the issues of disability are so different from race that you almost have to separate them again and if you are going to do that it become more complicated again. Even now with EHRC funding, no black group in Scotland got any money, which before when it was CRE it was all about race equality. That is a direct example of what's happened. There is not really any answer to that but that is where we are (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The respondents argued that the EHRC would stop progression on 'race' issues and potentially take the 'race' agenda backwards:

I think that the creation of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, albeit that we have got funding from them, I think it was a step back in time and I think you'll find that across those that are working on the grassroots and the voluntary sector, right across the strands of equality will argue that point quite severely (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

I have heard a lot and I spent a lot of time consulting on that paper and some of the issues that we were really concerned about was the development of the EHRC. Let's go back to the EHRC was the dulling down of equalities, the reduction of funding and I think we have seen that, we have seen that, the concern has become a reality. When they look at the different areas the EHRC functions in different parts of Britain, we see their priorities merging and... it depends on what they are comfortable with. What we have not seen is the EHRC fight, the EHRC has not become what we hoped it would become which was a real leader in terms of leading the equality agenda in terms of litigation, we have not seen that (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

The concern that 'race' was 'disappearing' or being 'diluted' in the public debate was a prominent concern for the respondents. These concerns were also explored as the respondents critiqued the weakness of the commission's practical policing role. However, the representative from the EHRC described the policing role of the commission and the complexities of challenging discrimination on a legal basis:

The thing that strikes me most is that when you speak to people that experience racism and say that there is a lot of racism in the world, and there is a lot of racism in society and nothing gets done about it and I think it's true... but I think it is because there is an expectation that being racist is against the law and therefore you should use the law and enforce the law to stop racism, and I don't think the law does that... the law looks for the effect of that and will say was this treatment because you were black or was this just really bad treatment? (Tony: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

The priorities of taking on cases were also discussed:

What are the outcomes?... I would say this is what happened, this is the law, this is why we should take this case on, this would be the outcomes or the possible outcomes. So we wouldn't have targets but we would have priorities, in a way everything is a priority, but particularly new strands of sexual orientation, religion and belief and so on would be a priority for us. Different elements of race, racial harassment, racism would be priorities. Disability law would be less of a priority because it has been around for so

long and it has been well tested that reasonable adjustments for example there is nowhere to extend the law (Tony: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

The respondents displayed concern that the EHRC were moving away from a policing and enforcing role. There was a lack of faith in the EHRC's actions and in any improvement they had made:

We would have seen improved sort of living condition of ethnic minorities. We would have seen policies, and councils and things, local councils and authorities and things being challenged for their failures. There are a lot of failed local authorities in Scotland, in terms of, you know, meeting their duty and so we haven't seen the EHRC doing anything. So I don't think they challenge enough because I haven't seen the result (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

Lester's criticism that the CRE were under resourced and reluctant to take on difficult cases of discrimination were reinforced in the responses from the interviews. The idea of policing equality was seen as an important role of both the CRE and the EHRC. Although the CRE was criticised for not doing enough, the performance of the EHRC in terms of policing has exacerbated these concerns:

That is good questions, they had some effect, they done some good work and I think overall, you know life is better. The extent to which that is their influence I don't know, they could have been more, they could have done more. You know both the CRE and the EHRC were not active enough in bringing organisations to court. They should have done more; they should have put more emphasis on that. The answer would have been we don't have the capacity to take everybody to court. But I think they could have done more. If they have the capacity, if the EHRC have the capacity are different questions (Vladan: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Certainly if you go onto the Commission's website it talks quite clearly about its role as a persuader but it also has a role as an enforcer and to me those two things are very different, they can work hand in hand but I do think it makes a challenge for an organisation to be a persuader and an enforcer. I have no problem at all with it as an enforcer; I actually think that that enforcement arm is actually needed in terms of driving change forward. I think from where I am sitting there are some enforcement things that they could do that they are not doing at the minute, which could make their job that wee bit easier (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

There is a feeling that the EHRC are influenced by the top rather than by the grassroots organisations:

> *I suppose the difference is the CRE/EHRC have statutory powers to do something… I don't think the CRE used them enough, the EHRC are taking their time they would rather talk to people than enforce action. I think enforcement action has far more immediate action than talking; we have been talking to people for 25 years so it is time for something a bit more radical (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

> *And some people's argument was that when it was three separate commissions that they were stronger, their missions were stronger, I think perhaps maybe the policing of things might have been stronger… I think perhaps the Commission for Racial Equality was perceived to be stronger because that was solely focusing upon the racial duty (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *But you find that a lot of these organisations, the EHRC, the Human Rights Commission do have a policing role but it is moving towards, it used to be a quite heavy policing role but now it is more about working together... There will be less of a policing role in the future I think because of the way budgets are, the way finances are and I personally think discrimination will be getting worse in the short term. It might get worse in the next few years because of the fact that there is not much of an appetite with the lack of money (Akeem: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

The call to be 'a bit more radical' and the criticism that the policing role of the EHRC is weakening echoes the criticisms made of the earlier 'race' commissions (NCCI, RBR, CRC and LCRC) formed in the 1960s (Miles & Phizacklea, 1979; Rex, 1979; Sivanandan, 1982). This suggests that the initial problems and tensions between grassroots organisations and statutory organisations are on-going.

Overall, the respondents expressed concern over the creation of the EHRC. Although the respondents were critical of the CRE, it was apparent that they did value having a specialised and official organisation to represent racial equality. The idea of keeping 'race' in the public and government consciousness was a particular function attributed to the CRE. In comparison, the respondents felt that the EHRC was not the main body on 'race' equality, instead, the commission was viewed as a large equality organisation with human rights responsibilities. This, for the

respondents, was confusing. The respondents expressed concern that the general equality commission was ineffective and detrimental to the development of 'race' equality as it was 'diluting' the issue and taking focus away from it. The respondents also felt that the EHRC needed to be more proactive in policing equality. These concerns correlate with the issues outlined in the literature review as the respondents widely reported 'race' was not given enough focus.

In the Context of Merged Equalities, is there a Hierarchy of Equality Strands?

The previous section outlined the general concerns that 'race' equality had been marginalised. This section reinforces those fears and looks at the concerns that the EHRC had created a hierarchy of equality issues. The respondents expressed concern that 'race' was not a priority for the EHRC and there were also practical concerns that getting 'race' equality on the agenda was particularly difficult:

> *I mean one thing that everybody called for was a committee, a statutory committee, within the EHRC, like disability, and the leadership at the time didn't fight for it. So what we then got was into an arrangement that we didn't want to go into in the first place, and then didn't even get as much as disability in terms of power and influence (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

> *Maybe I am a bit cynical but the race thing is the most contested area. It is there but it hides, they say we are doing other projects but acknowledge racial differences or ethnic difference but it is not really performing as it used to with the CRE, although I have criticisms of the CRE as well, but it is not as prominent as it was with the CRE (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).*

This contradicts the claims made by government that a single commission would help avoid a 'hierarchy of oppression':

> *I think that was our biggest fear with the EHRC and I think we have saw that. The debate for us is will the Single Equality Bill confirm that, increase that marginalisation? We are not sure because we have not seen the actual legislation (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

The literature noted that the media have played a role in the shaping of public opinion and policy formation (Finney & Simpson, 2009; Spencer, 1998). The respondents reinforced this as it was suggested that 'race', although an established equality strand, was more vulnerable given the nature of debates on immigration, asylum seekers and terrorism:

> You have heard Trevor who believes that we no longer have a problem. I think it is always going to be problematic and I say it goes back to that discussion of the government portrayal. I think it has become such a hot potatoes because of all the media and all the other sectors talking about the migration debate, the asylum seekers debate, the terrorism debate that the government have side-lined it. That means that it is then OK to abuse these people and therefore I think technically because race is at the bottom of the pack hoping it will disappear. Because of the debate about marginalising the human rights then become possible, it becomes almost acceptable (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

This reinforces the literature, which claims that 'race' equality has been damaged by the rhetoric on terrorism (Allen, 2004; Salgado-Pottier, 2008). This was reinforced as the respondents mentioned Trevor Phillips comments on institutional racism on numerous occasions. This added to the fear that 'race' was becoming an' invisible discourse' (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast). 'Race' was seen as a very political issue and this was suggested to be a reason for 'race' being more vulnerable than other categories. The respondents thought that 'race' equality was lower down the equality hierarchy. The respondents identified disability, gender and LGBT issues as being higher priorities:

> For race you have to simply consult, for disability you have to involve (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

> I think my feeling is gender… some people I have spoken to on projects say that... the LGBT community are much more energetic, much more able to push and lobby whereas the ethnic minority community like to stay on the right side of things, same with the ethnic minority voluntary sector. There is so much politics and so much fighting, a lot of people see the government and see the EHRC blaming the race group for not being pushy enough (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).

The issue of a hierarchy of equalities was an issue for the CRE when the merger was first proposed (CRE, 2005; Kundnani, 2007b). One respondent who worked at the EHRC when the merger took place, described the transition:

> *Well in my perspective the CRE, in any merger… you always fight for retaining two principles non-deduction in powers because we were just given this public duty… because the intention to bring us together wasn't for the honourable intention of really sorting this out in a serious of way. It was seen as a pick and tidy, let's get them together and that sorts our problem and it was very much driven by the gender agenda because Harriet Harman was head of the Gender Unit, and we were a bit sceptical because the EOC, as it was at the time, didn't have the powers that we had… Politically, the race duty… we had a lot that we had to lose, we had at that stage, we had almost mainstreaming race equality and taking major institutions to court like the health services... We had just finished, after the Lawrence inquiry, a police formal investigation, it was remarkable we were on a roll when this came up and we said we want to wait, we want to make sure before we sign up that all things are secure so that the race sector that we represented… were not going to lose out...   And some of the things that were put out caused huge fears for all the right reasons because race, more than gender or age is something people find difficult to deal with, nobody likes to talk about race (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

This first-hand account of the merger of the equality commissions highlights some key areas that are central to this thesis. Firstly, the respondents questions the reasons behind the merger claiming that the CRE was dissolved at a time when it was making significant progress and challenging large institutions such as the health service and the police. Secondly, the respondent notes that the merger was taken forward without ensuring that the anti-racism element, that was central to the CRE agenda, was protected. Furthermore, the respondents claims that the merger was directed by the gender agenda. This was an issue that other respondents picked up on as they criticised the projects taken on by the commission for having little significance to 'race' issues and being geared towards gender rather than the other strands:

> *We went to this event when the Scottish Government did their inquiry into trafficking, migration… the EHRC announced that they were going to have this investigation into sexual exploitation and trafficking. I said you took the*

sexy easy subject then. I said if you really want to do something do the trafficking of labour you can then put trafficking for sexual exploitation into that as a whole wider thing. And for me why did you select this? I hate to say this, but that is a sexy subject but in a way they are pleasing to the community saying we are fighting for all those poor Eastern European women or Asian women who are in this country and are abused. We then go back to that subject of the gender debate which is more comfortable (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

The investigation into the construction industry, I am not sure that would have been a key priority if I was doing a public inquiry into something. I am not sure why they chose that as one of the first things to do for example (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

This suggests that the type of work undertaken and designed by the EHRC does not match the criteria of needs defined by the voluntary sector. The respondents felt that the EHRC were undertaking tokenistic work and work that was not urgently required. This shows that there is feelings of insecurity within the sector about the direction and focus of the work undertaken by the commission. Regardless of the accuracy of the respondent's claims, these insecurities will hinder the ability of the EHRC to build trust and develop a close working relationship with the anti-racism sector. A weak working relationship will hinder to development of effective work as those in the sector need to be involved in the decision making process to ensure that the necessary projects are undertaken.

Not everyone identified 'race' as bottom of the hierarchy. One respondent placed it at the top but still commented that there was a competition between strands. The competition element is linked to the expectation and difficulties of different strands working together:

Yes if there is a competition there then I think everybody suffers from it and nobody benefits from it. And I also understand or have heard people saying that racism is the one that everybody wants to look at and tackle and it's seen as being to some degree as up there at the top of the hierarchy if you like. So I don't see it as a competition of discriminations, if someone is being discriminated against for whatever reason that is clearly wrong and it is something that should be tackled. There shouldn't be a competition, putting all those strands of equality together creates a competition and there is

evidence of it being a failing putting all the equality strands together (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Thus, there was a clear perception that the EHRC created a hierarchy of equalities. The high priorities identified were gender, disability, and LGBT. The respondents felt the merging of equalities diluted 'race' equality. Although it is problematic to credit the responses with complete reliability, given the respondents mainly work in 'race' organisations, it does show that Parekh's (2002) recommendations are problematic as competition is apparent and focus on 'race' is lost.

Working Together

The EHRC promote the idea of working together and doing joint work. A representative from the EHRC explained why this was a positive aspect of the merger:

> *I came in having a knowledge of race and racism and race discrimination and some about religion and belief and not really about disability for example. It's like a huge benefit to me to learn and do work on disability and sexual orientation and age and there is lots of things that particularly about hate crime that you can really learn from… And so I think there are a lot of things you can learn from going back and forward. I know there is an argument that it would dilute focus on an area, and I don't know, it is one of those thing were you can't compare it (Tony Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

Many of the respondents, who felt that partnership working was fundamental to tackling inequality, supported the idea that different equality strands have common traits and can work together. However, it was felt that a complete shift towards inter group working was idealistic and did not take into account the practicalities for smaller organisations:

> *I think it is important to have one commission in terms of trying to create a system and a process that is able to deal with all forms of discrimination but in practice they don't necessarily have the skills, or the time or the resources to be able to do that (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

> *In theory, it is good to start bringing the strands together to be able to understand that it is very similar mechanisms that are happening across the*

board. And it makes it a little bit easier to start looking more concretely at multiple discriminations and what happens when you fall into more than one minority group. But creating a rainbow is not the same as mixing all the colours until you just get brown mush (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

These comments show another dimension to the discussions of the merger. Although overall the respondents were opposed to the idea of a single commission they did acknowledge that in principle there were some opportunities to progress equality within one body. The respondents did not adopt an absolute rejection of the single commission, instead they recognised that the merger had already taken place and therefore they had to adapt to working within the current structure. The criticisms of the merger were related to a concern that the structures were not in place to ensure 'race' equality maintained focus.

The respondents were enthusiastic about working in partnership. However, they found the holistic approach to joint project work to be problematic and confusing. One respondent referred to this as 'forced marriage' (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast). Another respondent gave a practical example of the confusing nature of multi-strand work:

> *We organised a conference to tackle homophobia in England but we did it in partnership with another group. We had an anti-racist day, an anti-racist conference and day 2 was organised by Stonewall. Now Stonewall I think are very good at what they do and have a great understanding of what they do. It's an understanding that we don't have. We don't have that level of expertise, we're not experts. We don't have that type of unique perspective whereby we can put all our energy and resources into understanding and tackling racism. But there was still a confusion that came out of that from people who were involved with ************, they don't have an understanding, it was like wait a minute what are you doing now, we are funding you to do this, or we are supporting you to do this, or we are involved with you to do this... so from a number of different levels people came back to us and just said wait a minute what are you doing? We are confused about this… I think to some degree it was counterproductive in terms of the impact it had (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

This response highlights the practical problems that voluntary organisations have experienced when undertaking joint project work. The respondents highlight issues

of a lack of expertise when trying to tackle joint equality work. The response shows that the organisations are not insular as they are trying to engage with other organisations but by joining different strands there are difficulties and there is a potential to 'dilute' the equality work that is undertaken. The issue of joint project work was a concern for the majority of the respondents working in organisations that are dependent on funds. Many organisations are being encouraged to do joint issue equality work. Some respondents expressed concern that 'race' equality did not fit easily with other equality strands and this would make 'race' more vulnerable to funding cuts[57]. The different responses from the EHRC and grassroots indicate that merging equalities has not taken the circumstances of the grassroots organisations into account:

> *Well I think the main problems with the Equality and Human Rights Commission is they pull together the different equality strands… we had a number of different commissions but to pull all them together, very different subjects that have manifested themselves very differently within society and there is, there is no doubt about it, overlap between the equality strands. People may be subjected to discrimination on a number of different equality issues but I think to pull all those together is the wrong move because it is too wide to manifest itself. I think working together is an important thing and the different commissions should be able to work together, but to put it all under the one banner is the wrong thing to do because I do believe that you will lose the message. It's too much work to be done under that... The thing with the Equality and Human Rights Commission is that it's not just pulling together the strands of equality, it's throwing in human rights to that, and that's a massive task in itself and to have all that headed up by one person I have serious concerns about that (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

> *I can see an argument that says people should treat people appropriately and that equality is equality at whatever level, but I think once you have got over that very, very, very generalisation the subjects are too different, people's experiences are too different. I think that the history, the way things have grown up is different and I think we still need a little speciality. If somebody thinks they have been badly treated at work, or somebody says a hurtful comment at work or somebody has been passed over for promotion because of an equality issue, it doesn't matter if it is a race issue, or a*

---

[57] This refers to working with issues such as homophobia and gender issues, which the respondents thought were issues that were perceived to conflict with 'race' and religion. It was thought that gender and disability or gender and sexuality would be strands that would fit together more easily.

sexuality issue or an age issue or any of these other things, in theory it ought not to. It doesn't change the wrongness and it doesn't change how it should be dealt with but it does because the history of why situations arise are different. What's a race, and what is a belief is not a straightforward issue either (Ashleigh: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

These critiques of the merged agenda show a deeper insight into tackling inequality. The respondents acknowledge the importance of tackling all inequality, they are not trying to distinguish 'race' as a more deserving cause. However, they are highlighting the practical issues of joint project work and expressing concern that the new approach is inadequate as the way that different inequality is challenged does not necessarily correlate. This critique is similar to the one initially given by the CRE:

> "We think it is simplistic to suggest that all forms of discriminatory treatment are similar, and misleading to suggest that they will all be susceptible to similar remedies. This does not make one kind of inequality more important than another – but it does make the task of explaining why both need to be addressed by the same body extremely challenging" (CRE, 2005, p. 5).

Overall, the respondents were enthusiastic about linking up with other equality strands. However, the new approach to joint project work created confusion within the organisations. The respondents felt unequipped to take on new issues of equality. It was acknowledged that other strands share similar traits, but it was also noted that different forms of discrimination manifest themselves in different ways. There was also concern that the new approach had created a hierarchy of equalities and many felt 'race' was particularly struggling to get recognised.

Is the EHRC a Gatekeeper for the Government Agenda?

The respondents reported a lack of trust in the EHRC and raised concerns over the credibility of the organisation. The main themes that emerged from the interview data were concerns over whether the leadership and the staff of the EHRC were 'equality minded'; there were concerns that the merger was driven by financial motives (i.e. a 'money saving' exercise); there were concerns about the strategy of

the organisation; the links with the government and the lack of consultation between grassroots organisations and the EHRC.

'Equality Minded?'

The negative media coverage of the EHRC was an indicator that the EHRC lacked credibility. Some respondents questioned the sincerity of those representing the EHRC and felt they cast doubt over the institution as a whole:

> They need integrity to move forward because if you don't have integrity it ain't going to happen. You can't expect people to be equality minded if you are not equality minded yourself (Akeem: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

The idea that the representatives of the EHRC were not 'equality minded' was raised on numerous occasions by different respondents. Furthermore, there was a sense that the rhetoric of the EHRC was not consistent or progressive and so did not promote real change. There was specific reference to Phillips' criticisms of multiculturalism (Phillips, 2005). The changing rhetoric mainly refers to the CRE's initial rejection of a 'super quango' on the grounds that it would be bad for 'race' equality.

'Money Saving'

The respondents felt the merging of the three commissions was questionable. This was reinforced by the fact that at the time of the merger 50% of CRE staff did not take a position in the EHRC citing 'philosophical reasons' (Matthews, 2007). Some of the respondents felt that the merger was a financial exercise rather than to attempt a push forward equality issues:

> It was rushed through, it was done for all the wrong reasons. We had at the time directors coming from Europe and there was a bit of a panic in New Labour about oh my God now we are going to have to set seven different commissions and we have already set presidents for race, gender and disability, you know what are we going to do? This is an administrative nightmare, which it would have been… How are we going to ensure that it is independent in terms of Paris Principles? How are we going to ensure that

there is not going to be any reduction in what we already do, that it is not going to get worse for some communities? How do we go about getting more? How do we equal between all the different competing strands? How do we get that balance? If that sort of consultation was going to happen then that's what I would have been happy to sign up to. But very soon it became apparent to me that that's not what the intention was. The intention was to do it quick and dirty, to tie the bodies up together, and to try to reduce investment in the area, the cheaper option. With the attitude in two years time everything will be wonderful, in my experience that wasn't the case, two years down the line the whole organisation almost folded (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).

The 'cheaper option' argument is given greater credibility when analysed in conjunction with the CRE's rejection of the merger as they said it would dilute the 'race' issue (CRE, 2005). The change in direction, towards joining with the other commissions, was seen as a political decision rather than an 'equality minded' one:

Politically it created a huge rift for the government... We were the biggest players and if they couldn't get their hands on our budget they couldn't have enough money to create a seven strand or six strand organisation. So if we stepped back they couldn't do the deal which was a very powerful tool which was compromised… it was compromised because of the inability of the CRE to stand neutral and to fight for what it believed in (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).

Many of the grassroots workers reinforced the feeling that the creation of the EHRC was 'the cheaper option':

Because when you create one body when before there was three… one of the by-products of that is you save money on three bodies and then you turn it into one. So an argument could be made that there is less money going into the Equality and Human Rights Commission (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

Some respondents were optimistic about the creation of an umbrella body but still had doubts over whether there would be enough resources for it to work effectively:

Now that may be the case but I suppose what the commission has to work out is how effectively it can use the resources it has in order to make change. Overall, I am positively disposed to having a commission and I think you

wouldn't get the Act being supported without the commission. I just don't know, it's like everything, have they got sufficient resources to deliver? (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).

It was apparent that the creation of an 'all in one' equality watchdog was met with suspicion. The respondents thought a single 'race' equality body was a better option to push forward equality. However, the merger was seen as a 'cheaper' and less effective option. The funding of the commission from the government was also highlighted to be problematic.

Government

Werbner claimed that black leaders and those working with government were met with suspicion by the black community as they tend to 'deal with the state within the parameters defined by the state' (Werbner, 1991, p. 13). This analysis can be applied to the respondent's feelings towards the EHRC. The links with the government and the EHRC are strong as the Communities and Local Government Department (CLG) fund them[58]. This link brought the credibility of the organisation into question for many respondents:

> *When I arrived at the CRE I was as sceptical as anybody else about it being a quango... I then have to believe that they were set up to fail in a way. They were given very limited powers and the limited powers that they had they didn't use. If it had not been for the powerful force of people, the Lawrence family and so on we might not have had a change in legislation... as soon as they gave us that power they almost panicked. It was like oh my God we have given these people the power without regulating it and then the bitter core when they realised that within the Cabinet Office we could be taking our own sponsors to court. They didn't like that, they couldn't deal with that. On the surface they'd say yes you are doing your job and you have to do your job but I think it opened some loopholes in the deal making were people were compromised. And so for me if you want to have a serious quango really addressing race, the body you establish has... to be completely independent of the sponsor department, it needs to be set up as a parliamentary body. I think you need a cross party that will oversee it without it becoming a party political issue. One of my greatest problems with the EHRC, it is very interesting times for it now, is that I think that it is driven by party political*

---

[58] This will be further explored in the funding chapter, which will look at the funding given by the EHRC and the funding the EHRC receives.

interests and I think that an organisation like that, I think the chair of an organisation like that should be party politically neutral… because when a government leaves I am concerned about how the EHRC will be affected, it is open field again, very vulnerable, which makes not only human rights vulnerable it make race vulnerable (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).

This response highlights the political nature of the EHRC, and raises concern that rather than being an independent body the work is directed by the government agenda. This is coupled with the difficulties that arise from a merged equality agenda, which make challenging the government doubly difficult. The reference to the Lawrence campaign stimulating change is particularly significant as it reinforces Cathcart (1999) and Kundnani's (2007) claims that the MacPherson report, which was a result of pressure from anti-racism on the ground level, highlighted the problem of institutional racism across society and was welcomed by the BME community and grassroots organisations. In comparison, the respondents echoed the criticism made of earlier 'race' commissions, outlined in the literature review (Rex, 1979; Sivanandan, 1982) as they frequently reported that the EHRC were linked too closely with the government and so were ineffective. The idea that '*they are government quango'* (Dawit) meant that they were not a credible source for some respondents:

> *We thought that the EHRC was on our side but the EHRC is actually a civil servant, it is a department of government. I think when you come to that quantum thinking then you know why they are doing what they are doing. I mean I'm just very disappointed in them, I was looking for more, they didn't give me more, and neither did the government... I think what we have to do is go public with pressure to pressure the government and the EHRC to do something, to almost go to the point of naming and shaming the EHRC and be very critical of them. In a way we cut our losses ourselves because we are criticising an organisation that is supposed to be on our side… I hate to say this, probably the next catastrophe when something happens we then might have a chunk of light or a window of opportunity to do something (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

The idea that the EHRC is not on the side of the rest of the anti-racism sector highlights the extent of the gap between the different levels. The response highlights a key concern for this thesis as it raises the central difficulty faced by

organisations in balancing their aim of challenging inequality with their need to have favour with those who have power to influence policy and provide financial support. This response highlights the cynicism respondents felt towards the EHRC. Furthermore, there were questions over the set-up of the EHRC. The respondents questioned whether the commission was established to progress equality or whether it was primarily concerned with pleasing the government:

> *It was a human rights organisation but there was… not enough people with human rights insight, not enough people who knew how to bridge the gap between human rights and race, almost nobody on sexual orientation and religion… I felt that I was going to sit down on day one and roll up my sleeves and have these difficult discussions about how do we balance and that there was an outcome of high level academic and philosophical debate to set principles and then to work hard, what does this mean in reality and how will it impact on people? I didn't feel that there was enough interest in that, I thought there was a very pragmatic normative approach taken in terms of how can we please government maybe to some extent, how can we please our stakeholders? (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

> *I think the EHRC is a government department whether they are in England or they are up in Scotland I would like to see their action plan, I would like to see what their big idea is and I haven't (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *Totally, they are appointed by the government. Time will tell I suppose. They have done some things like criticising some terrorism stuff and all that but not enough in my view (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

These responses imply that the respondents are disengaged from both the EHRC and the government. There are negative connotations with the idea that the EHRC is a department of government. This shows that there needs to be more collaboration between the voluntary sector, the EHRC and the government if genuine trust and teamwork is to develop. Thus, the respondents were sceptical about whether the EHRC could be neutral and proactive an influencing government policy or whether they would themselves be too influenced by the government agenda[59]. The respondents felt the EHRC consulted more with the government

---

[59] This was referred to earlier in the chapter. Many respondents felt that the government approach was ineffective and focused more on anti-terrorism rather than anti-racism.

than the grassroots. Many of the respondents echoed the criticisms made of earlier statutory government bodies established in the 1960s, this related back to the literature review and reinforced the argument that the links between the government and the grassroots were problematic. This was particularly apparent when looking at the consultation process.

Consultation with Grassroots

In comparison with the feeling that the EHRC were too involved with the government, the respondents felt that they were not involved enough with grassroots. Many respondents did not feel that the EHRC carried out genuine consultation with the sector:

> *They consult, they consult but the consultation is not genuine. It is just sort of you know to get a tick for they have done that. They get 70 million from the government so they just say yes we have done that we have done that, that's it. Because we haven't seen the outcome of the consultation being implemented (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

> *Well I think that people consult and people consult you can consult with a handpicked series of selected individuals, for me that is not real consultation. I don't think that real civic society were consulted and got to voice what they felt (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

Two major themes emerged in regards to organisations working with the EHRC. These included awareness of the EHRC and problems that have been encountered when contact is made with the EHRC. For some of the smaller organisations the awareness of the EHRC ranged from low to non-existent:

> *No, we have a very confusing array of organisations that are involved in promoting equality and I think we do not know. We do not have a poster saying this is the one. If there is a Commission for Racial Equality, they are not very visible, they don't put on events and say I am the equality wing of the government and every year on the map we have this event. There is no road map, I have no idea (Cristina: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

Although this view is extreme, the EHRC do use social networks and hold events that could be accessed by this group, it is interesting to understand the range of

awareness between different groups. The lack of awareness of what the EHRC actually do was apparent in larger organisations such as councils:

> *Not really to be honest, again we were aware of them, we are aware of what they were. But everything changed. We don't have a local Race Equality Council in ****, the nearest one is Central Race Equality Council who deal with us (Craig: Male, Public Sector, East Coast).*

This was reinforced by another respondent who was vague when asked if they had a lot of contact with the EHRC:

> *Not personally, we did something once but not really (Ashleigh: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

This suggests that communications have become weaker since the creation of the EHRC. Other respondents lacked awareness of the relevance of what the EHRC do:

> *They were quite a small organisation up in Scotland, a small branch, well they didn't have a lot of staff and I don't know to what extent they took an interest in research (Tina: Female, Public Sector, East Cost).*

A good example of communication failures was represented with an example from the Highlands and Islands:

> *I wish they would stop asking questions and just get on and do something, do some work… how can you communicate with the EHRC?… and it was staggering. We are sitting on Shetland and they we looking at each other, they have on the small Island bus shelters, historic bus shelters but no buses. The bus shelter is where they put all their notices. Now to get a message out in Shetland you put a message in a bus shelter when there are no buses and that's what we were able to drive home to the EHRC. There is no point in you sitting in Glasgow or Edinburgh scratching your head thinking how will we send this message? You have to have a network and ask them how to get it out... Dropping a leaflet with the EHRC helpline on it, that's how you make a connection with the very isolated people. Use social networking; tell them about it, connecting them to intermediately equalities groups like BEMIS. That's where I get excited. The EHRC is only... there is a huge bureaucracy that doesn't move very quickly, instead of being involved and getting out there and making things happen. I keep saying why don't you just do something? (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).*

The mention of the helpline being a key way to involve those in remote areas is particularly relevant given the closure of the helpline. The respondents identified a significant gap between the EHRC and those who work at the grassroots level.

The lack of communication between the EHRC and smaller organisations showed that the commission had a lack of knowledge of real life experience. This could be tackled with greater interaction. However, the respondents reported negative experiences of engagement when they had tried to communicate with the EHRC. Specifically they identified negative and unhelpful responses they received when approaching the EHRC for advice. Below are some examples of the experiences the respondents had:

> *No, when the new government came in I heard that they had postponed bits of the law so I had sent an e-mail saying we need to clarify this because we are in training. Saying here's the timetable for this coming into force and then I found out I could be wrong. It took them over a month to reply. I thought that was quite a straight forward question. I know they are busy don't get me wrong but there is no mention of it on the website and I thought in terms of proactiveness they could have maybe done a wee bit more (Kevin: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *The twice I have sent an external request form to them asking for explicit instructions and guidance they have come back to me with very little, poorly detailed information, pretty much get on with it yourself. Our college has three different colleges coming together and we were seeking advice on equality impact assessment on the decision to merge the college. And I asked them if they would maybe like to get involved to ensure we were doing things for the best practice and highlighted the fact that our merger for staff and student population is the size of Kilmarnock, that is a significant urban area, would they like to come and help and they said no not getting involved. Therefore, I think that is a concern. My experience with the EHRC is if there is huge inequality in an organisation and it is proven yes they will get involved. However, if it is not specifically related to their annual strategic plan and you are maybe not doing things properly they are not going to get involved (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *I have been to speak to them once but I haven't done any work with them, and again when I look at their website and stuff there is a mention there of religious intolerance and sectarianism but I don't know what they actively do. I don't know if they do anything or anybody knows what they actively do on this subject… I went to meet with them with them and ask for help with a*

project and it got me fucking nowhere, excuse my French (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Another one of the negatives about that is that the EHRC don't look for organisations that are specifically anti-racist and they say well work in your only little box, in your own little pigeon hole, quite patronising terms that can be used by some of their members of staff I think (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

The respondents reported a lack of faith in the EHRC's strategic plan and their ability to provide a good quality service across the equalities:

Yes I have been involved in their events... I went to an event 2007 but really it was a case of hi we are the EHRC this is our website, I know you are having problems with it but we are moving over from three separate commissions and this is what we are about. It was more a case of this is what we want to do. It was at that point that someone said, he was from a college in Fife and he said the Disability Discrimination Act and public duty says that we have got to involve disabled people in decision making, well I can tell you for a fact, and I have told you this before, that they are not involving people in our council and are in direct controversial of the law. What are you going to do about it? And they really did turn around and say that's not related to our current strategy so we are not going to do much about it. At that point, I lost a bit of faith and thought you're not really the police here (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

Overall, the respondents did not think the EHRC were a credible organisation to progress 'race' equality issues. It was felt that the EHRC was designed as a 'money saving' exercise rather than a development in equality. The links between the EHRC and government raised concern over their ability to hold the government to account. This was reinforced as they felt that consultation with grassroots was not genuine and many did not have positive experiences working with or consulting with the EHRC. There was a strong suggestion that the EHRC only offered help when it is related to their current strategic plan. Thus, the organisation was seen as a gatekeeper for the government agenda rather than a progressive 'race' equality agency.

Positives

In order to present a balanced view of the data it is important to make note of the positive comments made by the respondents about the EHRC. Although many of the respondents felt that when the EHRC took the BNP to court was 'tokenistic' and did not achieve real change, others thought it was a real and positive action:

> *I think that's brilliant thing, I mean I suggested it years ago. If we live in a society with rules and regulations, I can't go outside and walk about naked I would get arrested. We do follow rules and regulations, it's not about democracy and having free speech there is a responsibility that comes with free speech (Akeem: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *Yeah I think it is brilliant. They have been criticised for not doing anything so for me that was one of their successes (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).*

Other respondents reported that one of the benefits the EHRC have brought is that newer equality strands now have a voice:

> *There was always fear that the EHRC will dumb down equality. No it hasn't and it has allowed newer organisations like the LGBT groups to come forward, and the age groups to come forward and take some of the limelight as well. The CRE was always very poor, they never supported anything you did, never came to anything you did, booked places to come to your conference and never came, promised to come to round tables and never turned up. The CRE was always the weak one (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).*

Conclusions and Discussion

The chapter has shown that there is concern within the voluntary sector that 'race' is becoming an 'invisible discourse'. This linked with Gilroy's analysis that contentious issues such as immigration, 'race riots' and discourses around terrorism are 'carefully coded' terms and 'enable people to speak about race without mentioning the word' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 242). The respondents reinforced this claiming 'the government agenda is anti-terrorism'. The key concern for the majority of the respondents was that anti-racism was disappearing. This was

highlighted in the discussion about multiculturalism which was described as 'superficial' and 'simplistic'. An interesting aspect was the respondent's idea that multiculturalism was descriptive. This differed from the position articulated by government and high profile 'activists', such as Trevor Phillips, who claimed it was divisive. The respondents were particularly critical of the government's move away from recognising institutional racism. The respondents felt this was the wrong approach and it demonstrates that there is a gap in thinking between the grassroots level workers and those working at the top of the 'industry'. The respondents called for a more explicit discussion on 'race' rather than the current focus on 'problem' issues such as terrorism and immigration. This flawed focus was identified to be detrimental to the progress of anti-racism. The issue of progress was particularly relevant when the respondents discussed the single equality framework and the EHRC.

Contrary to the recommendations of the Parekh report, the respondents expressed concern that the single equality framework would de-focus 'race' equality work. The respondents claimed there was a need for a single focus especially given the fears that 'race' was becoming 'invisible'. The EHRC was described as a 'diluted' version of the CRE. The respondents echoed Lester's (1998) claims that the CRE were ineffective in tackling difficult cases of discrimination. However, the majority of the responses felt having a 'race' specific commission kept 'race on the minds of people'. The respondents felt the EHRC was too broad to give enough focus to the complexities of each equality strand. The chapter has shown that the merged commission had led to feelings of insecurity among the voluntary sector as it represented a move away from a 'race' specific focus. This highlights the divisions between the voluntary sector and the EHRC.

This idea of 'dilution' was reinforced as the respondents claimed that there was a hierarchy of equality strands. The respondents identified gender, disability and LGBT as higher priorities within the EHRC than 'race'. This was exemplified as the EHRC have a Disability Committee but not a 'Race' Committee. The responses

confirmed the literature that argued a single commission would lead to inequality between equality strands. The EHRC respondent noted that a collaborative approach would be progressive. This view was not reinforced by the rest of the respondents who felt joint work was less effective. The respondents agreed that all forms of discrimination needed to be tackled with equal importance. They were also positive to the suggestion that each strand should consider the potential for discrimination based on other characteristics. However, it was claimed that the move towards multi-strand work was being 'forced' on small organisations. The respondents claimed this kind of work was 'confusing' and potentially 'counterproductive'. These criticisms highlight that there is insecurity within the sector and a concern that a single equality commission will dilute 'race' equality. These criticisms were similar to the initial rejection of the EHRC by the CRE and showed that the generic equality framework was changing the kind of equality work that was undertaken. Such concerns will hinder that ability for the EHRC to promote joint equality work as those in the sector feel the need to protect the focus on 'race'. Furthermore, the feelings of insecurity within the sector enhance the chance of resentment and rivalries developing between equality strands. If joint projects are to be successful, it is essential that those working in each equality strand feel that their voice is being heard.

The credibility of the EHRC was called into question by the respondents who questioned the commission's commitment to equality. The merger was described as the 'cheaper option' as the government was required by EU directives to give protection to new characteristics. The EHRC's link to the government added to their low credibility. The chapter highlighted the cynicism of those in the sector over the commission's ability to challenge controversial government policy and push for increased 'race' equality. These concerns were enhanced as the respondents claimed that the consultation between the EHRC and the rest of the equality 'industry' was disingenuous. This suggests those working in smaller organisations are not given the chance to voice their opinion. This was reinforced as respondents gave examples of difficult dealings they have had with the commission, describing it

as a 'huge bureaucracy'. These findings highlight the sector's disillusionment with the EHRC, which will make collaborative and meaningful work between the sector and the commission difficult. Furthermore, if the EHRC do not genuinely consult with the grassroots the type of work that is undertaken will be limited as consultation is needed if effective anti-racism work, reflective of on the needs of BME communities is to be achieved.

This chapter has raised four key findings, firstly there is a gap between the thinking of the voluntary sector and the EHRC. Secondly, there is fear within the anti-racism voluntary sector that 'race' is becoming an invisible discourse. Thirdly, the move towards a system of joint equality work has created insecurity within the sector. Lastly, there is a lack of confidence in the ability of the EHRC to maintain and develop a focus on challenging racism, as they are viewed as a department of government rather than an independent equality organisation. The respondents believe that the merged equality agenda has changed the type of anti-racism work that is undertaken.

The next chapter will build on the argument that the type of work is changing by exploring the financial barriers faced by smaller organisations. The chapter will specifically look at the funding arrangements of anti-racism organisations in order to establish who has the power to define the needs of 'race' equality work.

Chapter Six: Funding

Introduction

The previous chapter looked in depth at the creation of the EHRC and the concerns that respondents had over the merging of equalities. The literature review examined how anti-racism had developed into a formal 'industry' and outlined past and present concerns that 'race' relations policy, most notably the move away from multiculturalism, has been a step away from recognising the specific needs of the BME sector (Back, et al., 2002; Chouhan & Lusane, 2004; Finney & Simpson, 2009; Kundnani, 2007a; Shukra, 1998; Werbner, 1991; Wetherell, 2007; Worley, 2005). This chapter will develop this argument to show the implications on a wider scale as the funding agenda is moving away from supporting specific equality groups towards generic equality projects. Funding issues were a prominent concern expressed in the interviews and it was felt that the funding of the EHRC was a 'lifeline'. However, at the time of the interviews the respondents reported concern that this would be cut, their concerns were justified as the funding programme was cut in 2012. The retrospective view is useful as the responses show that those working at the grassroots level have a good insight into the 'industry'. The aim of this chapter is to explore whether the lack of funding from the EHRC is further evidence that anti-racism and other equality work has been 'diluted'[60]. This is particularly relevant as previous research has suggested that funding cuts will affect the BME sector to a greater extent (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009).

This chapter will set the responses in context by first exploring the difficulties faced by anti-racist organisations in terms of funding. There was specific reference to Scottish issues as all of the interviews took place in Scotland. The key questions that will be addressed in this chapter are:

---

[60] There has been a move from assimilation to integration and then to multiculturalism. The new generic equality agenda is the latest move in the BME equality agenda.

1. Do grassroots organisations feel restrained by financial dependence on funders?

2. In the context of funding, do the respondents feel there is a hierarchy of equality strands?

3. Has funding for 'race' equality work changed since the creation of the EHRC?

Capacity of the Organisations

In order to understand whether the funding structure is appropriate to meet the aims of the grassroots organisations it is important to understand the background of these organisations. This section will outline the infrastructure, development of the organisations consulted, types of funding available and funding budgets.

Development of Organisations

The organisations consulted in this research project were varied and ranged from larger public bodies to medium and smaller grassroots organisations[61]. As noted in the literature review, Mirza et al (2007) were critical of the multicultural policy approach claiming it created competition and divided minorities from the rest of society. Mirza et al (2007) suggested that minority groups were using 'identity politics' to claim funds and in doing so had 'exaggerated' inequality (Mirza, et al., 2007). In contrast to this analysis, previous research has claimed that 56% of the voluntary sector has an annual income of less than £10,000 (Wilding, et al., 2006, p. 3). Furthermore, Alfridi and Warmington (2009) note that 'BME third sector organisations are thought to be heavily represented in this income band (with all that this suggests in terms of scale, low numbers of paid staff and dependence on volunteer effort)' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 56). This was backed up by the respondents as many of the organisations started with no financial stability:

---

[61] This is outlined fully in the methods chapter.

> *We ran this organisation on £12,000 a year... we first started the organisation because it was voluntary, we bought stuff out of our own pockets (Marian: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The respondents claimed that building a strong anti-racist voice was difficult because there was no funding available for capacity building:

> *... that is difficult yeah. When you don't have capacities, financial problems, you know, time constraints and everything. If you don't have money to employ people then it's difficult (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

The respondents reported specific concerns for capacity building in Scotland:

> *One issue is that capacity building has not been carried out at the same level as other parts of England for example. So there is hardly any resource for capacity building that's definitely one of the main things (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

One of the reasons capacity building was identified as a particular issue for Scotland was because the Scottish voluntary sector was small:

> *I did lots of work with the voluntary sector but there is a very small voluntary sector here (Amanda: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *So when you get together round the table with the people in Scotland that are doing something about sectarianism it's the same ten folk. It's like us, the government who fund us, Show Racism the Red Card, Sense Over Sectarianism, the education woman from Glasgow City Council (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

> *I think so but people told me when I moved to Scotland that Scotland is a village in terms of that. It takes a while for people to get to know you but it is a small group so you start being invited to lots of different things (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).*

When asked about budgets for equality issues the respondents identified a difference between those working in small grassroots sector organisations and those working in the public sector:

> *I don't know, I don't deal with the financial stuff in here but the budget that comes into this organisation is substantial, I used to work in the voluntary sector so it is substantial (Kevin: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

Although there was a variation between the voluntary sector and larger organisations in terms of resources, the majority of the respondents represented small voluntary organisations. This correlates with the wider voluntary sector as it is comprised of mainly small organisations, especially in Scotland, and those organisations struggle to build capacity (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009). This lack of capacity has implications on the ability of individual organisations, and the sector as a whole, to assert influence and push for change.

Long term /short term funding

Chouhan and Lusane (2004) argued that funding of BME groups and 'race' equality campaigns are fundamental to ensure 'empowerment' and the ability of the BME sector 'to operate in and influence mainstream society in political, social and mainstream arenas' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 20). However, Alfridi and Warmington (2009) argue that BME sector organisations are 'heavily represented in advice and advocacy provision, social welfare and health services (including mental health, services for children and young people, and elderly care and support), housing and accommodation, and education and supplementary schooling' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 47). The respondents reinforced this claiming there is more funding available for service provision:

> *For the policy research, the short term funding doesn't help at all because that takes years to get anywhere, now with almost annual funding. This is why many people do service provision because it is much easier to get funding because in the media you see one client and monitoring whereas a policy thing could take 6 months to 3 years before you see any benefit, but funding doesn't work that way so it makes it very hard to get any decent funding for that sort of work (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The provision of funds to the third sector has also changed from grant aid towards a contract-based approach. In 2001/02, grants accounted for 52% of all government funding for charities, in 2004/05 it was 38%. In comparison, income derived from fees rose from 48% in 2001/02 to 62% in 2004/05, and for the first time in 2006 fees outstripped grants as the main source of *all* third sector income (53%) (Wilding, et

al., 2006, p. 8). This is further complicated as over two thirds of all funding agreements to public service delivery last one year or less, 8% up to two years, 11% three years and 13% lasting more than three years (Charity Commission, 2007, p. 14). Funding was a major concern for the respondents who made specific reference to a lack of long term funding. The respondents reported that the majority of their funding was provided on a yearly basis:

> *Yeah, yearly, you get short term funding for projects as well, 2000, 5000 something like that (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

One respondent reported the main difficulty in terms of developing their organisation was:

> *trying to keep it sustainable and to get funding… I think instead of yearly funding they should be looking at 3-5 years (Marian: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

Thus, it is clear that funding sources have changed in recent years. The move towards contracted service delivery work increased. However, this type of funding tends to be short term, which creates further difficulties in terms of capacity building and sustainability. This makes 'empowerment' and 'influence' difficult as the need to maintain the organisation becomes a key priority. These fears were enhanced, as there were concerns that funding budgets were being cut as a result of the recession.

Funding Budgets

The respondents expressed concern that, despite being inadequate, equality budgets would be cut further:

> *I am also **** so our equalities team has been reduced over the years because of funding (Agnes: Female, Voluntary Sector, Highlands and Islands).*

> *I think the climate we are in unfortunately the public sector; the Community Safety Partnership has already intimated that. Here's your money this year, we can guarantee it this year but next year it might not be the case. I mean*

that's basically were we are sitting unfortunately (Craig: Male, Public Sector, East Coast).

But these are changed times what we're finding within most organisations that equality work is being diluted because of budget cuts it is low on people's priority list. In the good times it was like we need to do this and this and this but now it is like how do we cut. In our team we used to have 22 members and now we have 9. We are not alone on this, everywhere is getting cut so it is a question of how do you help these organisations… this is why there hasn't been the strength in the work there should have been (Akeem: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

The claim that that funding cuts have impacted on 'the strength of the work' is particularly relevant as it reinforces the claims that funding creates dependency, which has negative impacts on the quality of anti-racism work (Gilroy, 1999). This was a concern for many of the respondents particularly given the current economic climate and the move towards mainstreaming equality and service provision:

I have done some work around the issues of mainstreaming and again there is an issues of when you mainstream do you actually lose sight of specific needs and specific issues, to what extent can you actually mainstream and to what extent do you need to provide specific support? And again I suppose we are in the current recessionary context there is going to be encouragement for more and more mainstreaming rather than specific provision. It seems to me that is the direction that is going to be taken with very little specific support. So even the Equalities Act I have heard people say to what extent is it going to be given much priority by government? (Tina: Female, Public Sector, East Cost).

This echoes the findings of the previous chapter as the respondent reinforces the claim that the merging of equality strands was 'diluting' anti-racism. Specifically the idea that equality is not a priority was a prominent complaint of the respondents. One respondent claimed that regardless of budgets funding equality work was never a priority:

I am not too concerned about looking at the recession because things were never that much better before the recession, that is just an excuse. We had a boom in the last ten years and they didn't do anything (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

There were concerns that budget cuts could be specifically damaging to BME groups:

> *When we look at Glasgow City Council the funding for some of the voluntary sector has run dry. It's very much targeting very small communities that they are going to cut back and most of those communities are in the ethnic minority group (Lin: Female, Public Sector, West Coast).*

The idea of losing focus and 'diluting 'race' equality work, outlined in the previous chapter, was referred to in a funding context. The respondents noted that the Scottish Government budget for equality was dictated by Westminster. This was a concern, as it was felt that the focus on Scottish issues would be lost:

> *I think sometimes it is difficult for them as well because they are getting budgets from Westminster so they have to cut it somewhere. I do think they are cutting the voluntary sector funding and I do think in time they will say the statutory organisations cannae deliver what we do. They don't have the time or the capacity, we don't have the capacity but they don't have that for delivery on the ground. My job might say 9-5 but I can assure you it's 24/7; we have mobile numbers that we can be contacted at any time of the day or night (Marian: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

Overall, the infrastructure of grassroots organisations is poorly developed. Capacity building is difficult, especially in Scotland, as the sector is small and budgets are controlled by Westminster meaning focus on Scottish specific issues may be 'diluted'. This is enhanced as funding is often provided on a short-term basis making planning and developing difficult. The respondents felt that the funding of organisations was inappropriate to meet their needs and feared that equality budgets would be subjected to further cuts. The instability of funding means that survival becomes a key focus, which has the potential to 'dilute' the aims and objectives of the organisation. The issues raised in this section, funding difficulties, the specific impact on BME groups and merging of issues, will be explored further throughout the chapter.

Do Grassroots Organisations Feel Restrained by Financial Dependence on Funders?

Alfridi and Warmington (2009) argue that the defining characteristic of the BME sector was 'self-help' and noted that the ethos of minority organisation was 'a preparedness to do for ourselves what British society cannot or will not do for us' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 14). As noted in the literature review, the development of anti-racist organisations was political and sought to influence policy and campaign for greater equality legislation. The literature review noted that historically grassroots campaigns have been key in highlighting important inequalities. FitzGerald (1998) claims 'race' and crime inequality were first raised by anti-racist organisations. This is reinforced in much of the literature, which argued that from the 1940s BME people organised themselves to gain access to housing and employment (Sivanandan, 1982); the 1960s and 70s saw increased organisation to protest against unequal treatment in employment, policing and education (Cole & Virdee, 2006; Goulbourne, 1998; Kundnani, 2007a; Shukra, 1998; Sivanandan, 1982; Webster, 2007; Wrench & Virdee, 1995); and the 1980s and 1990s continued these campaigns, with notable success achieved as a result of the Stephen Lawrence campaign which, with the support of grassroots anti-racist groups, was influential in changing attitudes towards institutional racism and developing legislation to tackle racism (Cathcart, 1999). One of the key influences of the Lawrence campaign was that it led to 'renewed calls for racial attacks monitoring from community-based projects' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 6). Overall, the impact of voluntary sector has been influential:

> "The voluntary sector prides itself on its ability to respond to changing social trends and to develop imaginative and innovative approaches to dealing with them. Local authorities, health boards and other statutory bodies have often changed their policies and practice as a result of good practice which has been developed by the voluntary sector. Racism and racial equality present enormous challenges to the voluntary sector - if it is to continue to have an influential role in Scottish society. Black and minority ethnic led voluntary groups are being set up everywhere and, while they are usually small and under-resourced, their vision and their insight will be crucial in

determining the response of the voluntary sector to the challenges of the multiracial society" (Cant & Kelly, 1995, p. 15).

Despite the widely accepted view that grassroots organisations can be invaluable and highly effective at identifying issues, highlighting inequality and pushing for change, financial pressures can hinder their struggle. Gilroy is critical of 'the politics of funding community organisations and the dependency that creates' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 249), claiming that making 'the local state the main vehicle for advancing anti-racist politics… actively confuse[s] and confound[s] the black community's capacity for autonomous self-organisation' (Gilroy, 1999, p. 249). However, the structure of funding means that many grassroots organisations rely on funding to survive. As mentioned earlier, grassroots organisations are heavily involved in service provision as, despite problems with short term funding, this type of work attracts more funds. Although service provision is needed, it is a move away from the initial aim of BME grassroots organisations, which is to influence and campaign for change. This has raised concerns for the BME anti-racist organisations.

The task of providing services and the task of influencing policy makers are distinctively different; one respondent noted that in terms of how organisations are funded there was no distinction made between those who could influence policy and those who worked in service provision:

> *The funders haven't woken up to see that service providers are not policy changers and they need different monitoring. So we are on the same monitoring regime a service provision project would be under. So like how many people we helped last year, it is hard to quantify because we don't have clients coming through the door they haven't really caught up. I would argue if we had 5 years funding we would have a different approach to some things whereas at the moment we have to satisfy the annual monitoring (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

This suggests that funders do not respond well to the needs of the third sector. This is problematic as it prevents organisations from developing capacity, experience and confidence to influence and contribute to government policy. This is having wider implications on the work of grassroots organisations.

Chouhan and Lusane (2004) noted that BME groups 'believe that current funding arrangements were having a negative impact on the ability of such groups to meet their aims and objectives' (Chouhan & Lusane, 2004, p. 1). This was reinforced by Alfridi and Warmington who claim 'organisations are increasingly concerned that a dependence on fee income from contract delivery is having an impact on their ability to stay true to their social mission' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 67). This was reinforced as 'in 2007 almost half of 4,000 surveyed charities said their activities were determined more by funders' criteria than their own mission' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 67). Furthermore, Alfridi and Warmington (2009) argue that:

> "A key trend in the provision both of infrastructure support and the funding available for capacity-building is a tendency for this to be geared towards the aspirations and requirements of policy-makers rather than being third sector-led. Obviously, in a policy climate which places such great emphasis on the third sector's role in public service delivery – and in a time of deep recession – there is a certain inevitability about this (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 71).

Woods (2009) claims that funding cuts to small grassroots campaigns represent a 'depoliticisation process which threatens all community based anti-racist groups' (Woods, 2009, p. 1). Furthermore, Woods claims that this is exacerbated because of an increasing danger that 'in the fight for funding, one of their initial reasons for existence, to hold local government institutions to account, becomes lost as they become commandeered, moulded' (Woods, 2009, p. 5).[62] This reinforces the literature, especially the claims of (Hunter & Swan, 2007; Kundnani, 2007a; Sivanandan, 1982), who argue that the formalisation and professionalization of equality work has impacts for how effective the work will be. The respondents also reinforced this view as many interviewees reported that their work and the objectives of the organisation were related to money:

---

[62] Woods (2009) uses BRAMU an organisation, campaigning on behalf of victims of racial abuse, as an example of an anti-racist organisation that has experienced funding cuts as it 'no longer tallies with the funding priorities of the council's 'hate crime strategy' (Woods, 2009, p. 1).

> *Well I guess our Chair and our Board of Trustees have some kind of strategy and unfortunately with reality being what it is it will often be about funding (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The conflict between the objectives of the organisation and those of the funders was explored. One respondent noted that they had compromised on terminology:

> *The other thing is terminology, we have had to compromise on that, we have had to use terminology that the funders find comfortable, Black Minority Ethnic rather than just black. We have been stopped from using black by some funders because they don't understand the meaning (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The idea that funders 'don't understand' the terminology is significant as it is the funders, with their financial power, who are essentially directing the work undertaken by grassroots organisations. This means that people who 'don't understand' the language of anti-racism are directing the type of work undertaken. However, the same respondent was adamant that they would not compromise on their key objectives:

> *No, we have not had the problem; maybe other projects have had to do that. So up to now we have not had that problem. There is not a problem in compromising at times but if it is a fundamental shift then I would say no and the organisation would say no as we have done before. We have a track record of turning things down, so if the only money was Prevent for example and nothing else I don't think we would take it, we would just close up shop (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

This response was from an organisation that had stable and long term funding. However, the majority of the respondents felt the funding situation was more difficult and often the organisations have to compromise their objectives in order to survive:

> *Whenever you are applying for funding this is the tight rope that you are walking but if you are applying for funding it is because you have identified there is a need for something and you want to work in a certain area. Then you have got to take that idea or that need and look at what funding is available from what organisation and try and match it. And so you have got to make some really hard and difficult and intricate decisions about how much you change that in order to fit what the funders want... But when it*

comes to longer projects, more established pots of money that you are going for then funders have much more fixed ideas about the kind of things they need... The more difficult ones are the ones that nearly match but not quite or if you are really struggling to get something from anywhere and you want to do something around a specific area of work... you are like I either change it and get funding to do something but it's not what really needs to be done but it is better than nothing. Those are the projects that suffer the most because you get the communities turning around and going why the hell are you doing this project when we told you, and you know what we need is ABC and you are providing us with CDE. And you are like yeah but the funder would only fund CDE, or they could only fund D and E and we had to persuade them to fund C, we couldn't provide you with A and B because we couldn't get the money for it. So that is really difficult because you are providing projects that aren't really needed because that's what the funders think is needed (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

I think some people in the Scottish Government are generally passionate about equalities and then with those individuals you can try and influence. And then there is another group that are bureaucrats so it doesn't mean they won't fund you but it means they want a very objective project, how much will you cost us? They aren't really engaging and for me it's the only, not the only but one area that you want them to get it and genuinely believe it. It's not all about talking about strategy or finance (Maria: Female, Public Sector, East Coast).

These responses confirm Gilroy's (1999) criticism that financial dependency has impacts on the ability of grassroots organisations to be critical and influential and as a result makes anti-racism less progressive. The first response articulates the difficult situation organisations face when trying to gain funds. This response shows that organisations have to fit their work to the needs of the funders in order to get money. The response shows that the organisation are engaging with the community and are accountable to them. However, it also highlights the divisions that this can cause between the organisation and the community they serve. The second response touches on the same difficulties but suggests that balancing the need for funding with meeting the aims of the organisation can, to some extent, be achieved by attempting to engage with funders. The respondent acknowledges that this is not an easy task but is possible if organisations manage to consult the right people, those who will be enthusiastic and willing to engage with the needs of the organisation.

Finney and Simpson (2009) noted that multicultural 'government funding and policy recognised group differences as a legitimate guide to the spectrum of needs in an integrated society' (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 17). As outlined in the literature review, 'race' relations policy goes through different stages[63] and is often influenced by events, the media and public perceptions (Spencer, 1998). This was reinforced by the respondents:

> *Whether race is high on the media or not? Undoubtedly but I would hope not, the issues don't change whether it is in the media or not but I guess for funders it might be an issue (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

> *I remember, and I am going back now, somebody actually saying to me asylum is not sexy anymore and I said I never thought it was. I would say up until 3 or 4 years ago if you worked with these groups you could get money. I would say there were pots of money that you could get (Marian: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

This suggests that projects are funded in relation to what is popular and not necessarily what is needed. It also reinforces the argument of this thesis that anti-racism work is being directed by funding issues rather than those working with minority communities. This means that those working with BME communities are unable to define the needs of the sector and face difficulty in undertaking the work they have identified as important.

As outlined in the literature review, Miles idea that 'the impact of racism is always mediated through a wider set of social relations' (Miles, 1993, p. 149) can be applied to the development of the third sector BME groups. Alfridi and Warmington (2009) argue that 'the central issue is that the purpose, shape, development trajectory and even 'identity' of the BME third sector has been determined largely by its unique sixty-year relationship with UK race relations policy' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 3). McLeod (2001) noted that two thirds of third sector funding comes from government or statutory organisations. Thus, the government agenda is a crucial concern for many smaller organisations.

---

[63] The move has gone from assimilation, integration, multiculturalism and multi-strand work.

Sivanandan (1982) concurs with Alfridi and Warmington claiming that the funding agenda is flawed as it misses the basic principle of equality:

> "The fluctuations in policy regarding funding for race relations matters have been the result of a range of initiatives that have followed various governments' attempts to deal with the perceived problems of immigration since the 1950s. These problems stemmed from the fact that Britain's immigration policies were based on the economic necessities of cheap labour and not the objective of social inclusion" (Sivanandan, 1982).

Thus, as outlined in the literature review, the government agenda is often subject to controversy. Despite this, the respondents suggested that those organisations that had strong links with government were better placed in terms of capacity, leaving the smaller organisations to 'descend almost into a gatekeeper role' (Akeem: Male, Public Sector, West Coast):

> *Yes, I think I had a conversation with somebody who worked for the City Council… When they were thinking about going into another contract, he was saying we would ideally love to get the money to give to the grassroots organisations that do the delivery but the Home Office said no (Marian: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

This was a major concern with some respondents who felt that because much of the available funding comes from the government, the funding was subject to conditions:

> *I think it can be done by being a critical friend of government… You can't compromise the position of an organisation because of funding… We found when organisations are heavily dependent on government funding or local authority funding they feel totally disempowered because they can't challenge, they can't bite the hand that feeds them... And I really detest the way people play politics with funding but that's the way it is. So quite rightly people argue a lot about funding but they need to understand, they need to get their arguments more sophisticated. It`s not about just give me the money, it's about give me the money with no strings attached and don't punish me next time because I am telling you something, the reality that you don't want to know (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).*

> *Well that's the thing isn't it you don't want to bite the hand that feeds you but if one of your things is to be a lobbying organisation and challenge the government (Michelle: Female, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The respond highlights the necessity of working in partnership with government in order to receive 'no strings attached' funding. The message is that organisations need to push for funding that allows them to be a 'critical friend'. Such working relationships would be difficult to achieve but with the right negotiation could prove to be fruitful. The key component would be an equal and collaborative approach by both the sector and the government. Perhaps this sort of working relationship needs to be promoted and pushed forward by those working in the sector. There was a perception that support for specific projects was subject to politics rather than funding being provided based on need:

> *So the current administration in Edinburgh is SNP and Liberal. So they punished the area by taking eight hundred thousand from the whole area. So it is not only us, it is every organisation, a lot of organisations lost... our loss was 48%. Other organisations, about ten organisations lost the same amount, the only thing is for us it was a big because it was like our core funding (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

Thus, the respondents reinforced previous research suggesting a tension between an organisation's social mission and available funding. The concentration of BME organisations in service provision is related to funding and may indicate a move away from the roots of anti-racism, which sought to have more influence on policy (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009; Bassi, 2007; Chouhan & Lusane, 2004; Fitzgerald, 1998; Goulbourne, 1998; Howe, 1998; Shukra, 1998; Sivanandan, 1982; Werbner, 1991). Anti-racism work is often dictated by funder's aspirations, which, according to the respondents, are often directed by the government agenda. This, as outlined in the literature review, is controversial and may, in the climate of multi-strand equality work, 'dilute' anti-racism. The respondents claimed a lack of financial stability meant that they had to consider compromising their aims and objectives to maintain the organisation. This structure means that the respondents did feel constrained by their financial dependence on funders.

In the Context of Funding do the Respondents Feel there is a Hierarchy of Equality Strands?

The funding crisis is not just an issue facing BME organisations, it impacts on the whole of the voluntary sector. There is some controversy in assuming the BME sector is distinctive from the rest of the voluntary sector as some claim that there is a 'myth of separateness' and that characteristics of the BME sector are similar to other third sector organisations (NCVO, 1996). However, although this information is mainly sourced from the BME sector itself, 'the narrative on distinctiveness in which BME [third sector organisations] TSOs fair worse than other organisations is well-documented', and 'some of these anticipate widening inequality as a result of the current economic downturn in which already-vulnerable (BME) organisations are more likely to be affected by public spending cuts' (Mayblin & Soteri-Proctor, 2011, pp. 8-9). Ware (2013) notes the hardships faced by all voluntary sector organisations and highlights the lack of research into the particular impact on BME organisations:

> "The current climate has presented challenges for third sector organisations, such as responding to the economic downturn, the introduction of austerity measures and the impact of changing funding mechanisms. Yet research into how BME [voluntary community sector] VCS organisations are faring in this changed context is limited not only in the area of understanding direct service provision for BME communities but, particularly, around the capacity of the BME VCS to play a strategic advocacy role" (Ware, 2013, p. 1)

Various factors have been highlighted as particular difficulties of the BME third sector, such as volunteering, mainstreaming, motivations, training funding, basic provisions, political climates and research (Reid, 2004; Alfridi & Warmington, 2009; Chouhan & Jasper, 2000; Netto, et al., 2001; Ware, 2013). As well as these areas of difficulty, the BME sector is diverse meaning that it has a wider remit. Mayblin and Soteri-Proctor (2011) note that there are problems with defining the BME third sector given the diversity of organisations and the variety of different needs and groups the sector serves, such as immigrant groups, visible minorities, asylum seekers, faith based organisations, gypsy and traveller organisations, black

organisations etc. This does not mean that the rest of the voluntary sector is not diverse, but the extent of BME diversity means there may be tensions and competition within the sector in terms of gaining funds and attention. This will primarily be as a result of many different organisations going for the same pot of money. Ware (2013) notes that there has been a significant reduction in funding because of the economic downturn, which has affected the capacity building of BME organisations. Furthermore, Ware noted that the 'the Single Equality Act 2010 was widely perceived to have diluted the funding (and other support) available specifically to minority communities', and that there was a 'perceived reduction in commitment to racial equality by the current government' (Ware, 2013, p. 1). Furthermore, Ware's research showed that 'larger 'mainstream' VCS organisations were unwilling or unable to provide support', and that BME organisations felt that 'they were struggling in an unequal competition with much of the VCS for resource and voice' (Ware, 2013, p. 2). The discrepancies between funding were highlighted in the methods chapter and showed that in comparison with the wider voluntary sector, BME organisations are financially more vulnerable (Reid, 2004; NCVO, 2009; NCVO, 2011). These findings correlate with the findings of this thesis, in particular the impact of the Single Equality Act in reducing both funding and attention to BME issues. Although it is clear that all voluntary sector organisations struggle to cope with financial pressure, and this is enhanced at a time of economic downturn, the political changes that have occurred in recent years (anti-terrorism agenda, a move away from speaking about racism and the introduction of the Single Equality Act) have exacerbated the everyday pressures for small, voluntary BME organisations.

Although some respondents did not like the idea that their objectives were based on finances, it was apparent that the competitive nature of funding meant compromise was inevitable:

> *The main difficulty of getting money is that there is not enough of it (Ahmad: Male, Public Sector/Politics, West Coast).*

I think more people are worried about getting their funding. It is a money debate, it is taking over everybody. I think we haven't actually progressed very far (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

I think in general the harder question to look at, and the question we should be looking at, is not when we get the pie as the equality sector is how we should divide it up. The problem is we are not going to get much pie to begin with to divide up... there seems to be a feeling generally that we can't afford equality and we need to be funding stuff that everyone can benefit from. Anything that is seen as providing services to just a particular group is at serious high risk… We are going to be fighting over how we divide up the crumbs when we should be fighting for a decent slice of the cake, because we are not saying that equality groups should be given more than everybody else, we are saying that in order just to get the same as anybody else we need to put particular things in place (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

The claim that the equality sector in general was 'not going to get much pie to begin with' concerned most of the respondents, especially those working in the smaller organisations. The respondents noted that within the single strand of 'race' there were tensions and competition for funding:

...Tensions within the sectors themselves can cause difficulties. Some of the organisations that I am working with are fighting for the same funding, have different opinions on how to tackle their particular strand, have different priorities, have different methodologies of working and have different interpersonal relationships between the members of staff. So even within the single strands, tensions within the single strand can make it very difficult to bring people around the table to look at cross-strand stuff (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

These tensions are enhanced because of the lack of funding available and because most organisations are small and financially unstable. As already mentioned there has been a move away from grant aid to contract work as a method of funding the third sector. Competition for funding is fierce especially as government funding to the voluntary sector has only grown 1.5% since 2001 (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 66). In this climate the larger more establish charities are benefiting as 'a new 'premier league' of super charities evolve – eighteen major charities now dominate the sector and account for one-eighth of its entire income' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 66). This means that the 'race' equality sector are struggling to get money
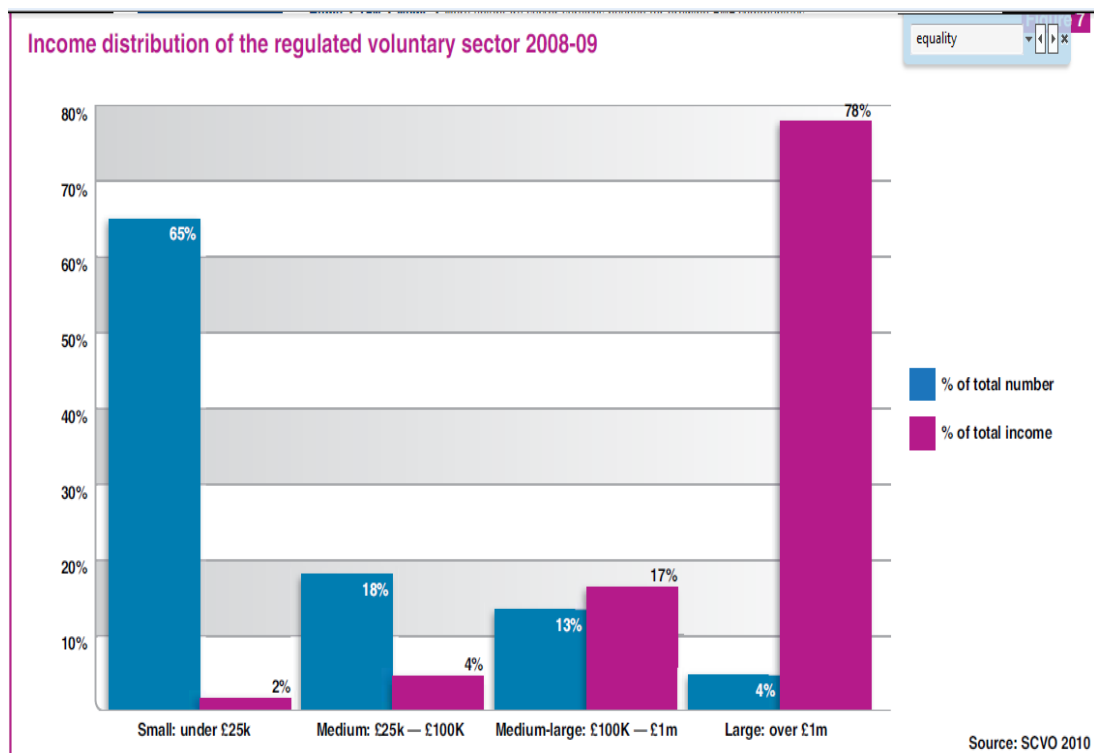
for their specific 'race' projects and, at the same time, are competing against larger more established charities for funds. This means that there is a double hierarchy, one in terms of which equality strand is a greater priority (as outlined in the previous chapter) and another hierarchy based on financial capability. Research by NCVO (2007) claimed that:

> ...Around 37% of government funding being scooped by organisations with a turnover of £10m or over. In contrast, small organisations – those turning over up to £10,000 a year – are thought to have secured only around 0.4% of such funding. Even organisations with an income of up to £100,000 a year are struggling. Over 86% of the sector falls into this category but these organisations generate only 7% of the sector's income (NCVO, 2007, p. 15).

This was an issue that affected some of the respondents who felt funders preferred to work with larger organisations:

> *No not meaningful. I think they were changing their priorities. They want to work with big multinational organisations and not small organisations, not that we are small, but local organisations (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

This is reinforced in the statistics below:

Income distribution of the regulated voluntary sector 2008-09

Small: under £25k — 65% (% of total number), 2% (% of total income)
Medium: £25k — £100K — 18% (% of total number), 4% (% of total income)
Medium-large: £100K — £1m — 13% (% of total number), 17% (% of total income)
Large: over £1m — 4% (% of total number), 78% (% of total income)

Source: SCVO 2010

(SCVO, 2010a, p. 3)

This move has wider implications for the BME third sector as a more bureaucratic and formal system may mean even fewer opportunities to influence policy as organisations are pushed to carry out work that will get funding, i.e. service provision:

> "This flourishing grassroots activity would gradually be supplanted by an increasingly formal contract culture, the rise of voluntary sector 'professionalism' and an increasingly bureaucratic emphasis on public service delivery, quality thresholds, financial transparency and accountability" (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 55).

Alfidi and Warmington acknowledge that there should public accountability but claim that there is a 'feeling that in the transition to professionalism and a formal relationship with the state and public sector something valuable has been lost' (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 55). Alfridi and Warmington (2009) argue that in order to gain more suitable funds BME organisations need to build greater sector intelligence to be able to cope with the increasing need to comment on government policy:

"Better sector intelligence, then, is vital in order to enable the BME sector to operate on an equal footing with the rest of the third sector, to define and evidence the distinctive value it brings to society, and to strengthen its role as a strategic agent for those it seeks to serve or represent" (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, pp. 46-47).

Building better sector intelligence does look like a progressive move. However, there are difficulties in achieving this as:

"Patterns of research have also been strongly influenced by the priorities and criteria of funders, as well as those who have been successful at obtaining funding. We have seen little evidence of strategic planning of research related to minority people within an overall agenda that seeks to challenge racism and eliminate racial disadvantage and discrimination within Scotland" (Netto, et al., 2001, p. 155).

This was raised by respondents who claimed that they often had to provide evidence of need for their project when applying for funds. However, due to financial instability, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, many of the grassroots organisations could not afford to compile such evidence and so have to rely on secondary data[64]. Again, this means that larger organisations and governments, rather than those who have 'real life' experience working at the grassroots level, are defining the needs of the BME sector. This shows that as funding competition has increased the larger organisations are benefiting at the expense of the smaller ones. This could be explained by the move towards contracts as larger established organisations, who can produce the data, are more equipped and able to produce funding applications that meet the requirements of the funders. This has particular implications for BME organisations.

The shift away from grant aid to a contract system is particularly problematic for the BME organisations as there is:

"Evidence that the wider socio-economic inequality of Britain's minority ethnic groups – 70% of whom live in the 88 most deprived local authority districts – translates into an unequal BME voluntary and community sector, where inexperienced, under-skilled and under-resourced BME organisations

---

[64] Much of this data is produced by the government.

compete unsuccessfully for scarce resources with their more experienced and more established mainstream counterparts" (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 47).

An unequal distribution of funding to BME organisations is suggested as:

"There is further evidence of clear inequalities when examining the levels of funding secured by BME third sector organisations. In 1999, for example, small BME organisations (those with turnovers below £5k) secured only around 3% of available charitable funding, and in 2003, despite BME communities making up around 6% of the population, BME third sector organisations were only able to secure 2.3% of available lottery grants" (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009, p. 48).

The respondents reinforced this as they reported that in the competitive climate of funding BME groups were particularly disadvantaged:

When you look at white organisations, black organisations or ethnic minority organisations, why are black organisations there? Because white organisations have failed to reach minority ethnic people. Why do we have BME organisations? Why do we have disability coalition organisations because other organisations have failed to take their needs of disability on board, and they need to gather together… So it is easier for white organisations to access money than ethnic minority organisations we know that (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

It was also suggested that the funding system was not as accessible to BME groups as it should be:

Sometimes because of the autocracy and that's I suppose a kind of indirect discrimination or institutional racism not in a deliberate way, but with the forms and the language and other than the big funders I don't recall any funders saying this is available in another language. The big lottery fund would be but I don't remember any of the other ones (Kevin: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

Overall, this section has explored the background of the BME sector, established that there are distinctive features of the BME sector and highlighted the difficulties that those working in the sector face. Many of the organisations have financial difficulties and struggle to build capacity. There are fears that the situation is going to get worse as budgets are cut. In particular, the responses correlated with other

research claiming that the Single Equality Act has had a detrimental impact on the amount of funding available for BME voluntary organisations. This has affected the ability of the sector to build capacity and assert influence. Many of the respondents backed up research that had suggested a conflict between funders' objectives and those of the applicants. Thus, it is clear that the competitive and changing nature of funding leaves smaller organisations vulnerable to changing their aims to fit with what the funders want. This is particularly problematic given that the main funder is the government who should be subject to scrutiny by both the public and the voluntary sector. There is a move towards a contract-based system, which benefits larger organisations. Indirect racism was identified as BME organisations tend to be smaller and less equipped to provide the appropriate funding applications. This shows that the structure of funding is detrimental to the ability of smaller grassroots organisations to direct their own work.

Has Funding for 'Race' Equality Work Changed Since the Creation of the EHRC?

As already outlined in the previous chapter, the credibility of the EHRC came under attack by the respondents who claimed that the EHRC was set up as 'the cheaper option' (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast). This was reinforced by the responses when the interviewees were asked about funding. The majority of respondents felt that the most effective work was undertaken by those working at the grassroots level:

> *I think if everybody goes through quangos it will go nowhere, I would rather go back to grassroots or empowerment work (Akeem: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

As already discussed above, the links between organisations and the government are problematic as it is felt that the pressure for funding compromises how critical organisations can be of government. This reinforces Goulbourne's (1998) assertion that the funding arrangement of organisations can 'destroy what autonomy groups have' (Goulbourne, 1998, p. 188). The respondents felt that this was a fundamental

problem with the EHRC. The EHRC describe themselves as 'independent regulator for equality, human rights and good relations in Britain' (EHRC, 2011a). However, they have close links with the government. The current sponsor body of the Commission is the Government Equalities Office (GEO), which sits within the Home Office. According to the GEO, the commission will be under 'as few constraints as reasonably possible in determining, its activities, its timetables, and its priorities' (GEO, n.d., p. 3). According to the EHRC:

> "The government has committed to promoting a fair and equal society, where everyone has the opportunity to prosper and reach their full potential. The Commission will monitor the performance of the government in relation to these commitments" (EHRC, 2011b).

The idea that the EHRC 'will monitor the performance of government' is questionable as the Home Secretary and Minister for Women and Equalities have substantial influence over the operation of the EHRC. According to the framework, the responsibilities include appointing the Chair and commissioners of the EHRC, approving the EHRC's strategic plan and setting the budget. Furthermore, the document claims that the GEO will write annually to the EHRC 'setting out the Government's view of priorities in the equalities area' (GEO, n.d., p. 7). These powers are extensive especially as the government appoints the EHRC's Commissioners and approves the strategic plan. If the EHRC and the government's plans are in line, it does not give the EHRC much opportunity to question or criticise government positions. This is another problematic example that reinforces the argument that those who define the needs of the equality sector are not necessarily best placed to do so.

The GEO sits within the Home Office, which is 'the lead government department for immigration and passports, drugs policy, crime, counter-terrorism and police' (Home Office, 2011). The Preventing Violent Extremism programme (Prevent) was also run through the Home Office. This program has created much controversy as 'important [anti-racist community] work was becoming increasingly reliant on Prevent funding, despite counter-terrorism being an inappropriate label to attach to

it' (Kundnani, 2009, p. 19). The last chapter noted that the respondents felt the dominant government agenda was counter terrorism. This is reinforced as the Prevent budget is double the overall budget of the EHRC. The EHRC received £70 million in funding, and only put £10 million into funding local grassroots organisations when it had funding power, the funding covered nine protected characteristics. Thus, the resources that went into funding anti-racism projects from the government equality organisation was significantly lower than the resources that were put into the counter terrorism agenda.

The respondents did raise the Prevent programme as an issue and some said that they would turn down prevent money if it was offered to them:

> *I see you have the Prevent, we have had that big discussion in **** and we have it with other people would we get involved in that for example? MPs are now saying it's the wrong model. That might be something we disagree with the policy position, I would hope that we wouldn't take Prevent money if we were offered it. Although I know a couple of anti-racist groups in Scotland have taken it (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

The respondents backed up the finding of Kunnani's (2009) study, which explored what community organisations thought about the increased reliance on Prevent money. Kundnani identified this as a counterproductive policy (Kundnani, 2009).

Although the EHRC have made some criticisms of government terror legislation, it could be argued that they have legitimised the counter terror agenda through their statements made on segregation:

> "The post-riot reports and their language were adopted politically at the highest level, such that local authorities in Britain are now required to produce strategies to increase community cohesion. That they have made such an impact is in no small part a result of strong backing from Trevor Phillips, from 2003 the Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality and then its broader successor the Equality and Human Rights Commission. He was also the first to make the link between so-called self-segregation and terrorism" (Finney & Simpson, 2009, p. 94).

Despite the public criticism of the prevent programme the EHRC has not commented on it. An FOI to the EHRC asking for all correspondence between them and the Community and Local Government Department (CLG), the Home Office and the GEO on the Prevent programme came back with the response:

> "Following a search of our paper and electronic records, we have established that the information that you have requested is not held by the Equality and Human Rights Commission. We have no record of any correspondence that relates to the Prevent program and are not obliged to create information" (FOI response from the EHRC).

This contrasts with the EHRC's claim that:

> "The Commission will also seek to influence the development and amending of all government policy, making sure that policy takes into consideration the importance of equality, diversity and human rights" (EHRC, 2011b).

The links between the government and the EHRC are strong. This makes the EHRC's claim that they are independent questionable. The EHRC were set up by, and are solely funded by, the government. This would make it difficult for them to make criticisms of legislation and policy. Furthermore, the lack of criticism on a key controversial policy adds credibility to the claim that rather than challenge the government, as the Commission claims it will do, the EHRC are restrained by the agenda of their funder. These criticisms enhanced the idea that 'race' equality was compromised since the EHRC was established.

Multi-strand

One of the major concerns of the merging of the CRE to the EHRC was that it compromised 'race' equality. This was particularly significant in a funding context:

> *Absolutely, I mean this area of work was already underfunded but its lifeline was the CRE. The CRE used to ring fence, technically £4 million of our money went to grassroots… it was exclusive marked funding because there was a recognition that the government is not investing, local authorities are not specifically interested so the solution was we would have a dedicated pot of funds that would be injected on an annual basis… And so what we had done is we said to these people, we are not funding you we are giving you the*

ability to get the expertise and the knowledge to address that problem. They trust you because you have been working with them… You are the grassroots... and that was going really well and I am afraid now that the CRE is disbanded that was one of the things we lost, and that is a definite, nobody can challenge me on that. We lost the ring fenced £4 million and in terms of my assessment on whether we are going backwards that`s it. Because that £4million has probably transcended into £200,000 because they now share a pot of money, it could be £10 million but the share is one seventh if that (Ada: Female, Academic, West Coast).

In 2008/09 the Commission gave £10.9 million to 285 eligible organisations, which, it claims, was a 'substantial increase in the combined funding spend of all three former commissions in their final year of operation' (EHRC, 2008, p. 4). This claim should be viewed in the context that the EHRC, in comparison to the CRE, is responsible for a further eight protected characteristics and so an increase in funding given to grassroots organisations is expected. The respondents raised this point:

Let's just say each of the Commissions had a one pound budget, I think when it came together it didn't get a £5 budget, it had a £3 budget but with that budget there are all these other elements involved so resources are going to be stretched (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

…It is now here's a pot of money, I mean £l0 million is a lot to people but when you break that down and you look at who is successful in getting that money. I looked at this last time, and most organisations (RECs) that we funded in the CRE, they're gone. Where are you going to replace that 25 years of expertise and knowledge? (Akeem: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

Many of the respondents reported that since the creation of the EHRC, their funding had declined or changed and as a result, the service they provided changed:

It used to be Race Equality Organisation, it started 20 years ago, something like that. It got funding from the CRE, got core funding for many years from the CRE to conduct casework on racial discrimination and, there was proper casework, people were getting help for representation at tribunals and things like that... In 2003 the core funding changed into sort of grant funding for the CRE but it continued so ***** could continue doing its work. Then several years ago, maybe two or three years ago, when the EHRC was created the funding, you know is gone. So I think partly in reaction to that

***** renamed itself and is now providing, you know, some kind of advice to characteristics you know such as disability and things like that (Vladan: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

We were the only UK wide to receive funding from the Equality and Human Rights Commission, and my post is funded by the EHRC (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

This funding cut was a particular issue in Scotland:

Even now with EHRC funding, no black group in Scotland got any money, which before when it was CRE it was all about race equality. That is a direct example of what's happened. There is not really any answer to that but that is where we are (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

Yes, yes but this year no ethnic minority has got in Scotland (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

These claims were reinforced in the analysis of the FOI data received from the EHRC (shown below):

SCOTLAND 2008/09 STRAND FUNDING

SCOTLAND 2009-2010 STRAND FUNDING
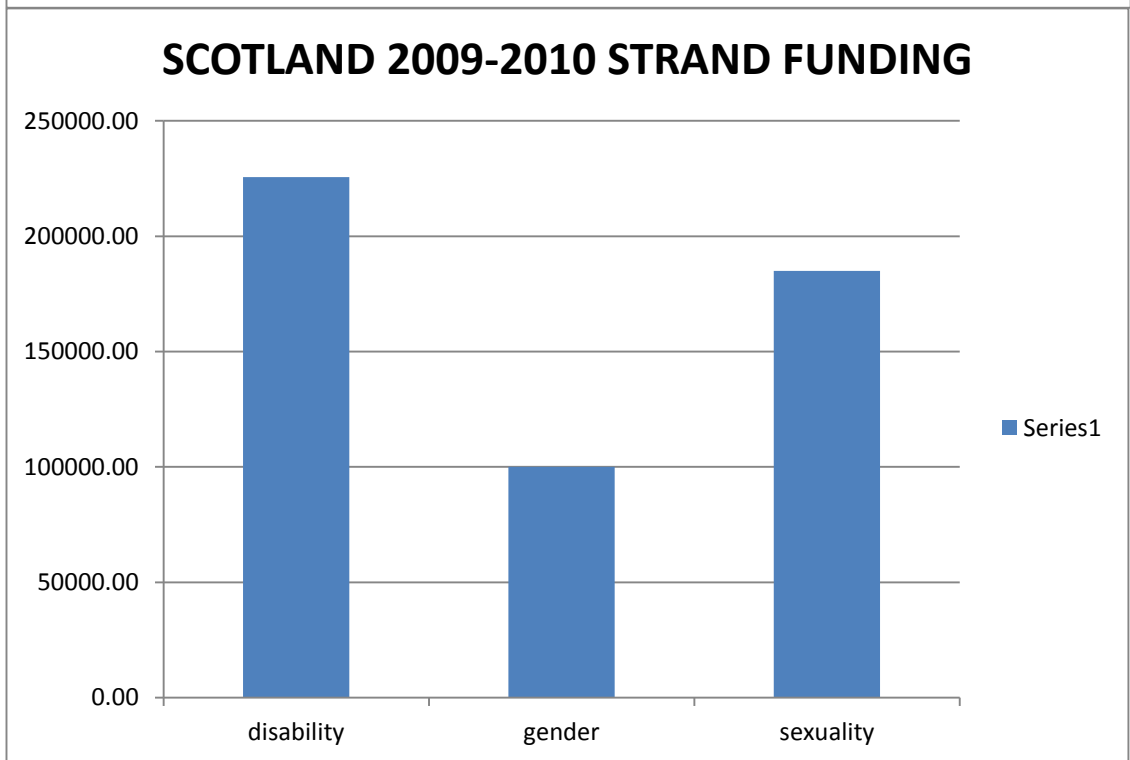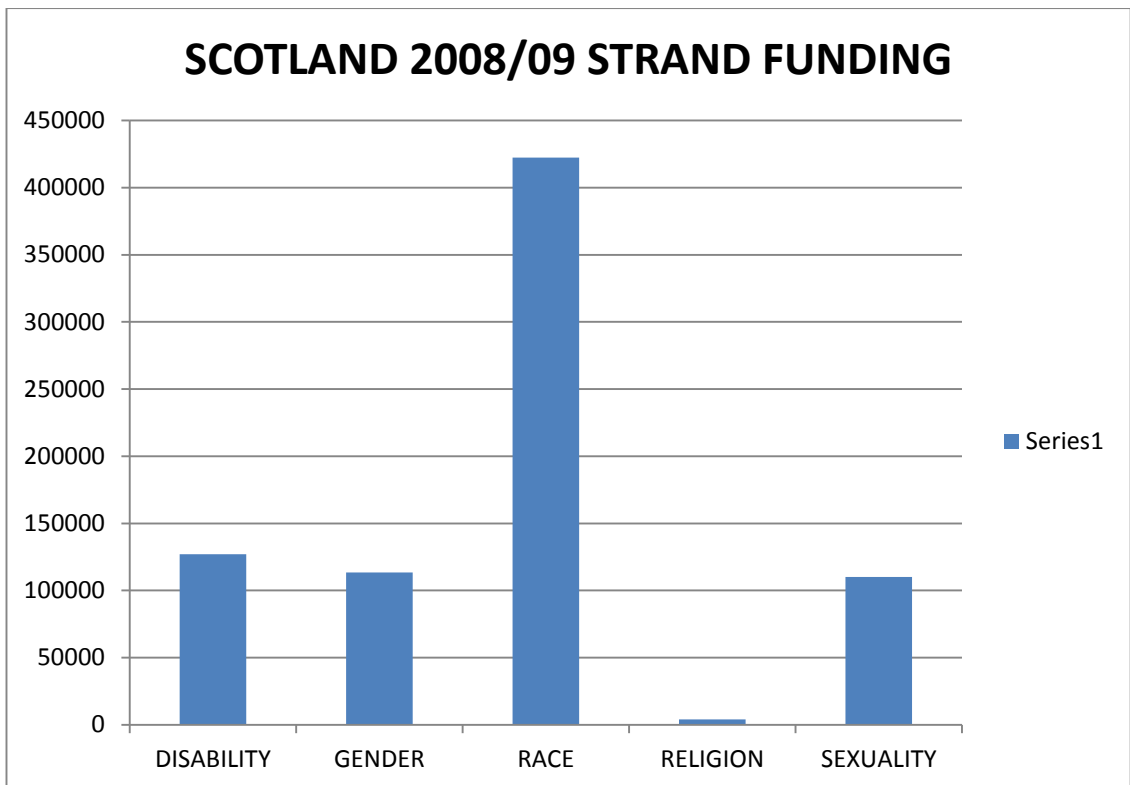
(These statistics were compiled from FOI data from the EHRC.)

The statistics show there was a substantial decrease in the funding of 'race' organisations within the space of a year. Thus, following on from the concerns raised in the previous chapter the respondents expressed concern over the funding they received after the merging of the three equality commissions.

Funders often follow trends that are designed by the government. In June 2007 a government report entitled 'Our Shared Future' was published arguing that 'funding to community groups should be rebalanced towards those that promote integration and cohesion and that Single Group funding should be the exception rather than the rule for both Government and external funders' (Bourne, 2007a). This backed the recommendation of the Cantle report, which suggested that single group funding was not the best way to integrate communities (Cantle, 2001, p. 10). Furthermore, the funding agenda itself is led by the government with little consultation with the organisations that apply for funding. In a presentation to funding bodies, the CLG set out their recommendations on how applications should be dealt with:

> "If Single Group Funding is awarded, the reasons behind that award should be clearly publicised to all communities in the local area... That it is made clear to the organization receiving the grant that any application for renewal of funding or additional resources will be expected to clearly demonstrate the progress the organization has made in becoming more outward facing" (Kingston, 2007, p. 10).

This report caused controversy, as anti-racist campaigners such as Bourne (2007) claimed this 'outward facing' approach is a move away from tackling racism as:

> "the fact of the singleness of any group (via its ethnic composition) becomes confused for the separatism of its cause. But that is to throw out all the funded babies – cultural, religious, social, anti-racist – with the post Scarman ethnicised bath water" (Bourne, 2007a, p. 3).

The EHRC have adopted this 'outward facing' approach. The Commission's report into funding states that 'the grants function needs to reflect the ethos of the Commission and provide vital intelligence on public concern around issues of equality, human rights and social cohesion' (EHRC, 2008, p. 5). This focus is on

cohesion, good relations and multi-strand work. The EHRC's funding agenda is in line with the recommendations of the Commission for Integration and Cohesion (CIC). This can be seen clearly through a comparison of language:

> "It is clear from the Interim Grants Programme that the Commission alone will not fully satisfy the demands for funding, expertise and awareness that the sector requires to ensure fairness. We will have to work in partnership with other funding bodies, and encourage others to work in partnership as well. This will necessitate a shift in focus on the areas of operation" (EHRC, 2008, p. 5).

> "The aim would be to demonstrate an integration and cohesion 'progression principle on application forms, for example, by providing evidence of winning with other organisations; highlighting services provided by the group that are available to all communities; or building in opportunities for staff to learn from comparable initiatives in other communities" (CIC, 2007, p. 163).

Both statements show a move towards partnership working. The EHRC representative who explained the Commission's position on funding multi-strand work reinforced this approach:

> *I don't know how much there is a hierarchy of equalities. I think there is a hierarchy of people that are better at applying... The Commission have said from the start we are a Commission of covering all different strands so we want to have the biggest outcomes for their money… If an organisations chooses not to do that, which is entirely their right, to say we are a race organisation, we are just going to do racism, absolutely fine if that's what you as an organisation want to do, but you can't, I think, then turn round and say you have a right, or there is an obligation for an organisation to then give you money because there is just not (Tony: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

Both the definitions in the government and EHRC funding agendas, and the explanation of funding provided by the EHRC representative, suggest that organisations are not catering for everyone and imply that people are turned away. Most of the respondents reported that their organisation does cater for a wider group than they are funded to provide for:

The money we get for this organisation is under the name of ethnic minority or visible minority ethnic people, whereas the service provided by this organisation provides everybody. Our youth group we have about 30% from the local white community. Nobody recognises, nobody gives us money for us sort of including them, you know, for activities (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

This was a common response as the participants claimed they were willing to work with the whole community. However, the respondents reported that there was not enough consideration given to the difficulties of working in partnership with other equality strands:

We are forced to work with other equality groups, other equality, it is good because we need to work together, we need to understand each other… because there is disabled, there is black disabled, lesbian or gay whatever person you know. So there needs to be, we need to be challenging all types of discrimination but the way they are doing it is we will only give you money if you work together. That's forced marriage (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

The respondents felt that the multi-strand funding approach was not practical as organisations were being encouraged to work together in order to get funding but were not given enough time or money to build up meaningful partnerships:

But what's happened now they are forcing us, be quick for funding. Within two months or three months, they were expecting a five-partner organisation from different equality strands. So we cannot work with another organisation, another anti-racist organisation, we have to work with another equality strand (Dawit: Male, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

Colin Lee, director of the Council for Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations (CEMVO) Scotland claimed there was a need for more funding of BME voluntary organisations, as they provide necessary support. He claimed:

"If anything we've seen a decrease in ethnic minority organisations over the last year because of the recession… there's been a whole number of organisations that have had their funding cut purely because a lot of public bodies are saying they are mainstreaming. Really that is just a word for cuts" (SCVO, 2010b).

Furthermore, he claimed the voluntary sector was 'far for being in a position to mainstream' as 'experience shows that there are a lot of inaccessibility issues with mainstream services and a lot of ethnic minority groups prefer to access ethnic minority services' (SCVO, 2010b). This was reinforced in the interview responses as most respondents thought that this funding move would lead to less effective work by smaller organisations:

> *They want organisations to tackle more than one or two forms of equality… people are maybe really, really good at tackling their specific form of discrimination and they have a great deal of experience and knowhow but to then ask those people to expand their skills horizon to include other forms of equalities is starting to get things too messy… but I think in terms of actual delivery, impact and understanding to focus on your form, with an understanding of those other equality strands is important. I don't think people should be funded to tackle this… I also think there is a danger there that those that are applying for funding say that well I am not going to get any funding unless I say I am doing this, that and the other thing, and they put those forms in that allude to that they are going to do that and maybe not do it with the same focus, energy, spirit and understanding that they do with their own specific form of discrimination that they are tackling (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

In practical terms, the respondents raised concerns that certain projects would be more likely to get funding. There was specific reference to multi-strand work:

> *There are a number of funders now who say; unless you are doing generic equality, we're not interested. I think on that issue we would say we don't have the expertise to do sexuality and disability let alone anything else, but we think the focus on race is still needed (Nadir: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).*

> *Because when people are saying we need to be funding projects that are for everybody and benefit everybody even single strand projects are going to find it really difficult to get funding and the impact on those individuals is going to be massive. Especially when you are looking at single strand projects that have set up face-to-face projects. Places that are already providing services and you take those services away it is going to have a major impact… Multi-strand stuff is going to be really difficult and areas of new work are just going to be impossible (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).*

The claims made by the government and the EHRC that organisations need to work more in partnership are questionable when compared to the responses. The respondents claim they do cater for a wider audience but feel they need to maintain their focus. However, as outlined in the previous section, if funders take a multi-strand approach the smaller organisations may be forced to adapt to this in order to get funding regardless of their own aims and objectives.

Thus, multi-strand work is currently high profile. The government and EHRC claim that single strand organisations were not outward facing enough. In response, the respondents claimed they do cater for the wider community but feel they need to commit their focus on specific support. However, this is problematic as in a competitive funding climate organisations are forced to adapt their work in order to survive. The respondents raised concern over the funding cuts and made specific reference to the impact these cuts had had on 'race' equality funding which suffered higher cuts than other strands, especially as no 'race' body in Scotland received funding in 2008/09. It was felt that the funding agenda of the EHRC reflected that of the CLG which raised concern over the influence of the government on the EHRC. This agenda has left a negative impression of the EHRC as the respondents felt that the Commission had added legitimacy to the push for multi-strand work, which the respondents felt was damaging to grassroots anti-racist work.

EHRC Funding and the Grassroots

Despite criticisms of the organisation, the respondents were concerned about the cuts made to the EHRC:

> *I am concerned that the government is watering it down; it has already cut the EHRC budget by 15%, so that is a bit of a worry (Paul: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).*

> *The new Government last week announced that 15% of the government funding to the EHRC was being cut, I think that again is going to have a negative impact on all the strands of equality and it's going to have a*

negative impact on our understanding of human rights and the promotion of human rights (Steve: Male, Voluntary Sector, West Coast).

I think the Commission is going from £70 million a year to £53 [million] and to go down more and they are looking again all the same additional 40% reductions (Tony: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

Despite criticisms of the funding agenda, the respondents identified that one of the fundamental activities of the EHRC was to provide funds to the grassroots campaigns and communities. However, this was concerning for some participants who felt that the funding was unstable:

It's a nightmare and all the projects that are funded by them say it's a nightmare and it's really difficult to say that at the minute because we need the EHRC to be providing. It's crucial and it will probably be a situation where the EHRC is no longer a funder because other commissions aren't funders and the only reason the EHRC has a pot of money is because that was from the CRE… So we have got that as a legacy from the CRE but there is a hell of a lot of pressure from in the EHRC and out of the EHRC who don't want them to be providing funding... So we are in a horrible situation where the EHRC is rubbish in terms of how they fund stuff, they are also rubbish in terms of their helpline and all sorts of other things... At the same time we are sitting here criticising the EHRC we are cutting our nose off to spite our face because we will end up in a situation where that is going to be used as an excuse to cut the EHRC down rather than improve the situation (Leanne: Female, Voluntary Sector, East Coast).

There is pros and cons in terms of them providing the funding but in this current situation when there are so few people providing funding and the Scottish Government saying that they are not going to be providing funding, you don't have any other options in terms of who is going to be providing funding to ensure the infrastructure in place doesn't completely crumble, and it is crumbling already. There are tons of organisations that have folded. So that degeneration is going to happen even faster without the EHRC providing funding... Them providing funding shouldn't actually be one of the most useful things they do. I know it is but it shouldn't because even if they did carry on providing funding then the most useful things that they should be doing is making sure that the public sector are holding up their duties and they are not doing that (Leanne: Male, Public Sector, West Coast).

These responses initially appear to be contradictory in the context of the interview data as a whole. The response criticises the EHRC for failing to consult with grassroots organisations on the one hand, and claims they are a financial lifeline on

the other. This shows the complex operations of the BME sector as they feel disempowered by their financial dependence on funders but also feel there is a need to be critical of those at the top. This is a difficult set of problems to balance. A progressive move forward would be to build strong, equal relationships between the EHRC and the grassroots organisations, a remedy that those working at the grassroots expressed a desire to be involved with, although there were scepticism. Such a move would require a concerted effort on the part of both parties. The respondents, despite making criticisms of the EHRC's funding record, felt it was necessary to maintain the grants programme to ensure the survival of the BME third sector. Their concern over funding cuts was justified as the EHRC funding was cut.

The respondents were concerned that the EHRC were being underfunded. This was evident as the EHRC's overall budget was cut and the EHRC discontinued its helpline and stopped providing funding to organisations on the 31st March 2012. The decision was announced in a Home Office report that stated that the helpline was not cost effective. Furthermore, the report claimed the grants programme was stopped as:

> "• There was no clear evidence of alignment of funding with either the EHRC's or Government's strategic priorities; and
>
> • Responsibility for allocating such a wide-ranging grants programme has distracted the EHRC from developing a productive partnership relationship with the Voluntary and Community sector. In particular the social capital gained from the allocation of grants has been offset by the suspicion generated among those who have failed to receive grants funding and failures in the administration of both the strategic and legal grants programmes" (GEO, 2011, pp. 3-4).

These reasons contradict the interview data. The grants programme, in spite of the problems, was identified as a positive aspect of the Commission. The respondents identified problems with the EHRC's relationship with the grassroots. They also highlighted the EHRC's low credibility because of their close link with the government and their failure to listen to the concerns and needs of the third sector.

Rather than challenge government policy, which many in the third sector see as a key aim of BME groups, the EHRC's strategic plan is developed by, and tied to, the government agenda. Although the EHRC funding was criticised by the respondents, they were grateful for it and relied on it. Thus, it was felt that it would have been better to fix the problems of EHRC funding to suit the needs of the third sector rather than to stop it altogether. Furthermore, given the context provided in this chapter the removal of this funding is an example of anti-racist work and equality work in general being 'diluted'. Furthermore, the funding cuts, and the move towards joint project work, indicate that the type of work undertaken by anti-racism organisations has changed.

Conclusions and Discussion

The existing literature discusses the important role BME organisations have historically played in identifying issues and pushing for change (Cathcart, 1999; Cole & Virdee, 2006; Fitzgerald, 1998; Goulbourne, 1998; Kundnani, 2007a; Shukra, 1998; Sivanandan, 1982; Webster, 2007; Wrench & Virdee, 1995; Alfridi & Warmington, 2009). This chapter has presented the barriers modern anti-racist organisations are facing in maintaining their influence. Alfridi and Warmington (2009) claimed that BME sector organisations are disproportionately concentrated in service provision. This was reinforced by the respondents who noted that the current funding structure makes gaining funds for service provision easier than getting support for research or lobbying activities. The first-hand accounts in this chapter detailed the lack of capacity of the anti-racism sector in Scotland, and showed how this presented problems for the voluntary sector in establishing a strong critical anti-racist voice.

The respondents reinforced Gilroy's critique of the dependency that is created as a result of funding pressure (Gilroy, 1999). Previous studies have noted that the voluntary sector's reliance on funding has detrimental impacts on their ability to meet their own aims and objectives (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009; Bassi, 2007;

Chouhan & Lusane, 2004; Woods, 2009). The respondents discussed the difficulty in balancing their need for funding with meeting the aims and objectives of the organisation. Although the responses did suggest that the organisations would not cross certain lines (ie accept prevent funding) most claimed that they had to compromise on the projects they undertook in order to get funding.

The data has reinforced the literature, which acknowledged the financial pressures of the voluntary sector as a whole and highlighted specific difficulties faced by the BME sector (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009; Wilding, et al., 2006; McLeod, et al., 2001). Previous research noted that it was particularly difficult for BME organisations to gain funds (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009) and this was reinforced with the respondent's descriptions of their low capacity and financial instability. In this climate, the respondents noted that larger, more established organisations were better placed to gain funding. The respondents also claimed that funding often had 'strings attached', and noted that since the Single Equality Act 'race' was less likely to be funded as there was a move towards joint equality work. The move away from specific work was seen as a 'forced' and ineffective approach to tackling the issues. The organisations apply for 'pots of money' meaning that projects are often pre-defined and the organisations has to adapt to the funders criteria. This is problematic as it suggests that the grassroots organisations are not involved in defining the needs of the sector. Alfridi and Warmington noted that there is a lack of BME sector intelligence which means the BME sector are particularly disadvantaged. The respondents reinforced this and they claimed that research and evidence of need was often required in funding applications. However, given the capacity restraints they had to rely on secondary data with a large proportion of that being produced by the government. This chapter has shown that the voluntary sector is not able to define the needs of the sector and has strengthened the argument that there is a distinctive BME sector that faces specific barriers.

The respondents all felt that those working in 'real life' situations on the ground floor would undertake the most effective work. The data shows that the EHRC lack

credibility within the anti-racism sector. This arises from their close links with the government which undermines their claims to be an independent body. The criticisms of the commission show that the voluntary sector feel disempowered by, and excluded from, both the government and the EHRC. The responses highlighted the difficult experiences that organisations have when trying to work with the EHRC and express a distrust and cynicism of the commission's consultation process, which was largely regarded to be disingenuous.

The merged commission was viewed as a 'dilution' of 'race' equality work. The respondents felt that the type of work undertaken in the anti-racism field had changed since the creation of the EHRC. There was particular concern that the funding previously available from the CRE would be reduced. This was particularly apparent in Scotland and the data on funding gathered from the EHRC showed that within one year of the establishment of the EHRC funding for 'race' had reduced and no Scottish anti-racism organisation received any funding. This indicates a move away from 'race' specific work. The credibility was further damaged when the voluntary sector funding provision and helpline were discontinued as, although there were criticisms over the operation of the budget, these were viewed to have positive outcomes for the development of the sector.

This chapter has provided first-hand accounts of the experience of the BME voluntary sector post Single Equality Act and the establishment of the EHRC. The presentation of the fears and barriers faced by smaller organisations is an essential contribution to knowledge as it helps identify potential remedies to the problems faced. It was clear from the interviews that the respondents did feel restrained by funding concerns and that this was a significant and detrimental structural barrier to the work undertaken in the voluntary sector. This situation highlights both the negative impact of the funding structures on voluntary organisations and gives a justification for reforming these structures, as they impede the work of the sector.

It is reasonable to expect those in receipt of government funds to be accountable for them, however it is also reasonable to expect that funders pay due regard to the financial and practical pressures faced by small organisations and tailor their systems accordingly. As the EHRC are the dominant body leading the discussion on equality issues, the feelings of disengagement from the commission adds another dimension to the difficulties faced by the sector. It seems that in the current unstable climate, smaller organisations need support, and greater involvement with the grassroots would benefit the commission, increase credibility and add value to the work of the sector as a whole. In order for this to happen there needs to a joint approach which involves and consults the whole of the voluntary sector in the decision making process. A partnership approach which allows organisations to be 'critical friends' of the government and the commission would be the best way forward for the sector.

The following chapter will sum up the arguments in this thesis and highlight the conclusions and recommendations for future research.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion and Recommendations

Previous Research and How the Research was Developed

To reiterate, this thesis has focused on the values that underpin 'race' equality work. A key value, identified in the MacPherson report, was that the pursuit for equality should aim to meet the needs of BME people (Cathcart, 1999). Defining the needs of BME communities is complicated but the underpinning value of this thesis is that those working at a grassroots level, those in contact with BME communities, are best placed to identify and explain the needs of the community. The historical overview exposed the tensions between larger public bodies and smaller grassroots organisations, noting that small BME organisations are often overlooked in the development of policy as the sector has been restricted by financial difficulties (Alfridi & Warmington, 2009; Gilroy, 1999). This thesis has developed these arguments by conducting a post EHRC and Single Equality Act study which critiques the latest government led agenda on how to manage equality.

The main research questions were:

1. What values do anti-racist grassroots organisations express in relation to their work?
2. What are the structural barriers to grassroots organisations carrying out their work?
3. Is the generic equality framework changing the kind of work undertaken by those working in the 'race' equality 'industry'?

Key Themes and Findings

This thesis has expanded on the criticisms highlighted in the literature by presenting a first-hand account of the practical issues faced by the BME sector in a Scottish

specific context. The focus of the thesis has been on the experiences of those working in the BME sector in Scotland. The first-hand accounts of the challenges grassroots organisations face adds another dimension to the existing literature. The focus on the practical issues faced by smaller organisations is an essential contribution to knowledge as it helps identify the problems faced and potential remedies.

Race': An Invisible discourse

Gilroy (1987) argues that 'race' was more than an abstract, ideological concept as it has been used as an organisational tool in which groups resisting racism have adopted. In this sense the concept of 'race' is a means to resist racism and highlight the specific needs of BME groups. Both Bonnett (2000) and Gilroy (1999) highlighted the complexities of challenging racism claiming that a structural critique is needed. The literature specifically raised concern that institutionalised racism was being discredited by government and high profile anti-racist 'activists'. Replacing 'race' specific laws and agencies had allowed this to happen. The findings in this thesis reinforce the arguments that 'race' is adopted as a concept in which voluntary organisations organise around to challenge racism.

The concept of 'race' or religion was an identifying factor in all of the organisations involved in this research. The respondents overwhelmingly claimed that there was still work to be done on tackling racial and religious prejudice. The merging of equality commissions has led to feelings of insecurity within the sector as the respondents were noticing a detrimental impact on their organisation's funding post EHRC. They felt that they were subject to increased competition and many identified a hierarchy of equality strands claiming 'race' is given less attention than gender and disability. This assertion was reinforced in the analysis of funding for voluntary organisations provided by the EHRC as in the first year of the new commission no 'race' organisation in Scotland received any money.

The respondents argued that there was a lack of structures and experience of challenging racism in Scotland identifying employment, representation in large influential organisations and political representation as particularly problematic areas. The respondents claimed the anti-racism voluntary sector in Scotland is weaker than it is in England and therefore it is more difficult to undertake lobbying activities. This is particularly concerning given the move towards a single equality framework as it leaves 'race' more vulnerable to being ignored or neglected. There is a lack of research on 'race' in Scotland which impact on the ability of Scottish organisations to argue for money to challenge racist issues in Scotland.

Chapter five and six explored the changes in the type of equality work that was undertaken after the merger. The respondents highlighted the increased pressure to undertake joint equality work. Although the respondents acknowledge the importance of challenging other forms of discrimination the type of work that will get funding is viewed as less effective, confusing and counterproductive. Many of the smaller organisations claimed that larger charities are more likely to receive funding as they have a bigger capacity to produce funding applications. This change in the type of equality work shows that the financial pressures are adding to the invisibility of 'race' as a concept in which to organise around as generic equality work is favoured by those with political and financial control.

This thesis has enhanced the arguments that claim there is a distinct BME sector. All voluntary sector organisations are faced with financial pressures but the political context surrounding BME communities exacerbate the everyday problems of the BME sector. Chapter five highlighted the political influence on the direction of anti-racist work as the respondents claimed that post 9/11 and 7/7 anti-terrorism was the key focus of the government agenda. This claim is significant when analysed in conjunction with the creation of a Single Equality Act and the single equality commission as it signals a move away from speaking about racism. The ability of those working in the BME sector to get 'race' on the agenda are hindered by the desire of those at the top to shift the focus away from anti-racism. A particular

concern was the speeches given by Trevor Phillips on segregation and institutionalised racism. Thus, the interview data reinforced the concerns outlined in the literature review that 'race' was becoming an invisible discourse. The first-hand accounts show how anti-racism work is being diluted and explains how 'race' is pushed off the agenda on a practical and financial level.

The 'Industry'

Taking a phenomenographic approach the study aimed to describe the BME sector's 'conception of reality'. This approach allowed the study to focus on the experience of the BME sector in a post single equality environment. By speaking to a cross section of equality workers the study was able to explore both similarities and variations in the experience of the BME sector. The study aimed to compare the respondent's perceptions of the new agenda with the discourse from the government and the EHRC in order to understand if the two areas of the sector are cohesive. This approach helps to' facilitate the transition from one way of thinking to a qualitatively 'better' perception of reality' (Marton, 1986, p. 33). This approach allows for a more interpretive and open understanding of the situation of the BME sector and will help to challenge the dominant 'conventional wisdom'.

Ballard (1992) argued that the deprivationist 'conventional wisdom', manufactured by the 'race' relations 'industry', is problematic as it is confined to a class analysis and fails to see the importance of 'cultural resistance'. Ballard argues that it is too simplistic to claim there is a lack of political appetite and advocates taking a resistance focused approach, which means that everyone is treated as an 'active subject', the resistance to racism is acknowledged and culture and ethnicity are at the centre of the agenda as there is a strong focus on challenging assimilation. This thesis has focused on resistance to racism by gathering first-hand accounts from people who work at a grassroots level. Developing from the historical literature, which argued that the professionalisation of anti-racism work hindered progression (Sivanandan, 1982; Goulbourne, 1998), this thesis has explored the current structural barriers faced by those who organise to resist racism. The responses have

highlighted structural barriers that explain some of the problems outlined by Ballard, such as the domination of a flawed 'conventional wisdom'. For Ballard organisations such as the CRE (now the EHRC) exist primarily to establish a platform for debate. This claim separates the CRE/EHRC from the government assuming that they are an independent organisation that represents the sector. The responses outlined in this thesis contradict this assumption as the majority of the respondents claim that equality bodies, such as the CRE/EHRC, are too closely linked to the government and do not challenge 'conventional wisdom' enough. It was clear from the responses that the aims, objectives and definitions of equality differed between the government bodies and the voluntary sector. Therefore, the 'conventional wisdom' dominates debate as a result of inequality of finance and platform between the high level equality organisations and the smaller grassroots ones.

Chapter five identified a contrast between the views of the voluntary sector and the government in the discussion about multiculturalism, the respondents though it was 'superficial' and 'simplistic' whereas Trevor Philips and the government claimed it was 'divisive'. The respondents were particularly concerned that institutional racism was being rejected by both government and EHRC and claimed that the main focus of the agenda was anti-terrorism. Furthermore, Chapter four's discussion on sectarianism highlighted a disconnection between the government approach and the voluntary sector. Sectarianism was understood in similar terms to racism by people working in anti-sectarianism. There was a perception that sectarianism was neglected philosophically, politically and financially in comparison to 'race'. The contrast between the voluntary sector's definition of sectarianism as an equality issue, and the government approach to tackling it as a criminal issue is interesting. Although it is positive to legally challenge sectarian violence in a similar way to racist violence there is no recognition from this crime led approach that sectarianism is an equality issue. This reinforces the idea that there is a disconnect in thinking between the government and the voluntary sector and suggests that the EHRC and government are implementing change without properly considering the views of those working in the grassroots. Furthermore, the EHRC respondent's view

that sectarianism does not have specific inequality issues and is 'a crowded field' exposed a gap between the thinking of the voluntary sector and the EHRC and government. This thesis cannot advocate the best way to tackle sectarianism but the key finding is the lack of engagement between the government and anti-sectarian groups on the type of work that is undertaken in Scotland raises questions over who defines the needs of equality work.

Arshad (1999) is critical of the structures of resistance and notes funding issues direct equality work and are often tokenistic. Arshad (1999) highlights the need for consultation to move beyond the 'usual suspects' such as the CRE/EHRC and include and be accountable to those who experience racism. This thesis has explored the practical issues surrounding consultation and reinforced Arshad's claims that consultation is not inclusive. Chapter five showed that the overwhelming impression of the respondents was that consultations held by the EHRC were disingenuous. Furthermore, the respondents gave detailed accounts of difficult dealings they had had with the commission when they had sought help and advice. This gave the impression that the EHRC are not a representative of smaller equality organisations. A view that was reinforced when funding streams for the voluntary sector and the EHRC helpline were discontinued, effectively cutting off links with the sector and the communities the EHRC claim to represent. The perception and experiences of the EHRC as a distant body, unwilling to work with smaller organisations, will have negative impacts on the type of equality work that is undertaken. For effective and progressive equality work to happen the voices and experiences of the smaller grassroots organisations are essential in adding credibility to 'race' equality work for the BME community.

The respondents believed that the merger was the cheaper option and were cynical about EHRC's ability to challenge government policy. The commission was viewed as a department of government rather than an independent equality organisation. This view was reinforced in chapter five which outlined the connections between the EHRC and the government. Specifically the funding of the commission and the

remit of the GEO to appoint the EHRC's commissioners and Chair suggest that the commission is bound to the agenda dictated by the government. This perception was emphasised in the discussion over the commission's funding and governance in chapter six. The lack of real consultation and engagement between the commission and the voluntary sector highlight structural difficulties that both disenfranchise and disengage the sector. The insecurities expressed by the respondents create difficulties and barriers to the possibility of developing a strong partnership between the grassroots element of the BME sector and the EHRC. This fragmented approach will increase the chances of 'race' being lost in the generic equality agenda.

Gilroy (1999) criticises the dependency of funding as it hinders the work of anti-racist organisations. Alfridi and Warmington (2009) also highlight the difficulty dependence on funding has on an organisation's ability to maintain their primary mission. This thesis has reinforced these claims. Chapter six detailed the difficulty organisations face in terms of capacity building and securing long term, stable funding to maintain their organisation. The respondents claimed that they had to compromise their projects to secure funds, although there are limits to how much of a compromise they would make. The concentration of organisations in service provision was identified as problematic as it hinders their ability to undertake lobbying activities and get their voices heard. This stagnates the discussion on the best way forward for anti-racism and makes 'race' more vulnerable to dilution in a generic equality framework. The first-hand accounts of these difficulties present a case for reforming the structures of the funding systems. Funder's need to be more attuned to the needs of the third sector in order for valuable projects to develop.

The thesis has specifically looked at the difficulties of the Scottish voluntary sector. Previous research had suggested that, although it had a unique social context and set of circumstances, Scotland was ignored in sociological analysis (Hopkins, 2007; McCrone, 2001). The interviewees felt that a better understanding of 'race' in a Scottish context was needed as, in addition to common forms of racism, there are

specific issues in Scotland. The literature has acknowledge that Scotland is challenged by the 'numbers debate' which is the false perception that there is no issue with racism in Scotland. This thesis has explored this issue on an internal and external level. Chapter four outlined the specific difficulties faced by anti-racist organisations in getting their needs recognised by London based organisations and policy makers. The numbers debate is also an internal issue within Scotland as equality discussions often focus on the central belt, ignoring rural areas of Scotland. This lack of engagement was apparent within the voluntary sector itself, organisations based in the central belt also had a lack of understanding of more remote areas of the country. The rural based respondents identified difficulties in collaborating which disenfranchised rural based organisations. The lack of awareness and concern for Scottish issues disenfranchises and disengages the organisations from the decision making processes.

The respondents reported that there is a tendency for MSPs to use the reserved issue as an excuse for inaction. In terms of inputting into the agenda of anti-racism people working in Scottish voluntary organisations feel that they suffer as a result of equality legislation being a reserved matter. On one level the respondents find it difficult to engage with the EHRC and government because the consultation process is flawed, they also find it more difficult to get the specific issues faced in Scotland acknowledged as there is a lack of understanding and willingness to give special consideration. The discussion around consultation and equality policy design showed that those working in the voluntary sector feel excluded from the process of defining the needs of the BME sector. If Scotland does not have a strong foundation set up to ensure 'race' equality there is a greater potential for the general equality approach to 'dilute' 'race' as a political issue.

This thesis has shown that a 'conventional wisdom' does not exist in the sense that it is readily adopted by the sector as a whole. Instead the aims and objectives of 'race' equality work are top down in perspective. The government and funding bodies design an agenda and the smaller organisations, bound by financial

insecurity, are forced to follow this agenda in order to gain funds and security. The voluntary sector feel excluded and disengaged from the decision making process. This is particularly problematic as those working on the ground floor are best placed to understand the needs of the community. This will hinder any attempts for meaningful collaboration between the EHRC and the voluntary sector. Progressive equality work will require input and genuine consultation with the voluntary sector. The lack of consultation means the EHRC cannot be reflective of the needs of BME communities.

Homogenising Ethnic Minorities and the Resistance to Racism

Modood (1997) highlighted the tendency of anti-racists to treat ethnic minorities as a homogenous group assuming that as 'black' people experienced racism the solution was to have a united approach. However, this method ignored the varied experiences of racism and therefore was less effective at challenging the issues of specific groups. This approach also ignores discrimination that is not based on skin colour such as nationality, religion and culture (Berthound, et al., 1998; de Lima, 2004). Ballard (1992) and Chakraborti (2010) argue that there is no singular approach to dealing with racism as such an approach ignores the complexities of exclusion and the responses of minority groups. This thesis has examined the new single equality approach and found that the concerns over homogenisation have been exacerbated, as the creation of the EHRC has had a homogenising effect on equality work. The thesis has critically analysed the impact a single focus has had on the BME sector.

The Parekh report argued in favour of a single equality framework that would equalise equality legislation and promote cooperative working. Parekh argued that a strong focus on anti-discrimination and appropriate structures would safeguard against a loss of expertise and would avoid competition between strands. The framework advocated by the Parekh report took the form of the Single Equality Act and the single equality commission, the EHRC (Parekh, 2002). The interview data showed Parekh's analysis was flawed as the respondents felt that the EHRC had

'diluted' 'race' equality work and had lost focus on 'race'. The respondents noted that the CRE were weak in terms of tackling discrimination but felt that they helped to maintain a focus on the issue of 'race'.

Chapter five examined the single equality approach and the creation of the EHRC in detail. The responses highlighted that the EHRC had a lack of credibility within the voluntary sector. This was primarily because most respondents did not think that a single equality approach was an effective option to progress 'race' equality work. The respondents though it was too simplistic to treat all equality strands in the same way. The respondents acknowledged that all forms of discrimination were wrong but did not believe that they could all be solved in the same way. The reasons for the rejection of a single equality approach, expressed by the respondents, echoed the reasoning given by the CRE in 2005 when they rejected the proposal of a new super quango. Given the problems of the EHRC, outlined above, the CRE's decision to merge into the EHRC was damaging to the credibility of the new Commission, as grassroots organisations did not feel that the EHRC were strong enough to progress 'race' equality.

The generic approach was discussed at length with the respondents. The interview data showed that the generic approach was an inappropriate solution to the government's inaccurate claim that those undertaking single strand work were not outward facing. In chapter six the respondents reported that they were facing increased pressure to undertake joint equality work in order to gain funds. This was viewed as problematic as, although they acknowledge the need to tackle all forms of discrimination, the respondents felt unable to effectively take on other equality strands due to a lack of knowledge and expertise on how different types of discrimination manifest. There was also concern that the new approach had created a hierarchy of equalities and many felt 'race' was particularly struggling to get recognised. These criticisms were similar to the initial rejection of the EHRC by the CRE and showed that the generic equality framework was changing the kind of equality work that was undertaken.

The data chapters showed that the generic equality agenda had created feelings of insecurity within the BME sector. These feeling will not only hinder partnership working between the grassroots and the EHRC but could lead to rivalries and resentment between different equality strands as the pressure to compete for funding will be exacerbated under a generic agenda. Furthermore, if joint strand work is forced on the voluntary sector the type of equality work may be designed in order to gain funds rather than being directed by the needs of the communities the organisations represent.

This thesis has developed the ideas outlined in the literature that claims that minorities have been treated as a homogenous group. The thesis has not focused on specific groups but has presented evidence that the BME sector is being pushed into a generic equality sector. The creation of the EHRC has signalled a move towards homogenising equality strands where all forms of discrimination are assumed to be treatable using a singular approach. This approach will de-skill the sector and dilute experience and expertise needed to tackling the unique forms of discrimination that are faced by BME minority groups. In short the creation of a single approach has led to a process of homogenising equality strands.

Limitations and Potential Future Research

The most obvious limitation of this thesis is the small scale. In order to develop a clear understanding of the barriers faced by grassroots anti-racist organisations further research is necessary across all equality strands. Further work is particularly needed in Scotland as it is, as already explored in chapter four, an under researched area (Hopkins, 2004b). This thesis has established that within Scotland there are particular barriers depending on region. Given the scale of this project, these barriers could not be fully explored. Geographically it would be interesting to develop the existing literature on 'race' in a rural context and make some clear recommendations that would help improve their participation and representation in 'race' relations work. Furthermore, a more in depth comparative analysis of the

different regions of the UK would be beneficial in both understanding the differences, analysing the reasons for these differences and making recommendations for areas that are not performing well.

This thesis did not give a broad understanding of all equality strands. A similar study of the other protected characteristics is warranted. The respondents reported that gender and disability projects are prioritised before 'race', given that the majority of organisations contacted were 'race' specific voluntary organisations, working within an unstable and uncertain financial framework, it is not surprising that there is a feeling of insecurity. Although the expression of these views is significant, in that it shows the opinions of those working at the bottom, it would be useful to explore the view of grassroots level workers for the other strands. It would be particularly interesting to study the more established strands such as disability and gender in order to gauge whether the 'dilution' is similar. A similar project looking at the development of the human rights framework and the connections between equality strands would also be interesting.

A further limitation to the research is that the respondents identified multi-strand work as problematic at a time when joint project funding was in its infancy. Chapter six showed that the respondents felt under pressure to carry out joint projects given the demands for them by funders. There is potential for bias as the implementation of joint project work was introduced at a time when the finances of grassroots organisations are under extra pressure due to a decrease in funding. Further research undertaken when multi-strand work has had time to develop would be beneficial in testing whether the concerns of the respondents remain consistent or whether multi-strand funding can provide effective work.

Recommendations

Funding

1. A more collaborative approach to funding is needed.

2. More funding needs to be made available for capacity building, research and lobbying to allow those with real life experience the chance to influence decisions.

3. A greater analysis of multi-strand work is needed in the future.

4. The decision to discontinue the grants programme should be reconsidered.

As discussed in chapter six access to funding is a core concern for voluntary organisations. This issue not only impacted on the stability of the groups but the fight for survival tended to direct their work. This means that funder's objectives were often the primary focus of organisations rather than the type of work the respondents believed was needed. Thus, it is recommended that key funders re-evaluate their funding strategies and design their aims and objectives in conjunction with those who work in grassroots organisations. It may also be helpful to involve workers from smaller grassroots organisations in the decision making process when allocating funds. This would go some way to redistributing the power.

The respondents identified funding as a key barrier to their work. A lack of capacity for research and lobbying meant organisations were focused in service provision. The respondents felt that it would be beneficial for grassroots organisations to have more influence to ensure services are available to BME people in the mainstream rather than having to access specific ethnic minority services. This could be achieved if larger funding bodies made sure they had a representative panel to design funding streams. This panel could also be involved in making allocation decisions as those with community experience are best qualified to understand where the money will be needed most.

The move towards joint projects was a significant concern for many grassroots organisations working in the 'race' field. The organisations felt that they were under pressure to work in partnership with other strands who have different issues. While the value of joint work was acknowledged, the organisations felt that they did not have the expertise to undertake work involving different strands. Funders

should understand the pressures faced by lower income grassroots groups and allocate funding for single strand work that will produce high quality, expert results. This should apply to all equality strands. As multi-strand work is in its infancy it is difficult to comprehensively analyse its impact and effectiveness. A greater understanding of the impact of multi-strand work can be achieved by developing research projects that explore the structure of voluntary organisations, explain the difficulties and monitor the impact of funding criteria on the work of these groups. This should be an ethnographic project, which focuses on the experience of those working in the field. The government, as a dominant funder, should take particular note of the above recommendations.

The CRE, despite criticisms, were a 'life line' to grassroots anti-racist organisations as they provided a funding opportunity specifically for anti-racism work. This was 'diluted' with the creation of the EHRC but the grants programme was still fundamental to the survival of smaller organisations. If the grants programme is reinstated, the EHRC should pay attention to the recommendations outlined above and should specifically consider how funds are distributed in terms of equality strands and geography. Both the grants programme and the helpline were identified in the interviews as a connecting link between the grassroots, the public and the EHRC. By losing this connection, more damage will be done to the credibility of the EHRC and the government. Greater credibility can be achieved if the EHRC connect with voluntary organisations and actively listen to the concerns of those working at the grassroots level. The reinstatement of the grants project could be achieved if the EHRC, in partnership with smaller organisations, lobbied the government to reinstate it.

Scotland

1. Further work needs to be carried out with a specific focus on Scotland in order to clearly identify the problems, specific issues and recommend workable solutions.

2. There is a need for long term sustainable funding for capacity building in Scotland.

Scottish 'race' relations and anti-racism work is underdeveloped as a result of inaccurate stereotypes and assumptions that associate smaller ethnic minority numbers with an absence of racism (Bassi, 2007; Cant & Kelly, 1995; Dwyer & Bressey, 2008; Hopkins, 2004b; Maan, 1992). This stereotype is internal as Scotland is geographically diverse and different areas have dramatically different issues. The 'race' relations 'industry' is concentrated in the central belt and as a result the more rural parts outside of the big cities and in the Highlands and Islands are neglected. A comprehensive study of the diversity of Scotland in different areas is needed. This should include gathering an accurate picture of the types of racism and prejudice that are perpetrated throughout the country and in specific areas. This should be led by the Scottish Government in consultation with a wide representation of smaller grassroots organisations. There is a need for more work to be undertaken regarding the issues of sectarianism and its impact throughout the country. An analysis of the recent move towards criminalising the issues should be evaluated further in order to understand whether this is the most effective solution or whether another, more equality focused, anti-racist approach would be more effective. This can be achieved if more funding is given to research and lobbying work.

A Scottish directed approach and programme of action is needed. If further research exploring how racism affects Scotland is undertaken it will aid a better understanding of what kind of help voluntary organisations need. In particular it will give an insight into how an effective, long term, sustainable funding programme to help capacity building in Scotland can be achieved.

EHRC and 'Race' Equality Values

1. The EHRC and the government should be explicit in their aims and highlight anti-discrimination as a key policy.

2. There should be greater collaboration between the EHRC and grassroots organisations.

The EHRC has contributed to the 'dilution' of anti-racism work and has hindered attempts to challenge racism. This move towards generic equality will weaken the gains made by grassroots organisations and the CRE. The EHRC, like the CRE and other equality commissions, should be seen as the official body on 'race', disability and gender. This was not the case for the respondents interviewed in this project. Instead, the EHRC was seen as an unknown and ambiguous human rights organisation. The language used in the EHRC and government is generic, ambiguous and does not explicitly claim to deal with specific issues, i.e. it claims to promote good relations rather than challenge racism, sexism, ageism, religious discrimination, homophobia or disability discrimination. The change in language suggests that racism is not the most prominent issue when dealing with racial tensions. Challenging discrimination, of all strands, should be publicised as the core issue that is being tackled by the government and the EHRC. The government and the EHRC need to revisit the issues of 'race' and racism to make sure they are explicit in challenging racial prejudice in the generic context. Further research into the EHRC to see how the organisation is developing and to gauge their commitment to each strand is warranted. A greater credibility can be achieved for the EHRC if they are publically explicit about challenging discrimination and how they are going to tackle it.

The EHRC need to engage and consult more effectively with the third sector. They need to build up their credibility, gain a better understanding of the organisations and utilise the expertise of the ground level organisations. If they build up their credibility, they can move away from being seen purely as a gatekeeper for the government agenda. The EHRC are the dominant equality body in the UK. However, the merged equality agenda and the creation of a generic commission has led to feelings of insecurity, resentment and distrust within the voluntary sector. This is largely attributed to the respondent's perception that consultation between the

grassroots and the commission is disingenuous. A strong partnership between the EHRC and smaller organisations would help both ends of the sector. Closer engagement would help the EHRC increase their credibility within the sector and enable them to engage more effectively with the public and partnership would mean that the voluntary sector were gaining much needed support. Genuine consultation which involves the voluntary sector and allows them to be part of the decision making process would be an effective way forward. The emphasis should be on partnership and such endeavours should give the voluntary sector freedom to be critical friends of both government and the commission.

This thesis has explored the implications of a generic equality agenda on 'race' equality work. The key findings are that the values expressed by the grassroots organisations do not match the 'conventional wisdom' of the EHRC and government. Structural barriers, such as financial dependency mean that the type of work carried out by the sector is linked to the dominant agenda as consultation is not considered genuine. The move towards generic equality is changing the type of work anti-racist organisations undertake as they need to adapt to a new multi-strand approach to gain funds.

Given the strong criticism of the EHRC and merging of equality strands, voiced throughout this thesis, it would perhaps seem logical to recommend splitting the equality strands to give each their own focus. However, as stated in the introduction, the merging of equalities is already underway and it is unlikely to reverse. The best way forward is for those who have legislative, financial and theoretical power to put anti-racism at the core of what they do. Actively furthering the fight for racial equality and displaying strong anti-racist values is fundamental to the development of a more effective and progressive 'race' relations 'industry'.

Bibliography

Alfridi, A. & Warmington, J., 2009. *The Pied Piper: The BME Third Sector and UK Race Relations Policy,* Birmingham: BRAP.

Allen, C., 2004. Justifying Islamophobia: A Post-9/11 Consideration of the European Union and British Contexts. *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences,* 21(3), pp. 1-25.

Anwar, M., 1998. *Between Cultures: Continuity and Change in the Lives of Young Asians.* London: Routledge.

Arshad, R., 1999. Racial Inclusion and the Struggle for Justice. In: G. Hassan & C. Warhurst, eds. *A Different Future: A Moderniserss Guide to Scotland.* Glasgow: The Centre for Scottish Public Policy, pp. 218-228.

Arshad, R., 2003. Race Relations in Scotland. In: J. Crowther, I. Martin & M. Shaw, eds. *Renewing Democracy in Scotland.* Edinburgh: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, pp. 142-145.

Arshad, R. & Diniz, F., 2008. Race Equality in Scottish Education. In: T. Bryce & W. Humes, eds. *Scottish Education: Third Edition Beyond Devolution.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 880-889.

Back, L. M., Keith, A., Shukra, K. & Solomos, J., 2002. New Labour's White Heart: Politics, Multiculturalism and the Return of Assimilation. *Political Quarterly,* 73(4), pp. 445-454.

Bagguley, P. & Hussain, Y., 2003. *Conflict and Cohesion: Constructions of 'Community' Around the 2001 'Riots'.* Leeds, www.leeds.ac.uk/.../Conflict%20and%20Cohesion%204%20conf.

Bailey, C., 2007. *A Guide to Qualitative Field Research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Bailey, N., Bowes, A. & Sim, D., 1995. Pakistanis in Scotland: Census data and research issues. *Scottish Geographical Magazine,* 111(1), pp. 36-45.

Ballard, R., 1992. The New Clothes for the Emporor? The Conceptual Nakedness of Britain's Race Relations Industry. *New Community,* Volume 18, pp. 481-482.

Bam-Hutchison, J., n.d. *Race, Faith and UK Policy: A Brief History,* York: University of York.

Barker, M., 1981. *The New Racism: Conservatives and the Ideology of the Tribe.* London: Junction Books.

Bassi, C., 2007. *Multiculturalism, Racism and Class in Britain Today.* [Online] Available at: http://www.workersliberty.org/node/7682 [Accessed 16 June 2011].

BBC, 2002. *Short History of Immigration.* [Online]
Available at:
http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/in_depth/uk/2002/race/short_history_of_immigration.stm
[Accessed 23 August 2009].

Becker, H. S., 1967. Who's Side Are We On?. *Social Problems,* 14(1), pp. 239-247.

Bell, J., 1993. *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide for First Time Researchers in Education and Social Science.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Berthound, R., Modood, T. & P, S., 1998. Introduction. In: T. Modood & R. Berthoud, eds. *Ethnic Minorities in Britain.* London: Policy Studies Institute, pp. 1-17.

Blackledge, A., 2006. The Magical Frontier between the Dominant: Sociolinguistics and Social Justice in a Multilingual World. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 27(1), pp. 22-41.

Blackstone, T., Parekh, B. & Sanders, P., 1998. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge.

Bonnett, A., 2000. *Anti-Racism.* London: Routledge.

Bourne, J., 2007a. *The Baby and the Bath Water: Community Cohesion and the Funding Crisis,* London: Institute for Race Relations.

Bourne, J., 2007b. *In Defence of Multiculturalism: IRR Briefing Paper No.2,* London: Institute for Race Relations.

Bruce, R. & Field, P., 2010. *Landmark Court Case Against Police Racism.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.diversemag.co.uk/race-detail/landmark-court-case-against-police-racism
[Accessed 17 July 2010].

Bryce, T. & Humes, W., 2008. *Scottish Education: Third Edition Beyond Devolution.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

BSA, 2014. *Equality and Diversity Language and the BSA: Ethnicty and Race.* [Online]
Available at:
http://view.officeapps.live.com/op/view.aspx?src=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.britsoc.co.uk%2Fmedia%2F25564%2FEqualityandDiversity_LanguageandtheBSA_RaceMar05.doc
[Accessed 18 July 2014].

Bulmer, M. & Solomos, J., 1999. *Racism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Burnett, J., 2012. After Lawrence: Racial Violence and Policing in the UK. *Race and Class,* 54(1), pp. 91-98.

Calavita, K., 2002. "Goose Bumps," and the Role of the Public Intellectual. *Law and Society Review,* 36(1), pp. 5-20.

Cameron, D., 2011. *PM's Speech at Munich Security Conference,* Munich: HM Government.

Cannon, B., 2006. *Multiculturalism and the 'War on Terror': Britishness Multiculturalism and Globalisation,* London: Rising East, University of East London,

Cant, B. & Kelly, E., 1995. Why is There an Need for Racial Equality Activity in Scotland. *Scottish Affairs,* Issue 12, pp. 1-19.

Cantle, T., 2001. *Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team,* London: Home Office .

Carter, B., 1993. All White with Labour. *Socialist Review,* December.Issue 170.

Carvel, J., 2004. Tebbit's Cricket Loyalty Test Hit for Six. *The Guardian*, 8 January.

Casey, J., 1982. One Nation: The Politics of Race. *Salisbury Review,* October, 1(1), pp. 23-28.

Castles, S. & Kosack, G., 1972. The Function of Labour Immigration in Western European Capitalism. *New Left Review,* Issue 73, pp. 3-21.

Castles, S. & Kosack, G., 2010. The Function of Labour Immigration in Western European Capitalism. In: M. Martiniello & J. Rath, eds. *Selected Studies in International Migration and Immigrant Incorporation.* Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp. 19-44.

Cathcart, B., 1999. *The Case of Stephen Lawrence.* London: Penguin Books.

Chakraborti, N., 2010a. Crimes Against the "Other": Conceptual, Operational, and Empirical Challenges for Hate Studies. *Joural of Hate Studies,* 8(9), pp. 10-33.

Chakraborti, N., 2010. Beyond 'Passive Apartheid'? Developing Policy and Research Agendas on Rural Racism in Britain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 36(3), pp. 501-517.

Chakraborti, N. & Garland, J., 2006. England's Green and Pleasant Land? Examining Racist Prejudice in a Rural Context. *Patterns of Prejudice,* 38(4), pp. 389-398.

Chakraborti, N., Garland, J. & Spalek, B., 2008. Out of Sight, Out of Mind? Towards developing an understanding of the needs of 'hidden' minority ethnic communities. *Criminal Justice Matters,* 57(1), pp. 34-35.

Charity Commission, 2007. *Stand and Deliver: The Future for Charities Providing Public Services,* Liverpool: Charity Commission.

Chouhan, K. & Jasper, L., 2000. A Culture of Denial: The 1990 Trust Report into the Racist Murder of Stephen Lawrence. In: *Black Voluntary and Communicty Sector Fuding: Its Impact on Civic Engagement and Capacity Building.* London: The Joseph Rowntree Foundation, p. 6.

Chouhan, K. & Lusane, C., 2004. *Black Voluntary and Community Sector Funding: It's Impact on Civil Engagement and Capacity Building,* York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

CIC, 2007. *Our Shared Future,* London: Commission for Integration and Cohesion.

Clayton, T., 2005. 'Diasporic Otherness': racism, sectarianism and 'national exteriority' in modern Scotland. *Social and Cultural Geography,* 6(1), pp. 99-114.

Cohen, S., 2002. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics.* Oxon: Routledge.

Cole, M. & Blair, M., 2006. Racism and Education: From Emire to New Labour. In: M. Cole, ed. *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of Gender, 'Race', Sexualty, Disability and Social Class.* Oxfordshire: Routledge, pp. 70-88.

Cole, M. & Virdee, S., 2006. Racism and Resistance: From Empire to New Labour. In: M. Cole, ed. *Education, Equality and Human Rights: Issues of Gender, 'Race', Sexulaity, Disability and Social Class.* Oxfordshire: Routledge, pp. 43-69.

CRE, 2005. *Fairness for All: A New Commission for Equality and Human Rights: A response,* s.l.: The Commission for Equality and Human Rights.

Daily Mail, 1999. Come on in: Mail Investigation Reveals How Scadalously Easy it is for Bogus Asylum Seekers to Enter Britain. *Daily Mail*, 27 November .

Daniel, W., 1968. *Racial Discrimination in England: Based on the P.E.P Report.* London: Penguin.

de Lima, P., 2003. Beyond Place: ethnicity/race in the debate on social exclusion/inclusion in Scotland. *Policy Futures in Education,* 1(4), pp. 653-667.

de Lima, P., 2004. Beyond Place: Ethnicity/Race in the Debate on Social Exclusion/Inclusion in Scotland. *Policy Futures in Education,* 1(4), pp. 653-657.

de Lima, P., 2011. John O'Groats to Land's End: Racial Equality in Rural Britain?. In: N. Chakraborti & J. Garland, eds. *Rural Racism.* Oxon: Routledge, pp. 36-60.

Dispatches: Immigration the Inconvenient Truth. 2008. [Film] Directed by R Omaar. United Kingdom: Channel 4.

Doward, J., 2005. *Blair's Race Plan in Tatters as Phillip Pulls Out,* London: The Observer.

DTI, 2006. *Powerful New Equality and Human Rights Body Gets the Go-Ahead,* London: The Government News Network.

Dummett, A., 1998. British Race Relations in a European Context. In: T. Blackstone, B. Parekh & P. Sanders, eds. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge, pp. 205-221.

Dwyer, C. & Bressey, C., 2008. *New Geographies of Race and Racism.* Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

EHRC, 2008. *Consultation on the Equality and Human Rights Commission's Grants Programme,* London: EHRC.

EHRC, 2011a. *Abour Us: Corporate Reporting.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/about-us/corporate-reporting/salary-information/
[Accessed 17 September 2011].

EHRC, 2011b. *Vision and Mission.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/about-us/vision-and-mission/
[Accessed 17 September 2011].

Fekete, L., Bouteldja, N. & Muhe, N., 2010. *Alternative Voices on Integration in Austria, France, Germany, The Netherlands and the UK,* London: Institute for Race Relations.

Field, B., 2010. *Mangrove Nine: The Court Challenge Against Police Racism in Nottinghill,* London: The Guardian.

Finney, N. & Simpson, L., 2009. *Sleepwalking to Segregation? Challenging the Myths about Race and Migration.* Bristol: The Policy Press.

Fisher, T., 2008. The Era of Centralisation: The 1988 Education Reform Act and its Consequences. *Forum,* 50(2), pp. 255-261.

Fitzgerald, M., 1998. 'Race' and the Criminal Justice System. In: T. Blackstone, B. Parekh & P. Sanders, eds. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge, pp. 158-180.

Foucault, M., 1989. Foucault Live: Collected Interviews 1961-1984. In: *Interview: The Concern for Truth.* New York: Semiotext, pp. 455-464.

Frean, A., 2004. *Ministers Play Down Equality Rebellion,* London: The Times.

Fryer, P., 1948. The Men From Jamaica are Settling Down. *The Daily Worker*, 14 July.

Fryer, P., 1984. *Staying Power: The History of Black People in Britain.* London: Pluto Press.

Gabriel, J., 1994. *Racism Cultural Markets.* London: Routledge.

GARA, 2008. *State of the Nation Report,* Glasgow: Glasgow Anti-Racist Alliance.

Gardner, K., 1995. *Global Migrants Local Lives: Travel and Transformation in Rural Bangladesh.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Garland, J. & Chakraborti, N., 2006a. 'Race', space and place Examining identity and cultures of exclusion in rural England. *Ethnicities,* 6(2), pp. 159-177.

GEO, 2011. *Information, Advice and Support on Equality and Human Rights Issues ,* London: Government Equalities Office.

GEO, n.d. *Government Equalities Office and Equality and Human Rights Commission Framework Document,* London: Government Equalities Office.

Ghetto Britain: 30 Years of Race. 2006. [Film] Directed by R Beckford. England: Channel 4.

Gilroy, 2005. Melancholia or Convivialit: The Politics of Belonging in Britain. In: D. S & R. J, eds. *Race, Identity and Belonging.* s.l.:Soundings Collection, pp. 35-46.

Gilroy, P., 1987. *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack.* London: Century Hutchinson Ltd.

Gilroy, P., 1998. Race Ends Here. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* Issue 21, pp. 838-849.

Gilroy, P., 1999. The End of Anti-Racism. In: M. Bulmer & J. Solomos, eds. *Racism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 242-249.

Gilroy, P., 2005. Melancholia or Conviviality: The Politics of Belonging in Britain. In: S. Davison & J. Rutherford, eds. *Race, Identity and Belonging: A Soundings Collection.* London: Lawrence and Wishart, pp. 35-46.

Gilroy, P., 2006. *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture.* Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Glaser, B. & Strauss, L., 1999. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research.* New Jersey: Rutgers.

Goulbourne, H., 1998. The Participation of New Minority Ethnic Groups in British Politics. In: T. Blackstone, B. Parekh & P. Sanders, eds. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge, pp. 181-203.

Great Britain, Equality Act, 2010. *Elizabeth II. Chapter 1.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2010/15/contents
[Accessed 20 July 2014].

Halliday, F., 1999. Review Article: Islamophobia Reconsidered. *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 22(5), pp. 892-902.

Hampton, K., 2010. *Achieving Race Equality in Scotland.* [Online]
Available at:
http://www.runnymedetrust.org/docs/search.html?cx=00228210699893402291%3A9g52
mksuzv4&cof=FORID%3A11&q=+%E2%80%98Response%E2%80%99+in+Achieving+Race+E
quality+in+Scotland%2C+published+by+the+Runnymede+Trust
[Accessed 18 July 2014].

Hannah, M., Hearnden, I., Grace, K. & Bucke, T., 2011. *Deaths in or Folloing Police Custody: An Examination of the Cases 1998/99-2008/09,* s.l.: Independent Police Complaints Commission.

Hansard, 2000. Race Relations (Amendment) Bill [Lords]. *Parliament,* Volume 345, p. col 1244.

Hansen, R., 1999a. The Politics of Citizenship in1940s Britain: The British Nationality Act, Twentieth Century British History. *Twentieth Century British History,* 10(1), pp. 67-95.

Hansen, R., 1999b. The Kenyan Asians, British Politics, and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968. *The Historical Journal,* 42(3), pp. 809-834.

Heffer, S., 1999. *Like the Roman: The Life of Enoch Powell.* London: Orion.

Hernstein, R. J. & Murray, C., 1994. *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life.* London: Simon and Schuster Ltd.

Home Office, 2011. *About Us.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/
[Accessed 17 May 2012].

Hopkins, P., 2004a. Young Men in Scotland: Inclusions and Exclusions. *Children's Geographies,* 2(2), pp. 257-272.

Hopkins, P., 2004b. Everyday Racism in Scotland: A Case Study of East Pollokshields. *Scottish Affairs.*

Hopkins, P., 2007. 'Blue Squares', 'Proper' Muslims and Transnational Networks: Narratives of National and Religious Identities Amoung Young Muslim Men Living in Scotland. *SAGE,* 7(1), pp. 61-81.

Hopkins, P., 2008. Politics, Race and Nation: The Difference that Scotland Makes. In: C. Dwyer & C. Bressey, eds. *New Geographies of Race and Racism.* Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, pp. 113-124.

Horne, J., 1995. Racism, Sectarianism and Football in Scotland. *Scottish Affairs,* Volume 12.

House of Commons, 2007. Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration Session 1971-72: Police/ Immigrant Relations. In: H. o. Commons, ed. *Home Affairs Committee: Young Black People and the Criminal Justice System: Second Report of Session 2006-2007, vol 2.* London: The Stationary Office, p. 147.

Howe, D., 1998. If I Pleaded Guilty, Said the Lawyer, I'd Only get Five Years. *New Statesman*, 4 December.

Hunt, A., 1997. 'Moral Panic' and Moral Language in the Media. *The British Journal of Sociology,* December, 48(4), pp. 629-648.

Hunter, S. & Swan, E., 2007. The Politics of Equality: Professional, States and Activists. *Equal Opportunities International,* 26(5), pp. 377-387.

Hussain, A. & Miller, W., 2003. *Implementing the Oxymoron.* Edinburgh, Royal Society of Edinburgh/British Academy.

Hussain, Y. & Bagguley, P., n.d. *Flying the Flag for England? Citizenship, Religion and Cultural Identity Among British Pakistani Muslims Since September 11th and the 'Riots' of 2001,* Leeds: University of Leeds.

ICAR, 2012. *ICAR Briefing: Asylum Seekers, Refugees and Media,* s.l.: Runnymede Trust.

Icons, n.d. *SS Empire Windrush: After Windrush Changing Laws,* s.l.: Icons.

Jacobs, B. D., 1986. *Black Politics and Urban Crisis in Britain.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jamrozik, A. & Nocella, L., 1998. *The Sociology of Social Problems: Theoretical Perspectives and Methods of Intervention.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kelly, E., 1998. Multi Ethnic Scotland - Race, Religion and Language. *Scottish Affairs,* 26(1), pp. 83-99.

Kelly, E., 2003. Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism. *Scottish Affairs,* 42(1), pp. 1-25.

Kelly, E., 2008. Challenging Sectarianism in Scotland: The Prism of Racism. *Scottish Affairs,* 42(1), pp. 1-25.

Kingston, J., 2007. *Presentation to London Funders: Recommendations for the Commission on Integration and Cohesion.* London, Department of Communities and Local Government.

Kosygina, L., 2010. Constructing of the 'Other' - Racialisation of Migrants in Moscow and Novosibirsk. In: C. Gdaniec, ed. *Cultural Diversity in Russian Cities: The Urban Landscape in the Post-Soviet Era.* s.l.:Berghahn Books, pp. 50-69.

Kundnani, A., 2007a. *The End of Tolerance: Racism in 21st Century Britain.* London: Pluto Press.

Kundnani, A., 2007b. Integrationism: The Politics of Anti-Muslim Racism. *Race and Class,* 48(4), pp. 24-44.

Kundnani, A., 2009. *Spooked: How Not to Prevent Violent Extremism,* London: Institute of Race Relations.

Labour Research, 2004. *CRE Pulls Out of Proposed Anti—Discrimination Merger,* London: Labour Research.

Lentin, A., 2004. *Multiculturalism or Anti-Racism.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.opendemocracy.net/arts-multiculturalism/article_2073.jsp
[Accessed 18 January 2010].

Lester, A., 1998. From Legislation to Integration: Twenty Years of the Race Relations Act. In: T. Blackstone, B. Parekh & P. Sanders, eds. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge, pp. 22-35.

Liinpaa, M., n.d. *Invisable Difference and 'Race Equality' in Scotland: Problems, Challenges and the Way Ahead.* [Online]
Available at: http://bemis.org.uk/.../Invisible_minorities_-_Executive_Summary_and_Outlin...
[Accessed 17 July 2014].

Lycett, A., 1991. Bogus Refugees 'Bleed 100m Out of Britain. *The Times*, 13 November.

Maan, J., 1992. *The New Scots: The Story of Asians in Scotland.* Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd.

MacPherson, W., 1999. *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William MacPherson,* London: Home Office.

Maer, L., 2009. *The Racial and Religious Hatred Act 2006,* London: House of Commons Library.

Maisuria, A., 2006. A Brief History of British 'Race' Politics and the Settlement of the Maisuria Family. *Forum,* 1 December, 48(1), pp. 95-101.

Maroof, L., n.d. *The Race Relations Act.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.aml.org.uk/cms/assets/Uploads/journals/3.3/Maroof-The-Race-Relations-Act.pdf
[Accessed 26 June 2012].

Marr, A., 2007. *A History of Modern Britain.* London: Macmillan.

Marshall, G., Roberts, S. & Burgoyne, C., 1991. Social Class and Underclass in Britain and the USA. *The British Journal of Sociology,* March, 47(1), pp. 22-44.

Marton, F., 1981. Phenomonography: Desscribing Conceptions of the World Around Us. *International Science,* Volume 10, pp. 177-200.

Marton, F., 1986. Phenomenography- A Research Approach Inverstigating Different Understandings of Reality. *Journal of Thought,* 21(2), pp. 28-49.

Marton, F., 1994. Phenomenography. In: T. Postlethwaite & T. Husen, eds. *International Encyclopeida of Education.* New York: Pergamon, pp. 4424-4442.

Marvasti, A., 2004. *Qualitative Research in Sociology.* London: Sage.

Matthews, V., 2007. *The Commission for Equality and Human Rights: Mesh or Mess?.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.personneltoday.com/articles/24/09/2007/42460/the-

commission-for-equality-and-human-rights-mesh-or-mess.htm
[Accessed 4 June 2010].

Mayblin, L. & Soteri-Proctor, A., 2011. *The Black Minority Ethnic Third Sector: A Resource Paper,* Birmingham: Third Secotr Resource Cetre.

McCrone, D., 1992. *Understanding Scotland: Sociology of a Stateless Nation.* London: Routledge.

McCrone, D., 2001. *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Nation.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge.

McGhee, D., 2005. *Intolerant Britain?: Hate, Citizenship and Difference.* Berkshire: Open University Press.

McLeod, M., Owen, D. & Khamis, C., 2001. *Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organisations: Their Role and Future Development in England and Wales,* London: Policy Studies Institute for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

McNamara, T. & Shohamy, E., 2008. Viewpoint: Language Tests and Human Rights. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics,* 18(1), pp. 89-95.

Miles, R., 1989. *Racism.* London: Routledge.

Miles, R., 1993. *Racism After 'Race Relations'.* London: Routledge.

Miles, R., 1999. Racism as a Concept. In: M. Bulmer & J. Solomos, eds. *Racism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 344-354.

Miles, R. & Dunlop, A., 1987. Racism in Britain: The Scottish Dimension. In: *Race and Racism: Essays in Social Geography.* s.l.:s.n.

Miles, R. & Phizacklea, A., 1979. *Racism and Political Action in Britain.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Ministry of Justice, 2011. *Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2010: A Ministry of Justice Publication Under Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991,* London: Ministry of Justice.

Mirza, M., Senthilkumaran, A. & Ja'far, Z., 2007. *Living Apart Together: British Muslims and the Paradox of Multiculturalism,* London: Policy Exchange.

Modood, 2007. *Multiculturalism.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Modood, T., 1997. Introduction: The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe. In: T. Modood & P. Werbner, eds. *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe.* London: Zed Books, pp. 1-24.

Modood, T., 1998. Culture and Identity. In: T. Modood & R. Berthoud, eds. *Ethnic Minorities in Britain.* London: Policy Studies Institute, pp. 290-338.

Muir, H., 2007. *Forceful New Relationships.* [Online]
Available at: http://society.guardian.co.uk/raceforchange/story/0,,2187810,00.html
[Accessed 7 April 2010].

NCVO, 1996. *Meeting the Challenge of Change: Voluntary Action int he 21st Century: The Report for the Comission on the Future of the Voluntary Sector,* London: NCVO.

NCVO, 2007. *NCVO Voluntary Sector Almanac 2007,* London: National Council for Voluntary Organisation.

NCVO, 2009. *The State and the Voluntary Sector: Recent Trends in Government Funding and Public Service Delivery,* London: National Council for Voluntary Organisations.

NCVO, 2011. *Policy and Research.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk/policy-research
[Accessed 10 October 2011].

Neal, S. & Agyeman, J., 2006. *The New Countryside?: Ethnicity, Nation and Exclusion in Contemporary Rural Britain.* Bristol: The Policy Press: Bristol University.

Netto, G. et al., 2001. *Audit of Research on Minority Ethnic Issues in Scotland From a 'Race' Perspective,* Edinburgh: Scottish Executive Central Research Unit .

Newsam, P., 1998. Conclusion. In: T. Blackstone, B. Parekh & P. Sanders, eds. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge, pp. 239-250.

Nil By Mouth, n.d. *A Brighter Future, Sectarian Crime.* [Online]
Available at: http://nilbymouth.org/a-brighter-future/
[Accessed 6 October 2010].

Office for National Statistics, 2003. *Census 2001: Ethnicity and Religion in England and Wales,* London: Office for National Statistics.

OFS, 2009. *Population Estimates for UK, England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland,* Cardiff: Office for National Statistics.

Ornek, F., 2008. An Overview of a Theoretical Framewok of Phenomenography in Qualitative Education Research: An example from Physics Education research. *Asia-Pacific Forum on Science and Learning and Teaching,* 9(2).

Parekh, B., 2002. *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain: The Parekh Report.* London: Profile Books LtD: The Runnymede Trust.

Phillips, M., 2006. *Londonistan: How Britain is Creating a Terror State Within.* London: Gibson Square.

Phillips, T., 2005. *Sleepwalking to Segregation.* Manchester, Manchester Council for Community Relations.

Phizacklea, A. & Miles, R., 1980. *Labour and Racism.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

Powell, E., 2007. *Enoch Powell's 'Rivers of Blood' speech.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/comment/3643823/Enoch-Powells-Rivers-of-Blood-speech.html
[Accessed 17 October 2009].

Qureshi, R., Devine, R. T. & Logue, P., 2002. *Being Scottish.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Rayment, S., 2006. Whites being lured into Islamic terror. *The Telegraph*, 2 July.

Reid, M., 2004. *The Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Sector: A Literature Review,* Glasgow: Ethnic Minority Foundation.

Rex, J., 1979. Black Militancy and Class Conflict. In: R. Miles & A. Phizacklea, eds. *Racism and Political Action in Britain.* London: Routledge, pp. 72-92.

Rich, P., 1986. Black People in Britain: Response and Reaction 1945-62. *History Today*, January, 36(1).

Roots Research Centre, 2010. *To BAME or not to BME?.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.roots-research.org.uk/to-bame-or-not-to-bme
[Accessed 16 July 2014].

Rosen, A., 2003. *The Transformation of British Life 1950-2000: A Social History.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Rubin, H. & Rubin, I., 1995. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data.* California: Thousand Oaks, CA Sage.

Rubin, H. & Rublin, I., 2005. *Qualitative Interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data.* Calefornia: Sage Publications.

Runnymede, 2010. *Achieving Race Equality in Scotland,* London: Runymede.

Runnymede, 2011. *Race Equality in Scotland, 8th March 2011 Scottish Committee Room 1,* Edinburgh: Runnymede.

Saggar, S., 2003. Immigration and the Politics of Public Opinion. *The Political Quarterly,* 74(1), pp. 178-194.

Salgado-Pottier, R., 2008. A Modern Moral Panic: The Representation of British Bangladeshi and Pakistani Youth in Relation to Violence and Religion. *Anthropology Matters,* 10(1), pp. 1-17.

Sanders, P., 1998. Tackling Racial Discrimination. In: T. Blackstone, B. Parekh & P. Sanders, eds. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge, pp. 36-52.

Sarup, M., 1986. *The Poitics of Multicultrual Education.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Scottish Government, 2002. *Racist Crime and Victimization in Scotland.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2002/05/14608/3649
[Accessed 29 July 2014].

Scottish Government, 2004. *Analysis of Ethnicity in the 2001 Census - Summary Report,* Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government, 2012a. *Racist Incidents Recorded by the Police in Scotland 2011-12,* Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government, 2012b. *High Level Summary of Statistics: Crime and Justice,* s.l.: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government, 2012c. *Scottish Spending Review 2011 and Draft Budget 2012-13,* Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government, 2012. *Scottish Government: Collecting Equality Information Series: Guidance note on asking questions on: ethnic group.* [Online]
Available at:
http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/People/Equality/Equalities/EqualFramework/GatherEvidence/CollectEqualInfo
[Accessed 18 July 2014].

Scottish Government, n.d. *Sectarianism.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Justice/law/sectarianism-action-1
[Accessed 8 May 2012].

SCVO, 2010a. *Scottish Voluntary Sector Statistics 2010,* Edinburgh: Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations.

SCVO, 2010b. *More Voluntary Sector Services Needed for Growing BME Communities.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.scvo.org.uk/tfn/news/more-voluntary-sector-services-needed-for-growing-bme%E2%80%88communities/
[Accessed 9 June 2011].

Searle, K., 2008. *Race and Racism in Birmingham: Researching Post-War Archives.* [Online]
Available at: www.connectinghistories.org.uk/birminghamstories.asp
[Accessed 26 January 2010].

Shukra, K., 1998. *The Changing Patterns of Black Politics in Britain.* London: Pluto Press.

Sivanandan, A., 1982. *A Different Hunger: Writings on Black Resistance.* London: Pluto Press.

Sivanandan, A., 1989. *Address to Conference on Anti-Racist Social Work.* Lancaster, University of Lancaster.

Sivanandan, A., 2005. *It's Anti-Racism that was Failed, Not Multiculturalism that Failed,* London: Institute for Race Relations.

Slack, J., 2006. Almost a quarter of Muslims believe 7/7 was justified. *The Daily Mail*, 7 August .

Snow, S. & Jones, E., 2011. *Immigration and the National Health Service: Putting History to the Forefront,* London: History and Policy.

Solomos, J., 1988. *Black Youth, Racism and the State: The Politics ofIdeology and Policy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Solomos, J., 1989. The Politics of Anti-Discrimination Legislation: Planned Social Reform or Symbolic Politics?. In: R. Jenkins & J. Solomos, eds. *Racism and Equal Opportunity Policies in the 1980s.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 30-54.

Spencer, S., 1998. The Impact of Immigration Policy on Race Relations . In: T. Blackstone, B. Parekh & P. Sanders, eds. *Race Relations in Britain: A Developing Agenda.* London: Routledge, pp. 74-95.

Sutton, M., Perry, B., Parke, J. & John-Bapyiste, C., 2007. *Getting the Message Accross: Using Media to Reduce Prejudice and Discrimination,* London: Communities and Local Government .

Swift, A., 2014. *Political Philosophy.* 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Taylor, D. & Muir, H., 2011. Protest March on Downing Street to Highlight Deaths of Black Detainees. *The Guardian*, 28 October.

The Baring Foundation, 2012. *Protecting Independence: The Voluntary Sector in 2012,* London: The Baring Foundation.

The Equalities Network Forum, n.d. *Research Request: Is the UK race relations' industry effective at promoting an anti-racist consciousness?.* [Online]
Available at: http://enf.org.uk/blog/?p=1271

Third Force News, 2011. *Anti-Sectarian Funding Battle.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.thirdforcenews.org.uk/2011/03/anti-sectarian-funding-battle/
[Accessed 19 July 2012].

Thompson, N., 2009. *Promoting Equality, Valuing Diversity.* Lyme Regis: Russell House Publishing .

Tomlinson, S., 1984. *Home and School in Multicultural Britain.* London: Batsford.

Troyna, B., 1993. *Racism and Education.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

University of Strathclyde, n.d. *Code of Practice on Investigations Involving Human Beings,* Glasgow: University of Strathclyde.

Vranken, J., 1990. Industrial Rights. In: Z. Layton-Henry, ed. *The Political Rights of Migrant Workers in Western Europe.* London: Sage, p. 47.

Ware, P., 2013. *Very Small, Very Quiet, a Whisper" – Black and Minority Ethnic Groups: Voice and Influence ,* Birmingham: Third Sector Research Centre.

Webster, C., 2007. *Understanding Race and Crime.* Berkshire: Open University Press.

Wengraf, T., 2001. *Qualitative Research Interviewing.* London: Sage Publications.

Werbner, P., 1991. Black and Ethnic Leadership in Britain: A theoretical Overiew . In: P. Werbner & M. Anwar, eds. *Black and Ethnic Leadership: The Cultural Dimentions of Political Action.* London: Routledge, pp. 12-27.

Wetherell, M., 2007. Community Cohesion and Identity Dynamics: Dilemmas and Challenges. In: M. Wetherell, M. Lafleche & R. Berkeley, eds. *Identity, Ethnic Diversity and Community Cohesion.* London: SAGE Publications, pp. 1-12.

Wilding, K. et al., 2006. *The UK Voluntary Sector Almanac: The State of the Sector,* London: National Council for Voluntary Organisations.

Winder, R., 2005. *Bloody Foreigners: The Story of Immigration to Britain.* London: Abacus.

Woods, R., 2009. *Can Community Campaigns Against Racism Survive the New Funding Agenda?.* [Online]
Available at: http://www.irr.org.uk/2009/april/ha000010.html
[Accessed 9 June 2010].

Worley, C., 2005. 'It's not about Race. It's about the Community': New Labour and 'Community Cohesion'. *Critical Social Policy,* 25(4), pp. 483-496.

Wrench, J. & Virdee, S., 1995. *Organising the Unorganised: 'Race', Poor Work and Trade Unions ,* Warwick: Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick.

Yates, C., Partridge, H. & Bruce, C., 2012. Exploring Information Experiences through Phenomenography. *Library and Information Research,* 36(112), pp. 96-119.

Appendix One: Sample

Respondent	Pseudonym	Organisation	Location	Sex
1	Dawit	Voluntary Sector	East Coast	Male
2	Vladan	Voluntary Sector	West Coast	Male
3	Nadir	Voluntary Sector	West Coast	Male
4	Ada	Public Sector, Academic	West Coast	Female
5	Steve	Voluntary Sector	West Coast	Male
6	Amanda	Public Sector, Education	West Coast	Female
7	Marian	Voluntary Sector	West Coast	Female
8	Ahmad	Public Sector, Politics	West Coast	Male
9	Akeem	Public Sector, Health	West Coast	Male
10	Michelle	Voluntary Sector	West Coast	Female
11	Craig	Public Sector	East Coast	Male
12	Lin	Public Sector, Health	West Coast	Female
13	Tony	Public Sector	West Coast	Male
14	Kevin	Public Sector, Health	West Coast	Male
15	Ashleigh	Public Sector	West Coast	Female
16	Agnes	Voluntary Sector	Highlands and Islands	Female
17	Cristina	Voluntary Sector	East Coast	Female
18	Maria	Public Sector, Academic	East Coast	Female
19	Alexandra	Voluntary Sector	West Coast	Female
20	Paul	Public Sector, Education	West Coast	Male
21	Leanne	Voluntary Sector	East Coast	Female
22	Tina	Public Sector, Academic	East Coast	Female

Appendix Two: Interview Structure

Template Interview Structure

As discussed in chapter two (methods) the interviews followed themes. Although the interviews were semi-structured questions were prepared in advance to ensure key themes were covered. Not all respondents were asked the same questions. Below is a sample of the questions asked at the interviews.

The organisation

1. Can you tell me the main objectives of the organisation?

2. How are the projects main priorities decided?

3. Who is involved in this?

4. Do local people get an input into the direction of the organisation?

5. How does it differ from other anti-racist organisations? (Strengths /Weaknesses)

6. Do you work in partnership with other organisations?

7. Are there any partnerships with other equality strands?

8. Benefits/drawbacks?

9. What considerations do you take into account when joining forces with another organisation?

Racism

10. Are your strategies focused on integration and cohesion strategies as well as anti-racism?

11. Do you think any groups within the 'race' category are under-represented?

12. Have you had any dealings with the Equality and Human Rights Commission?

13. Do you think they are effective?

14. Were you involved in any consultation over the Single Equality Bill? Did you think your feedback was taken on board?

15. Do you think a single equality body creates a hierarchy of equalities?

16. Do you think that the EHRC Scotland is as effective as it is in England?

17. Any specific problems for Scotland?

18. Did you ever have any consultations with the CRE? Were they effective?

19. Have you noticed a difference in dealing with the new body as opposed to the old one?

20. Are their priorities suitable for tackling racism?

21. What should they be doing?

22. Do you think the EHRC are influenced by a political agenda?

23. Do you think they do enough to influence policy?

24. Have you been involved in any consultation exercises with the EHRC?

25. Do you think they took you feedback on board?

26. Did you apply for funding from the EHRC this year?

Funding and Money

27. Can you tell me a little bit about the funding of the organisation?

28. What do you think are the main difficulties in obtaining funding?

29. Targets?

30. What is the process of applying for funds like?

31. Funding cuts?

32. Politics of funding and applying for funds?

33. Are there any particular projects you think are more likely to get funding?

34. Aims and objectives of the organisations v funding?

35. Is the new emphasis on single ethnic funding an issue for this organisation? (Our shared future report…criteria move towards a more 'outward' facing approach)

36. Does dependence on certain types of funders curb activities?

Finally

37. In your experience of working in this 'industry' what has been the most significant change? Has it got better or worse?

38. What are the main barriers of your work?

39. Is there anything else you think I should be covering?

40. Is there anyone else you can think of that I should speak to?

Appendix Three: Invitation and Overview

Invitation letter

Graham Hills Building

50 Richmond Street

Glasgow

G1 1XN

Dear [Respondent]

Is the UK 'race' relations 'industry' effective at promoting an anti-racist consciousness?

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a study I am conducting as part of my PhD in the Department of Geography and Sociology at the University of Strathclyde, under the supervision of Dr. Colin Clark and Dr. Wun Chan. I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you decide to take part. I have attached an overview of the research focus, motivations and objectives for your consideration.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately one hour to take place in a mutually agreed upon location. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Further, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences by advising the researcher. With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to facilitate collection of information, and later transcribed for analysis. Shortly after the interview has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or clarify any points that you wish. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any thesis or report resulting from this study, however, with your permission anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained in a locked office on University premises. Only researchers associated with this project will have access. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information

to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me on 0141-548-4324 or by email at fiona.campbell.102@strath.ac.uk. If you would prefer to speak to one of my supervisors then please contact either Dr. Colin Clark (c.r.clark@strath.ac.uk) or Dr. Wun Chan (wun.chan@strath.ac.uk).

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received full ethics clearance from the University of Strathclyde.

Yours Sincerely

Fiona Campbell

Is the 'race' relations 'industry' effective at promoting a strong anti-racist and anti-sectarian consciousness?

fiona.campbell.102@strath.ac.uk

Since 7/7 there has been political and press criticism of multiculturalism as both a concept and a 'lived reality' in the UK. In 2001 the government commissioned, and backed the findings of, the Cantle report, which investigated the 'race riots' in Bradford, Oldham and Burnley. The report criticised minority groups for failing to integrate and suggested that multicultural policies, and single ethnic group funding had led to communities living 'parallel lives'. As a result of these findings the idea of multiculturalism has become a contested concept and there have been calls, led by prominent individuals such as the former Home Secretary, David Blunkett, for a national debate on Britishness. However, it has been suggested that the focus on integration has diluted attempts to directly challenge racism and religious prejudice.

The policy and conceptual shift from multiculturalism towards integration and community cohesion has had direct impacts for anti-racism campaigns and groups, especially the small, grassroots organisations who rely heavily on funding from the 'top'. The Cantle report, as well as a report by the Commission for Integration and Cohesion entitled 'Our Shared Future', suggested that single group funding was detrimental to community relations. As the CRE has now merged into the EHRC there are concerns that the work of anti-racism has been diluted. In order to understand the position of both the 'winners' and 'losers' of the mainstream equality funding, this research will investigate the funding criteria for community cohesion and related matters. The aim is to get a broad range of responses from individuals and organisations that are in a position to award funding and those who are eligible to apply for funds. Furthermore, the research will aim to get a range of responses from key figures in the field of anti-racism and equality work in Scotland.

The aim of this research is to examine the success the 'race' relations 'industry' has in promoting a strong anti-racist and anti-religious prejudice consciousness in society. An analysis of the different roles the public, private and voluntary sector organisations play in promoting anti-racism will be systematically undertaken.   An analysis of the funding available to anti-racism organisations will be undertaken in order to understand whether grassroots organisations are sufficiently funded. Furthermore, an exploration of those in a position to award funds to voluntary organisations will be undertaken. This investigation aims to understand the objectives and strategies for addressing racism and to explore whether the different

sectors have common goals. An evaluation of organisational positions on key components of fighting racism, such as challenging the media, promoting racial and religious equality through anti-racism campaigns, influencing policy and providing services to minority groups that are facing discrimination, will be undertaken.

<u>Request for help</u>

The format of the interview will be a semi-45structured interview covering the issues of the aims and objectives of the organisation, the funding of the organisation, the work of the organisation, the role played in promoting anti-racism and the future of multiculturalism. The interview will be tape recorded, with your permission, and later transcribed. The transcription will be sent to you shortly after the interview to allow you to verify what you said. The interviews will be completely anonymous.