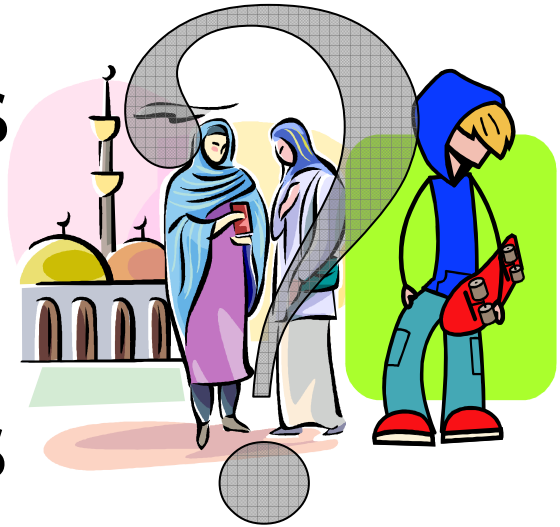


Charnwood Racial Equality Council
Annual Lecture 2006

Hoodies
Hijabs
and
Anoraks



Karen Chouhan



Hoodies, Hijabs and Anoraks
Race and the Emperor's New Clothes

Karen Chouhan

This booklet contains the text and images of the First Charnwood Racial Equality Council Annual Lecture given by Karen Chouhan on Thursday 26th October 2006 in the Cope Auditorium at Loughborough University.

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Foreword

This Lecture is the first of what we hope will be an annual event in the Borough of Charnwood. Our aim is to create a public occasion for a challenging, robust, intellectual debate on the issues confronting us, not simply in Charnwood, but nationally, and even internationally.

Where better to hold such a debate than within a university? We're most grateful for the encouragement offered by Professor Shirley Pearce, the Vice Chancellor of Loughborough University. This is a co-operative town & gown venture, illustrative of the way in Loughborough is indeed a 'University town'. CREC celebrates Charnwood's diverse community and recognizes how the town is enhanced by many young people and academic scholars from around the world. Living side by side, we've unique opportunities for gaining global perspectives on the key issues of our time. We are particularly rich, culturally, and blessed with brilliant young minds to challenge the way we think. All of us who live and work here in Loughborough are truly fortunate.

Our first lecture is a very exciting occasion. We thank Karen Chouhan for accepting the invitation. I'm sure all who hear and read will find her message challenging and enlivening. What Karen says must not be ignored because it is provocative or does not fall into line with current thinking. Here is the grit to make the special pearl. We may not agree with all she says. But we can't afford to ignore it. Her stance offers an important contribution to current thinking.

Behind this lecture, lie considerable efforts by our CREC Staff, led by Varsha Parma, and my fellow Trustee, Anthony Gimpel, who has edited the booklet. I hope anyone who finds this food for thought will look further into CREC activities. The Annual Report is on our website at: www.charnwoodrec.org.

Perhaps you might consider giving us your support, either by joining, entering into partnership, or letting us tap into your expertise? Our first responsibility lies to the people of Charnwood. But this is enhanced by working with people, groups, and partners, not only within in the UK but also from mainland European countries. In particular we look to mobilise our young people in the fight against racism, xenophobia, prejudice, and fear..

In all we do here and in our everyday work at CREC we believe:
"Together we make a difference".

Cllr. Peter Lewis CC
Chair
Charnwood Racial Equality Council

Hoodies, Hijabs and Anoraks

Good evening and thanks to Charnwood Racial Equality Council for inviting me.

Before I start can I just ask everyone to look at each others labels - or your own - and let me know where your clothes are made?

eg: M&S - Turkey, Gap - Korea

This is an illustration - we cannot escape the fact of Britain's economy being dependent on overseas labour. But that's not all. It is also dependent on migrant labour in the UK; on African, Asian and Caribbean labour in this country for hundreds of years.

ARE YOU THINKING WHAT WE'RE THINKING?

If you can afford it, **Czech** nannies or **Hungarian** au pairs will care for your children, **Poles** will build your extension, **Lithuanians** will sand your parquet floors, **Nigerians** will clean your desk before you get to the office, **Japanese** and **Germans** anxious to make the kind of money they can't make at home will work alongside you, **Ghanaians** will drive the minicabs which take you back to your children, cooks from just about **every country on the planet** will feed you when you go out to eat, **Indian** doctors will treat you when you are sick and, if they fail, the last sight you will see will be a **Filipino** nurse looking down at your hospital bed.

Nick Cohen : The Observer : 24th April 2005

So the UK should be proud of its rich tapestry. Its multiculturalism is so sadly being derided as a possible source of terrorists in our midst because we have been 'tolerant' - I will not use that word again tonight because I don't like it. It implies a generosity of the superior to the inferior and it is one of those words which I am seeking to rid from the language of race equality in my work which I will come to explain shortly.

Let's just carry on for a minute exploring some of the rich tapestry and the essential contribution of African Asian and Caribbean peoples to Britain over hundreds of years:



Contemporary FASHION

- NHS built by migrant Black workers
- 40% of all doctors, dentists and nurses in London are Black
- UK Olympic gold medals – 9/14 since 1988
- Olympic 2012 winning bid
- Mastermind 2005 - Shaun Wallace
- The Apprentice [2005] - Tim Campbell
- Miss England – Hammasa Kohistani
- Amjad Hussain – Rear Admiral Royal Navy
- Amir Khan – UK's brightest boxing talent in years
- Monty Panesar
- Most widely eaten food in the UK is 'curry'
- Music
- Fashion

about Black people and migrants? This is one of my questions tonight. I think the answer may be rooted in the fact that they are concerned of what they know is their track record of discrimination and racism and they are now trying to deflect the spotlight onto the 'dark strangers'. Invoking once more a silhouette of difference as a threat to Britishness.

Opening links

- Slobodan Milosevic faced in 2002 a respected Human rights law expert Patrick Robinson of Jamaica, a descendent of slaves
- Quakers in 2005 awarded 6 visionary awards for closing down American enclaves, international Health programmes via radio, creating diplomatic representation, international food production and distribution, linking the global and local , *and for me to change the discourse of race in Britain.*

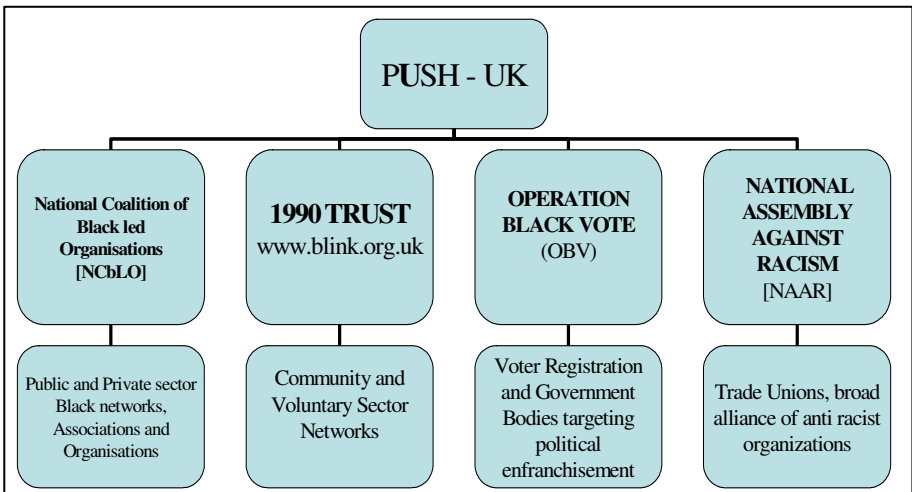
And while we are talking about 100s of years of black labour and contribution - we are in the run up to the 200th anniversary of the legislation of the abolition of slavery in the UK - slavery and the British colonisation of India that made the industrial revolution possible and upon which modern Britain is founded. Tonight I could spend many hours exploring the legacy of slavery not least because the legacy of resistance of Black enslaved people, the political sophistication of the methods used and the alliances they formed are lessons that we need to take on board today. But another lesson is that often the part played by Black resistance was key. If you did not take the time to find out you might think it was down to Wilberforce and some other parliamentarians. The reality is that the Haitian revolution led by Toussaint l'Ouverture in 1791 marked the end of western slavery of Africans, the British struggle was led

by Equiano Olaudah in partnership with Quakers and Radicals such as Clarkson and Sharp.

To this day there is a legacy reflected in families and communities which have been ripped apart and struggling to achieve economic power. Another connection for me is that Quakers were instrumental in the abolition movement and were the first to talk about compensation - reparation. It was Quakers also who recognised the work of the 1990 Trust and my ideas for change. I have been awarded a five year grant to enable a different approach to race equality in the UK. For the vision project I am going to work with The 1990 Trust as my key support organisation and found a new arm of the organisation called PUSH UK.

The 1990 Trust

- Black led Human Rights and Race Equality NGO
- We believe in collective working, broad alliances, partnerships, networking, open access
- To support and enable self empowerment for inclusion as first class citizens
- Research, training, consultancy, campaigning, policy development & communication through information technology



www.blink.org.uk

home | campaigns | act now | policy & research | press releases | links | subscribe | contact us

black information link

The 1990 Trust's independent community interactive site for black communities

Responses to the Equalities Review

Events
View all events >>

Film premiere: Journey with the Revolution in Venezuela
October 7 (Broadcast and Screenings), London

BLACK MANIFESTO

Know Your Rights
Website from the 1990 Trust
Using the Human Rights Act to counter Racism and Discrimination.
www.blink.org.uk/kyr

Our Rights Our Future

Top Story



Stab victim "did the right thing"
FATHER OF TWO Steven Nyembo-Ya-Muleba did "exactly the right thing" by challenging yobs who were terrorising his block, police said.
[More >>](#)

Latest news

Bosses "unaware" of discrimination
Bosses were often unaware of causing discrimination, the Tories equalities spokeswoman told delegates in Bournemouth.
Report Date: Tuesday, October 03, 2006
[More >>](#)

The worst kind of secrets
Britain is going down the US road in its treatment of Arab refugee prisoners, and the home secretary should be restrained of this.
Report Date: Tuesday, October 03, 2006
Source: Guardian comment
[More >>](#)

De Meneses officers 'should face a jury'
Family's lawyers say there is enough evidence for a murder charge
Report Date: Tuesday, October 03, 2006
Source: Guardian
[More >>](#)

Tuesday, October 03, 2006

Search
the poverty of mult

Jump to sector:

editorial

The British government has run out of excuses for refusing to let Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan into Britain.

Moviemania
With Eisa O' Toole

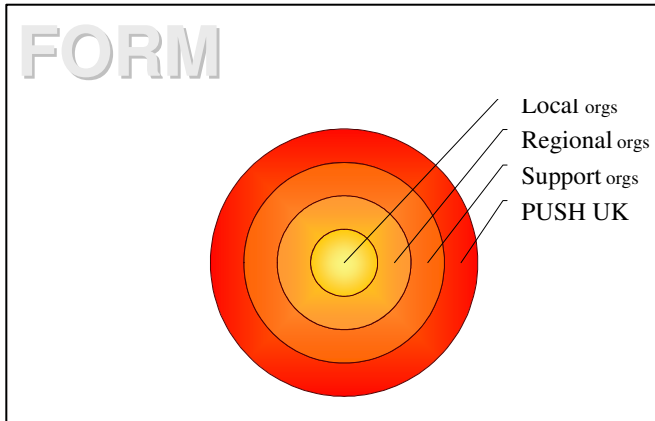


ASHANTI stars in the new film 'John Tucker Must Die'. She tells Blink film editor Eisa O'Toole why she'll keep singing despite film success.

STAR of the new movie 'Akeelah and the Bee' Keke Palmer tells Eisa

The 1990 Trust and PUSH-UKAG will together:

- Create a UK wide, community led, economic alliance which will create strategic partnerships for change
- Demonstrate through these collaborative partnerships the delivery of benefits beyond current imagination on race equality - for example a casework and enforcement strategic partnership or a 'Square Mile' sub group for race equality in the City Corporates
- Support the public, private and voluntary sectors in actioning new and improved modes of discourse, interrogating the rhetoric of social cohesion, integration, anti-multiculturalism and citizenship.
- Create an alternative analysis on race equality through an economic perspective refracted over a period of three to five years, with targeted briefings and an annual *State of Black Britain* report that will form the core publication at an Annual Conference.
- Develop actions to ensure that corporate social responsibility is enforced by multinationals and the private sector generally. This will include a programme of shareholder campaigns, partnership work on equitable procurement, and campaigning for a race equality duty in the private sector.



In John Berger's famous writing about migrant workers in Europe he includes a migrant who complains that 'they only look at my hands never my face'.

It is ironic that Western Europe, whose economy is founded on its migration policies, on what migrants can offer with their hands, their labour:

a) should use the term economic migrants as if somehow it was a bad smell and

b) should be now concerned with what their faces look like, so concerned that their faces are concealed by hoods or hijabs which have come to symbolise people, and particularly young people, who are mad, bad or terrorists. Why this feverish rush to identity and for the faces and whites of the eyes to be seen? Why are identity cards being foisted upon us (and we will have to pay!). These are questions I want to address this evening.

You may immediately question why I have proposed that Hijabs are seen as symbols of terrorism (and when actually the British government has not banned them - only in parts of Europe like France and Belgium). Especially when women have not been the main perpetrators of the terrorists acts. Why is there so much focus on it? Why is it that women wearing the Hijab are more prone to racist insults? Some commentators and policy makers will say that the Hijab represents the oppression of women and by banning it 'we' are helping. Also that it is a sign of a culture which produces terrorists' and religion being brought into secular

Unemployment

Ethnic group	Men (aged 16-64) (%)	Women (aged 16-59) (%)
White	5	4
Mixed	14	11
Indian	7	7
Pakistani	16	16
Bangladeshi	20	24
Other Asian	12	9
Black Caribbean	14	9
Black African	15	13
Other ²	11	9

Source: Annual Local Area Labour Force Survey, 2001/02, Office for National Statistics

spheres. This separation of the secular and religious is particular western: for Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Muslims; Jains, religion permeates all aspects of life.

But Britain is not exempt. A young girl is banned from wearing a Jilbab to school, why? When I was at school teachers were always telling the girls to be more modest and cover up more.

Part of this obsession with outward signs and the unveiling is driven from an irrational fear of the unknown. It is irrational on two counts at least.

1. Why are we afraid of the unknown when it is usually the known which is the biggest threat?

So what do we know and why are we so afraid of it that we prefer to dwell on our fear of the unknown? Isn't this similar to the fact that we are more likely to have a crime committed against us by someone we know than by a stranger?

2. The unknown seems to be based on a continuum of that which is least like 'us' at one end and that which is most like 'us' at the other. Hoodies and Hijabs being currently the most symbolic of the wrong end of the continuum. But why should it be so? What or who is 'us'? Does Britain really want everyone to be the same or is diversity valued?

In the UK my contention is that valuing diversity, so recently a government strapline on nearly every publication, has now been shown to be a myth - a saying without meaning.

Your diversity is only valued in direct proportion to how similar or assimilated you are to the white British ideal. And it seems that the fear of the unknown, dark stranger is lighting up imperial feelings again - or is it? What is the empire and who is the emperor?

I will return to this later. For now let's look at some things that we know.

The **employment** rates for women from all ethnic groups are lower than the male equivalent. The largest gap between male and female employment rates are in the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities, 39% and 36% respectively. The smallest gap between male and female employment rates are within the Chinese community with a gap of 2.5%. Indian men have the most successful employment rates when compared to other minority groups with a 77% employment rate.

Households on low income

The Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities have on average the largest household sizes 4.7 and 4.2 respectively compared with the White population which has 2.3 people living in a household. But when we compare families with dependent children, including lone parents families, we find that:

In Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities 89% and 85% of children in these families live with both parents and only 11% and 15% respectively live in lone parent household. In Black Caribbean families 46% of children live with both parents and 54% live in lone parent households. In White families 77% of children live with both parents and 23% live in lone parent's households.

'The poverty of our century is unlike that of any other. It is not, as poverty was before, the result of natural scarcity, but of a set of priorities imposed upon the rest of the world by the rich. Consequently, the modern poor are not pitied ... but we have the first culture for which a beggar is a reminder of nothing.' *Berger*

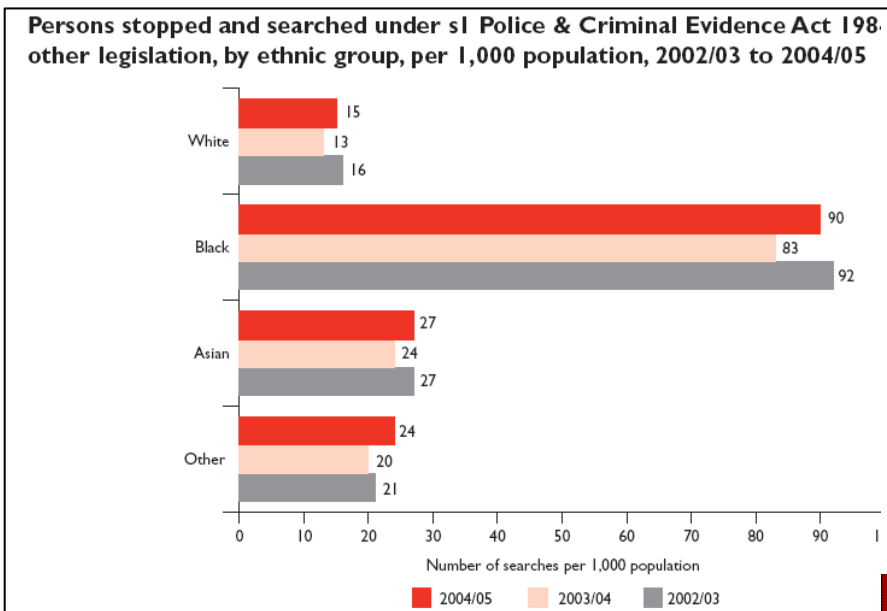
Stop and Search

There were 838,700 stop and searches in 2004/05 under section 1 of the *1984 Police and criminal Evidence Act*. An increase of 12% for Black people and 20% for Asian people.

Households below Average Income	Measured <i>before</i> housing costs are taken into account	Measured <i>after</i> housing costs are taken into account
White	16%	20%
Mixed	18%	31%
Indian	20%	22%
Pakistani / Bangladeshi	59%	69%
Black Caribbean	24%	32%
Black Non Caribbean	30%	46%
Chinese or other ethnic	23%	32%

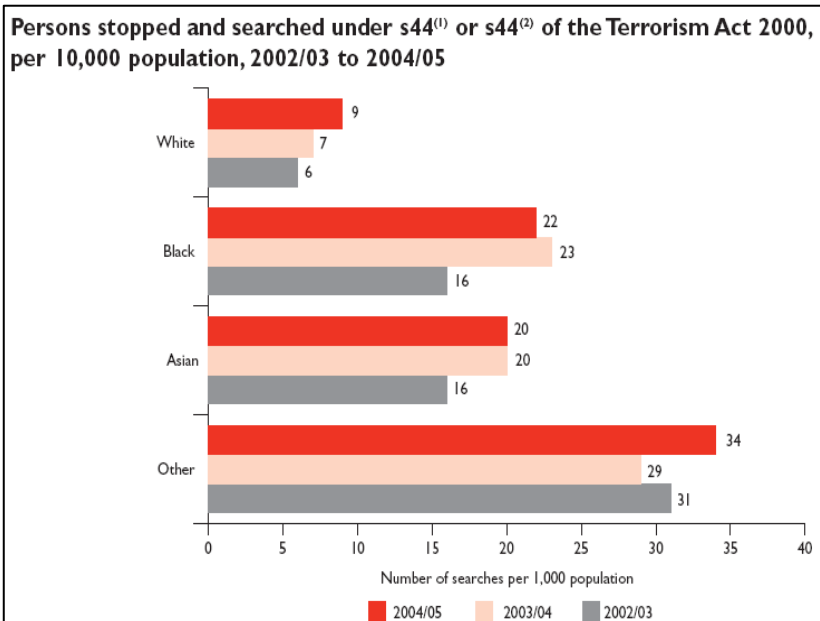
Black people were six times more likely to be stopped and searched, and Asians were 2 times more likely to be stopped and searched than White people.

The Terrorism Act 2000 provides the police with additional powers to carry out further searches. Section 44(1) permits



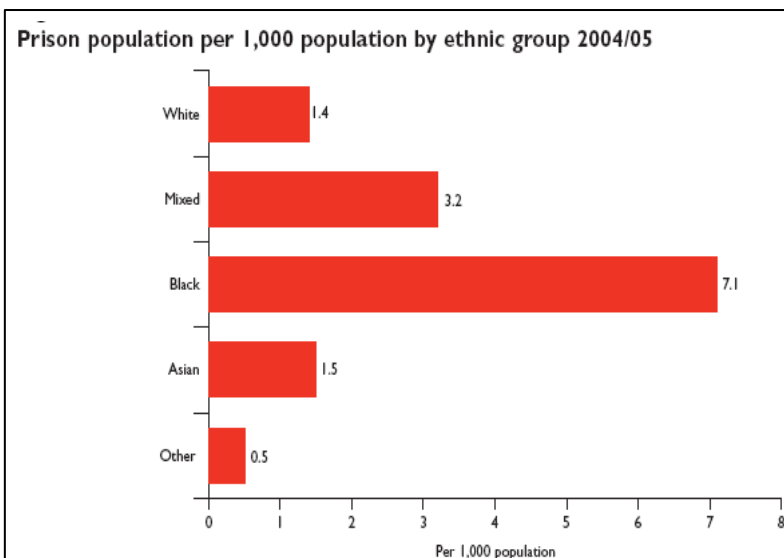
vehicle searches and section 44(2) permits pedestrian searches. In total there were 32,086 searches in 2004/05, 40% of which were carried out in the London Metropolitan Police area. Of the searches:

- 23,400 were of White people
- 2,511 were Black people
- 3,494 were Asian people and
- 1,481 were of 'Other ethnic origin.



Black people were 2.5 times more likely to be searched under the Terrorism Act than White people were. Asian people were 2 times more likely to be searched and people from 'Other' ethnic origins were 4 times more likely to be searched.

In June 2005 there were 76,190 people in prison, of which 24.6% (18,752) were from Black and other minority communities, although they currently make up only 7.9% of the population. Of these prisoners, 38% were foreign nationals. Excluding foreign nationals, Black prisoners were still five times more likely to be incarcerated than White people. And people from mixed ethnic origins were twice as likely to be in prison as White people.



At Key Stage 1: English and Reading (5-7 year olds, achieving Level 2 or more) Chinese boys and girls score highly achieving 81% and 88% respectively. Indian boys follow at 86%, those of mixed parentage 81%, Bangladeshi boys 74%, Pakistani boys 73% and Black Caribbean and Black African boys equally scoring 75%. In contrast Travellers of Irish heritage and Roma/Gypsy boys and girls scored 25% and 33%, and 38% and 51% respectively.

Education			
Boys	5 Passes A* - C	Girls	5 Passes A* - C
White	39.0	White	47.1
Traveller of Irish heritage	22.9	Traveller of Irish heritage	19.0
Gypsy / Roma	6.3	Gypsy / Roma	11.3
Mixed	37.3	Mixed	46.2
Indian	52.4	Indian	62.8
Pakistani	28.8	Pakistani	36.5
Bangladeshi	31.0	Bangladeshi	37.9
Black Caribbean	21.2	Black Caribbean	32.5
Black African	29.7	Black African	39.8
Chinese	62.8	Chinese	75.2

At Key Stage 2: Mathematics (7-11 year olds, achieving Level 4 or more) Chinese boys and girls again scored highly achieving 89% and 91%; Indian boys and girls followed scoring 80% and 79% respectively. Bangladeshi boys and girls scored 70% and 67% respectively. Pakistani boys scored 64% and girls scored 60%. Black African boys scored 60% and Black Caribbean boys scored 59%. Black African and Black Caribbean girls equally scored 63%. In contrast Travellers of Irish heritage and Roma/Gypsy boys and girls scored 28% and 32% and 24% and 33% respectively.

House of Commons: In 1987, there were four Black MPs; in 1992, five; in 1997, nine (representing 1.4% of the House of Commons). Today there are 15 Black MPs out of 659, only two of them are women.

- Scotland: Of the 65 MSPs, there are no Black members of the Scottish Parliament.
 - Wales: All 45 Welsh Assembly members are White.
 - Representation at local authority level is estimated at around 2.5%. Only two out of the 410 local authority leaders are Black.
- At the present rate of progress all of Britain's democratic institutions will remain grossly unrepresentative for another 100 years. The House of Commons will not achieve Black representative democracy until 2150.

Political Representation	Number of Black MPs	Increase Decrease	Proportion of party
Labour	13	+1	3.7%
Conservative	2	+2	1%
Liberal Democrats	0		
Other	0		

Dadabhai Naoroji MP 1892



Dadabhai Naoroji the first South Asian Member of Parliament, was born in 1825, the son of a Parsi Zoroastrian priest. From the very beginning he was a pioneer in many fields: he became one of the first Indian graduates of Elphinstone College in Bombay and later became the first Indian professor of that college.

In 1855 he travelled to London to become a partner in Cama & Co, the first Indian company to be established in Britain. Within 3 years, he resigned on ethical grounds and in 1859 set up his own cotton company Naoroji & Co. His London home became a centre for Indian life, attracting students and nationalists, leading to the establishment of some of the earliest South Asian associations, including the London Indian society, the East Indian Association and the London Zoroastrian Association.

He is remembered in India for his leadership of the Indian National Congress a record three times (1886, 1893 and 1906), and his economic critique of British rule in India, 'the drain of wealth theory'. Naoroji's involvement in British politics reached its highest point when, after one failed attempt, he was elected Liberal MP for Finsbury Central in 1892.

His candidature attracted negative publicity when Lord Salisbury, the Conservative Prime Minister, raised the 'race card', questioning the suitability of 'a black man' to stand for parliament in Britain. The smear tactics seemed to have backfired as Dadabhai Naoroji won the seat, temporarily rallying the Liberal party behind him and most of the press.

Despite his heavy workload and diverse commitments Naoroji was able to juggle running a business, maintaining a family in both India and England and working on a wide variety of political issues (including women's suffrage, opium, temperance and indentured Indian labourers in South Africa), as well as fulfilling his duties as a Liberal MP. Although faced with opposition from within his own party, he remained loyal to the Liberal programme. He lost his seat in 1895.

John Archer, 1913 Black Mayor of Battersea



"It is a victory such as has never been gained before. I am the proud victor. I am a man of colour."

"Where were you born?" interjected a councillor.

"I think" said the mayor

"that you ought to show me after my election the same respect as you would show a white man. I have

been charged with not being of the superior race, and it behoves you now that you show that you do belong to the superior race." (ie. by speaking politely, and not making crude racial innuendoes).

He continues: "My election tonight marks a new era. You have made history. For the first time in the history of the English nation a man of colour has been elected mayor of an English borough. That will go forth to all the coloured nations of the world. They will look to Battersea and say "It is the greatest thing you have done. You have shown that you have no racial prejudice, but recognise a man for what you think he has done."

Archer worked with Samuel Coleridge Taylor the committed Pan Africanist and classical composer. He also joined other Black leaders for the 2nd international Pan African Congress in Paris 1919.

Archer was to work tirelessly to ensure that other Black people also stood up to be counted politically. In 1921 he persuaded Shapurji Saklatvala to stand as a Labour candidate, becoming his agent in the process. By 1922 Saklatvala was to become one of the first Black elected MPs.

Garvey, then based in New York, was commanding the loyalty of over two million African and African Americans with his organisation UNIA - Universal Improvement Association. Hounded, imprisoned and then deported by the US Government, Garvey spent the last five years of his life here in Fulham, London. He died a sad and lonely death.

Local authorities

Local authorities fare little better with few Black councillors and even fewer in positions of power within the authorities.

Women-only short lists delivered a higher level of representation in 1997, helping increase the number of women to well over 100 women MPs into Parliament, but this has included only the second Black woman MP being elected.

The Conservatives elected their first Black MP, Adams Afriyie in Windsor and an Asian MP, Shailesh Vara in Cambridgeshire North West.

The Liberal Democrats lost their only Black MP Parmijit Singh Gill.

The Labour party increased its total number of Black MPs by one to 13, although three new candidates were elected: Sadiq Khan, Shahid Malik and Dawn Butler.

Labour still has only two Black women MPs Diane Abbot and Dawn Butler.

Foreign Policy

From the Black Manifesto 2005 2nd edition:

These are the words of former Research fellow at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, Mark Curtis from his book 'Unpeople'. Beside its direct and devastating consequences in the Middle East for example, British foreign policy is also having a significant impact in Britain itself. Large sections of British society have cultural, ethnic and religious connections with parts of the world where the impact of the government's foreign policy is resulting in the suffering of tens of thousands of people.

The global war on 'terror' and British government's policy of standing shoulder to shoulder with the United States' government is perceived and experienced by British Muslims as a war on Islam and is directly being used by some to demonise them. Evidence of this can be seen by the significant increase of stop and searches on Asians, rise in racist attacks, racial profiling on transport, discrimination in employment and outright attacks from the

extreme right, who target Muslims and Islam, portraying both as 'the enemy within'. A very worrying symptom of the rise of Islamophobia is the increase in the number of British National Party councillors, with the direct consequence of rise in the number of racist attacks in those areas they target.

British foreign policy is still imperialistic and has a highly damaging effect on all black communities, who are targeted by a crude onslaught in sections of the media focusing on stereotypes and nourished by prejudice. It is our civic duty and democratic right to confront this current foreign policy since it undeniable that it has had a direct impact on race relations.

There is a need for a truly ethical foreign policy. This must have at its core, respect for human rights, rule of law, sovereignty of other nations, and strict adherence to UN conventions banning torture. Scrutiny and accountability, the most highly regarded

Asylum

- In 2004, applications for Asylum in the UK fell by 31% to 33,960 the largest proportional fall in asylum seekers than the major recipient European countries
- The nationalities accounting for the most applications were from Iran, Somalia, China, Zimbabwe and Pakistan
- Applicants including dependants were 40,625 in 2004 32% less than in 2003
- A total of 12,585 asylum seekers were removed from the UK in 2004 including dependants the figure was 14,905 failed asylum seekers
- Support from the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) fell in 2004 by 13% to 32,090

<http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs05/hosb1305.pdf>

Refugees granted leave to remain

United Kingdom	Number of persons						
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2003	2004
			(4)	(4)(5)(R)	(6)(7) (P)	Excluding accession states ⁽⁸⁾	
Europe	3,815	3,465	2,230	1,615	6,275	1,505	5,255
Americas	310	300	240	205	960	205	960
Africa	13,100	7,330	10,185	7,120	7,165	7,120	7,160
Indian sub-continent	575	335	350	315	1,445	315	1,445
Rest of Asia	7,150	6,400	5,175	2,920	3,625	2,920	3,625
Oceania	15	5	10	-	5	-	5
Other nationalities	390	135	50	15	20	15	20
All nationalities	25,355	17,965	18,235	12,190	19,490	12,080	18,470

Students

United Kingdom	Number of persons						
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2003	2004
					(P)(2)	Excluding Accession States(3)	
Europe	69,820	75,320	75,965	64,085	37,130	29,730	29,165
Americas	99,115	98,985	101,050	89,270	92,655	89,270	92,655
Africa	20,325	25,165	27,625	24,500	24,710	24,500	24,710
Indian sub-continent	10,375	14,650	19,585	24,725	31,215	24,725	31,215
Rest of Asia	109,955	121,725	141,060	112,380	104,710	112,380	104,710
Oceania	2,015	2,390	2,325	2,780	2,290	2,780	2,290
Other nationalities	900	960	1,190	890	1,010	890	1,010
All nationalities	312,500	339,195	368,795	318,630	293,715	284,275	285,750

Compared with many other developed countries in the period 1951-2001, the UK population grew more slowly than the average growth across the European Union at 23%, and considerably less than some other countries - for example USA 80%; and Australia 133%.

Nuggets


- 45% of Black and other minority communities live in London
- On the subject of identity nine out of ten people from Black and other minority communities identified as British. In contrast people from the White British groups were more likely to describe their national identity as English (58 per cent) rather than British (36 per cent).

Nuggets

- The Black business community forms an integral part of the UK's economy their combined annual turnover exceeds £4.5 billion and they provide over 70,000 jobs to London's economy.
- Black and other ethnic minority communities are three times more likely to become statutorily homeless than the majority White population.


The main causes of homelessness were found to be domestic violence, family disputes, families being forced to leave private rented accommodation, pregnancy and overcrowding.

Nuggets

- It is estimated that in 2004/05 there were 179,000 racially motivated incidents.
 - Black people were 4.5 times and Asians 1.7 times more likely to be victims of homicides than White people.
 - Black people are up to 44 per cent more likely to be detained under the Mental Health Act but are less likely to be referred by their GP than white people, a significantly high percentage are referred via the CJS.
 - Collectively Muslims are more likely to be socially excluded than Sikhs and Hindus.
- 

Foreign Policy

Through its own intervention, and its support of key allies such as the United States and various repressive regimes, British foreign policy has been, and continues to be responsible for systematic and serious abuse of human rights. It is calculated that Britain bears significant responsibility for around 10 million deaths since 1945 of Nigerians, Indonesians, Arabs, Ugandans, Chileans, Vietnamese and many others.”



facets of democracy, are urgently needed in regards to British foreign policy. Whistle-blowers have exposed this duplicitous foreign policy and all communities irrespective of race and religion should be able to debate, question and challenge it without being labelled as traitors and subversives. Such a debate is essential in our multicultural society for preventing the increasing disaffection and alienation of those who feel victims of this policy, and to help prevent further devastating attacks like 7/7 which in turn play in to the hands of those who continue to divide and rule at home as well as abroad.

What we know then is that somehow the systems are failing African, Asian and Caribbean people and that racial inequality is very persistent. Yet at the same time those same communities are improving against the odds and integrating as far as they are allowed to integrate. So the focus on cohesion, integration, diversity and citizenship is misplaced. If there is segregation at all it is because the communities have been segregated by education and housing policies, racism and white flight. If there are ghettos, defined as 75% or more of any one ethnicity, then this applies to most of areas of England except the big urban areas. That is, they are mainly white ghettos. The only way that there will be any more integration from black to white areas will be if they have more economic power, more economic equity.

These ideas, categorised as Integration and cohesion, citizenship and multiculturalism, are threatening to become the parameters for present and future discourse on race in Britain. These ideas must not be allowed to crystallise into a residual ideology for race as they are rooted in a pathologising, 'blaming the victim' discourse. The Black Manifesto demands that politicians and media and communities challenge this demeaning discourse of race in Britain, in particular it challenges these concepts.

Integration

Politicians should abandon their focus on integration and replace it with the responsibility of delivering race equality at an

individual, group and institutional level. Politicians and wider society must not lose sight of the fact that Britain's Black communities are, on the whole, more integrated than anywhere else in the EU, partly due to the fact that we are given the right to vote in Britain, something Black citizens across Europe have

Fascists on the Rise

- 2002, 3 local BNP councillors
- 2006 local elections brought in 48 BNP councillors (+27 from 2004)
- 229,389 votes (+2.8%)

not been afforded for generations. Recent polls have indicated that Muslims are more likely to have non-Muslim friends than White people are to have Black friends. Where there are isolated communities this is often due to institutionalised segregation at the hands of public policy on housing or education or due to fear of racism.

Cohesion

Ideally the whole emphasis of the cohesion agenda needs to be changed and decoupled from the delivery of race equality. According to the Cattle Report, it is not so much institutions as attitudes that need changing. We disagree and demand a much greater emphasis on economic development, revival of local democracy, anti poverty strategies, eradicating institutional, cultural and individual racism, and more attention to the power divide that disenfranchises Black communities. For example, the blame for the disturbances in Bradford was wrongly attributed to Asian families not speaking English at home. This was false as most of those caught up in the disturbances were born and brought up in Britain with English as a first language. It also negated much of the institutional racism faced by that community, and the fact that far right forces came into the area to whip up those disturbances. It is not Black communities that do

not want to be part of cohesive communities or to be integrated; rather they have been segregated by racism.

Citizenship

In the present race hate filled climate, citizenship tests on new migrant communities only perpetuate a rude agenda. The reality is that if you are a citizen of the UK but happen to have a different colour skin you may have political and social rights but they are unsubstantiated by the inequality faced in nearly every arena of social and civic life. It is ironic that the only people to swear oaths of allegiance and take citizenship tests may be the very same who have the lowest levels of equality. Those requiring reminders of their citizenship responsibilities are racists and fascists. Oaths of allegiance should be abandoned. As we have seen, the citizenship handbook for new arrivals includes Eurocentric statements and a celebration of empire which is an offence to the millions of people who lost their lives as a result of slavery and colonialism.

The CEHR will not have a statutory race committee although there is one for disability and they have not listened to black stakeholders.

CID Agenda

- **Citizenship** – *oaths of allegiance and English tests*
- **Cohesion** – *multiculturalism is dead?*
- **Commission for Equalities and Human Rights**
- **Commission on Integration and Cohesion**
- **Immigration and Asylum** – *more problematising.*
- **Institutional racism** – *lazy leadership, no zero tolerance*
- **Integration** – *who has segregated who?*
- **ID cards** – *where, when & how will database be utilised.*
- **Diversity** – *parity argument = equality of misery.*
- **Discourse** – *blaming the victim by asserting narrow norms*

COIC - why this commission? - which wants to tackle extremism by looking at cohesion and integration - why was there never one set up to get rid of other extremists like the BNP?

Multiculturalism

Politicians and the media must end the moribund debate on multiculturalism that is framed as if multicultural Britain is detrimental. This has been fuelled by negative debates about asylum and immigration and ultimately undermines the position and contributions of the Black communities. Multiculturalism is the economic generator of our major cities. It is the driving force behind the success of public services such as the NHS and enhances the cultural richness of Britain which enables it to enjoy a competitive position internationally. There exists, therefore, a continuum which begins with challenging multiculturalism and ends with aliens in our midst: only a few stages between that and asserting an 'All White Britain' as the solution. The debates are a clear indication to Black communities that they will never belong, despite citizenship status, taxes paid or work delivered. One of the most important areas of attention to delivering race equality is to change the language and conception of multiracial Britain. The integration, cohesion, citizenship and multiculturalism discussions at present perpetuate a narrative of us and them. And it is this discourse which underpins the cultural maintenance of racism at individual, group and structural levels.

It is then this attempt to move away from examining the economic roots of structural inequality that leads to the superficial focus on Hoodies (which seem to symbolise a fear of youth culture with special emphasis on Black youth) and to Hijabs (characteristic of Islam) which therefore seem anathema to Britishness.

The anoraks are:

- a) the bureaucrats who invent commissions, reviews and toolkits in a managerial approach to race equality that is incapable of delivering race equality; and
- b) elements of the media so concerned with creating a controversial reading that they fail to get below the surface and their images and convocations are full of the face of 'Islamic' terror.

Interculturalism

- Multiculturalism – has a bad press
- We do not want to retain Multiculturalism as a voyeuristic, superficial expression of ‘tolerance’ for other cultures but as an integral part of the success of British society. The current debate around multiculturalism has undertones of the race-hate propoganda of the far right, which holds that multiculturalism has been foisted upon an unwilling indigenous population, to dilute their White identity.

But this is nothing new - the nation state has always had ‘moral panics’ or created them about youth culture or about anything foreign. Consider the moral panics over Mods and Rockers of the 50s - youth sub-cultures that were signals of a changing society but, because they were a challenge to the state order, became objects of control assertion. It failed. It seems that one element of Britishness is that ‘stiff upper lip’ reflected in the way it conducts the state affairs - controlled and unemotional. In fact you could call Britain a stiff state. And beneath this untrembling lip there hides a history of wrong doing based on a belief in superiority.

Now of course, not all white people today believe it or act like it and thank god we have so many enlightened white British, but the psyche of the state of empire remains and every now and then reasserts itself as though somehow it cannot quite let go and face the past - and without doing this it cannot move on.

The closest we got to this state of attrition was just after the Lawrence inquiry when institutional racism in all institutions Britain was the main implication. This is one of the reasons that the Lawrence inquiry was so important. However within a couple of years David Blunkett was using the ‘S’ word and challenging the reality of institutional racism.

Pledge

I will give my loyalty to the UK and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values. I will observe its laws faithfully and fulfil my obligations as a British citizen

It seems that the Empire is reasserting itself internally; a neo empire in the UK. If it can't control external countries through colonisation 'it had better damn well control the natives at home lest they threaten our way of life'

Never quite getting over its demise; it has clung to the element of its philosophy that colonialism was good for people who needed development - reflected in the debate about British values - *that of course the way to fight terrorism is to assert British values*. This was reflected in Gordon Brown's speech at the Labour party conference last month. Can we understand the juxtaposition of British values with combating terrorism, what is the link?

Now new migrants are required to retake a pledge and swear an oath of allegiance.

This should all have emerged from a citizenship act not a nationality and immigration act, and then prioritised for those that need it most like the BNP and Veritas who do not uphold the British values of tolerance and respect.

Why is it that new migrants have to swear allegiance to the Queen and all her descendants - when the rest of the UK citizens except the armed forces and some civil servants do not have to? Was it presumed that UK citizens will probably know too much to find this a risible idea? Like they know this family has had three of its four sibling marriages end in divorce and the fourth is probably only together because they are like plastic robots on autopilot. One of the grandchildren dresses up in Nazi clothes, though their mum was loved by the British public - why? Because she loved Dodi Al Fayed, a Muslim son of Mohammed, then owner of Harrods, the most British of shops owned by a Muslim and who couldn't get a passport ... you couldn't make it up

Let's have a bit of fun say we had to pass the English test one part of which is to talk for a few minutes on common English subject - what do you think the subject might be ?

Oaths of Allegiance

I _____ swear by almighty God (or do solemnly and sincerely affirm) that on becoming a British citizen I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her majesty the Queen Elizabeth the second her heirs and successors according to law

So by now are we getting a possible picture of the UK from a migrant's point of view? You must swear allegiance to a British soap opera family come to life and then speak a language that makes no sense, is not spelt like what its spoke and has hundreds of regional and local dialects and phrases and accents.

Can you see how the empire is reasserting itself but who is the emperor?

In a sense the empire has never died. The 70's and 80's, a rekindling of nostalgia, eg films and TV series 'Passage to India', 'It Ain't Half Hot Mum', 'Out of Africa', 'Lord Mountbatten - the last Viceroy', 'Jewel in the Crown', 'The Far Pavilions', and even practice (Falklands). The harping for the 'roseate dawn' (Rushdie '82) of imperialism is linked to the image Britain is fronting both in internal and foreign policy. This encapsulates notions of law and order, kin affinity, duty, tradition and tolerance.

I suggest that the superiority/inferiority paradigm is being reasserted. Western dualism is reasserting itself. The world is seen is as bipolar: good/evil, black/white, Muslim/Christian. That's why we have the phrase, the clash of civilisations. Because that's how dualism conceives the world, 'us and them', 'the other', 'the stranger'... .

Dualism is philosophically the split between mind and body and the correlative thinking is:

"The tendency to see reality in forms of two poles representing the good and the bad on a vertical scale ... the tendency to think dualistically and hierarchically at the same time" (Hodge 1975).

Racism, imperialism and colonialism are the national products of such a culture, for the arrogant culture attempts to impose this hierarchical structure on the world, with itself at the top.

Put dualism together with cultural hegemony and new labour (new right or new left, whichever, it doesn't matter) and there is a dangerous fusion.

New Labour has learnt well Gramscian models of hegemony. There were two aspects of hegemony or class domination for Gramsci:

"First the bureaucratic, coercive apparatus of the state; second a form of consensus in civil society where ideology is produced and diffused."

The French New Right even refers to their strategy as "Gramscisme de droit". Part of the strategy is to gain control of language and dominant concepts, and to use every available medium for dispersal of the ideology eg the press, the church, TV, academia.

English test

How does the weather today compare with seasonal expectations?

It is necessary to sustain hegemony or counter hegemony with systematic rewriting of concepts. I am sad to say that new labour has followed in the footsteps of right of centre ideology on race, an ideology which has been building from way before Thatcher.

But even Tony Blair is not emperor.

David Hume: 'National character' was of great significance - the Humean argument goes something like this: (Barker 1981)

- (i) There are certain innate ideas, unorganised.
- (ii) The repeated association of ideas, habit and custom begin to organise the ideas.

Britishness test

What do these things mean:

- the Dunkirk spirit
- The Nelson Touch
- She's a real Florence Nightingale
- I'm going to spend a penny
- Bangers and mash
- "we British are very fond (of these things)"

The first 3 points are taken from the citizenship guide produced by the Home Office.

Audience vote

- Would you say sorry if someone bumped into you?
 - Football or soccer?
 - Ford or BMW?
 - The consumption of which dish will most impress your drunken British colleagues
- A) Chicken Phal
B) Chicken Vindaloo
C) Chicken Madras

What would you add?

- If the plural of mouse is mice what is the plural of house?
- If the plural of goose is geese, what's the plural of moose? (what is a moose as opposed to mouse?)
- Describe the difference between great Britain, United Kingdom, the British Isles
- What are the main ingredients of a chip butty?
- How do you pay a telephone bill?

(iii) These habits or customs control the instinct/passions. Reason does not.

(iv) One of these instincts is "sympathy" the strongest experience of it is for ourselves.

(v) It is in our nature also to be 'altruistic', but to a degree, the strongest feelings are to family and kin and the weakest is towards strangers.

(vi) The role of government is to direct the limited altruism to the good of the state and to impose order on the unorganised feelings, through invocation of duty, tradition and custom. Sanctions are needed to maintain justice. Thereby a national character is created.

The most obvious racial element is contained in the xenophobic sentiments of number v above which has been used by the 'New Right' not only in their ideology but to counter allegations of racism. The most insipid invocation of the notions of tolerance, law and order, xenophobia and 'British character' is from Margaret Thatcher herself (*Cited in Daily Mail, 31.1.78*):

"If we went on as we are, then by the end of the century there would be four million people of the new Commonwealth or Pakistan here. Now that is an awful lot and I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture.

"Gramscisme de droit".

There were two aspects of hegemony or class domination for Gramsci:

First the bureaucratic, coercive apparatus of the state; second a form of consensus in civil society where ideology is produced and diffused, the strategy is to gain control of language and dominant concepts, and to use every available medium for dispersal of the ideology e.g. the press, the church, TV, academia etc.

And you know the British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world that if there is any fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in".

Is Thatcher emperor? No

The implication and danger lies in the proposition that it is natural to fear strangers, common sense, genuine fears. The contradictions do not matter as much as the ideology in hand.

Goodhart:

"The traditional conservative, Burkean view is that our affinities ripple out from our families and localities to the nation, and not very far beyond. That view is pitted against a liberal universalist one that sees us in some sense equally obligated to all human beings, from Bolton to Burundi - an idea that is associated with the universalist aspects of Christianity and Islam, with Kantian universalism and with left-wing internationalism. They argue that we feel more comfortable with, and are readier to share with and sacrifice for, those with whom we have shared histories and similar values. To put it bluntly - most of us prefer our own kind. Science is neutral in this dispute, or rather it stands on both sides of the argument. Evolutionary psychology stresses both the

universality of most human traits and - through the notion of kin selection and reciprocal altruism - the instinct to favour our own. Social psychologists also argue that the tendency to perceive in-groups and out-groups, however ephemeral, is innate. In any case, Burkeans claim to have common sense on their side.”

The new right ethic

- One of our instincts is "sympathy" the strongest experience of it is for ourselves.
- It is in our nature also to be 'altruistic', but to a degree, the strongest feelings are to family and kin and the weakest is towards **strangers**.
- The role of government is to direct the limited altruism to the good of the state and to impose order on the unorganised feelings, through invocation of duty, tradition and custom. Sanctions are needed to maintain justice. Thereby a national character is created.

"Thus within Britain nation and race are interwoven in a mythologised past and, crucially for contemporary events, the belief in British tolerance is a powerful ideological tool in describing the nature and extent of British racism".

“Fifty years of peace, wealth and mobility have allowed a greater diversity in lifestyles and values. To this "value diversity" has been added ethnic diversity through two big waves of immigration: the mainly Commonwealth immigration from the West Indies and Asia in the 1950s and 1960s, followed by asylum-driven migrants from Europe, Africa and the greater Middle East in the late 1990s. The diversity, individualism and mobility that characterise developed economies - especially in the era of globalisation - mean that more of our lives is spent among **strangers**. Ever since the invention of agriculture 10,000 years ago, humans have been used to dealing with people from beyond their own extended kin groups.”

So is Goodhart Emperor? No.

And this is why Hoodies and Hijabs are so potent: they are the most visible symbols of strangers in our midst.

Barker (1981) argues convincingly that the idea of national or British character is central to an organised ideology of human nature which holds as 'natural' the ideas of bounded communities.

It is non rational to think of Black people and migrants as inferior but it is a consumed story told repeatedly:

'When we read a story, we inhabit it. The covers of the book are like a roof and four walls. What is to happen next will take place within the four walls of the story. And this is possible because the story's voice makes everything its own'. Berger

Reflected in David Goodhart

The different appearance of many immigrants is an outward reminder that they are, at least initially, **strangers**. If welfare states demand that we pay into a common fund on which we can all draw at times of need, it is important that we feel that most people have made the same effort to be self-supporting and will not take advantage. We need to be reassured that **strangers**, especially those from other countries, have the same idea of reciprocity as we do.

Political voyeurism - 'Black Pepper' sprinkled over Steel Pan & Samosas!!!

Gentrification of the language leading to paralysis by analysis, e.g. we have the Mother Boards of all Action Plans spawning commissioned research after commissioned research.

Each area has now to prepare a local community cohesion plan, as a significant component of its Community Strategy' in order to combat the fear and ignorance of different communities which stems from the lack of contact with each other.

Cohesion or coerced, the implication is that 'if you do not follow our prescribed strategy you will not get funding'.

"The report laments the decline of civic pride but offers these towns nothing to take pride in - no hope of economic development or revival of local democracy, just more 'neighbourliness'." (IPPR)

This should include the promotion of cross cultural contact between different communities at all levels, fostering understanding and respect, and breaking down barriers. The opportunity should be taken to develop a programme of 'myth busting'.

“According to the Cattle report, it is not so much institutions as attitudes that are the focus of change. Like its conceptual cousin, 'social exclusion', 'community cohesion' is about networks, identity and discourse, rather than poverty, inequality and power. By implication the 'political correctness gone mad' argument finds official endorsement - cultural barriers have, apparently, been left to fester, leading to a refusal to engage in open debate.

“The ultimate problem is identified as 'cultural barriers', rather than institutional racism or deprivation. The landmark recognition of institutional racism in the Macpherson report into the death of Stephen Lawrence is diluted. The racism of Oldham police, which led up to the riots, is played down. It seems that the Greater Manchester police force, which was declared institutionally racist by its own chief constable in 1999, is now no longer a part of the problem. Instead, the same measures that have been proposed for the last twenty years are once again wheeled out: diversity training and ethnic headcounts.” (*IPPR*)

So currently we have a confusing conceptual analysis. On the one hand we are told to value diversity and that the UK does; but on the other that multiculturalism is failing and that it is not good to be too diverse so we should move somehow to British values.

We have a wide array of commissions, reviews and legislation for race equality but inequality persists.

Trevor Phillips once referred to the debate as a road map that if we are all on the same road we have to learn the rules of the road so we can all drive on it. Well, firstly he forgot to say that some cars are bigger than others, not to mention the juggernauts, and when it come to questions of giving way there is an inequality - unless of course the juggernaut is tolerant

Is Trevor Phillips the new emperor? Well, that would indeed be fun and there would be a new set of clothes but I don't think he is.

Goodhart

The difference now in a developed country such as Britain is that we not only live among **stranger citizens** but we must share with them. We share public services and parts of our income in the welfare state, we share public spaces in towns and cities where we are squashed together on buses, trains and tubes, and we share in a democratic conversation - filtered by the media - about the collective choices we wish to make. All such acts of sharing are more smoothly and generously negotiated if we can take for granted a limited set of common values and assumptions. But as Britain becomes more diverse that common culture is being eroded.

Anyway we picked up the analogy at the 1990 Trust and have a few fun slides.

Well, sometimes if you don't laugh you cry and in the words of Black author, June Jordan, I want us to have a unity of action not a unity of misery, so we have to encourage and inspire one another to act. More than that we have to organise. I am increasingly dismayed at how racism is falling off the agenda. Take for example this recent Westminster briefing conference line up which, by the way, costs £265 for local authorities and £400 to businesses - there is no category for voluntary sector!

Rt Hon the Lord Foulkes of Cumnock (Chair)

Paul Vousden, Head of CEHR Transition Team, Department of Trade & Industry

Amanda Ariss, Head of Policy, Equal Opportunities Commission

Dr Nick O'Brien, Director of Legal Operations, Disability Rights Commission

Representative, Integration & Citizenship Policy, Commission for Racial Equality

Rt Hon Lord Ashley of Stoke, CH, Chair, Disability All Party Group

Sir Iqbal Sacranie, Former Secretary-General, Muslim Council of Britain

Ben Summerskill, Chief Executive, Stonewall

‘This, then, is the character of the new racism. It is a theory that I shall call biological, or better, pseudo-biological culturalism. Nations on this view are not built out of politics and economics but out of human nature. It is in our biology, our instincts, to defend our way of life, traditions and customs against outsiders, - not because they are inferior but because they are inferior but because they are part of different cultures. This is a non-rational process:’ **Barker**

Talking of cost I don’t know if anyone is intending to attend the CRE’s 30 years of celebration of the Race Relations Act 1976. The conference is in November at the Queen Elizabeth II conference centre in London (very fitting for the emperor whoever they are and if they are attending). Anyhow it costs as follows:

Full rate £595.00 + VAT (£699.13) for Delegates from the commercial sector and central government

Reduced rate £450.00 + VAT (£528.75) for Delegates from the public sector

Supported rate £295.00 + VAT (£346.63) for Delegates from voluntary, community organisations and trade unions

Gala dinner on Monday 27 November £100.00 + VAT (£117.50)

So the problem is....

- The problem with the current discourse is that it seeks to cut the ground from anti racists, or black self organisation, or believers in multiculturalism and it tries to replace the hard words with fluffy ones.
- Diversity, cohesion, integration, citizenship

LEGAL DRIVERS

- Equalities Bill – Single Equalities Act
- CEHR
- RRAA
- Equalities Review
- Discrimination Law Review
- CoIC
- Civil Service x10 Point Plan for Diversity
- UN CERD

Who needs to cohere?

- 60% of Muslims have non Muslim friends, 90% of white British have no Black friends and 1 in 4 don't want to live next to black people
- Race equality must focus on structural inequalities and the realities of racism and White resistance to cohesion
- Must challenge the discourse of blaming the victim and problematising
- Must consult with, listen to and value Black communities
- Stop perpetuating a rude agenda which fails to recognise the fantastic achievements of integration despite a hostile environment

So what can be done?

We have got to be more organised and take conscious political action. But this doesn't happen by just talking about it.

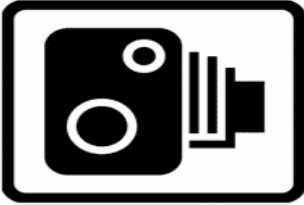
We must change the discourse. If we are going to focus on structural inequality and economic equality we shall avoid all 'C' words like commission, cohesion and citizenship and instead concentrate on E's: economics, equity, equality, evidence, (empirical not imperial).

One final question do you remember the fairy tale of the emperor with new clothes and it was found in the end that he had been duped and that really he was naked but the crowds just played him along?

Well whoever the emperor is (and they are not wearing Hoodies and Hijabs for sure) I pray and work for the day they are exposed and will be foolish before the peoples' eyes. We must look for the emperor in someone who is laid bare.



More publicity needed



Credibility rating



Racism factor



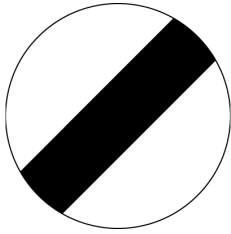
Beware fall out from Black Communities



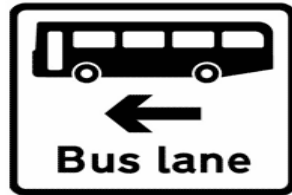
Message to anti racists...on yer bike



No seepage to white areas



Return to Bussing policies?



Guardian or Daily Mail?



Which way the House of Lords?



Why is there no Black Political Movement?

Those who romanticise “everyday resistance” or cultural politics ...presume that those conditions necessarily or even typically lead to **political action**. They don't. Not any more than the presence of carbon and water necessarily lead to the evolution of human kind. Infrapolitics are ubiquitous, **developed political movements** are rare

Rosa Parks, whose act of civil disobedience in 1955 inspired the modern civil rights movement, died Monday in Detroit, Michigan. She was 92.



Parks' moment in history began in December 1955 when she refused to give up her seat on a bus to a white man in Montgomery, Alabama. Her arrest triggered a 381-day boycott of the bus system by blacks that was organized by a 26-year-old Baptist minister, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. The boycott led to a court ruling desegregating public transportation in Montgomery, but it wasn't until the 1964 Civil Rights Act that all public accommodations nationwide were desegregated. Facing regular

threats and having lost her department store job because of her activism, Parks moved from Alabama to Detroit in 1957. She later joined the staff of U.S. Rep. John Conyers, a Michigan Democrat.

At the time of her arrest, Parks was 42 and on her way home from work as a seamstress. She took a seat in the front of the black section of a city bus in Montgomery. The bus filled up and the bus driver demanded that she move so a white male passenger could have her seat. "The driver wanted us to stand up, the four of us. We didn't move at the beginning, but he says, 'Let me have these seats.' And the other three people moved, but I didn't," she once said. When Parks refused to give up her seat, a police officer arrested her. As the officer took her away, she recalled that she asked, "Why do you push us around?" The officer's response: "I don't know, but the law's the law, and you're under arrest." She added, "I only knew that, as I was being arrested, that it was the very last time that I would ever ride in humiliation of this kind."

Four days later, Parks was convicted of disorderly conduct and fined \$14. That same day, a group of blacks founded the Montgomery Improvement Association and named King, the young pastor of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, as its leader, and the bus boycott began.

For the next 381 days, blacks -- who according to Time magazine had comprised two-thirds of Montgomery bus riders -- boycotted public transportation to protest Parks' arrest and in turn the city's Jim Crow segregation laws. Black people walked, rode taxis and used carpools in an effort that severely damaged the transit company's finances. The mass movement marked one of the largest and most successful challenges of segregation and helped catapult King to the forefront of the civil rights movement. The boycott ended on November 13, 1956, after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling that Montgomery's segregated bus service was unconstitutional.

Parks' act of defiance came one year after the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that led to the end of racial segregation in public schools. U.S. Rep. John Lewis of Georgia, a Democrat, told CNN Monday he watched the 1955-56 Montgomery drama unfold as a teenager and it inspired him to get active in the civil rights movement.

"It was so unbelievable that this woman -- this one woman -- had the courage to take a seat and refuse to get up and give it up to a white gentleman. By sitting down, she was standing up for all Americans," he said. (CNN)

Kwame Nkrumah

21 September 1909 – 27 April 1972

Kwame Nkrumah was an anti-colonial, anti-neo-colonial, and anti-imperialist African leader from Ghana. He was the founder and first president of the modern Ghanaian state and emerged as one of the most influential Pan-Africanists of the 20th century.

He was born in Nkroful, Gold Coast (now Ghana), as Francis Nwia-Kofi Ngonloma. Educated at Achimota School, Accra and the Roman Catholic Seminary, Amisano, he taught at the Catholic school in Axim.

In 1935 he left Africa for the USA, receiving a BA from Lincoln University, Pennsylvania in 1939. He also earned a Masters of Science in education from the University of Pennsylvania in 1942 and a Masters of Arts in philosophy the following year. While lecturing in political science at Lincoln he was elected president of the African Students Organization of America and Canada.

During his time in the United States, Nkrumah visited and preached in black Presbyterian Churches in Philadelphia and New York City. He read books about politics and divinity. He encountered the ideas of Marcus Garvey. He also tutored other students in philosophy.

He arrived in London in 1945 intending to study at the LSE. But following a meeting with George Padmore he helped to organise the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England. After that he began to work for the decolonisation of Africa and became Vice-President of West African Students Union.

Our PUSH-UK Vision

- Community led economic alliance
- UK database
- Regional Representatives
- Economic analyses
- Black Britain Annual Conference

Gandhiji

- Described himself as a politician
- Saw as critical the development of mass movements
- Congress and Gandhi disagreed at the time of independence when Gandhiji suggested they not take power at the national level, but concentrate instead on grassroots power through the establishment of **political and economic entities**, the village republics

CHANGE THE DISCOURSE

from state victim to **State of the Art** Black people
from marginalisation to **cutting edge**
from fatalism to **omni possibility**
from policy driven by **research & recommendation**
to cultural exchange based on **rights & awareness**
from internalised oppression to **shared dignity**
from under achievement to **celebrating success**
from shooting the messenger to **offering opportunity**
from Hoodies and Hijabs to tailor made **Intercultural Britain**

CHANGE THE DISCOURSE

- Avoid 'C' words
Commission, Cohesion, Citizenship tests
- Interrogate 'I' words
Integration, Islamophobia, Institutional,
Imperial, Identity, Immigration
- Encourage the use of 'E' s
Equality, Economic Equity, Evidence
that is empirical, empower, enforce
- Depend on our 'R's
rights, responsibility, research, respect,
records, restorative justice