



**Franck Düvell**

**Active Civic Participation  
of Immigrants in  
the United Kingdom**

## **POLITIS – a European research project**

### **Project information**

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from

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## **Abstract**

The United Kingdom has a long history of immigration dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which turned into mass immigration during the post-war years. Migration patterns are shaped through the UK's colonial past and its persisting links with the Commonwealth of Nations. Until today, the overwhelming majority of immigrants are from countries, which have historical, cultural, lingual and/or economic relations with the UK.

The migrant (foreign born) population represents 7.9 per cent of the entire population (4,6 million; plus an unknown number of in-country born 'black and Asian British'), 9 per cent in England and 19 per cent in London where they are concentrated. 54 ethnic or national groups larger than 10.000 individuals have been identified and the UK is more diverse than ever. In demographic terms, the UK appears unique in Europe as it shows a considerable population growth of 2,9 per cent between 1991-2001, caused by natural increase and increasingly by immigration. Since 1993, the UK also shows a positive immigration balance of nearly 1 million individuals, whilst in earlier decades emigration usually outnumbered immigration. The quality of available statistics is, however, confusing and dissatisfying.

Most present immigration is temporary (students, workers), but permanent settlement is steadily increasing since the late 1990s. Whilst most cases fall in the 'dependants' category, refugees dominate the category of 'acceptances in its own right'. Work permit holders or other employees only represent 3.5 per cent of all settlement acceptances. About half of immigrant and ethnic minority population have UK citizenship; in the last decade about 800.000 immigrants have been naturalized, with an increasing tendency.

Because of the laissez faire approach to settlement, influenced by labour and housing market mechanisms and by processes of discrimination, immigrants tend to form geographical clusters and develop ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities.

The media debate on immigration is dominated by illegal immigration and asylum, and more recently with loopholes in the immigration control system and a related so-called 'immigration crisis'. The previously powerful concept of a positive perception of economic migration is put at stake. But the debate seems to indicate an up-date of the traditional trade off, this time signalling: liberal migration policies require firm controls.

The legal and institutional framework is characterised by an efficient racial equality and anti-discrimination legislation, the Racial Equality act, and a strong tradition of civil rights underscored by the new Human Rights act. Since 2000, the government is increasing its efforts to encourage strong and active communities and to raise the participation of people in the voluntary sector. Regional schemes particular target ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities.

These, throughout immigration history and all countries of origin have created a rich landscape of immigrant and ethnic minority social and political organisations, respectively participation in mainstream organisations. These correspond with an equally rich ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee media landscape. Regarding the post-war period, civic activities have usually been identified as a response to discrimination and racism, and the social and political exclusion that accompanies that. The organisations have either been designed as self-help organisations or as campaigning, protest, and political organisations, and often they have been both. Civic participation is a concept not much applied to the activities of immigrants and ethnic minorities in the UK. Instead the concepts used are integration, communities, community organisations (COs) and voluntary activities. These are inter-linked, as the widely held approach is that part of the integration process for immigrants is gaining the ability to create robust communities, not coined by community organisations but equally

representing the preconditions for setting up community organisations through which immigrants empower themselves and influence policy processes. Also used are the concepts of Black (meaning Afro-Caribbean, African and Asian) and, more recently, Black and minority ethnic (BME) organisations.

The tip of the iceberg of immigrant active civic participation are twelve Members of Parliament and 662 local Councillors. Very visible, and raising considerable public attention are refugee community activities, unrest in detention centres and in particular anti-deportation and migration control related protests. In recent years, settlement and integration issues have gained relevance. The single most important issue, however, mobilising the UK's ethnic minority and immigrant communities has been police racism and judicial discrimination, namely the murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993. A years long campaign of black community organisation, after gaining considerable attention and influence, resulted in the Home Minister to call a public inquiry in 1997. The Stephen Lawrence Enquiry, corresponding with ongoing 'black' community civic activity, and coinciding with a series of violent upheavals of Black and Asian people in Oldham, Bradford and Burnley in 2001, recognised considerable institutional discrimination in all public services (McPherson, 1999). The report led to a reform of the Race Relations act in 2000 and triggered a wide array of integration efforts.

Establishing the state of the art of research in ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee civic participation brings to light, that although there is a satisfying list of publications covering the early years from the 1950s to the 1980s, there are surprisingly few publications on recent developments. In particular the gender perspective seems to be weak, but also research on smaller communities is rare.

With respect to mapping the field of active individuals, scholars and research institutions, it must be emphasised, that because of the very dense landscape of ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities and a respectively high number of active and known spokespersons and activists, corresponding with a diverse landscape of research institutions, the examples or names mentioned can only be taken as exemplary, standing for many further, equally relevant institutions or individuals.

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## **Part I: Understanding the Conditions for Immigrant Participation**

### *Preliminary Methodological Remark*

'Immigrants' is a term not perfectly suiting the exercise in this report. In British discourse and because of the legal practice of granting citizenship to the majority of non-UK-born people, the author, throughout this report instead refers to ethnic minorities, immigrants and refugees, the latter category, if not stated otherwise, also includes asylum seekers. As the report will show, there are no clear demarcation lines between these groups; instead, there is considerable overlap in reality and in the literature. Usually, migrants are defined as those foreign born (Kempton, 2002). 'Ethnic minorities' is the umbrella term including all non-White populations, regardless of their immigration status (Favell; 1998; 1999). Ethnic minorities usually have roots outside the UK, and mostly also outside the EU, they themselves or their parents were born outside the UK and either had Commonwealth citizenship and acquired citizenship, or at least settlement status, over the years. In this report, ethnic minorities refers to the first generation of post-war immigrants and their descendants, both usually have UK citizenship. Immigrants, as used in this report, are a subgroup specifically referring to and connoting 'recent newcomers', whereby recent means those who arrived during the past ten, fifteen years. Contemporary immigrants, given that they are not temporary residents, will almost certainly sooner or later also naturalise and turn from immigrants to ethnic minorities. The terms 'refugees' and 'asylum seekers', as used in the literature, are another subgroup to both aforementioned categories. They do in fact often join existing ethnic minority and immigrant communities, mix with them and become members of the local social fabric.

### *1. Key Events and Demographic Developments in the Migration History of the United Kingdom*

The British peninsula has always been a region of migration movements, first Saxons, Danes, Vikings and Normans; then Huguenots, later Jews and refugees from revolutionary, continental Europe, and throughout history large numbers of Irish immigrants. Its ports, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century on, accommodated small communities of seafarers and other migrants from its overseas colonies, who, after the abolition of slavery in 1722 were free to settle in the UK. The two World Wars lead to the settlement of non-white army personnel, and of displaced persons and refugees from Germany and Poland. But only the specific historic conditions after the Second World War - economic boom, the demand for cheap labour and a liberal migration policy within the British Commonwealth - set the conditions for mass immigration from outside Europe.

The key events and main periods of non-European immigration are: The arrival of the steamship 'Empire Windrush' in 1948 signalled the starting point of Caribbean immigration, peaking in the 1950s. Until 1976, the Black Caribbean immigrant population grew to 500.000 people. Immigration from the Indian sub-continent dates back to the settlement of service men and seafarers after the First and the Second World War. Asian mass immigration, however, began 10 years later than West Indian immigration, around the late 1950s but soon outnumbered it. Indian, Pakistani and Bengali immigration reached its first height in 1960 and continued on high levels well into the 1970s, reaching the margin of one million people in the late 1970s. A third source of mass immigration is related to the dispelling of Asians from the newly independent African states, namely Uganda, but also Kenya, Malawi and Tanzania. By 1981, 155.000 African Asians had emigrated to the UK. Further immigrant populations were Chinese (often but not only from Hong Kong), West Africans (from Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra

Leone etc.), Cypriots (a British colony) and Somalis. In fact, many of the UK's post-war immigrants were actually refugees, victims of early ethnic or religious 'cleansing' (Indians in Pakistan, Pakistanis in India, Muslims in India and Hindus in Pakistan), expropriated by post-war policies (Pakistanis and Indians) or Africanisation policy (Indians in Uganda). On the other hand, the UK accepted, actively encouraged or, to a lesser extent, recruited migrant workforce for its post-war economic development.

Later years were characterised by family reunion, asylum immigration, representing the major sources for settlement, and by the usually temporary migration of students and employees of all categories.

These immigration movements have been responded by measures to control and restrict them, key dates are the first restrictions introduced in 1905, the Aliens Restrictions act (aiming to restrict East European Jewish immigration); the 1948 British Nationality act (granting freedom of movement to all Commonwealth citizens); the 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants act (introducing work voucher quotas); the 1968 Commonwealth Immigration act (restricting African Asian migration); the 1971 Immigration act (ending primary Commonwealth immigration); the 1981 Nationality act (withdrawing the right to settlement to most Commonwealth citizens). Numerous follow-ups introduced visa requirements (1986), regulated asylum applications and appeals (1993) or dealt with illegal employment (1996).

In the 1970s, the UK developed a policy trade-off whereby 'good race relations require firm immigration controls', an assumption still held applicable until today. However, other than often assumed, the UK, as the figures stated above illustrate, never was a country of 'zero-immigration' (Joppke, 1999), as sometimes wrongly concluded.

Identifying the size of the UK's immigrant population is not an easy task. There are ten different data sets to be considered showing considerable discrepancies<sup>1</sup>, and four major sources that are available: the 2001 population census, the annual immigration control figures of the Home Office, the annual Labour Force Survey and the Department's of Social Security statistics. The interpretation of these statistics is inconsistent. Whilst the population census does not cover immigration status but only asks for country of birth, immigration control figures only reflect annual inward movements - no departure records are held - and do not show the status or size of the foreign population in the country. For example, in 2002 the number of immigrants admitted as students was 369.000, but this figure does not show the total number of overseas students during that year. Furthermore, the census question for 'country of birth' does only allow to distinguish migrants by their ethnicity, they may indeed be overseas born whites or black and Asian. And the question for ethnicity in fact only offers the nationalities, Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese or other, hence there is no room for the ethnic groups of Kashmiris, Bengalis (who can be Indian), Tamils, etc, who disappear due to such practises. In contrast, the 'Black' category does only distinguish between Caribbean, African and others, and does not allow to distinguish between for example Tweek-speaking Ghanaian, Mandingo-speaking Gambians, or even French-speaking nationals from Ivory Coast. The question for 'ethnicity' can produce unexpected outcomes, as Turks for example may tick 'white', 'black', 'Asian' or 'other'.

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<sup>1</sup> Applications for work permits; People entering the UK with work permits; Workers joining the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS); Workers joining the Sectors Based Scheme (SBS); People entering the UK as domestic workers; People entering the UK as au pairs; People entering the UK under European Community Association Agreements (ECAA); People entering the UK as students; International Passenger Survey (IPS) data on immigrants and emigrants; International Passenger Survey (IPS) data on visitors.

Four different categories are used, with considerable overlap: Ethnic minorities, foreign-born nationals (migrants), foreign-born workers, and asylum seekers and refugees.

In 2001, and according to a Home Office report, 8.3 per cent (4.9 million) of the total population of the UK were born overseas<sup>2</sup> (Kempton, 2002). This is almost double the proportion than in 1951 (4.2 per cent). Almost a third of the total migrant population currently living in the UK arrived during the last decade, reflecting the increases in migration through all channels over this period (ibid.). And just over 10 per cent of the population (5.75 million people), which includes Irish people, have community roots outside Britain (Commission on the Future of Multi-ethnic Britain, 2000: 372). According to the Office for National Statistics (2001), 4.9 million people are defined as ‘belonging to other ethnic groups’ than white’.

In 1995, nearly half of Britain’s ethnic minority population was estimated to be born in the UK (Commission for Racial Equality, 1995: 1), hence would not count as foreign-born. Although these discrepancies cannot be clarified in this report (see chapter III, research gaps) it must be assumed that whilst the size of the foreign-born population is known (excluding the illegally residing population), the size of ethnic minority is blurred.

Among the overseas-born population, country of birth does not always correspond closely with ethnic origin. Overseas-born people from the White ethnic group are the most diverse in regard to their countries and continents of birth. One in five (21 per cent) were born in the Republic of Ireland and a further two in five (41 per cent) were born elsewhere in Europe. Substantial proportions of overseas-born White people were also born in Asia (11 per cent), North or South America (11 per cent), Africa (10 per cent) and Oceania (6 per cent). These are often white residents from Hong Kong or South Africa returning to where their parents or grand parents once emigrated.

The table on ethnicity (1.1) does not identify further groups with a distinct background, in particular groups categorised as ‘white’, for example East, South East and Central Europeans, such as Poles, Russians, citizens from the Baltic republics, citizens from former Yugoslavia, Hungarians, or Turks and Cypriots are not separately held.

In 1995, “it is estimated that some three-quarter of them are British citizens” (Commission for Racial Equality, 1995: 1), meanwhile, and because of net immigration, this has decreased to an estimated 47 per cent who have acquired British citizenship (Kempton, 2002). 54 ethnic or national groups larger than 10.000 individuals have been identified, whose people were born abroad. 19 have more than 50.000 members. The 2001 Census revealed that the UK today is more culturally diverse than ever before.

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<sup>2</sup> Overseas born is defined as anybody born outside the UK, hence includes EU citizens.

Table 1.1: Population by ethnicity

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Born overseas</b>	<b>% of total population</b>	<b>% of all ethnic minorities</b>
<b>Total population</b>	<b>58.789.194</b>	4.900.000	100	
<b>White</b>	<b>54.153.898</b>		92,4	
- Irish	691.000		1,0	
<b>All ethnic minorities</b>	<b>4.635.296</b>		7,9	
<i>Mixed</i>	<i>677.117</i>		1,15	11,0
<i>All black</i>	<i>1.148.738</i>		1,95	
- Black Caribbean	565.876	238.000	1,0	13,6
- Black African	485.277	322.000	0,9	12,9
- Black Other	97.585		0,1	1,5
<i>All Asian</i>	<i>2.331.423</i>		3,97	
- Indian	1.053.411	570.000	1,7	21,7
- Pakistani	747.285	336.000	1,3	16,7
- Bangladeshi	283.063	152.000	0,5	6,1
- Chinese	247.403	176.000	0,42	4,2
<i>Other Asian</i>	<i>247.664</i>		0,4	4,7
<i>Other ethnic</i>	<i>230.615</i>		0,39	7,4

Source: Census 2001, own compilation (**bold**: main category; *italics*: sub-category; normal: sub-sub-category)

Table 1.2: Country of birth and size of community in Britain

Irish Republic	691.000	Cyprus, Greek and Turkish	78.000
India	409.000	Poland	74.000
Northern Ireland	245.000	Australia	73.000
Pakistan	234.000	Hong Kong	73.000
Germany	216.000	South Africa, Black and White	68.000
USA	143.000	Canada	63.000
Jamaica	142.000	Middle East	57.000
Kenya	112.000	France	53.000
Bangladesh	105.000	Uganda	51.000
Italy	91.000	Ghana	30.000

Source: Census 1991

In all, some 200 languages are spoken. Regarding major world faith 37 million are Christian: 26.2 million Anglican or Episcopalians, 5.7 million Roman Catholics, 2.6 million Presbyterians, 1.3 million Methodists, and 500.000-strong black-majority Pentecostal and Holiness Churches communities (Commission for a Multi-Ethnic Britain, 2000: 236). Other

religions are about 1.55 million Muslims; 550.000 Hindus; 330.000 Sikhs; 260.000 Jews and 144.000 Buddhists (Census, 2001).

During the years from 1992 to 2001, the UK registered a positive net migration flow of 944.000 persons, of which 446.700 are from the Commonwealth, 433.100 from other third countries and 64.000 are the European Union (Office for National Statistics, 2003a). The statistics also show that the positive net migration of foreign nationals is reinforced by a negative net migration of 183.000 British citizens between 1990 and 1999 (ibid.).

Between 1994 and 2002, 491.580 applications for asylum (excluding dependants) were received, in 2002 the figure of 84.000 applications did not include 19.000 dependants (20 per cent). The total number of refugees, asylum seekers and persons under temporary protection in Britain is not known (see Steward, 2004), because no data on departure is kept (only enforcement actions are recorded), and Home Office data on persons and addresses are not disclosed. Between 1992 and 2002, 192.000 asylum seekers and their dependents have been granted settlement as refugees or because of leave to remain (LTR; ICAR, 2004). In 1998, various researchers have used government statistics and derived estimates of the total number of refugees and asylum seekers vary from 220,000 to 300,000 (Kelly and Joly, 1999).

Table 1.3: Immigrants by immigration status

Naturalized citizens (1993-2002)		736.205
Grant of settlement (1992-2002)		847.150
Work Permit holders incl. dependants (2002)		120.115
Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) (Quota)		25.000
Sectors Based Schemes (SBS) (Quota)		20.000
Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (1.2001-9-2002)		3.721
Domestic workers (Quota)		9.000
Working holiday-makers		42.000
Au pairs		12.800
Students		369.000
Husbands, wives and children (probationary year, 2002)		31.750
Refugees	Total (refugees, asylum seekers, temporary protection in London, 2002)	350.000-420.000
	Refugees and exceptional leave to remain incl. dependants (1993-2002)	135.500
	Asylum applicants awaiting decision in 2002	106.630*

Source: Own compilation

\* Sum of first applications (84.130) and cases awaiting outcome (41.300), minus an overlap of at least 18.800 cases, which have been received within the previous six-month.

Between 1993 and 2002, citizenship was granted to 736.205 people. Of the 139.350 people granted citizenship in 2003, 32 % were from Africa, 24 % from the Indian subcontinent, 14 % from European countries outside the EEC area, 8 % from the Americas and 5 % from the Middle East (Dudley and Woollacott, 2004). And in the decade from 1992-2002, settlement was granted to 847.150, with an increasing tendency since 1999. 34 per cent of grants of settlement in 2001 were from Africa; the Indian sub-continent accounted for 21 per cent. The

Middle East and the remainder of Asia accounted for 19 per cent, Europe 10 per cent, the Americas 10 per cent and Oceania 5 per cent. Usually, between three quarter (1990) and about two thirds (2000) are dependents of people already settling in the UK, with a decreasing tendency, and between one quarter (1990) and one third (2000) are accepted in their own right. Of the latter category, in 2000 about two thirds were refugees, but in earlier years these provided for only a tenth (1990). That means that settlement based upon family reunification is relatively decreasing, whilst settlement based on migrants arriving in their own rights has been increasing, mostly due to refugees. However, because the number of asylum seekers has been decreasing for 2003 and 2004, this pattern will not last. Settlement of other types of migrants is of low relevance. It must be assumed that many of those having granted settlement will also apply and most of the time also be granted citizenship.

No estimations on the illegally resident population exist (National Audit Office, 2004; see also Düvell and Jordan, 2000). Occasional figures given in media reports lack any reliability. Sometimes, figures of 300.000 are mentioned, simply equalising the figure for rejected asylum seekers, who have not been removed with the figure of possibly illegal residents, 'most ...are likely to be working in the 'black economy' (Daily Mail, 26/09/2001). On the other hand, in 2000, only 7.600 persons were dealt with as 'illegal entrants', 47.330 actions were commenced, and a further 38.275 were refused entry at port and subsequently removed (Home Office, 2001). There are reasons to assume, that the number of illegal immigrants is below the level of that of other European states. In the UK, the extend of the shadow economy was 12.6 per cent of the GDP in 1999/2000, in Germany it was 16.3 per cent, 27 per cent in Italy and 28.6 per cent in Greece (Schneider, 2002: 17), whilst the OECD average stood at 18.0, all are continuously increasing. The lower level in the UK appears plausible because the lower level of regulation - low taxes, more entrepreneurial freedom - create an economic environment which provokes less incentives for irregular strategies, simply because there is no need to. And equally, UK immigration regulations offer numerous and indeed increasing channels to would-be immigrants. These reduce the gap between individual aspirations and institutional goals. Thus, migrants find more opportunities for legal migrant and less incentives for irregular strategies. Usually overlooked is the assumption, that illegal immigrants do not only come from typical emigration countries (India, Pakistan, Poland etc.) but also from the USA, Canada and Australia. Occasionally, up to 40.000 illegal immigrants from Australia alone are guessed to live in the UK (JCWI, 1999). These are assumed to be overstaying working holidaymakers, who must be perceived as temporary migrants.

Britain's ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities are not equally distributed but concentrated in England (95,5 per cent, 9 per cent of the population). In 2001, 45 per cent of the ethnic minority population resided in Greater London (19 per cent of all residents) and another 8 per cent in region South East of London. 13 per cent live in the West Midlands (conurbation of Birmingham), 8 per cent in the North West (Liverpool, Lancashire), 7 per cent in Yorkshire and Humberside (Newcastle) and 6,3 per cent in the East Midlands, mainly Leicester, where they represent a third of the population. There are 23 constituencies with a BME population between 40.5 per cent (Vauxhall) and 66.3 per cent (East Harrow) (Office of national Statistics, 2003b). And 85 per cent of all refugees and asylum seekers reside in London or the South West. Immigrants and ethnic minorities form distinct, recognisable communities.

## *2. Major Issues Discussed with Relation to Immigration*

The context of UK immigration policy is set by New Labour's agenda for modernising Britain. Key elements are (i) a priority of labour market policies, (ii) a business friendly

environment, (iii) a distinct enforcement ethos on fraud of any kind, (iv) joined-up government aiming at an efficient and flexible public sector. The overarching aim is to create a competitive economy fit to survive global economic integration. This modernisation process is accompanied by major cultural shifts. One area where this is most obvious is immigration. The 8<sup>th</sup> September 2000, must be interpreted as the turning point, the then Immigration Minister Roche (2000), speaking on 'UK Migration in the global economy', reframed traditionally restrictive approaches to immigration and instead emphasised the positive economic, cultural and political aspects of migration.

As a result, the government developed a three-pillar approach. It encourages economic migration and offers 'legal [migration] routes' aiming at reducing illegal movements (Home Office, 2002). It intensifies, at least rhetorically, its efforts to combat illegal immigration, but without gearing-up immigration enforcement agencies. And it concentrates on reducing asylum migration; recently the media noted that the numbers of applicants have dropped by 20 % (*Guardian*, 25 February 2004).

Labour migration, since 2000, has become a positive connotation, and the Home Office repeatedly emphasises the benefits of economic migrants. A typical statement by Home Minister Hughes states: 'Migrants make a significant economic contribution to the UK - they account for only 8 per cent of the population but contribute 10 per cent of GDP. It is in all our interests to harness the innovation, skills and productivity that new migrants can bring. We cannot afford to be anti-immigration, but we need a balanced approach - welcoming those who want to come here legally and contribute but cracking down on those who try to come illegally or try to abuse our asylum system'. 'The Government will continue to encourage properly managed legal migration' (Hughes, 2003; see also Blunkett, 2003). During the years 2000-2003, the media often published features on labour shortages, which underscored the positive perception, as lately the *Guardian* (20 May 2004). In 2003, following a Home Minister statement, the *Guardian* (13 November 2003) headlined 'no UK immigration limit' and argued that 'who make up only 8% of the population, generate 10% of Britain's GDP'. This argument has since often been repeated. In 2004, these approaches were reinforced by reports emphasising the positive fiscal effect of immigration (*Observer*, 11 April 2004).

The media response following the Home Ministers statement, as Barton (2003) surveyed, was 'mixed'. The *Daily Mail* quoted MigrationWatch UK chairman Andrew Green in a somewhat alarming tone that 2002 immigration was at levels 'equivalent to the entire population of the city of Hull'. But according to the *Times*, this is no bad thing: 'The industrialised world's most dynamic societies have historically tended to be those with high levels of immigration,' it said. 'Politicians have described immigration for so long as a 'problem' to be 'controlled', rather than a potentially beneficial aspect of increased labour mobility worldwide, that voters can hardly be blamed for adopting their language in all its negative connotations - or for seeing rising high levels of immigration, illegal as well as legal, as proof that British policy is 'in chaos'. The *Daily Express* argued "without [immigration], Britain's increasingly ageing population will place an ever heavier burden on the dwindling proportion of the population that is of working age." The paper advised Mr Blunkett, however, to ensure that any increase in the number of legal immigrants "is only sanctioned after the government has found a way to effectively curtail illegal arrivals". Even the *Sun* believed Blunkett's announcement to be "a sensible and realistic statement". However, the *Guardian* (13 November 2003) quoted conservative politician Davis with the 'Britain is a small and crowded island' argument, often applied by the right. The *Daily Telegraph* felt the home secretary should be "commended for his readiness to debate the historically high levels of immigration". The *Daily Star* was rather less enamoured: "We've often praised Mr Blunkett for being the straight-talking action man of the cabinet. But not on this occasion. His open-door idea is one of the most absurd to have

ever come from a leading government figure. He must have been speaking with his brain disengaged’.

The events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, emphasised the new aspect of security in immigration control. The UK’s central role in the ‘coalition against terrorism’ has made it a potential target for attacks. In the immediate wake of that atrocity, the government announced that it was considering introducing identity cards for UK citizens and residents, to bring the country into line with other EU member states. Whilst these have not yet been introduced, pilot schemes such as ‘tagging’ asylum seekers (electronic statutory identification and locating devices), have been piloted and critically reported.

The issue of immigration in the UK remains highly politicised, and public opinion, inflamed by the tabloid press, is volatile. It is a continuous battle between restrictionists and liberals fought in the mass media. The Times, the Independent and the Guardian are positive about the government’s immigration policy. For example, on February 25 2004, the Guardian, under the headline ‘Asylum: A strategy emerges’, reported: ‘tens of thousands of illegal immigrants [are provided] with a route out of Britain’s “hidden economy”, and ‘the home secretary ...believes that it is only by getting to grips with the asylum crisis that the country is willing to hear the case for opening up legal routes for new migrants’ arguing with the ‘booming economy and more than 500.000 vacancies’. One paper, the Daily Mail, is particularly identified with ‘anti-immigration propaganda’, and ‘propagating xenophobia and hatred of foreigners’ (NCADC, 2004). The government’s strategy of allowing asylum seekers to bear the brunt of prejudiced campaigns of vilification, while seeking to bring down numbers of asylum claims by tough measures, and pursuing more-enlightened policies for ‘managed’ economic migration, backfired in the spring of 2004, in a series of scandals receiving high media attention.

First, the death of 20 Chinese cockle-pickers in Morecambe Bay in early February 2004 raised alarms about ‘illegal workers’, and signalled how little real control the government had on the issue. It was unclear who these people were, or what their immigration status had been. The Home Secretary responded by another positive statement on economic migration, welcoming workers with much needed skills, especially those who would gain access through the enlargement of the EU in May of this year (*Guardian*, 9 February 2004). This triggered an attack by the Conservative opposition, which ridiculed low estimates of the enlargement influx, and argued that the UK should not continue to be, along with Ireland, the only member state to allow free movement of workers. What followed was a full-scale ‘immigration crisis’ (as the papers called it) for the government (caused by the perceived abuse of the system), culminating in the resignation of the Immigration Minister, Beverley Hughes, on 1<sup>st</sup> April 2004, and with the issue of migration controls shooting up to second-foremost of the public’s political concerns, as a poll revealed (*Guardian*, 6<sup>th</sup> April). In course of this controversy, media attention turned from migration from the new EU member states to citizens from the remaining accession states, still outside the EU, namely Bulgaria and Romania. All this showed that the government’s strategy of restricting asylum but encouraging certain categories of economic migration was fragile, and, after some years of positive media response, the pendulum swung back to a more critical tone.

In 2004, four themes have dominated the public discussion on migration: illegal immigrants and asylum seekers, both with considerable overlap; labour migration; EU accession related immigration flows; and equal opportunity issues. For example, a survey of *BBC* news reports and the Daily Telegraph’s online news immigration related topics, covering 1/1/2004 to 20/7/2004, yields the following results:

Table 1.4: Covering immigration issues on BBC news and the Daily Telegraph

	BBC	Daily Telegraph	Guardian
Mentions	286	615	1057
Asylum	14	23	45
Illegal Immigration and Trafficking	66	27	43
Immigration policy and control	40	50	37
Immigration from new members and candidate countries	4	2	23
Immigration (general)	9		23
Detention and Deportation	12	1	19
Economic Immigration	7		4
Naturalization	5	zero	2
Immigration and terrorism	2	7	17
Immigration and racism	1	zero	6

Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk>, own compilation by using the papers' resp. the BBC's search functions (search word 'immigration').

In the following exercise it will be shown how the conservative *Daily Telegraph* (DT) and the liberal *Guardian* (G) contributed to the public debate on immigration during 2004.

Both papers were principally sympathetic with the government's plans to curb on 'sham marriages' and on 'bogus colleges' both identified as means for illegal immigrants to obtain (residence) visa (G, 23 April; 'Exposed: the language schools that give visas to bogus students', DT, 18 April). Both papers otherwise concentrated on giving high attention to immigration raids and the arrests of illegal immigrants. The *Daily Telegraph* applied the well-known so-called 'numbers games' questioning official figures ('Immigration 'six times' more than official figure', 10 June; 'immigration hits record level', 30 April), questions the authorities ability of enforcement ('Home Office ignored bogus visa warning', 17 June;) or highlights political failure ('complete breakdown of the immigration system', DT, 1 April). The *Guardian* rather criticises that economically welcomed immigration is hampered by an inefficient bureaucracy ('Hundreds of overseas business executives working for British companies are trapped in the country because of chaotic delays in the Home Office's immigration system', G, 1 July). Only one headline was dedicated to EU accession-related labour immigration ('Hughes [Immigration Minister] says she has no idea how many EU migrants will be let in', *Daily Telegraph*, 10 March). For the leading conservative paper, the overall situation is one of an 'immigration nightmare' (DT, 24 February). The *Guardian* instead put worries into perspective and accused the government for 'panicking' (G, 1 May), a typical headline was, that 'Flow of jobseekers from eastern Europe dwindles' (8 July). In course of an over visa fraud scandal in the remaining accession countries culminating in the resignation of immigration minister Hughes the focus of worries about rising immigration shifted from the new EU member states to the remaining two accession countries, Romania and Bulgaria.

Where asylum was the theme of the report, the *Guardian*, tend to take a critical stand on deportations, conditions in detention centres and restrictive asylum legislation. In contrast, the *Daily Telegraph's* headlines rather link issues of asylum with fraud and welfare.

The best source regarding public discussion on refugees and illegal immigrants is *The Guardian's* internet resource 'Special Report: Refugees and Asylum'<sup>3</sup>. But also the conservative *Daily Telegraph* allows electronic archive research<sup>4</sup>. Further sources easy to access and to research are the websites of *BBC* news (see above) and the specialised press cutting service of the CRE library.

### *3. Institutional Setting Framing Immigrant Participation*

The legal, institutional and political framework, setting the conditions for immigrant civic participation is very complex and currently undergoes major changes. Since the late 1990, the UK reforms its democratic system. Powers are de-centralised through devolution processes (setting up regional assemblies in Scotland, Wales and Greater London) and the power and responsibility of local governments have been enhanced. And also the House of Lords is reformed. The legal situation of ethnic minorities and immigrants is determined by the Race Relations act. Through recent reforms, the scope of these regulations have been extending the duty of non-discrimination to all public sector institutions, only exempting the Home Office's immigration service. As result, any law, regulation or its implementation reflects the overarching commitment to equal opportunities of ethnic minorities and immigrants. In 2002, a new approach to voluntary and community sector organisations (VCS) has been taken by the government. In particular, strong efforts are made to increase participation of black and Asian minorities in party politics, democratically elected bodies and in civil society agencies.

In principle, there are no legal restrictions to civic participation of foreigners, immigrants or refugees of any kind. It has, however, not been studied, whether there are obstacles on the implementation level, as for instance in dealings with the police in order to negotiate arrangements for a rally or a demonstration.

#### Legal Framework

The legal framework setting the conditions of ethnic civic participation is rich and complex.

The legal framework is very fragmented; there exist three major acts. The UK also has three categories of citizenship, British Citizenship, Citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies, Commonwealth Citizenship. Whilst the first two categories have 'right to abode', hence they are not subject to immigration control, the latter category offers right to abode only to certain categories, whilst most commonwealth citizens are subject to immigration controls and the usual restrictions, such as limits on stay, particular regulations on marriage and employment restrictions.

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<sup>3</sup> See [http://www.guardian.co.uk/Refugees\\_in\\_Britain/](http://www.guardian.co.uk/Refugees_in_Britain/)

<sup>4</sup> See [www.telegraph.co.uk](http://www.telegraph.co.uk)

Table 1.5: Legal framework setting the conditions of ethnic civic participation

<b>Immigration Legislation</b>	Immigration Act 1971
	British Nationality Act 1981
	Immigration and Asylum Act 1999
	Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 (NIA)
<b>Civil Rights legislation</b>	Race Relations Act 1978
	Race Relations Amendment Act 2000
	Human Rights Act 1998
	Representation of the People act 1983 and 2000
<b>Local Governments' and Public Services Regulations</b>	Public Services Agreement between Treasurer and public services (PSA)
	Spending Review
	Compact
	Regional Development Agencies Act 1998
	Greater London Authority act 1999

Immigration Act 1971, British Nationality Act 1981; Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002 (NIA)

Full equal rights are, however, only secured if an immigrant becomes a UK citizen. That requires a minimum of a legal five years stay in the UK, of which one year must be indefinite leave to remain. The NIA introduces new naturalization requirements such as good character, sound mind, ceremony, oath, and language proficiency.

#### Immigration and Asylum Act 1999

Until 1996, when changes to the immigration rules came into force, asylum seekers were basically free to choose where to live, had access to benefits and were entitled to work. With rising numbers of applications numerous restrictions have been imposed. The 1999 Immigration and Asylum act introduces the dispersal throughout the country, collective accommodation and minimum provisions under the National Asylum Support Scheme (NASS). As a consequence, asylum seekers are cut off from communities of co-nationals, refugee and exile organisations, which tend to be concentrated in London. The act also negatively affects the relationship between refugee organisations and their potential membership, and that of dispersed asylum seekers from representing organisations.

#### Race Relations Amendment Act 2000

Whilst the initial 1965 Race Relations act was of only declaratory nature (Leyton-Henry, 1984), its successors, the 1968 and the 1976 Race Relations act went much further. The 1968 act made discrimination on grounds of colour, race, ethnic or national origins unlawful, and set up an enforcement agency, the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), which has been successively provided with statutory powers. The 1976 act responded to the failure of the legal and institutional framework as it was. The definition of discrimination on 'racial grounds' was refined as any of the following: colour, race, nationality (including citizenship) or ethnic or national origins, but not, and that is noteworthy on grounds of religion or belief. Only if a religious community is acknowledged to be an ethnic community, as it is the case

for Jews and Sikhs, it is covered by the Race Relations act (for criticism see Parekh report). It covers all areas of employment, education, housing and, more recently, urban planning. The major innovation was (i) the distinction between direct and indirect discrimination, (ii) that it gave individuals access to courts and (iii) the introduction of legal remedies (e.g. compensation). Shortcomings of this act have finally been revealed in course of the McPherson Inquiry (1999) into the murder of Stephen Lawrence, which for the first time acknowledged the existence of institutional racism.

In 2000, the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 has been introduced and strengthens the Race Relations Act 1976 in its application to public authorities. Public authorities now have a general duty to promote race equality. That requires public authorities to: eliminate racial discrimination; promote equality of opportunity; and to promote good relations between people of different racial groups. There are also specific duties, in force from 3 December 2001: implement a written policy on race equality, perhaps as part of an overall policy; assess the impact of new and current policies on ethnic minority staff, students and other service users; monitor the recruitment and progression of ethnic minority staff and students; and monitor grievance, disciplinary, appraisal, staff development and termination procedures by ethnicity.

The Act also gave the Secretary of State powers to impose specific duties on key listed public authorities. Broadly, these selected authorities must publish a Race Equalities Scheme and meet specific employment duties. The Scheme is effectively a strategy and an action plan. It sets out the functions and policies relevant to promoting race equality and the arrangements that will help the Agency meet its duties in both policy and service delivery.

(For an overview of the history of the Racial Equality act and its regulations see House of Commons, 2000).

#### Human Rights Act 1998

The UK lacks a Constitution, as many other European states have, and the Human Rights act – applying to all public authorities and giving further effect to rights and freedoms guaranteed under the European Convention on Human Rights - to some extent fulfils this function by laying down the principal rights of ‘everyone’ without requiring citizenship or any other legal or political status (Stephens, 2000). Members of the legal system argue that the HRA 1996 has increased their arsenal of arguments (Henderson, 2003). In practice, the HRA, as yet, has had an impact mainly on asylum matters; in particular on the way applicants are treated inside the UK under the NASS provisions. However, whilst article 14 clarifies:

*‘The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status’,*

article 16 limits this statement explaining:

*‘Nothing in Articles 10 [Freedom of expression], 11 [Freedom of assembly and association] and 14 shall be regarded as preventing the High Contracting Parties from imposing restrictions on the political activity of aliens’.*

Article 18 clarifies:

*‘The restrictions permitted under this Convention to the said rights and freedoms shall not be applied for any purpose other than those for which they have been prescribed’.*

In particular under the Prevention of Terrorism act 2000 and the Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act 2001, a limited number of associations of immigrants have been banned. Civil rights organisations often criticise, that entire immigrant communities have been put under surveillance, thereby intimidated, discriminated and limited in the exercise of their civil rights (see for example Statewatch bulletin or European Race Audit (IRR), several issues).

#### Local Governments' and Public Services Regulations

Following a 1998 White paper on 'Modern local government: In touch with the people' a 1999 Local Government act was introduced strengthening the role of local governments and aiming to support social cohesion and social inclusion. The act also puts local governments under obligations to consult with representatives from communities and civil society (section 3/2/d). Consequently, the reform has considerable impact on policies concerned with the social and political integration and activation of BME communities. These efforts must be seen in conjunction with the new Social Exclusion Unit in the Cabinet Office, the DETR's urban regeneration schemes, the *Cross Cutting Review* (Treasury, 2002), and the *Compact* between the government and the voluntary and community sector.

The Treasury's Public Service agreements are part of the government's wider aim to modernise public services. The Public Service Agreement (PSA) 8 with the Home Office's aims to build strong and active communities, and its specific target over the years 2001 to 2006 is to increase people's participation in England in key activities by five per cent or by nearly a million people. It emphasises 'especially amongst those at risk of social exclusion' (HM Treasury, 2004). And also Her Majesty's Treasury, *2004 Spending Review* underscores the government's commitment to acknowledge and to support voluntary and community activities in building local communities.

These moves follow a Home Office consultation process, undertaken in 1999, which' result have been summarised in a report with the telling title 'Strengthening the Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary Sector Infrastructure'. That report for example found that funding-related scrutiny of BME organisations caused considerable alienation.

The Home Office Community Policy principally declares their aim as follows:

*'To support strong and active communities in which people of all races and backgrounds are valued and participate on equal terms by developing social policy to build a fair, prosperous and cohesive society in which everyone has a stake. To work with other departments and local government agencies and community groups to regenerate neighbourhoods, to support families; to develop the potential of every individual; to build the confidence and capacity of the whole community to be part of the solution; and to promote good race and community relations, combating prejudice and xenophobia. To promote equal opportunities both within the Home Office and more widely and to ensure that active citizenship contributes to the enhancement of democracy and the development of civil society.'*

Under such legal provisions, specific respectively local empowerment schemes are set up. A major initiative is the *Compact*, an agreement between the Government and the whole Voluntary and Community Sector made in 1998<sup>5</sup>. It is designed to improve their relationship for mutual advantage. There are commitments by both sides. It has principles like recognising groups are independent and have the right to campaign. The national Compact's principles have now been turned into Codes of Practice on funding, consultation, volunteering, etc. It

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<sup>5</sup> See <http://www.thecompact.org.uk/>, accessed 22.8.2004.

ensures that voluntary and community activity is supported and encouraged, including Black and Minority Ethnic groups.

The *Regional Development Agencies Act 1998* affects civic participation through its aim to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development in the United Kingdom where it is relevant to its area to do so. The *Greater London Authority Act 1999* declares that 'the Mayor and the Assembly have a duty to make appropriate arrangements with regard to the principle that there should be equality of opportunity for all people irrespective of their race, sex, disability, age, sexual orientation or religion'.

Specific regional and local provisions are for example the nine regional Development Agencies. One, to take an example, is the London Development Agency (LDA), which enforces the Mayor's London Development Plan. It is primarily designed to 'build a thriving economy for London's people, businesses and communities' but does include community development initiatives in particular through its Equality and Diversity pillar and the Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) businesses scheme (see London Development Agency, 2002). A specific LDA program - 'Renewal-Turning Adversity into Opportunity for Refugees in West London', a public-private partnership project - has supported 140 local refugee community organisations through its small grants scheme. Renewal receives and distributes Euro 9 million (2000-2007) through LDA to enhance the civic participation of refugees in West London (5 per cent of the population).

#### Representation of the People Act 1983 and 2000

This act regulates the voting rights. The right to vote depends on registration in the Electorate Register, regulated by the Representation of the People Act 1983 and a 2000 substitution. Principally, eligibility depends on nationality, with British, Irish and Commonwealth citizens being entitled to vote in Westminster elections. In addition to those categories, people from other EU states who are citizens of the Union may vote in local elections and in elections for devolved assemblies (Wales, Scotland, Mayor of London). The Representation of the People Act 2000 clarifies that, additional to nationality restrictions, only people with leave to enter or with leave to remain are entitled to vote, which covers any length of time from three months to many years. These amendments mean that, for example, a person who has entered the country illegally may not register (see House of Commons, 2002). In consequence, immigrants with leave to remain who are Commonwealth citizens are eligible to vote whilst immigrants with leave to remain from non-Commonwealth countries are not eligible. That means in fact, that any citizen of the 53 Commonwealth member states with its nearly 2 billion citizens, if residing in the UK, can be registered in the Electorate Register, and will be entitled to vote. Shaw (2002: 18) analyses that voting rights of Irish and Commonwealth citizens are a historical specific and do not indicate a possible Tocqueville effect, an extension onto other groups of immigrants.

Additionally, the Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000 introduces for the first time controls on political donations and requires the Electoral Commission to maintain a register of large donations. This aims to prevent non-eligible foreigners to influence the UK's party system.

However, registration practice allows for considerable discretion. Once a year, each household receives the electorate registration questionnaire via mail, fill it out and send it back. The questionnaire is asking for the number of commonwealth citizens in the household, and for their names, but not for proof of immigration status of such individuals. Checks on the information provided seem to be unusual. As a local Electoral Board explained: 'If legislation required checks to be made by Electoral Registration Officers, it would be difficult to decide on what criteria these should be instigated and made, ...if such checks were done on

the basis of the appearance or sound of names, such action could well be deemed to be racist and in breach of the law'. Issues of 'fraud' or 'bogus voters', mentioned in parliament, did not raised any public or legal response. Although legally exempted from voting undocumented immigrants have a real chance to participate in elections if they wish (see House of Commons, 2004). Furthermore, the definition of who is a Commonwealth citizen is open to discretion. It is known for example, that in the London borough of Hackney, which accommodates a large number of Turkish Cypriots and mainland Turks, no distinction is being made between the Commonwealth members of Cypriot Turks and mainland Turks, for the practical reason that by name Turks cannot easily be distinguished by Cypriot, respectively mainland origin. In practice, that means that mainland Turks, if they wish, can participate in any local or national election.

On the other hand, in August 1999, Operation Black Vote<sup>6</sup> has been lifted off. It educates and informs African, Asian, Caribbean and other ethnic minority communities about politics and participation in public life. OBV aims to empower excluded groups and encourage active participation in elections.

In 2000, the Labour Party set of the organisation EQ to increase the number of black and Asian candidates put forward by the Labour Party. And the Conservative Party set up a similar body, the Cultural Unit. These efforts follow criticisms by for example Trevor Philips, arguing 'in the recent GLA elections (Greater London Assembly) it was Labour that represented Black and Asian Voters and I was one of them. But we still returned only two minority ethnic members out of 25. Thirty percent of Londoners are from ethnic minority communities, I don't think democracy is being done any favours here' (Operation Black Vote, 2000).

#### Reform of the House of Lords

In 1999, the Royal Commission on the Reform of the House of Lords has been set up. It aims to produce guidelines for the reform of this non-elected second chamber. Meanwhile, the institution of inheritable lordships has been abandoned, lords and dames are appointed on lifetime basis only, whilst the appointment system has been subject of reform too. The most relevant recommendations with respect to ethnic minorities are to ensure that all people 'should be able to feel that there is a voice in Parliament for the different aspects of their personalities, whether regional, vocational, ethnic, professional, cultural or religious, expressed by a person or persons with whom they can identify'. Accordingly, the Appointments Commission shall 'use its best endeavours to ensure a level of representation for members of minority ethnic groups which is at least proportionate to their presence in the population as a whole' (quoted in Parekh, 2000: 231-32). The latter aspect has, however been criticised because of its lack of statutory duty.

#### Other Relevant Legislation

The Council of Europe's Convention on the Political Participation of Foreigners in Local Life has been signed but not ratified by the UK.

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<sup>6</sup> See <http://www.obv.org.uk>, accessed 21.8.2004.

## Institutional framework

The institutional framework is as rich and complex as is the legal environment

Table 1.6: Institutional framework

<b>Statutory agencies</b>	Commission for Racial Equality (CRE)
	Racial Equality Councils (REC)
	Racial Equality Partnerships (REP)
	Home Office, Active Communities Unit (ACU)
<b>NGOs</b>	National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO)
	National Association of Councils for Voluntary Service (NACVS)
	London Voluntary Service Council (LVSC)
	Federation for Community Development Learning
<b>BME NGOs</b>	Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations, Ethnic Minority Foundation
	1990 Trust, Black Information Link
	Black and Minority Ethnic Businesses (BMEB)
	Race on the Agenda (ROTA)
	Union of Muslim Organisations, Muslim Council of Britain, Council of Mosques, National Association of British Muslims, League of British Muslims, Indian Muslim Federation
	British Refugee Council
	National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns (NCADC)

### Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and Related Bodies

Statutory non-government agency, working in both the public and private sectors to encourage fair treatment and to promote equal opportunities for everyone, regardless of their race, colour, nationality, or national or ethnic origin encourage organisations and individuals to play their part in creating a just society<sup>7</sup>. Beyond the head office there are six regional offices (London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Edinburgh, Cardiff). Additionally, the CRE currently funds 93 organisations that work in local areas, and among local communities, to promote racial equality and tackle racial discrimination. These include racial equality councils and partnerships (RECs and REPs), as well as law centres, housing partnerships and community organisations<sup>8</sup>. One such organisation is Birmingham Race Action Partnership, b:rap, which represents the most modern approach, it ‘believe that an inclusive society is built on principles that move beyond traditional approaches to equality and participation’, its aim is ‘to fundamentally change institutional policy and practice, and to do this through genuine partnership working with black & minority ethnic communities’<sup>9</sup>.

Home Office, Active Communities Unit (ACU)

<sup>7</sup> For further information see <http://www.cre.gov.uk/>

<sup>8</sup> For a list see <http://www.cre.gov.uk/about/recs.html>

<sup>9</sup> From the website <http://www.brap.org.uk/article/22/>, accessed 20.8.2004.

The Active Communities Unit has a vision of a society where the voluntary and community activity flourishes and where all individuals and communities are enabled to play a full part in civil society. It wants to ensure that the support, assistance and means exist to enable that vision becomes reality.

The Unit contributes to the delivery of Home Office Aim 7:

*'To support strong and active communities in which people of all races and backgrounds are valued and participate on equal terms by developing social policy to build a fair, prosperous and cohesive society in which everyone has a stake and to ensure that active citizenship contributes to the enhancement of democracy and the development of civil society.'*

Most of its budget of £93 million will be allocated for the implementation of the Cross-Cutting Review (CCR) to support capacity building and sector infrastructure between the end of 2003 and March 2006.

ACU principally acknowledges that

*'Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) VCS brings distinctive value to society, and in particular to race equality, social inclusion and the promotion of civil society. It enables BME individuals to contribute to public life, and supports active communities, often involving some of the most socially excluded people and communities in England. BME organisations have been innovative in addressing public service inequalities often empowering users in service design and delivery – reflecting the VCS strengths that the government wishes to support and harness' (ACU, 2003: 21).*

Related to the general aims are a range of umbrella organisations, namely the Local Government Association, the Inner Cities Religious Council and the Inter Faith Network of the UK.

Parties and Trade Unions

The *Labour Party*, the *Liberal Democrats*, to some extent also the *Conservative Party*, and also the *Trade Union Congress* and member trade unions actively encourage the participation of BME members in their organisation. The TUC, in their own words 'urges their affiliates to take steps to ensure that all workers, including minority groups, can play a full and active role in trade union structures. The TUC itself has arrangements to ensure that women and ethnic minorities are always fairly represented on the General Council and at Congress'. It also organises the *Black Workers' Conference*, a means of black workers seeking voice in the wider trade union movement. In particular, the recently set up Stephen Lawrence Task Force much more pro-actively addresses issues of discrimination and positive action.

Voluntary Associations

The *National Council for Voluntary Organisations*<sup>10</sup> is 'promoting voluntary and community action... with a clear focus to achieve greater influence, both locally and nationally' for voluntary sector activities. BME organisations within the NCVO organise a separate annual conference, their results to be channelled to the government through the *Compact* framework.

The *National Association of Councils for Voluntary Service* (NACVS) is a network of 350 CVS and other local voluntary and community infrastructure organisations throughout

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<sup>10</sup> NCVO, <http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk>

England. It promotes voluntary and community action by supporting their member CVS and by acting as a national voice for the local voluntary and community sector<sup>11</sup>.

The *London Voluntary Service Council* (LVSC) 'ensures that the voluntary sector is an active partner in London's policy and governance'. Through the cooperation of its 3 Sector Alliance (3SA) with *MiNet*, the London branch of *Black and Minority Ethnic Businesses* (BMEB) it targets immigrant and ethnic minority activities. Through training courses, such as 'Understanding Government routes to influence' LVSC 'increase participants' understanding of the structures and processes which provide the levers and openings for influencing government and other public agencies at the different levels'.

BME organisations have themselves organised nationally by setting up the *Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations*<sup>12</sup> and its associated *Ethnic Minority Foundation*<sup>13</sup>, both set up in 1999, represents over 9.000 BME community organisations. Both are building capacity within minority ethnic community organisations; stimulate increased participation in regeneration and neighbourhood renewal; influence policy and practice at local, regional and national level by responding to key research and policy papers; and recruit volunteers to act as trustees, mentors and in decision-making processes.

The *1990 Trust* and its *Black Information Link* is the first national black organisation set up to protect and pioneer the interest of Britain's Black Communities. Their approach is to engage in policy development and to articulate the needs of Black communities (African, Asian and Caribbean) from a Black perspective<sup>14</sup>. Their values - collective action and unity of purpose, social justice as a guide to life, empowerment of the people, and integrity throughout – and their mission - developing self organisation and community leadership to empower Black communities in tackling racism and in reaching their full potential - are inspired by encouraging civic participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities. *Ubuntu* is another, similar Black perspectives interest group, embedded in the Federation for Community Development Learning (FCDL). It is a collective of individual Black and minority ethnic practitioners and activists, networks and groups who share an interest in promoting and delivering learning from Black perspectives on community development work.

*Race on the Agenda* (ROTA) is funded, amongst others by the Home Office Active Community Unit. It works towards the elimination of discrimination and to promote both equality of opportunity access and best practice by informing London's strategic decision makers about issues affecting the Black voluntary sector and the communities it serves and ensuring representation in the development of policy. It seeks to 'Improvements in access to decision-making structures, established effective networks improving liaison between the Black and Minority Ethnic voluntary sector, the generic voluntary sector and the private and public sectors'<sup>15</sup>.

In particular, British Muslims are organised nationally through for example the Union of Muslim Organisations, the Muslim Council of Britain, the Council of Mosques, the National Association of British Muslims, the League of British Muslims and the Indian Muslim Federation. It has been, in fact assumed, that the pressure on Muslim communities resulting

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<sup>11</sup> NCAVS, <http://www.nacvs.org.uk/>

<sup>12</sup> CEMVO, <http://www.emf-cemvo.co.uk/whoweare.htm>

<sup>13</sup> EMF, <http://ethnicminorityfund.org.uk/html/index.asp>

<sup>14</sup> See <http://www.blink.org.uk>

<sup>15</sup> See <http://www.rota.org.uk/pages/about/index.htm>

from September 11, has led to the emergence of a new identity of British Muslims, a hypothesis which requires scientific verification.

Other grass-root agencies are usually not formally merged into national umbrella organisations, though there exist informal networks. These often emerge around national conferences. Only local monitoring projects, such as Newham Monitoring Project (London), Southall Monitoring project (London), West Midlands Monitoring Project more formally cooperate.

#### National Refugee Organisations

The British Refugee Council, to some extent funded by the Home Office, is a membership organisation of mainly Refugee community organisations.

The National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns is representing those at the bottom of the immigration hierarchy, immigrants threatened with removal or deportation and encourages them to participate in civic activities. NDADC is a national association of immigrant and refugee organisations engaged in securing a future in the UK for those facing a deportation order. It is assisting individuals in getting involved, empowers them to run a campaign on their own behalf and supports them technically and by providing a platform. NCADC runs a website and publishes daily news on legal matters, asylum policies and individual cases in the UK<sup>16</sup>.

#### Funding Bodies

Funding bodies such as general or specialised charities represent an important element of the overall landscape forming the conditions under which civic participation can flourish or dry out. They provide financial resources to community initiatives allowing these to set up and staff an office, produce information materials or start a specialised project. Major funding bodies, beyond central and local government agencies are for example the *National Lottery Board's Community Fund* (NLBCF), which is largest providers of funding for the voluntary sector, the *Barrow Cadbury Trust*, *Joseph Rowntree Foundation*, *Peabody Community Trust*, and many more. Funding bodies specialised in ethnic affairs are for example the *Churches Commission for Racial Justice* and the *Evelyn Oldfield Unit*. The funding landscape, which has traditionally been centralised, as local governments used to be the main source, has been diversified and decentralised. Nevertheless, the recently launched government's 'Neighbourhood Renewal - A Skills and Knowledge programme' will certainly have an impact on BME organisations. Meanwhile, community organisations rely on funding from several sources. Some of them shall be briefly introduced.

The Evelyn Oldfield Unit was established in 1994, by a consortium of funding bodies and agencies, which work with refugee community organisations. The aim was to develop specialist support for refugee organisations to enable them to adequately tackle the pressing needs of the communities they serve.

#### Conclusion

The legal and institutional environment of the UK is principally encouraging immigrants' and ethnic minority civic participation, there are no restrictions whatsoever. Discrimination of any kind, except in immigration policies, is legally sanctioned, though not always with perfect success. Some institutions, such as the police or other Home Office sections in particular in the immigration service are more reluctant to adapt to such new approaches than others. The racial equality legislation and its supervising body, the CRE, have become powerful

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<sup>16</sup> See [www.ncadc.org.uk](http://www.ncadc.org.uk)

instruments, and although nothing is perfect, have created an environment, in which discrimination, racism and exclusion on racial grounds is deemed unacceptable. The message is also increasingly understood on the ground, hence in communities and neighbourhoods, nevertheless racism remains a cause for concerns.

In addition to a generally integrative legal environment, pro-active policies are increasingly applied to encourage and enable BME communities to live up to these opportunities and the address informal obstacles to civic participation. Promising attempts are made to increase BME representation in appointed and elected bodies, though a long way has to be gone before the composition of the House of Lords, the Parliament and of local councils truly reflects the composition of the entire population. Recent government funded initiatives are introduced aiming to increase BME community organisations' understand of the political system, and how to participate in and influence politics, which must be treated as a serious move. The overall aim to encourage, enable and increase BME civic participation is of an honest nature.

However, none of these trends is becoming self-explaining, racism, discrimination and exclusion, surviving in some parts of society, its population, organisations and believes, remain issues on the political agenda, and any slacking in the efforts to combat such features may at any time result in political retrograde. Police racism, targeting and criminalisation of black youth remains topics to be addressed, and also the rise of right wing extremist parties in some parts of the country is alarming. And beyond such brutal expressions of racism, the preparedness of all political parties to offer BME candidates a safe position in elections is overdue. A major dilemma, or contradiction, remains, as immigration policies and public discourses continue to treat specific aspects of immigration as a threat, which may be understood by the public and BME communities, that this is because of the nature of the people immigrating, whilst internally equality is promoted.

## **Part II: Active Civic Participation of Third Country immigrants**

### *1. Introduction*

There is a long tradition of both a struggle for rights in England and Wales and the increased legal protection of rights. The struggle for greater participation and protection among the working classes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and women demanding equal participation are notable examples. The struggles for rights were articulated in a demand to the state to be more protective through laws guaranteeing expanded citizen rights, including civil rights, political rights and social rights. Because of the traditionally adverse social relations in the UK civic activity is rather understood and described as struggle, protest or social movement. Only in recent years, ideas of less confrontative and more cooperative ideas of civic participation have gained prominence. Mainstream sociological publications were, however, not much concerned with civic activities of ethnic minorities but with empirical description, policy development, quantitative census analysis and social geography.

In contrast, an approach known as British Black Cultural Studies paid particular attention to the struggles of ethnic minorities, respectively ‘Black’ or ‘Black and Asian’ social movements from the very first years of civic activities in the 1950s (see appendix for an exemplary list of publications covering the period from 1950 to 1990). During the 1970s, an understanding of the term ‘black’ emerged, which is political – like red or green –; ‘black struggles’ or ‘political blackness’ (Husband, 2002: 118) embraces the struggles against colonialism, racism, discrimination and exclusion. Accordingly, ‘black people’ or ‘black movements’ mean all people affected by racism and discrimination. It was meant to create a unified identity of Afro-Caribbean, African, Asian and other immigrant communities in Britain, respectively to express the common and unifying element in the diverse struggles of immigrant communities. But following the 1980s development – inner city uprisings and in response more reconciliatory policies by mainstream society – the concept of a unified ‘black movement’ faded away and black only means African and Afro-Caribbean. Correspondingly, this tradition of research on black movements, or in other words, immigrant civic participation weakened and the flow of publications break off during the late 1980s, early 1990s.

More recently, issues of integration, respectively civic inclusion, which, by its very nature, usually includes matters of active civic participation, or, as it is called in the UK, the ‘political integration’ of ethnic minorities, immigrants and refugees have characterised the discourse. Countless publications, hundreds of internet pages and numerous scholars and community activists represent this approach. Because discrimination is seen as a major barrier much literature concentrates on this topic, respectively on ‘race relations’. This report also includes some earlier works, first to highlight the roots of today’s situation and second because some earlier publications have not been updated and must be treated as unique. In recent years, a rapid growth of the volume of publications can be noted. Given restraints of time, resources and limits placed on the scale of this report, this overview cannot claim to be comprehensive but can only be of an exemplary nature.

It should be noted that in the UK active civic participation of immigrants is not a one-way process, whereby ethnic minorities, immigrants or refugees participate in their host society through joining the organisational structure of mainstream society or by setting up their own community organisations. In contrast, there are numerous host society members, who actively work within ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee organisations playing an important part for empowerment processes. Ethnic civic participation is indeed a two-way process, which

includes the preparedness of host society members to engage in immigrant matters, this, however, has not yet been studied.

### *3. Works on Active Civic Participation of Immigrants*

This section follows a particular order. First, it introduces the historical dimension and refers to earlier works, respectively works concentrated on the earlier years of immigrant activism. Second, it surveys general literature on contemporary immigrant activism. Third, it presents some works on participation in political parties and voting behaviour. Fourth, literature on ethnic minority participation in trade unions is assessed. Fifth, the findings of studies on BME community organisations and women's organisations are summarised. Sixth, civic participation with Muslim, Christian, Sikh and Hindi religious frameworks are analysed. And seventh, a range of additional and specific cases are emphasised focussing on specific locations, such as Birmingham, or specific groups (Arabs, refugees).

#### The Historical Dimension of Black Activism

The most comprehensive study on 'The making of the black working class in Britain' has been written by Ramdin (1987). His book gives a perfect overview of the history of black organisations and the individuals involved from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 1980s, though the strength lies in the reconstruction of the immigrant movements between 1925, or rather 1945 and the late 1970s. A trade unionist himself, he applies a distinct 'workerist', European Marxist approach, influenced by E.P. Thompson and some Italian concepts of 'autonomy'. This book must, however, be treated as a standard work representing a thick description of black history. Wilson (1978) and Brian et al. (1985) instead dedicate their works to civic active participation of 'black' women. In Brian et al. (1985), in chapter 2, 'learning to resist', the discrimination of black children at school, is analysed as a core arena of black women activism. It is understood as fighting the preconditions of permanent social and political exclusion, the rejection and failure of black children at school. Black women, through numerous campaigns and local initiatives, were demanding access to education, an end to Euro-centric curriculum accompanied with the creation of a net of self-organised Sunday schools. Both efforts aimed at creating an environment, which, through providing the means for successful participation in British society – education, knowledge, skills – preparing the ground for a sustainable civic participation of black people in Britain. As it will be shown below, such aspirations are still inspiring today's BME women organisations.

One of the most distinct scholars to be named is Ambervalaner Sivanandan, director of the Institute of Race Relations (IRR) in London, editor of the Institute's journal *Race and Class* and author of several books and articles. An expert on the 'black' (Asian, Afro Caribbean and African) social movement in the UK he published several articles on the resistance against racial discrimination during the 1960s and 1970s, collected in a comprehensive volume (Sivanandan, 1982). Influenced by and corresponding with his works were immigrant community organisations such as Southall Rights and the Newham Monitoring project. Both, under the auspice of the IRR published small books (Southall Rights, 1981; Newham Monitoring Project, 1991) on the 'emergence of black communities', applying Sivanandan's approach to case studies. In the same context must be named Darkus Howe (1988), then editor of another 'black' journal, *Race Today*. In his later writings, Sivanandan (1985, 1989) critically analysed the decomposition of the 'black' movement into its ethnic elements. According to Sivanandan, the combined effect of the partial victory of 'black' struggles,

leading to the emergence of a black middle class and a 'race relations industry' plus the deliberate government policy to disintegrate the 'black' movement into its ethnic elements through its funding strategy caused the end of the unified movement as such (equally Hall, 1978). Similar works are related to the Birmingham-based Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, whose most prominent members were Steward Hall, Phil Cohen, Paul Gilroy (1982), applying concepts of 'cultures of resistance' to 'black communities'. However, the traditions inherent to these approaches, and the political and community projects inspired by them, have lost quite some of their influence.

### Survey of Contemporary Immigrant and Ethnic Minority Activism

During the 1990s, numerous works on the more specific aspects of immigrants and ethnic minority civic participation have been published. Two main areas covered were local initiatives and community organizations (Ahmed, 1998; Bairner and Bradley, 1999) and publications on political participation. Two of these are concerned with a specific group of British South Asian Elites (Saggar, 1998; Asghar, 1996) while the other is based in a particular locale of Birmingham and Bradford (Rex and Samad, 1998). One is concerned with the issue of 'ethnic entry' into the British Labour Party (Fielding and Geddes, 1998), 'black voting' (Owen, 2000; Parekh, 2000) and the British electoral system and ethnic minorities (Anwar, 1991, 1998, 2000). Two publications are looking at ethnic participation in trade unions (Virdee and Grint, 1994; Fitzgerald and Stirling, 2004) while others are concerned with collective claims or migrant challenges to the nation state (Koopmans and Statham, 1999, 2004). Three publications cover barriers to civic participation through discrimination in policies and legislation (Anwar, 2000; MacEwan, 1997; Dean and Belchak, 2000). Two similar works are specifically concerned with issues of funding: a research report analyses outcome of funding applications by BME organisations and the impact of grants on the organisations potential in civic participation (Hall and Coombes, 2003), and a book studies the impact of Black Voluntary and Community Sector funding on civic engagement and capacity building (Chuhan and Lusane, 2004). There is research on various immigrant/ethnic communities, such as Somali (Ahmed, 1998), Arabs (Nagel, 2001) Kashmiris (Ellis and Khan, 1998), Hindus (Bhatt, 2000) and Bangladeshi (Asghar, 1996), on Bangladeshi Muslim organizations (Glynn, 2002) and on Turkish Muslim (Kücükcan, 1999); ethnic voluntary and community organization (McLeod et al, 2001) and on BME women's voluntary sector organisations (Davis and Cooke, 2002; Davis, 2002). Some publications specifically study the political participation of refugees (Wahlbeck 1996, Zetter and Pearl 2000), the role of community organisations and leaders in refugee communities (e.g. Wahlbeck 1998) and refugee participation and empowerment (OXFAM, 1996). Wood and Eade (2000-2001) are concerned with West African Methodists in London. The main findings will be summarised and briefly assessed in the following section.

In contrast to most of the abovementioned works, Statham (1999) provides an alternative and challenging comparative study on 'political mobilisation by ethnic minorities in Britain', so the title of his essay, namely the two main groups, Blacks and Asians. It is a critical, and plausible, discussion of the dominant concept in British discourse, the 'race relations' framework. He argues, that the traditional notion of race, introduced as a response to Afro-Caribbean politics, represents a system of 'political opportunities' that favours Afro-Caribbeans but does not suit groups, that do not identify themselves in terms of 'race' or nationality but in terms of culture and religion. It is argued, that the British tradition of racialised cultural pluralism and its political concept of 'race relations' has created an 'inequality of opportunities' (: 597). Groups, that place their claims outside the accepted version of cultural diversity - race – face 'high barriers in making themselves visible' (: 604).

Thus, 'African-Caribbeans mobilise along racial lines, use a strong assimilative 'black' identity, conventional action forms, and target state institutions with demands for justice that are framed within the recognised framework of race relations. Conversely, a high proportion of the Indian subcontinent minority mobilisation is by Muslim groups, a non-assimilative religious identity' (: 597). But the low levels of socio-economic success of these groups, compared with Sikhs and Hindus, indicate a strong socio-economic reasoning of British Muslim political mobilisation.

Analysing the share of claims-making actors in the field of migration and ethnic relations (based on the Guardian, 1990-1996) reveals that 51.3 per cent are attributed to state and party actors, 40.5 per cent to civil society, including 19.4 per cent to ethnic minority, organisations and 2.9 per cent to racist agencies (: 602). This, assessed in light of the much lower level of their share in the population, without doubt illustrates successful efforts in making themselves heard, hence in realising a significant impact on public discourse. It also shows, however, an uneven distribution between ethnic minorities and immigrants, proving that minorities with citizenship rights have a greater share in the politics about them than minorities without such rights (: 603). This, in terms of visibility of collective actors in claims-making processes means, that 15 per cent can be identified as (immigration) status groups, 36.7 per cent as racial groups, 24.5 as religious groups and 23.1 as national and ethnic groups. Outstanding are ethnic minorities (8.4 per cent), Blacks (25.3 percent, the largest single group), Muslims (23.8 per cent) and Bangladeshis (3.7 per cent). It is clarified, that the Muslim identity is in fact applied by Pakistani and Bangladeshi minorities, as Indians are overwhelmingly Hindu. And he also shows that the Muslim identity is adopted by the poorer section of such minorities, hence that there is a strong class dimension in identity politics (: 622). With respect to Afro-Caribbean, he points to the tendency that political claims-making is in the hands of middle-class representatives, whereas the remainder of this minority group is increasingly marginalized. In other words, the integration of socio-economically successful members of an ethnic minority may on the other involve, if not even contribute, the exclusion of its less successful members (: 612).

He emphasises, that with a few exceptions, Afro-Caribbean and Muslim claims-making is highly acculturative, made within the British political context and aiming at acknowledgement and integration (: 611). The repertoire of claims-making is overwhelmingly conventional, but the less political opportunities a group has the more likely it is that they turn to demonstrative, confrontational and even violent forms (: 613). The latter is particular true for Asian youth and for asylum seekers. The addressees of minority demands are overwhelmingly state institutions – 81.2 per cent, the rest are civil society organisations and employers. It is noteworthy, that the main addressee within the state institutions are the police (29.8 per cent) and the judiciary (9.9 per cent), hence 40 per cent of all claims-making is concerned with enforcement and justice issues, for Afro-Caribbeans it is as many as 63 per cent. The second main addressees are national and local governments (22.2 per cent, but considerably less for Afro-Caribbeans) (: 615). The third major addressee is state institutions, hence for example the education and health authorities, are addressed in 9.9 per cent of all claims-making but in 35 per cent of Muslim activities.

A qualitative follow-up by Koopmans and Statham (2004), shows that nearly 70 per cent of all migrant group claims-making were made using religious forms of identification, and the majority were made by Muslims. Concentrating on the latter group, they found a strong tendency for pro-active, but also 'dissociative and more confrontational' claims (: 16). They emphasise a number of cases of violent protests. Other, exceptional group demands are analysed as challenging British state sovereignty, the authority of British legal institutions and the education system. The authors reaffirm that exceptional group demands by Muslims do

not fit easily in British Race Relations politics, and are not easily accommodated by it. This, they interpret as failure of the British system which only acknowledges collective claims on the basis of ethnicity but not on the basis of religion. It does not come as a surprise that the number of studies on Muslim activities has been increasing in recent years.

### Party Politics and Voting Behaviour

Anwar and Saggar are both experts on party political participation and in voting behaviour. Anwar (1984) found that in 18 of 20 parliamentary constituencies with large Asian populations, voter turnout was actually higher among Asian voters (81%) than non-Asian voters (60%). In another publications, Anwar (1991) analyses the inter-relation between elections, BME organisations, the role of their leaders and voting behaviour. He also shows that since all parties have accepted to put forward ethnic minority candidates for safe seats, 'ethnic minority organisations and ethnic leaders have become more active in the political process' (: 57). In 1998, he analysed the behaviour of ethnic minorities in the electoral process. First, he found considerable differences within this group, namely the comparably low registration level of black people. Accordingly, Asian turnout is found to be highest and black turnout to be lowest. His research shows that there is very strong support for the political involvement of ethnic minorities in politics. An overwhelming majority of ethnic minorities as well as whites (both 97 percent) felt that ethnic minorities should be encouraged to participate in the British political system. Almost 98 percent of ethnic minority respondents but also 91 percent of whites thought that there should be more elected representatives from ethnic minorities. However, the fact is that ethnic minorities are seriously under-represented in the political process. In a previous essay (Anwar, 2004) he analyses that BME mainly vote Labour, and, in the light of international politics (Iraq war) increasingly Liberal Democrats and Conservatives but not ethnic minority parties or independent BME candidates. He identifies the exclusion of some ethnic minorities and whites from the electoral process because of non-registration and also lower turnout is a serious problem. He also recommends parties to involve BME members in decision-making processes and a more favourable candidate selection process.

Saggar (1998, see also 2000) finds a remarkable high level of electorate registration, 92 per cent (whites 97 per cent). He reported that voter turnout among Indian voters actually exceeded that of whites nationally, while the electoral participation of Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and Black Caribbeans was more or less on a par with the participation of 'whites'. And regarding preferences, every survey of ethnic minority voters that has been conducted since the 1970s reaffirms that non-whites favour the Labour Party. In each general election since 1979, Labour has been the preferred party choice of no less than two-thirds of ethnic minority voters. Among Afro-Caribbean voters, the Labour Party vote has averaged an astonishing 84% over the past five general elections. Layton-Henry and Studlar (1985) analysed that this is the same across all social classes; Messina (1998) concludes that the reasons are the Labour Party's efforts to reaching out to ethnic minorities and their generally more positive approach to immigration and ethnic minorities. This is, however, not a functional pattern, instead ethnic minorities in the UK are traditionally left, dating back to traditions of communism amongst Indians, and most notably Sikhs, and Caribbeans, both has to do with anti-colonialism

For reasons not yet analysed ethnic minority turnout decreased in 2002: whites - 59,4 %, ethnic minorities - 47 % (see Electoral Commission, 2002). With respect to this trend, Adolino (1998) suggests that there is a frequent disillusion among black and Asian people who have tried to make a mark by being elected to borough, county or city councils. She

concludes that political parties want 'black votes' but not black opinions. Parekh (2000), developing these findings further, explains that parties, in order to win the 'white electorate' frequently play the 'race card' and cites a councillor with the words, that no party wants to appear as 'giving power to blacks' (p. 231). It is suspected that ethnic minority candidates are only given non-safe, non-winnable seats. Consequently, in 2004, only 12 of 652 Members of Parliament are of ethnic minority background, 18 peers who are members of the House of Lords, and 662 were local councillors (3 per cent of 21,498 councillors in England and Wales). These figures do in no way commensurate with the proportion of the ethnic minority populations, as a proportionate representation would be, for example, 36 MPs.

Some publications reveal a fundamental conflict over the aim of black voting. Whilst Saggart promotes the idea that minority ethnic candidates should turn to mainstream political themes, Parekh argues they should primarily represent the specific interests of their communities.

A major survey, the 'Fourth National Survey into ethnic minorities in Britain' carried out by PSI (Modood et al., 1997), does not tell much about civic participation. Only two areas are mentioned: self-defence groups to protect themselves from racial attacks and trade union membership. 52 per cent of South Asians and 49 per cent of Afro-Caribbean agree with the idea of self-defence groups, but 24 per cent, respectively 31 per cent disagree (: 286). Whilst these figures show that the respective communities are divided over that question, the study does not show to which extent the idea is put into practice. Second, it was found that union membership rates were higher among all ethnic minority groups (40 per cent compared with 32 per cent amongst whites), except Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (22 per cent), and were particularly high among African-Caribbeans (46 per cent) (: 135). Despite the willingness of minority members to join unions, they feel that their unions are not doing enough to tackle racism and promote racial equality.

### Immigrants and Ethnic Minority Membership in Trade Unions

Another three publications analyse trade unions as a field of ethnic civic participation. In an earlier empirical work, Virdee and Grint (1994) analyse racism in trade unions and how this is affecting its members from BME communities. Interestingly, racism does not seem to have a negative effect on black trade union membership as such, whilst on the other hand it has a negative impact on participation within the organisation. What they found was that instead of a considerable share of black members only a disproportionately small number made it to the higher ranks. By comparing the strategies of different trade union branches they found that in case where there are visible black representatives these can, though not automatically, increase black membership in the whole (: 219). Furthermore, autonomous black groups within the trade union can considerably increase minority participation and activity on all levels. Their study is, in the same time, a study on civic participation, the barriers black and minority members face and how these can be addressed. They suggest, that 'semi-autonomous black workers' groups', hence a 'strategy of relative autonomy rather than separatism or submersion within a race-blind trade union' 'may be a way of advancing the interests of black workers at work and suppressing racism' (: 202). Furthermore, it can be concluded from their study that black autonomous groups within a civil society organisation can not only increase minority participation in such organisations but also increase participation within such organisations.

Another qualitative research publication, worth to be mentioned, is the Trade Union Council's (Fitzgerald and Stirling, 2004) report on ethnic minorities and trade unions, conducted in cooperation with Northumbria University, Sustainable Cities Research Institute. It is a case study on North East England, the industrial conurbation of Newcastle, an area of low ethnic

trade union participation. Explanations given for such an atypical pattern have been that in such regions where ethnic minorities are small, civil society organisations such as trade unions are not only overwhelmingly ‘white’ but therefore are not perceived as representative for ethnic minority communities.

Additionally, Bradley et al. (2002) carried out a qualitative study into labour market experiences of ethnic minority women and their active involvement in trade unions. These experiences are on the one hand characterised by a strong commitment to community and collectivism, on the other by experiences of racism and sexism but illustrates how women were actively working to shape their lives and resolutely challenging discriminatory practices. The study shows that individual experience of discrimination, a strong sense for justice, activity in self-organised groups, a tradition of social participation and solidarity, and the inadequate nature of the representation of topics of racism are the main forces behind active Trade Union participation.

### Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organisations

Despite growing interest in black and minority ethnic voluntary and community organisations (BMEOs) there is not much research available. McLeod, Owen and Khamis’ work (2001) on ‘Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organisations: Their role and future development in England and Wales’ is the first national study of the sector. In their analysis, based upon 200 questionnaires the authors: determine the general number and distribution of BMEOs (excluding religious agencies); identify the type of services they provide to the community, and suggest possible gaps or under-provision in these services, both geographically and on the basis of potential demand; assess the type, nature, and strength of existing links between BMEOs and providers of financial, technical and other resources; identify the key factors that influence the level, nature and sustainability of support to these organisations as a whole; and assess the current robustness and sustainability of the BMEO sector and the principal factors affecting this. McLeod et al. identified 5,500 BMEOs, 90 per cent had a formal legal status and 50 per cent had regular income of GDP 50,000 to 250,000, furthermore, over half reported rising income. More than 60 per cent existed for more than 10 years proving the standing power of such organisations. BMEOs mostly serve people with significant social and economic needs, possibly more frequently than the voluntary sector as a whole, and commonly on a town or borough basis. Many originate from specific ethnic, cultural or religious background. Services include education and training, health support, welfare and legal advice and advocacy, day care facilities, housing and accommodation, cultural, sports and other leisure activities. Their beneficiaries tend to be people on low incomes, unemployed people, refugees and people with disabilities or health concerns. Interestingly, however, the study found relatively low awareness amongst local communities indirectly criticising isolationist practices of BMEOs. Most BMEOs expressed concern about their financial stability, increasing funding-related paper work and a lack of official recognition. These organisations are therefore an important resource in the efforts to tackle social exclusion and deprivation. The authors conclude that black and minority ethnic organisations do tend to comprise a distinct sector within the wider voluntary and community sector because of their origins and their propensity to deal with issues of social exclusion with a racial dimension.

Renewal net (2002) offers a more critical view on the limits of BME participation in particular in urban regeneration matters. The reasons they provide – poorly resourced, poorly organised, poor infrastructure, inexperienced in partnership working -, though seemingly based upon anecdotal knowledge reflect a good guideline for further research.

A more specific study has been conducted by Beider and Mullins (2004), which concentrates on participation, respectively the barriers to such participation of BME individuals in local housing improvement scheme and provides a practical guideline to local authorities to solve these difficulties. The authors take as a starting point that Black and minority ethnic (BME) communities are sometimes regarded as 'hard-to-reach groups' (: 18). According to this report, 'most tenants do not want to be actively involved in high-level involvement groups, but many do want opportunities to express their views and to influence decisions that directly affect them' (: 7). Specific barriers for participation are identified on both sides, BME communities and public authorities. These are for example language deficiencies, experiences of racism and mistrust of the organisations involved, lack of knowledge and awareness of a community and its diversity. Ignorance of the exact composition of 'fragmented communities' run danger that housing organisations will assume that all BME communities are similar and adopt 'a one cap fits all approach', which would alienate those whose interests are not reflected in such a policy. And also the traditional public service strategy to cooperate with so-called community leaders has been found to be of only limited use, as these for example often do not represent 'minorities within the minority', such as women or youth. Failures in involving affected BME communities, can, as the authors imply, contribute to a build-up of considerable tension, exploding in urban unrest, as in 2001, in Bradford, Burley and Oldham.

Another, though not exactly scientific report by OPM (2004), commissioned by the Home Office's Active Community Unit, analyses the response to an ACU consultation document (ACU, 2003) on voluntary community services' (VCS) activities. A significant number of the responses from BME organisations identified the specific roles and functions that they thought BME infrastructure organisations could provide. These centred on advocacy, lobbying, campaigning, policy guidance, language translation and interpretation and capacity building. However, a number of the responses engaged at a more conceptual level with notions of equality and diversity. As BME infrastructure organisations have the detailed knowledge at the neighbourhood level of aggregate need, they are more able to tailor services to the needs of specific client groups. However, to ensure a strategic approach, this has to take place within a national level framework that includes a grassroots approach. Quoted is the Black Training and Enterprise Group arguing, that '*areas and localities differ and cannot be determined on a top-down basis but through a bottom-up process*' (: 34). In general terms, there was support across the various different types of organisation for collaboration, providing the independent advocacy function was maintained. This latter point appeared to be a particular concern of those BME organisations that responded.

Craig et al. (2002) specifically studied BMEOs experiences with compacts<sup>17</sup> at central and local government level, based upon 20 organisations. The respondents felt that mainstream voluntary sector organisations were not in a position to represent the interests of black and minority ethnic communities either in general or in the development of local compacts. Black and minority ethnic voluntary and community organisations felt they were marginal to local policy debates. They were mainly used by mainstream and statutory agencies to deliver the latter's goals and targets rather than being fully involved in strategic policy discussion; most felt also that they had little access to senior policy-makers or politicians. Many felt that black and minority ethnic voluntary and community organisations were not acting cohesively, except when there were crises - for example with funding arrangements. They were often involved in their own community politics rather than joining together to make strategic

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<sup>17</sup> In 1997, the government began negotiating national compacts (a framework of principles and processes shaping relationships) between central government and the voluntary and community sectors. Subsequently, it also encouraged the development of local compacts.

responses to policy debates and discussion. Respondents also argued that the black and minority ethnic voluntary sector was overstretched and under-resourced. Significant additional resources were needed to build both its infrastructure and capacity to respond to local issues and act strategically when necessary. Black and minority ethnic voluntary and community organisations shared some of the concerns about the compact expressed more widely in the sector, particularly that: - the compact had only voluntary status with no legislative backing; - no additional resources had been allocated to make it work effectively; - there was little attention to monitoring or sustainability.

### Black and Ethnic Minority Women Organisations

Black and ethnic minority women voluntary sector organisations are analysed by Davis and Cooke (2002) and by Davis (2002). Literature on this topic otherwise is very limited. This report, based upon 13 interviews with such organisations, explores what determines the needs, types and structures of black women's organisations in England, Scotland and Wales, and examines their relationship with the statutory sector. In their analysis, the authors establish the basic philosophies of organisation and the context in which organisations are developed; identify how black women's organisations are structured and the types of services that they provide; and examine the relationships between black women's organisations and the state, funding patterns and levels, and variations in the services provided for different ethnic groups. The research found sufficient similarities between the principles of and services provided by Black women's organisations for this grouping to be identified as a clear section within the Black voluntary sector generally, and the voluntary sector as a whole. The range of services provided by Black women's organisations is wide. Examples found by the research included: youth work, adult education classes, employment training programmes, mental health provisions, care of older people, refuges, counselling, general advice and support work, and social and cultural events. Services centred on the needs of women in all aspects of their lives. Despite the range and depth of possible services that Black women's organisation offer, the research found a lack of clear policy from local authorities relating specifically to Black women and Black women's organisations. There were considerable discrepancies between the funding allocations to different ethnic and religious groupings. This resulted in differences between types of provisions for ethnic groupings. Black women's organisations have a key role to play in tackling social exclusion, and in the face of considerable obstacles have been achieving impressive results. The changes currently taking place in the voluntary sector, with the introduction of multiple funding agencies and the gradual displacement of local government as the single funding agency, are having marked effects on black women's organisations, which the authors are optimistic about.

An earlier article by Burlet and Reid (1998), taking a conflict in Bradford in 1995, challenges the male dominance of representation. It questions, that Asian male youth, who have been the dominant actors of violent protests, have been given particular attention in discussions on political participation of immigrants, whereas Asian women, who have been actively working to strengthen the position of women within the community since the 1970s did not receive equal attention. This article has wider implications for the future management of plural societies and encourages a genderised analysis of community representation.

### Civic Participation through Religious Frameworks: British Muslims

British Muslims have only relatively recently become a distinct group. The making of British Muslim identity is very concisely analysed by Husband (2002), who takes the controversy over Salman Rushdie's *Satanic verses* in 1988/89 as the trigger: After a period of unravelling

political blackness the Satanic verses 'mobilised an impassioned activism that no previous campaign against racism has been remotely to stir. Previously 'passive' Muslims discovered a new community solidarity' (: 119). Further urged by phenomena of global solidarity with events in Palestine, Bosnia, the Persian Gulf region, Chechnya and Kashmir religion has gained new or renewed importance in public policy (: 121). Muslim activism has had a considerable impact on British society. Looking at literature concerned with Muslims in Britain reveals, that most studies are focussing on the socio-economic quantitative aspects. Anwar (2002), for example, only briefly analyses political participation and representation. He counts two MPs, four Lords, one MEP and 153 local councillors, 'two-thirds of his respondents felt that Muslims lacked a sufficient voice in the political process' (: 43). Muslims have set up an estimated 1.200 local community organisations nationwide, 'particularly for worship and religious instructions' (: 49), 1.000 mosques are assumed to exist. The interviewees' opinions expressed are mixed and range from satisfaction to frustration and alienation. The positive outlook, however, is, that the general view held by the interviewees was that local councils 'are now prepared to take Muslim issues on board, following pressure from Muslim groups' and 'welcomed the anti-racist policies and initiatives' (: 56). Choudhury (2002), in an overview on Muslims in Britain, based on qualitative interviews, also addresses the issue of civil society activities of Muslims (: 432). He argues, that the voluntary sector activities, which go beyond religious aims, are a relatively new feature. The report analyses the funding difficulties Muslim organisation face and find the reasons in the specific political environment, which concentrates on ethnicities as the main focus for funding and thereby neglect other identities. Ansari (2004) in his forthcoming book on the history of Muslims in Britain since 1800, also analyses the growing mobilization of Muslim in Britain's political, religious and economic life. Mustafa (2001) specifically analyses the role and impact of Muslim community organisations in the educational sector. The article describes how this group of organizations have been active, through a process of consultation and collaboration, in providing educational services to state schools, local education authorities and government departments. It examines the development of such voluntary organizations and attempts to discern their role and impact on the public education system in Britain. Kahani-Hopkins and Hopkins (2002) write about British Muslim representation. They identify different forms of political activism; in particular, they study the Islamic Party of Britain and the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain. Some attention is put in the relation to 'parent organisations' in South Asia. Their main aim is to challenge images of a British Muslim identity and instead to illustrate the diverse character of politically active Muslims in the UK. Glynn (2002) concentrates on a case study of Bengali 'social and political action' in the London borough of Tower Hamlets. Her attention is dedicated to traditions of radicalism and its recent expression in Muslim fundamentalism. The article includes a detailed description of political Muslim organisations, their roots and politics in the UK and analysis the tensions between first and second-generation activism. Its empirical part studies why young Bengalis are attracted by such organisations. It is shown that, whilst the older generation, often from middle-class background and from the political tradition of Bengali national liberation (a profoundly secular movement) has made it into the local council, the Bengali youth, often from working class background and involved in gang violence and the vicious influence of drugs, finally turned to ideas of Islamic brotherhood. In Tower Hamlet, it is argued, the traditional role of 'anti-racism' as the idea, which united local communities, has been replaced by Islamism (: 975; for an analysis of the earlier periods of Bengali political activism see Eade, 1991). Finally, they point to the contrasting relationship between Islamism and civic participation. On the one hand, Islamism is an organised way to engage in politics, to play an active part in civil society and to interact with mainstream

society, on the other hand Islamism also provides for isolationism and the abandoning of any contact with mainstream society (: 984).

What these studies show, is, that in daily life, there is not such thing as one Muslim community, instead there are many. Only from time to time, these become united around issues of common anger over, for example the Satanic verses or the war on Iraq. Otherwise, the many territorial organisations (e.g. mosques), local organisations and even the large number of Muslim umbrella organisations rather reflect the diversity of Muslim political life in the UK. And each strand, according to Werbner (1991: 23), has its own local, territorial and national expression.

#### Civic Participation through Religious Frameworks: Christian Churches

Although religious activities of Afro-Caribbeans in Christian organisations – churches, church schools - have been identified as a major field of civic participation the author is not aware of recent studies in this field. This report must therefore refer to an older study by Johnson (1991). There, it is shown that Black British are rather engaged in black-led churches – mostly Pentecostal, but also Methodist, Seventh Day Adventists - than in mainstream Anglican churches. This is explained as a response to the barriers black people face in getting access to senior level positions (: 288), though this is assumed to since must have changed. Black-led churches instead are found to be a channel for the development of black leadership (: 281) whilst church sponsored community centres play an important role in service provision and black community resistance (: 284). They did play an important role in community development schemes and seems to have played a role in building a bridge between government neighbourhood improvement schemes and the ethnic minority communities concerned (285).

#### Civic Participation through Religious Frameworks: Hindu and Sikh Organisations

Other ethnic and religious communities too have attracted scholarly attention. Bhatt (2000) for example concentrated on Hindu movements in the UK. The essay focuses on the structure and ideology of the Hindutva movement in the UK, and looks at the impact of the Hindutva movement in the reorganization of youth and religious communities in the UK. It analyses, how, within the UK context, novel articulations of religion and caste have become the modalities in which class relations are lived. Hinduism of economically successful African Asians and relatively impoverished Bengali and Pakistani Muslim communities are interpreted in terms of class boundaries. It does then not come as a surprise, that political Hinduism, because of its manifest anti-communism and anti-socialism, is distracted from the broad British movements against discrimination and racism. Bhatt lists several Hindu organisations and finds that the main organisations have voluntary sector and charitable status. Whilst the concept of ‘service’ ranks high in Hindu ideology, Hindu organisations managed to cultivate regular associations with the local authority, the city council, education authorities or political parties, including the Labour Party, unfortunately it is not explained on which issues. Finally, the author expresses concerns about Hindu separatism and present tendencies of hostility towards other communities.

Another case study is concerned with the group of Kashmiris. It is estimated that about two thirds of the census category of ‘Pakistani’ are in fact Kashmiris, who emigrated to Britain during the late 1940s. Ellis and Khan (1998) analyse, how British Kashmiris have incorporated political aspirations for their country of origin into their involvement with British politics. They show that a policy of ‘ethnic lobbying’ has been developed, which

parallels US American developments, such as the Jewish lobby, and which has successfully influenced British foreign policy. Kashmiri political groupings in the UK have only been able to make themselves heard and recognised since the early 1990s. The main reason, Ellis and Khan suggest, is that because in those electoral wards where they are concentrated, they represent a significant electorate, up to 20 per cent. It is argued that because local politicians must pay due attention to the concerns of their electorate, as for example expressed in lobbying, protest letters and street protests by the Kashmiri communities, this introduces mechanisms whereby the concerns of British Kashmiris are fed into mainstream British (foreign) politics. The relevance of this case study is, that it shows how a relatively small but geographically concentrated and politically well-organised ethnic minority develops 'the potential to exercise influence beyond their numbers' (ibid.: 486).

#### Case Studies of Civic Ethnic Participation in Specific Locations, by Specific Ethnicities or Specific Immigration Categories

In course of the UNESCO's Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities (MPMC) project, Garbaya (Oxford University) delivered a good case study of civic participation of immigrants in Birmingham. Birmingham, as he argues, is particularly relevant for comparative studies (: 15-16; see also Garbaya, 1999), several other authors focussed their studies in this city (most recently Smith and Stephenson, 2003). The city of Birmingham has nearly one million inhabitants, the entire conurbation (Coventry, Wolverhampton, Walsall, Solihull, etc) more than 2.5 million. In 1991, ethnic minorities comprised 21.5% of Birmingham's population. There were nearly twice as many 'Asians' compared to 'Blacks' and Pakistanis form the largest single ethnic minority group. They concentrate in specific wards. Garbaya summarises, that 'the ethnic communities in Birmingham are characterised by a very dense network of associations, organisations and groups' (: 6). A city council's *Directory of Black and Ethnic minority organisations in Birmingham* in 1995 lists 375 groups, acknowledging that there were many more: 45 Afro-Caribbean, 57 Bangladeshi, 68 Pakistani, 39 Indian, 8 Sikh, 9 Chinese, 7 Vietnamese and 198 youth organisations of any ethnicity. In 2001, there were also 15 refugee community organisations (b:rap, 2001). The most important Asian organisations are mainly religious bodies (Muslim, Hindu, Sikh). These organisations formed nine forums, the Black-Led Churches liaison Committee, the African-Caribbean peoples' movement, the Bangladeshi Islamic Projects Consultative Council, the Chinese Consultative Council, the Council of Sikh Gurdwaras, the Hindu Council, the Pakistan Forum, the Irish Forum, and the Vietnamese Forum. These have, in 1987, merged into the umbrella organisation *Standing Consultative Forum* (SCF) (meanwhile dissolved and replaced by Birmingham Race Action Partnership, b:rap<sup>18</sup>. For a report on the failure of SCF see also Warmington, 2004). The SCF created a channel of representation, provided access to the decision making process within the Council, and rationalised as much as possible the funding of the various groups. Furthermore, in particular the Pakistani community is playing an increasingly important role in local politics, because of a strong participation in the grassroots Labour party. Garbaya concludes, that 'for the last ten years, the political context has thus been increasingly favourable to ethnic minorities-related issues' (:8). Around twenty of 118 councillors are from ethnic minorities, mainly from the West Indian (Black Caribbean) and the Pakistani communities. Voters' registration for ethnic minorities is lower but turnout in elections higher than for whites, though the reasons are not analysed by the author. However, in his view, 'it is important to point out that, generally speaking, there is a

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<sup>18</sup> <http://www.brap.org.uk/article/57/>, accessed 8.10.2004

correlation between the development of the policy against racial discrimination and of these participatory frameworks on one side and the strong increase of the numbers of ethnic councillors on the other' (: 10). The author acknowledges, that the civic participation of immigrants in Birmingham in the 1990s is particular consociational, compared with other cities, namely Bradford. A recent report by the 'Voluntary and Community Sector Commission, Thematic Group on BME Issues' (2003), and facilitated by b:rap comes to somewhat contrasting conclusions. Thereafter, a 'BME voluntary *sector* as such in Birmingham, certainly in the sense of a distinct grouping of organisations sharing a common understanding of ethnicity, a common agenda, interests, politics or values' does not exist (: 4). In fact, 'the notion of a "BME voluntary sector" exists largely as a consequence of various public institutions' need for a neat and orderly version of 'diversity' rather than as a genuine expression of BME organisations' own cultural or ethnic solidarity' (ibid.). The report goes on criticising processes of 'ethnicisation' of otherwise social issues. It therefore echoes earlier criticism, as voiced by Sivanandan and Hall in the 1980s (see above), though in this case, they have not been made by individual scholars but a locally influential organisation.

The participation in media, either mainstream or ethnic minority media has been studied separately under the EU's Fifth RTD framework programme<sup>19</sup>. It should be noted, however, that whilst ethnic minority representation and participation in mainstream media appears to weaken, the landscape of ethnic minority media, namely papers, magazine and radio stations is very rich<sup>20</sup>. It may be concluded, that, whilst participation in the public sphere seems low, participation in the market sphere appears to be a more successful strategy.

Nagel (2001) has researched Arabs in London, a group, which in her words, represents a 'hidden minority', academically ignored and politically marginalized (: 381). These are estimated at around 200.000 individuals, either from countries historically dominated by Great Britain, which, however, never became members of the Commonwealth (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Sudan and some Gulf states), but also from Morocco and Algeria. She argues that the British race relations discourse excludes specific groups, which are 'invisible in the public sphere' (: 386), and takes Arabs as a precedent group. Although her article aims to analyse identity processes amongst Arabs in London, it is relevant for the purpose of this study because her qualitative work involves interviewing 21 activists from Arab community organisations. These are cultural associations, a women's centre, students' and youth groups, a drug prevention campaign and a journal. The findings contrast with those of many other studies as half of the interviews show people, which do not want to be seen as a minority, and instead seek to blend into mainstream society and which avoid to be identified with politics. Whilst the others argued for being recognised as a group, just like Blacks and Asians, Arabs seem to keep an assimilationist approach.

For several years, asylum seekers and refugees raise considerable public attention if not alarm. It is not surprising, that a range of academics (for e.g. Salinas et al., 1987; Majke, 1991) has concentrated on the role this groups plays in community activities, respectively their contributions to society.

Zetter and Pearl (2000) conducted a study on refugee community organisations (RCO) in Manchester, Birmingham and London (Tower Hamlets and Newham), comprising 21 agencies. The preconditions are set by asylum policies; asylum applicants have been deprived by many social rights and therefore increasingly turned to RCO as a last resort. Zetter and

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<sup>19</sup> The UK contribution can be found at <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/reports.html>.

<sup>20</sup> For a list see Commission for Racial Equality [http://www.cre.gov.uk/media/em\\_media.html](http://www.cre.gov.uk/media/em_media.html)

Pearl identify around a dozen nationally active agencies, often government-funded that cater for the needs of asylum seekers and refugees. Beyond this well-established level exist numerous local agencies, but ‘although the level of support and assistance rendered by RCOs has risen commensurate with the dramatic rise in asylum-seekers, overall however, it is important to stress that their numbers and the level of activity of community-based refugee/asylum-seeker organisations remains very low’ (: 685). These can be distinguished in agencies that serve refugees which are of the same nationality then communities that have been settling in the UK since earlier times, namely Somalis and Tamils, and agencies that serve nationalities which have not been settling in the UK previously, namely Franco-phone Africans. Local organisations tend to be more specialised, either responding to only one particular need, such as reception, advocacy, legal advice or housing, or representing only one nationality. Their situation often is as precarious as that of their clients, ‘what is distinctive about RCOs at the local level is that they tend to be constituted as voluntary associations without formal legal status, and lack organisational structures and a professional core of staff’ (: 681). They equally lack credibility as the clientele they represent. With their roots firmly in the communities they served, these organisations helped to give collective ‘voice’ to individuals and, by networking and collaborating with government agencies and public sector agencies, they played a key reticulating role in linking individuals and families to the access mechanisms and resources of service providers such as housing. To this extent RCOs are little different from other immigrant group organisations, and these attributes are well documented in existing research. Facing massive marginalisation, these organisations have been increasingly involved in combating disempowerment. Surprisingly, however is, as Zetter and Pearl observed, the low level of cooperation, even competition, between such organisations, most dissemination of information has been practiced by the Refugee Council in a top-down manner.

Another study, only conducted three years later, provides a far more positive picture of the state and the potential of RCO. In other words, it may be assumed that RCO have improved considerably within a very short period of time. Bell et al. (2002) introduce their study with the statement that the integration of refugees is characterised by deficiencies. Nevertheless, refugee communities, on the one hand, appear to be well organised, looking at the range of refugee organisations (see appendix). Bell’s et al. Case study on West London comes to the conclusion that significant parts of the refugee community sector in West London are now mature, developed organisations, with robust structures, experienced staff and quality assured processes. They have formed local refugee forums and the West London Refugee Standing Committee (WLRSC). There was agreement that, while it was useful to maintain a dialogue with sympathetic service providers and hold all to account, the most important role was that forums should represent refugee interests and promote refugee community development. On the other hand, refugee organisations face continuing threats. Between 15% and 18% described their funding as under immediate threat, and 29% to 36% saw their funding as generally insecure. Organisations providing youth services and advice tended to see more immediate threats, organisations offering cultural/recreational services or employment and training experienced general insecurity. On the other side of the scale, 20 – 26% believed their funding was reasonably secure, with more expressing this greater level of confidence among those providing welfare, community care services or housing. They recommend, that ‘Refugee integration involves refugees participating actively in UK society on their own terms. Far from setting up refugee ‘ghettoes’, it assumes refugees as school governors, members of health boards, magistrates, business executives, union representatives, tenant association chairs and so on’.

One group, which has as yet not developed a strategy or the means to participate in civic activity, is the undocumented immigrants. They are subsumed under ethnically defined community organisations, where they remain a minority, and one that are pretend not to exist.

## Summary

The research landscape is as rich as it is diverse, sometimes contrasting, and changeable. It is, nevertheless, as chapter III illustrates, uneven and incomplete. Some themes are researched in-debt, as for example, voting behaviour, whilst others, such as present protest movements are under-researched. It seems significant that also a shift of focus can be observed: in the 1960s and 1970 it was 'race'; in the 1980s and early 1990s it was 'black communities'; and in the 1990s it has become individual 'ethnicities'. And the tone has changed too, from the adversarial approach of the 1970s and 1980s to a more conciliatory of the 1990s and 2000s. And in the most recent move, research concentrates on Black and Ethnic Minority (Voluntary) Organisations and the role these (could) play in increasing civic participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

### *4. Studies in the General Field of Civic Participation on Participation of Immigrants*

In this section, the main findings of two major studies are summarised, one by the Home Office aiming to inform central government policy in the field of civic participation, and another one by Mori, the UK's leading institute in quantitative research. In a third section, various other undertakings are referred to.

#### The 2002 Home Office Study

The main quantitative study in the field of civic participation has been conducted by the Home Office. Its results shall be summarised in some detail, as they provide a perfect overview of the civic participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities compared with those of the majority population. Simultaneously, this study, although not expressing the Home Office's views, reflects, what is discussed at Home Office level.

In 2001, the Home Office commissioned a survey (Attwood et al., 2003) on civil society activities in the UK. It studied a nationally representative sample of 10,015 people in England and Wales and an additional sample of 5,460 people from *minority ethnic groups*. The findings do not distinguish respondents by country of birth or immigration status, it can be assumed, however, that, according to known characteristics of ethnic minority groups half of them are born overseas.

This survey is to a lesser extent inspired by the concept of civic participation - political activities, campaigning, protests - than by communitarian ideas of community self-responsibility. This is reflected by calculations of the economic value (working hours, monetary equivalent) of such activities. For example, it is underscored that the 27.8 million people who volunteered informally at least once in the last twelve months contributed approximately 1.8 billion hours and, at the national average wage (£10.42 per hour in 2001), their contribution was worth around £18.2 billion. And the 16.2 million people who volunteered formally at least once in the last twelve months contributed approximately 1.7 billion hours and, at the national average wage, their contribution was worth around £17.9 billion.

In order to identify reasons, causes and circumstances under which people become active, the survey also asks for major concerns and for concepts of active citizenship. Two in every five

(43%) respondents felt that there was more racial prejudice in Britain today than five years ago; and within most ethnic groups, a greater proportion said prejudice had increased in the last five years than said it had fallen. The majority of ethnic minority people feared to be treated unequal by institutions (namely the police, prison service, armed forces, immigration authorities). Accordingly, considerably larger proportion of people from minority ethnic than white groups mentioned right to fair, equal and respectful treatment (32 per cent compared with 12 percent). These findings show, that immigrant and ethnic minority people are very much concerned with issues of discrimination and equal treatment. That shows, that despite any efforts to combat racism and discrimination through race equality legislation and according enforcement agencies (CRE etc) such issues are still high on the agenda of BME communities, a hint that such instruments do not seem to be perfectly efficient.

Generally, people trust legal institutions more than political institutions, and they trust local institutions more than national institutions. It is noteworthy, that immigrants and ethnic minority people are more optimistic about impacting on national institutions than ‘white’ people (34 per cent versus 24 per cent).

Attwood et al. (2003) define civic participation as engaging in at least one of a range of nine activities: signing a petition; contacting a public official working for a local council; contacting a public official working for the Greater London Assembly or the National Assembly for Wales (where appropriate); contacting a public official working for part of central government; contacting a local councillor; contacting a member of the Greater London Assembly or the National Assembly for Wales (where appropriate); contacting a Member of Parliament; attending a public meeting or rally; and taking part in a public demonstration or protest. In the twelve months before the 2001 survey, 38 per cent of people were involved in civic participation at least once (p. 77). Five per cent of people who were involved in only one type of activity were active at least once a month. This proportion rose to nine per cent of those who were involved in two different types of activity; to 17 per cent in three different types of activity; and to 36 per cent in four or more different types of activity. Thus, while around two-fifths of people were involved in civic participation on an irregular basis, a minority were more deeply engaged across a range of activities (p. 78).

Table 2.1: Civic participation by ethnicity and selected types of activities

	White	Black	Asian
<b>Civic participation</b>	38	31	28
<b>Local community group</b>	18	15	13
<b>Signing petition</b>	59	40	48
<b>Public meeting/rally</b>	18	18	15
<b>Contact local councillor</b>	24	17	25
<b>Contact MP</b>	13	17	17

By per cent of respondents

Social participation is defined as being involved in groups, clubs or organisations – for example, being a member, attending meetings or events, playing in a team - and on issues of sports, social clubs, religion and children and education. In 2001, in the past 12 month 65 % of the survey’s respondents were involved in such activities, 52 per cent at least once a month, hence on a regular basis.

Formal volunteering is defined as giving unpaid help through groups, clubs or organisations to benefit other people or the environment. It has roots in social participation but involves a

greater commitment. In the twelve months period studied here 39 per cent of people volunteered formally at least once, and 27 per cent at least once a month. Amongst different ethnic groups, black women were most likely (45 %) than any other group to be involved in formal volunteering activities, hence black women display the highest commitment in the field of mutual help within the community. That confirms statements whereby black women have been understood to be the backbone of black communities (e.g. Brian et al., 1985).

Table 2.2: Type of activity by ethnicity

	White	Black	Asian
<b>Sports/exercise</b>	53	33	36
<b>Hobbies/arts</b>	38	18	19
<b>Religious activity</b>	25	64	67
<b>Education</b>	18	21	16
<b>Trade union activity</b>	11	8	5
<b>Justice/Human rights activity</b>	4	7	4
<b>Environment</b>	15		3

For white people, sports is the main activity, for black and Asian people, and in particular for women, religion was the highest-ranked field overall, and they were twice as likely to engage in this field as in their second most popular field, children’s education/schools. Whilst environmental issues seem to be an exclusively white domain, justice and human rights affairs are most prominent amongst black people.

Informal volunteering is defined as giving unpaid help as an individual to others who are not members of the family, such as giving advice, baby-sitting, help with the shopping, translation services and so on. During the 12-month survey period, 67 per cent of people volunteered informally at least once, 34 per cent at least once a month. Amongst different ethnic groups, white people (38%), black people (38%) and people of mixed race (46%) were more likely than Asian people (33%) and Chinese/other people (26%) to be involved in informal volunteering. Least likely are Asian women and men, most likely were black men to become active in this arena. However, significant changes in the participation of some groups could be observed between 2001 and 2003. The proportions of white men (31% to 34%), white women (38% to 41%) and Asian men (26% to 33%) participating in informal volunteering increased significantly over the period 2001 to 2003.

Table 2.3: Participation in voluntary and community activities at least once a month in the 12 months before to interview, by ethnic group, 2001 and 2003 (%)

	Civic participation		Informal volunteering		Formal volunteering	
	2001	2003	2001	2003	2001	2003
<b>All</b>	3	3	34	37*	27	28
<b>White</b>	4	3	35	38*	27	29*
<b>Mixed</b>	6	9	40	46	25	22
<b>Asian</b>	3	3	28	33*	23	23
<b>Black</b>	3	3	36	38	30	27
<b>Chinese/Other</b>	4	4	28	26	26	17*
<b>Respondents</b>	14,824	13,392	14,578	13,441	14,744	13,446

Core and minority ethnic boost, weighted percentages, unweighted respondents.

\*Indicates statistically significant difference from the 2001 survey (5% level). England only.

Source: Home Office, 2004, pp.9

Finally, the survey suggests that formal volunteering and civic participation activities are highly concentrated among people in more affluent social groups, and suggests to highlighting a need to encourage those from poorer, deprived communities and people with no qualifications.

### The 2004 Mori Study on Political Engagement

In 2004, Mori, on behalf of the Electoral Commission and the Hansard Society (2004) conducted an 'Audit of political engagement. An observed decline in parliamentary elections turnout corresponding with an increase in pressure groups and in protest politics has been taken as the starting point (p. 7). It was found that political knowledge is much lower amongst ethnic minorities than amongst white (45 % to 29 %). Interest in politics is strongly linked to ethnicity, 70 % of all ethnic minorities compared with 50 % of the white respondents. Such findings, paradoxically contrast the previous figure and indicate that lack of knowledge does not prevent BME people to become active. 29 per cent of ethnic minorities compared with 37 per cent of the white respondents agree that getting involved in politics can really influence the way the UK is run. This seems to indicate that despite a relatively high level of civic participation the level of optimism is rather low. Accordingly, only 30 per cent of ethnic minority respondents are satisfied with their MP, compared with 42 per cent of white people. Among the third of the public (36 per cent) that think the system of governing Britain 'works well', there are no statistically significant differences between men and women, by ethnicity or by age. For an in-debt study see Electoral Commission (2002).

### Other Studies

At the turn of the millennium, active civic participation, or good citizenship as it is called, has become an issue in governance studies (Crick, 2000). The 1990 Commission for Citizenship report (Weatherill, 1990) is perhaps the beginning of the current political debate on what it means to be a good citizen and what can be done to promote it. And Blunkett (2001), the former Home minister, discusses the role of the state in empowering people to become good citizens. The debate on building good citizens has covered issues such as the inclusion of

citizenship as a subject in the National Curriculum, innovative ways of encouraging people to vote, integration of immigrants into British society and implementation of the Human Rights Act. Definitions of what it means to be a good citizen have moved on during this period (Crick, 2001).

### 5. Prominent Examples of Immigrants Active in Public Life

Principally, to be noted is the absence of an exemplary, charismatic Black, Asian or other leadership in the UK, such as Luther King, Malcolm X or more recently Farrakhan (Nation of Islam) or Reverend Al Sharpton in the U.S. The reasons are analysed by Werbner (1991: 17):

*'The first and most important of these is that members of the various ethnic communities share a deep suspicion of their own ethnic representatives. This is because the majority of ethnic leaders at the local level deal with the state within the parameters defined by state [emphasised by Werbner]. Their intercalary position is necessarily the focus of both conflict and co-operation. On the one hand, they negotiate with the state for communal grants and individual welfare provisions, or debate policy issues on multi-ethnic committees established under the auspices of the local state. On the other, they protest against state policies through their individual associations. But their access to patronage makes them suspect, even as they are often esteemed for their communal work. This access to patronage is after all a primary source of their 'internal' influence and prominence.'*

Instead, there are numerous ethnic minority members, immigrant and refugees publicly active on local regional or national level<sup>21</sup>. None, however, in the view of Werbner (1991:18) 'achieves any real prominence'. They are Members of Parliament, members of the European Parliament, members of the House of Lords, chair national human rights organisations or charities, are media presenters, businessmen, or actors. Members of ethnic minorities are active in the UK for three generations and each has its Galion figures, naturally the third generation, which is now in their twentieth is less prominent than the first generation, now in their 60s and 70s, which made it up to senior levels in national organisations and political parties. Choosing only five is hardly doing justice to the diversity and activities of prominent 'black' people. It has been tried to list exemplary individuals who represent either a community, a gender, a religion and culture, a profession or a distinct political culture.

Trevor Phillips

London-born to Guyanese African-Caribbean parents. Chair of the National Union of Students, 1978-1980 (NUS); TV presenter, London Weekend, 1980-1990; Chair of the Greater London Assembly, 2000-2003; nominee for Major of London; prominent member of the Labour Party; Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality since 2003, succeeding Herman Ousley.

Paul Boateng

Born in Ghana, his parents, refugees from Ghana, migrated to London, where he later became a prominent member of the Greater London Council 1981-86, serving as chair of the Police Committee. He was a radical spokesperson during a period of extreme tension between 'black' communities and the police over issues of racism, policing and black youth. In 1987, he became an MP; together with a group of four 'black' activists (Abbot, Grant, Vaz); in 2002, he was appointed as a cabinet minister and he thereby became the first Black Cabinet

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<sup>21</sup> See for example <http://www.100greatblackbritons.com/list.html>, accessed 22.8.2004.

minister. The career of Paul Boateng appears to be somewhat typical for the first generation of 'black' activists: an immigrant, but grown up in the UK, well educated, angry with the structural discrimination of ethnic minorities, he qualified for a seat in parliament in the wake of a decade of violent uprising in the UK during the 1970s and 1980s. The then conservative government, forced towards a more reconciliatory approach, and other 'white' mainstream bodies, opening up for representatives of black communities successively allowed them to make their voice heard within the institutional framework. Meanwhile, a whole generation has made its 'march through the institutions', to apply a German concept, changing the UK's institutional framework from an exclusive 'white' environment into one increasingly reflecting and representing the UK's ethnic diversity.

Diana Abbot

Abbott was Britain's first Black woman MP. Born in London of Jamaican parents, a journalist by profession, she worked as a reporter with TV AM and Thames Television; was Public Relations Officer with the Greater London Council Head of Lambeth Council's Press Office and Race Relations Officer for the National Council for Civil Liberties. She is a founder member of the Black Media Workers' Organisation and founder and president of the organisation Black Women Mean Business.

Abbott was active in the Black Sections movement within the Labour Party and in community politics, including OWAAD (Organisation of Women of African and Asian Descent); the "Scrap Sus" campaign to ban police stop-and-search tactics levelled at Black youth. For many years, she was active in the Trades Union movement, particularly on race equality issues. Abbott served for a year as Britain's first Black female Equality Officer in the Association of Cinematographers Television and Allied Technicians. She also served as an elected local councillor in the London Borough of Westminster for four years.

Claude Moraes

Son of Indian immigrants, 1989-1992, policy officer at the Trade Unions Council; 1992-1998, director of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants, the oldest and most influential immigrant organisation in the UK; 1998-1999 Commissioner of the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE); since 1999 Labour MEP. In the JCWI Habib Rahman succeeds him.

(The JCWI was formed in the 1960s at a time of new Commonwealth immigration. It has influenced all the major debates on immigration and asylum in the UK and increasingly the European Union where the agenda for UK's immigration policy is more frequently being set. JCWI produces excellent written materials such as fact sheets, briefings, policy pamphlets, a quarterly bulletin JCWI is unique in that it is the only national organisation in the field that has never sought nor accepted central government funds, and can truly claim to be independent and free from any government influence<sup>22</sup>.

Ambervalaner Sivanandan

Sri Lankan born; Director of the Institute of Race Relations, author of several books and numerous articles. He is identified with radical black activities since the 1960s (see above). A contemporary writer he follows the footsteps of people as diverse as Marcus Garvey, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and Angela Davis all contributing to the development of a distinctive political and sociological literature offering a critical perspective on the experiences of minorities and marginalized peoples.

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<sup>22</sup> See <http://www.jcwi.org.uk/>

Others should have been mentioned, Sir Bill Morris, General Secretary, Transport and General Workers Union; Baroness Valerie Amos, first black woman cabinet minister and first black woman peer leader of the House of Lords; Yasmin Alibhai-Brown, Writer and journalist; Keith Vaz, the first Asian minister; Iqbal Sacranie, secretary-general, Muslim Council of Britain; Sir Trevor MacDonald, renowned TV broadcaster; Tony Sarin, Chief Executive of the Asian Business Association. Whilst these rather represent the first generation of publicly active 'black' people, others, representing the second generation must be recognised, such as Ouna King, MP; Mike Rahman, Chair of the National Association of Refugees; Osama Saeed, spokesperson of the National Association of British Muslims; Navnit Dholakia, chair of the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO); Lee Jasper, active on many levels (National Black Alliance, National Black Caucus, Operation Black Vote); Shami Chakrabarti, director of civil right body Liberty; and Pierre Makhoul, Hackney Community Law Centre, to name just a few.

### Summary

Civic participation is of mixed and complex nature, studies reveal ethnic-specific and gender-specific patterns. The existing legal and institutional framework does not seem to perfectly suit the changeable composition of British society resulting in some groups being partly and some groups being completely sidelined. Unfortunately, qualitative and quantitative studies have not yet been related to each other, consequently both lack verification. The trend, however, seems to be, that civic participation is on the rise. Nevertheless, considerable discrepancy is revealed by the fact, that BME interest in politics, in justice and human rights affairs, contacting an MP is comparably high, whilst their actual representation in parties, trade unions and elected bodies is low. That explains, why instead of high levels of activities comparably few believe that their activities will have an impact on how the country is run. Therefore, a deep tension may be assumed which can, at any time, result in political frustration – as already illustrated by relatively low levels of voting by black people - giving way to either passivity or, as the past has proved, to more violent forms of intervention. It occurs, that recent government moves to increase ethnic civic participation adequately respond to the findings summarised here and just come at the right time.

### Part III: Expert Assessment

[(a) secure knowledge, (b) hypothesis grounded on empirical information, (c) personal opinion.]

What are the *main fields* of civic activities that immigrants engage in (e.g. religious associations, parent associations, political parties, etc.)?

For both, Black and Asian people, religion is the highest-ranked field overall. For Asians, social participation is the second ranking field, followed by informal volunteering, and last comes civic participation. For Black British the order is informal volunteering, social participation, formal volunteering and civic participation. There are notable though not dramatic variations between these groups, or compared with whites.

Asians - Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs - are more likely to participate in elections than blacks. Blacks are less active in voting than other groups but engage more in justice and human rights issues. Black women are most likely to be active in formal civic participation, whilst Asian women are least represented in any activity.

Black men are instead most likely to be involved in informal volunteering. (a)

The main issues or thematic clusters, immigrants and ethnic minorities are acting on are religion, education, policing, health, and immigration matters. (a)

What *ethnic and nationality groups* are particularly active, and why?

This question is difficult to answer, mainly because all groups seem to be active, though on different levels and in varying forms. The first major difference is, how visible such activities are and whether these aim at the internal of a community or whether these aim at attracting public attention. The second major difference is, how large a community is and whether its activities only concentrate on a specific location, a borough or a city, or whether it is large enough to also act on the national level and thereby attract attention of the national media. Whilst both, Black and Asian groups of any origin are very active on local and national level. Muslims are very active on the public level whilst Hindus are active within established structures. Turks, who can be taken as a precedence case for many other small communities, are, for example, only active locally, but there they are equally involved in street politics as in local councils. (b)

Is the degree of active civic participation of immigrants *high or low* compared to the majority population?

In principle, ethnic minorities, immigrants and refugees are highly organised and there exist a very dense civil society in that field. The degree of civic participation is very mixed and differs between the four arenas identified: (a) civil participation, (b) social participation, (c) formal and (d) informal volunteering.

The Home Office study shows that whites are more active in civic participation and in sports and exercise. Ethnic minorities are slightly more active in social participation than whites. Blacks are more and Asians are less active in informal volunteering than whites, and all ethnic minorities are more active in formal volunteering than whites. Black and Asian people are more active in religious activities. The difference, however, is never more than 10 per cent. (a)

The Electorate Commission's study suggests less knowledge, a deeper mistrust, and possibly alienation with traditional politics and the parliamentary amongst ethnic minorities, leading to lower levels of civic participation, than amongst whites. (a)

This, on the other hand, explains why Black people tend to take affairs into their own hands by turning to social participation, formal and informal volunteering. (b)

The low level of participation by Asian women in any sphere seems to be attributed to their role within Asian society whilst it does not seem to be clear in how far public policies have an encouraging or discouraging effect. (c)

What is the relation between engagement in *ethnic* or migrant organisations (e.g. any organisation having the name of the minority in the name) compared to *mainstream society organisations*? Are there transitions and overlaps?

Three major patterns of the relationship between BME organisations and individuals can be identified: (1) BME community members organise within mainstream society organisations, (2) BME community members organise separately within mainstream society organisations, and (3) BME community members organise separately by way of ethnic minority organisations. Case (1) namely involves political parties and trade unions. As research shows, BME people are more likely to engage in trade unions and less likely to engage in political parties than white people. Case (2), as research suggests, is a viable addition, if not alternative to escape racism and discrimination within host society mainstream organisations, without leaving them altogether and instead give adequate voice to BME concerns, and to concentrate

the forces required to implement BME related policies. Case (3) is a strategy chosen where either mainstream organisations are perceived to be particularly hostile, unhelpful or exclusive, such as the Anglican church, or where no mainstream organisations exist through which BME concerns can be expressed. (b)

It must be noted, however, that since the 1970<sup>th</sup> and 1980<sup>th</sup>, the then generally suspicious, if not hostile relationship provoking a more aggressive style of civic participation has made way to a much more cooperative and consensual pattern, encouraged by race relations legislation, community cohesion and civic participation policies in which the need felt to turn to more violent versions of protest has been considerably decreasing. (b)

Which *issues* do you consider to be of particular interest and importance in the field?

Which are the pitfalls of British race relation politics? Which are the consequences for groups and wider society, who do not fit into the traditional patterns, such as Muslims or irregular immigrants?

Is there a long-term negative effect of the British strategy to integrate community spokespersons whilst leaving behind, and this is a hypothesis, the broader community? Is there a potentially alienating effect between community leaders and the community and which could be preventive strategies? (c)

BME community organisations are often simultaneously service providers and lobbying organisations. On the one hand, they have cooperative relations with local governments, on the other hand, advocacy involves an adversarial relationship. One must wonder, how this inherent tension is dealt with? (c)

The distinction between civic participation, formal and informal volunteering and social participation is blurred, there is some overlap as well as interaction between all fields. In order to do justice to such concerns a community activity approach, as applied by Attwood et. al (2003) it appears more adequate to reveal the entire scope of BME community activities. (c)

In terms of issues, education, because it affects the future perspectives of BME people in the UK, is of central relevance. Secondly, the relation with the police, because of its potentially peace-threatening nature (keyword: inner city riots) is another important issue. (c)

Where do you see the major *research gaps*?

Any research in the matters discussed in this report lack reliable quantitative and statistical data. Most of the quantitative studies done in the field of integration in recent years have focussed on ethnic minorities, reflecting policy concerns with improving race relations. The census and a number of large surveys do provide a reasonable amount of data, especially for large and long-established groups. By contrast, the data situation for smaller and more recently arrived groups is very poor and urgently requires policy responses, hence changes in modes of data collection, and calls for quantitative research. Principally, the political ethnic minority framework is coining research in this field leading to smaller communities to be subsumed under the main categories. (b)

There appears to be very little research published on social movements, respectively the community and political organization of Britain's ethnic, minority, immigrant and refugee communities after 1989. In detail

- A descriptive social history of contemporary refugee and other recent immigrants' organisations and movements is overdue.

- The research on small ethnic minorities is somewhat arbitrary, some communities in some locations are studied whilst most are not. In particular sub groups, such as Ghanaians and Nigerians, or Tamils become invisible within the major concepts of Asian or African. Equally, groups such as Somalis, Iraqis, Bosnians etc appear to be unstudied.
- The interaction between small scale and large scale communities is un-researched, as is the inter-action between distinct communities or one ethnicity dispersed over several locations.
- The hypothesis of the emergence of a new identity of British Muslims requires scientific verification. That includes the fabric of the British Muslim communities, their organisations, independent schools and religious institutions. It should be verified if there is indeed one British Muslim community or whether there are many, who these are and how they are distinct from each other?
- Generally, does the emergence of new identities and the collective civic participation of specific groups call for research.
- It is not known whether recently arrived migrants integrate into already established community organizations or, as the Polish case shows, whether newcomers are rejected. There are some reasons to suspect that black African newcomers from, for example Sierra Leone or Gambia, are not easily absorbed by the established Black British communities but marginalized and forced to set up separate though small and not very influential organisations. An according research question would be what are the links between ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee communities with respect to participation and empowerment processes. All aspects of political participation of immigrants or refugees as for example the level of participation in civil society agencies or involvement in local governments represent a gap in research in the UK.
- Another field of research is the role of ethnic minority, immigrant and refugee community organisations, and the different approaches developed on the functional integration of immigrants into other social areas, such as employment, education or housing. Are their features that enhance respectively slow down integration?
- Whereas there is sufficient research on voting behaviour, there is a lack of knowledge of party participation and membership of BME people.
- Another research gap lies in the role and impact of ethnic minority businessmen or business associations on policy making. This is the more surprising as ethnic minorities are particularly economically successful and it could be hypothesised that immigrant business associations have some influence on local, regional and national level.
- There is a lack of comparative research on civic immigrant participation of different groups. This would provide different strategies of immigrant communities to get involved, it would also reveal if and how different communities are affected differently by different opportunities.
- It needs to be studied whether newcomers have their special needs and experiences represented in the already established organizations.
- Are immigrant youth participating in the existing community organisations?
- What resources do recently arrived immigrants have to develop their own initiatives?
- Do women play a role, what are the conditions for their participation in existing ICOs?

- Which is the legacy of the 1980s inner city riots in positive and in negative terms? Do they have a different meaning for older, respectively younger generations, is there a myth and which could be its function? (c)

And with respect to immigration the following gaps can be identified:

- Whereas first generation immigrants received considerable public attention relatively little is known about immigrants who arrived during the past two decades. In particular research on smaller communities is neglected.
- Secondary migration (family reunification) appears to be under-researched as are the particular conditions under which it occurs and the challenges it poses to the individual immigrant, community and society.
- The effect of legal migration channels aiming to reduce incentives for irregular migration needs to be evaluated.
- The consequences for the economic, political and cultural progress of immigrant and ethnic minority deriving from the burden of accommodating and supporting undocumented family or community members. (c)

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## Annex 1: Mapping of Research Competences

### *1. Leading Universities, University Departments or Research Institutes and/or Scholars with Knowledge of Active Civic Participation of Immigrants - Mapping Research Competences in the UK*

#### Summary

The research landscape is more diverse than reflected in the short list below. In particular, most institutions listed under 3 are also involved in studies civic participation of immigrants. Institutions to be named with an expertise on civic immigrant participation are for example the *Runnymede Trust* (<http://www.runnymedetrust.org>). The Runnymede's mandate is to promote a successful multi-ethnic Britain - a Britain where citizens and communities feel valued, enjoy equal opportunities to develop their talents, lead fulfilling lives and accept collective responsibility, all in the spirit of civic friendship, shared identity and a common sense of belonging. They act as a bridge-builder between various minority ethnic communities and policy-makers. The Runnymede Trust, however, is rather commissioning research to academics in the field than hosting own researchers. Another institution to be named is *Michael Bell Associates*, a social research and consultancy practice with a particular interest in issues relating to refugees and asylum seekers. Over the past decade Michael Bell Associates has worked with a range of bodies on these issues from local refugee community organisations and national charities through to health and local authorities, as well as, the Home Office. Michael Bell Associates has pioneered the development of community researchers: individuals drawn from refugee communities who are trained and supported to act as social researchers. Furthermore, individual academics run smaller projects. Shमित Saggarr (*Queen Mary University, London*) for example is specialised in voting behaviour in general, and in particular that of ethnic minorities. Humayun Ansari, director of the *Centre for Ethnic Minority Studies and Equal Opportunities*, has studied political participation on Muslims in Britain, and also Tufyal Choudhury (*Department of Law, University of Durham*) has some knowledge of this topic. John Scott (*University of Essex*) is studying new political elites with particular attention to women and ethnic minorities. Paul Statham, (*Centre for European Political Communication, University of Leeds*) has written on migrant claims-making in the UK and also on comparative aspects. Eva Ostergaard Nielsen (*London School of Economics*) runs a comparative study on '*Diaspora Politics of immigrants and refugees from Turkey residing in Germany, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Denmark*'. Rosemary Sales (*Middlesex University*) and Alice Bloch (*Goldsmith University*) are both particularly interested in settlement and post-settlement issues of refugees. Colin Holmes (*Sheffield University*) was recently looking at the integration of East European immigrants in the Midlands. And also the *Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations* announced to conduct research on BME voluntary sector issues, namely mapping the minority ethnic voluntary sector.

However, the following three institutions, all characterised by their publication output, can possibly be acknowledged for being the leading institutions.

#### 1. Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, University of Warwick

Director:

Prof. Danielle Joly

Research staff

Muhammad Anwar, Robert Carter, E. Hassan, Mike McLeod, L.C. Kelly, David W. Owen, John Rex.

Address:

Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations

University of Warwick

Coventry CV4 7AL UK

Tel: (024) 7652 4869

Fax: (024) 7652 4324

Website: [http://www.csv.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CRER\\_RC/index.html](http://www.csv.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/CRER_RC/index.html)

Description:

The Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (CRER) based at the University of Warwick is the major academic body in the UK for the research and teaching of aspects of race, migration and ethnic relations. CRER is at the forefront of research into the experience of people from minority ethnic groups in the UK and Western Europe. Its constantly expanding research agenda includes a focus on the processes of racial discrimination, issues of citizenship, political participation, cultural identity, refugees, ethnic mobilisation and nationalism

2. Centre for Urban and Community Research, Goldsmiths College, University of London

Director

Michael Keith

Researchers

Kalbir Shukra, Les Back, Azra Khan.

Address

Centre for Urban and Community Research

Goldsmiths College

University of London

New Cross

London SE14 6NW

020 7919 7390

Website: <http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/cucr/>

Description

The CUCR is listed because they run a research project, relevant to this report. The project '*Democratic Governance and Ethnic Minority Participation*', in cooperation with John Solomos, South Bank University, runs from 2000-2005. It will address the question of the changing forms of political participation among ethnic minority communities in contemporary Britain. This project will study the participation of ethnic minorities in conventional forms of democratic activity and the role of participation within the alternative public sphere of ethnic minority civil society. The research will be focussed on three localities: two in London and one in Birmingham. The team will also investigate the role of organisations and movements that have emerged within minority communities to give voice to specific interests or concerns.

### 3. Institute of Race Relations (IRR)

Director:

Ambervalaner Sivanandan

Researchers:

Jenny Bourne, Liz Fekete, Arun Kundnani

Address

Institute of Race Relations

2-6 Leeke Street

London WC1X 9HS

United Kingdom

Tel: +44 20 7837 0041/+44 20 7833 2010

Fax: +44 20 7278 0623

Website : <http://www.irr.org.uk/>

#### Description

THE Institute of Race Relations (IRR) was established as an independent educational charity in 1958 to carry out research, publish and collect resources on race relations throughout the world. Since 1972, the IRR has concentrated on responding to the needs of Black people and making direct analyses of institutionalised racism in Britain and the rest of Europe. Today, the Institute of Race Relations is at the cutting edge of the research and analysis that informs the struggle for racial justice in Britain and internationally. It seeks to reflect the experience of those who suffer racial oppression and draws its perspectives from the most vulnerable in society.

The IRR's reputation as a think tank was built on its investigations and analyses into pressing issues of contemporary British racism. These investigations have covered such areas as racism and the press, police racism, deaths in custody, the plight of asylum seekers and exclusions from school.

The institute also conducts research on racism in other European countries, examining the rise of racial violence and fascist parties, asylum and immigration policies, human rights violations, policing and security policies.

#### *2. Leading Universities, University Departments or Research Institutes and/or Scholars in the Field of Civic Participation - Mapping Research Competences in the UK*

#### Summary

It is next to impossible to make a choice out of the many institutions involved in the study of civic participation. To be named are:

*Mori – Social Research Institute*, the first address to commission surveys.

*Centre for Urban and Community Research at Goldsmiths College* (<http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/cucr/>), respectively the Sociology department (<http://www.goldsmiths.ac.uk/departments/sociology/staff/>) Back, Gilroy, Keith etc. Particular relevant for this paper is the 'Democratic Governances: Democracy and Ethnic Minority Participation', Project which runs from 2000-2005 (researchers: Michael Keith, Kalbir Shukra, Les Back, Azra Khan). The project addresses the question of the changing forms of political participation among ethnic minority communities in contemporary Britain.

This project will study the participation of ethnic minorities in conventional forms of democratic activity and the role of participation within the alternative public sphere of ethnic minority civil society. The research will be focussed on three localities: two in London and one in Birmingham. The team will also investigate the role of organisations and movements that have emerged within minority communities to give voice to specific interests or concerns.

A range of relevant institutions identifies themselves with the study of social movements.

Richard Kimber, *Political Science Resources*, University of Keel; *Social Movements Research Group*, Edgehill College, <http://www.edgehill.ac.uk/research/smg/>, *Centre for the Study of Social and Political Movements*, University of Kent, director Chris Rootes, <http://www.kent.ac.uk/sspsr/polsoc/index.htm>. An exemption is the British Sociological Association's Race Forum and its *Race and Ethnicity Study Group* ([http://www.britisoc.co.uk/bsaweb.php?area=item1&link\\_id=24href=#RACE](http://www.britisoc.co.uk/bsaweb.php?area=item1&link_id=24href=#RACE)), bringing together several prominent scholars, who for example, look at violent protests by black and Asian youth. Most of these do not explicitly include social movements of BME people; these are instead subsumed under the concept of sociology of race and ethnicity.

Chosen below are those institutions, which have, most recently, published relevant studies.

1. Institute for Volunteering Research (associated with the Centre for Institutional Studies, University of East London, see below)

Director:

Justin Davies Smith

Researcher:

Steven Howlett, Angela Ellis.

Address:

Institute for Volunteering Research

Regent's Wharf

8 All Saints Street

London N1 9RL

UK

Tel: +44 (0) 20 7520 8900

Fax: +44 (0) 20 7520 8910

Email: [Instvolres@aol.com](mailto:Instvolres@aol.com)

Website: <http://www.ivr.org.uk>

Description:

The Institute for Volunteering Research is an initiative of the National Centre for Volunteering. The aims are to: carry out and commission research on different aspects of volunteering at a variety of levels; disseminate findings so as to maximise the policy and practice impact; act as a focal point for research on volunteering; develop links with bodies involved in volunteering research in England, the UK and other countries, with a view to sharing knowledge and exchanging ideas; stimulate and contribute to education and training on volunteering.

2. Centre for Institutional Studies

Director:

Mike Locke

Researchers:

Anidri Poteri

Address:

Centre for Institutional Studies  
University of East London  
Romford Road  
London E15 4LZ  
Tel: 020 8223 4230  
Fax: 020 8223 4298  
Email: cis@uel.ac.uk

Description:

CIS observes and analyses the management and development of voluntary and community organisations, their ways of working and their responses to external policies, political and socio-economic changes in the environment. Research into voluntary organisations and voluntary action undertaken by CIS covers a wide range of issues, reflecting the Centre's experience of working with a wide range of organisations and groups and the diversity of issues in the sector. The Centre works collaboratively with its clients, combining theoretical analysis with practical and empirical work, which provides insight into the workings of voluntary organisations and voluntary action. It has a focus on faith and community work.

3. Public Studies Institute

Director

Jim Skea

Researchers (only those involved in the concerned topic)

Helen Barnes, Lesley Hoggart, Maria Hudson, Steve Lissenburgh, Jane Parry, Joan Phillips, Kathryn Ray, Melahat Sahin-Dikmen, Rebecca Taylor.

Address

Policy Studies Institute

100 Park Village East

London, NW1 3SR

Telephone: 020 7468 0468

Fax: 020 7388 0914

E-mail: [website@psi.org.uk](mailto:website@psi.org.uk)

Webpage: <http://www.psi.org.uk>

Description

PSI undertakes and publishes research studies relevant to social, economic and industrial policy. The Institute is a charity, run on a not-for-profit basis. In 1998 it merged to become an independent subsidiary of the University of Westminster. PSI takes a politically neutral stance on issues of public policy and has no connections with any political party, commercial interest or pressure group. Their research strength lies in their use of advanced methods and professional expertise, combined with a commitment to analysis and presentation that are of value to all of those interested in evaluating and changing public policies. PSI has a particularly strong reputation for using large-scale national surveys in an innovative and creative way, but they also make extensive use of other research methods, including case studies, intensive interviewing of special groups, statistical analysis, literature and document research, focus groups and discussions with practitioners and other researchers, seminars, conferences and group discussions. The PSI collaborates in their research with other leading research institutes, think tanks and academic departments. The PSI is listed here because of its

important works on Black and Minority Ethnic Voluntary and Community Organisations and on black women's voluntary sector organisations.

#### 4. Research Development and Statistics, Home Office

For the citizenship survey see also: [citizenship.survey@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk](mailto:citizenship.survey@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk).

Researchers:

Chris Attwood, Citizenship Survey section

Sultana Choudhry, Race Relations Research section

Duncan Prime, Voluntary and Community Research section

Gurchand Singh, Race Relations Research section

Meta Zimmeck, Voluntary and Community Research section

Andrew Zurawan, Voluntary and Community Research section

#### Description

The Research Development and Statistics' (RDS) role is to manage research and collect statistics. They do this in a number of areas including crime, policing, justice, immigration, drugs and race equality. This information helps the Home Office address the concerns of ordinary citizens. It also helps the police, prison and probation officers, the courts and immigration officials.

The Voluntary and Community Research Section (VCRS), which sits in the Immigration and Community Unit (ICU), is part of the Research Development and Statistics Directorate at the Home Office. The VCRS primarily conducts research on behalf of the Voluntary and Community Unit (VCU); however it also supervises external research and provides liaison with other research institutions working within the voluntary and community sector. As the Home Office's main voluntary sector research resource, the VCRS aims to provide a research and evaluation function to policy customers and ministers with an interest in voluntary and community sector matters. Other objectives include: the promotion of research in developing and evaluating voluntary and community sector policy, and providing ad hoc research guidance and advice to policy customers as required. One of their main studies to date is the Lovas survey of the voluntary sector. They have also overseen work on the charity income, and are currently developing a programme of research looking at building the capacity of the voluntary sector.

### *3. Leading Universities, University Departments or Research Institutes and/or Scholars in the Field of Immigration - Mapping Research Competences in the UK*

#### Summary

The research landscape is a very diverse. To be named are the Migration and Ethnicity Research Centre, University of Sheffield (<http://www.shef.ac.uk/merc/>), the Migration Unit, Department of Geography, University of Wales Swansea (<http://ralph.swan.ac.uk/pgrdinfo/migratn.htm>), the Centre for the Study of Migration, Department of Politics, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London (<http://www.politics.qmw.ac.uk/centre.htm>), Centre for New Ethnicities Research, University of East London (<http://www.uel.ac.uk/cner/index.htm>), Race Relations Research Unit, University of Bradford, Ethnicity Research Centre, Leicester University (<http://www.le.ac.uk/sociology/ethnic/>), Centre for the Study of Ethnicity and Citizenship, University of Bristol (<http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/Sociology/main/frset.htm>), Centre for

European Migration and Ethnic Studies, Torpoint (<http://www.cemes.org>). Whilst most of these centres are rather focussed on issues of integration the following four are mostly focussed on issues of migration.

1. Sussex Centre for Migration Research, University of Sussex:

Directors

Richard Black, Russel King

Researchers

Jane Cowan, Marie-Benedicte Dembour, Geert de Neve, Barbara Einhorn, Stephen Fender, Tony Fielding, Katy Gardner, Ralph Grillo, Elizabeth Harrison, Julie Litchfield, Lyla Mehta, Jorg Monar, Valentina Napolitana-Quayson, Filippo Osella, Barry Reilly, Ben Rogaly, Ron Skeldon, Alistair Thomson, Edward Timms, Ann Whitehead, Alan Winters, Godfrey Yeu.

Address

Sussex Centre for Migration Research  
School of Social Sciences and Cultural Studies  
University of Sussex  
Falmer, Brighton BN1 9SJ  
Tel: +44 1273 678722  
Fax: +44 1273 620662  
email: R.Black@sussex.ac.uk  
Webpage:  
<http://www.sussex.ac.uk/migration/>

Description:

Through their new DFID-funded centre on 'Migration, Globalisation and Poverty' and other externally-funded research projects, they seek to influence both understanding of migration and the policies that affect migrants. The SCMR provide doctoral and masters-level training in Migration Studies, and also publish the internationally recognised Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies (<http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/1369183X.asp>).

2. Migration Research Unit, University College London (UCL)

Director

Professor John Salt

Researcher:

James Clarke, Janet Dobson, Khalid Koser, Gail McLaughlan, Charles Pinkerton.

Address

Migration Research Unit  
Department of Geography  
University College London  
26 Bedford Way  
London WC1H 0AP  
United Kingdom  
tel: +44-20-7679-7569  
fax: +44-20-7679-7565  
mru@geog.ucl.ac.uk  
Website: <http://www.geog.ucl.ac.uk/mru/>

Description

Established in 1988 the MRU has built up a reputation for research on international migration trends, patterns and policies and extended its research interests beyond labour market issues to

develop expertise in migration information systems. It has been called upon by external bodies to carry out policy-related research and to provide expert advice on policy issues. At the same time, research is used in the development of new theoretical approaches to migration.

Extensive links are maintained at national and international level with governmental organisations, academic institutions and other agencies. Those commissioning research from the MRU have included the European Commission, the OECD, the Council of Europe, the International Organisation for Migration, the UK Department for Education and Employment and the Home Office. The MRU has a high level of expertise in the empirical study of migration networks and systems, using quantitative and qualitative methods, analysis of a wide range of statistical sources and exploration of ways in which migration is managed, including specific policy measures and their implications. The MRU runs the EU-funded European Migration Information Network (EMIN) (<http://www.emin.geog.ucl.ac.uk/>)

### 3. Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford

Director

Stephen Castles

Researchers

Jo Boyden, Dawn Chatty, Jason Hart, Eva-Lotta Hedman, Sean Loughna.

Address

Refugee Studies Centre

Queen Elizabeth House

University of Oxford

21 St Giles

Oxford, OX1 3LA

United Kingdom

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Fax.: +44 (1865) 270721

Email: [rsc@qeh.ox.ac.uk](mailto:rsc@qeh.ox.ac.uk)

Website: <http://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/>

#### Description

The RSC, since its founding in 1982, has, in its own word ‘won an international reputation as the leading multidisciplinary centre for research and teaching on the causes and consequences of forced migration. Its philosophy is to combine world-class academic research with a commitment to improving the lives and situation of some of the world's most disadvantaged people. It has four major objectives: research, teaching, dissemination and international cooperation and capacity building’. It publishes the journals: *Forced Migration Review*, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, and *Studies in Forced Migration*.

*Forced Migration Review* (FMR) is published by the RSC in association with the Global IDP Survey/Norwegian Refugee Council. It appears three times a year in English, Spanish and Arabic and aims to provide a forum for the regular exchange of practical experience, information and ideas between researchers, refugees and internally displaced people and those who work with them. The editors are Marion Couldrey and Tim Morris. *Forced Migration Review's* web site is at: <http://www.fmreview.org>.

*Journal of Refugee Studies* provides a forum for exploration of the complex problems of forced migration and national, regional and international responses. The Journal covers all categories of forcibly displaced people. Contributions that develop theoretical understandings

of forced migration, or advance knowledge of concepts, policies and practice are welcomed from both academics and practitioners. It is published by Oxford University Press (<http://www3.oup.co.uk/refuge/scope/default.html>).

Studies in Forced Migration is a book series published by Berghahn Books in association with the RSC. The series includes within its scope international law, anthropology, medicine, geography, geopolitics, social psychology and economics. The general editors are Stephen Castles, Dawn Chatty and Chaloka Beyani (Department of Law, London School of Economics).

To be mentioned is the Working Papers series, downloadable from the RSC's website.

#### 4. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford

Director

Steven Vertovec.

Researchers

Ellie Vasta, Liza Schuster, Nicholas Van Hear, Biao Xiang, Sarah Spencer, Nicole Silverman, Martin Ruhs, Frank Pieke, Elvira Peace, Davide Però, Lourdes Gordolan, Juan Guataqui, Bridget Anderson.

Address

COMPAS

University of Oxford

58 Banbury Road

Oxford OX2 6QS

Tel.: 0044/(0)1865 27712

Fax.: -18

E-mail: [Steven.vertovec@compas.ox.ac.uk](mailto:Steven.vertovec@compas.ox.ac.uk)

Website [www.compas.ox.ac.uk](http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk)

The mission of the Compas is to provide a strategic, integrated approach to understanding contemporary and future migration dynamics across sending areas and receiving contexts in the UK and EU. This includes the following objectives:

1. Research: Theoretical and Methodological Innovation – Compas undertakes interdisciplinary research on key aspects of global mobility and migration. The Centre's approach is multi-levelled to understand relationships between international relations and global political economy, national policy regimes, and migrants' own perceptions and practices.

2. Policy Assessment – Drawing on new research evidence, policy experts at Compas evaluate national, European and international policy options and practices for effective and just migration management.

Compas has the potential to become a leading research institution in the field of migration. It represents innovative approaches (transnational studies, network studies) and engages progressive researchers.

## Appendix 2: Further Literature not quoted here on 1950-1990 Immigrants and Ethnic Minority Civic Activity

- Ali, T.M. 1980: The birth of the Asian Youth Movement. *Kala Tara* , Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Carter, Trevor 1986: *Shattering illusions - West Indians in British politics*. London.
- Crawford, J. 1971: North London West Indian Association. *Race Today*, Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 77.
- Dromey, J., Taylor, G. 1978: *Grunwick: the workers' story*. London
- Duffield, M. 1985: Rationalization and the politics of segregation: Indian workers in Britain's foundry industry, 1945 – 62. In Lunn, K.: *Race and labour in twentieth-century Britain*, London:, pp. 142-172.
- Duffield, M. 1988: *Black radicalism and the politics of de-industrialisation - the hidden history of Indian foundry workers*. Aldershot
- Eade, J. 1989: *The politics of community - the Bangladeshi community in East London*, Aldershot.
- Fryers, Peter 1984: *Staying power - the history of black people in Britain*. London: Pluto.
- Gilroy, Paul 1982: Steppin out of Babylon - race, class and autonomy. In Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies: *The empire strikes back*. London: Hutchinson, pp. 276-314.
- Indian Youth Club 1971: *The birth anniversary of the Indian Youth Club*. London.
- Jacobs, B. 1986: *Black politics and urban crisis in Britain*. Cambridge.
- John, D. 1969: *Indian Workers Associations in Britain*. London.
- Joly, Danièle 1987: Associations amongst the Pakistani populations in Britain. In John Rex (ed.): *Immigrant Associations In Europe*. Aldershot: Gower.
- Jones, S. 1988: *Black culture, white youth - the Reggae tradition from JA to UK*. Basingstoke.
- Johnson, Linton K. 1976: The reggae rebellion. *New Society*, 10.6.1976, p. 589.
- Liverpool Black Caucus 1986: *The racial politics of Militant in Liverpool - the black communities' struggle for participation in local politics 1980 – 1986*. London.
- Moore, R. 1975: *Racism and black resistance in Britain*. London.
- Mullard, Chris 1973: *Black Britain*. London.
- Pearson, D. G. 1981: *Race, class and political activism - a study of West Indians*. Westmead
- Phizacklea, Anni; Miles, Robert 1980: *Labour and Racism*. London:
- Ramdin, Ron 1987: *The making of the black working class in Britain*. Hants: Wildwood House.
- Rex, John 1967: *Race, community and conflict*. London
- Rex, John; Tomlinson, Sarah. 1979: *Colonial immigrants in a British city*. London
- Rimmer, M. 1975: *Race and industrial conflict*. Warwick studies of industrial relations. London

- Sivanandan, Ambervalaner 1982: *A different hunger, writings on black resistance*. London: Pluto.
- Sivanandan, Ambervalaner 1985: RAT and the degradation of black struggle. *Race and Class* Vol. 26 No. 4, pp. 1-33.
- Sivanandan, Ambervalaner 1989: All that melts into air is solid: the hokum of New Times. *Race and Class*, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 1–30.
- Sivanandan, Ambervalaner 1990: *Communities of resistance*. London.
- Widgery, David 1986: *Beating Time*. London: Chatto.
- Wood, W., Edwards, S. 1996: Brother Herman: tribute to a founder of black self-help in Britain. *Race and Class*, Vol. 37, No. 4, pp. 71–79.

### **Appendix 3: Further Literature not quoted here on 1990-2004 Immigrants and Ethnic Minority Civic Activity**

- Amnesty International 1997: *Respect my Rights: Refugees Speak Out*. London: Amnesty International.
- Anwar, Muhammad 1998: *Ethnic Minorities and The British Electoral System: A Research Report*. Centre For Research In Ethnic Relations, The University Of Warwick.
- Anwar, Muhammad; Werbner, Pnina 1991: *Black and Ethnic Leadership In Britain: The Cultural Dimensions Of Political Action*. London: Routledge.
- Asghar, M.A. 1996: *Bangladeshi community organisations in East London*. London: Bangladeshi community organisations in East London.
- Azmi, Waqar U. 1996: *Ethnic Socialisation and Political Behaviour: The Case Of South Asians In Britain*. Southampton: Southampton Institute Of Higher Education.
- Baumann, Gerd 1998: Body Politic or Bodies of Culture? How Nation-State Practices Turn Citizens into Religious Minorities. *Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 263-280.
- Bhatt, Chetan 2000: Hindutva Movements in the UK. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 559-593.
- Bloch, Alice 2000: Refugee Settlement in Britain: the Impact of Policy on Participation. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 1, 75-88.
- Collins, Tony 1998: Racial minorities in a marginalized sport : race, discrimination and integration in British Rugby League football. In Mike Cronin and David Mayall (eds): *Sporting nationalisms: identity, ethnicity, immigration, and assimilation*. London : F. Cass.
- Fielding, Steven; Geddes, Andrew 1998: The British Labour Party and “ethnic entryism”: Participation, Integration and the Party Context. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 57-72.
- Israel, Mark 1999: *South African Political Exile In The United Kingdom*. London: Macmillan.
- King, John 1997: Tablighi Jamaat and the Deobandi Mosques in Britain. In Steven Vertovec and Ceri Peach (eds.): *Islam in Europe: The Politics of Religion and Community*. London: Macmillan Press, 129-146.
- Koopmans, Ruud; Statham, P. 1999: Challenging the nation-state? Postnationalism, multiculturalism, and the collective claims-making of migrants and ethnic minorities in Britain and Germany. *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 105, 652-696.
- Kushner, Tony 1996: The Spice of Life? Ethnic Difference, Politics and Culture in Modern Britain. In David Cesarini and Mary Fulbrook (eds.): *Citizenship, Nationality and Migration in Europe*. London: Routledge, 125-145.
- Lewis, Philip 2002: *Islamic Britain. Religion, Politics and Identity among British Muslims*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Lewis, Philip 1997: The Bradford Council for Mosques and the Search for Muslim Unity. In Steven Vertovec and Ceri Peach (eds.): *Islam in Europe: The Politics of Religion and Community*. London: Macmillan Press, 103-128.
- Reilly, Rachel 1991: *Political Identity, Protest and Power Amongst Kurdish Refugees in Britain*. Cambridge: Churchill College.

- Rex, John 1998: Multiculturalism and Political Integration in European Cities. *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, No. 105, July-Dec, 261-280.
- Rex, John; Samad, Yunas 1996: 'Multiculturalism and Political Integration in Birmingham and Bradford'. *Innovation*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 11-31.
- Saggar, Shamit; Heath, Anthony 1999: Race: Towards A Multicultural Electorate? In G. Evans and P. Norris (eds.): *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters In Long-Term Perspective*. London: Sage.
- Saggar, Shamit 1998: British South Asian Elites and Political Participation: Testing The Cultural Thesis. *Revue Europeenne De Migrations Internationales*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 51-69.
- Smith, Graham; Stephenson, Susan 2003: *The Theory and Practice of Group Representation: Reflections on the Politics of Race Equality in Birmingham*. Paper presented to the Policy Studies Association conference, Leicester, 2003. Proceedings of the 2003 Annual Conference, <http://www.psa.ac.uk/cps/>.
- Wahlbeck, Osten 1996: The Kurdish Diaspora and Refugee Associations In Finland and England. In Phillip Muss (ed.): *Exclusion and Inclusion Of Refugees In Contemporary Europe*. Utrecht: ERCOMER.
- Wahlbeck, Osten 1998: Community Work and Exile Politics: Kurdish Refugee Associations In London. *Journal Of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 215-230.
- Wahlbeck, Osten 1999: *Kurdish Diaspora: A Comparative Study Of Kurdish Refugee Communities*. London: Macmillan.
- Wrench, J. 2000: British Unions and racism: organisational dilemmas in an unsympathetic climate. In R. Penninx and J. Roosblad (eds): *Trade Unions, immigration, and immigrants*. Oxford: Berghahn.

#### **Appendix 4: Newspaper and Other Mass Media Sources**

BBC news

Daily Express

Daily Mail

Daily Telegraph

Guardian

Observer

Sun

Times

## Appendix 5: Internet Resources

BBC news: <http://news.bbc.co.uk>

Birmingham Race Action Partnership: <http://www.brap.org.uk/article>

Commission for Racial Equality: <http://www.cre.gov.uk>

Community Fund: <http://www.community-fund.org.uk>

Compact: <http://www.thecompact.org.uk/>

*Council of Ethnic Minority Voluntary Sector Organisations* (CEMVO) <http://www.emf-cemvo.co.uk/whoweare.htm>

Daily Telegraph: [www.telegraph.co.uk](http://www.telegraph.co.uk)

Electoral Commission: <http://electoralcommission.org.uk>.

*Ethnic Minority Foundation* (EMF, <http://ethnicminorityfund.org.uk/html/index.asp>

EU's Fifth RTD framework programme:  
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/reports.html>

Great Black Britons: <http://www.100greatblackbritons.com/list.html>

Guardian: ([http://www.guardian.co.uk/Refugees\\_in\\_Britain/](http://www.guardian.co.uk/Refugees_in_Britain/)

London School of Economics:  
<http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/reports.html>

National Coalition of Anti-Deportation Campaigns: [www.ncadc.org.uk](http://www.ncadc.org.uk)

*National Council for Voluntary Organisations* (NCVO): <http://www.ncvo-vol.org.uk>

Office for National Statistics: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk>

Operation Black Vote <http://www.obv.org.uk>

Policy Studies Association: <http://www.psa.ac.uk/cps/>.

Renewal Net: [www.renewal.net](http://www.renewal.net)

Race on the Agenda (ROTA): <http://www.rota.org.uk/pages/about/index.htm>

Stationary Office: <http://www.parliament.the-stationery-office.co.uk>

Voluntary and Community Sector Commission (VCSC): [www.bvsc.org](http://www.bvsc.org)

## **Appendix 6: The British Refugee Council: Ethnic Minority and Refugee Member Organisations**

Afghan Association of London (Harrow)  
Afghan Aid  
Africa Advocacy Foundation  
Africa Educational Trust  
African Community Welfare Association  
Airey Neave Trust  
Akina Mama Wa Africa  
Anglo-Czechoslovak Welfare Association  
Angolan Civic Communities Alliance  
Association for Sierra Leonean Refugees  
Babylon Association  
Black Ethnic Cultural and Welfare Organisation  
Bristol & District Vietnamese Community  
British Association of Social Workers  
British Red Cross Society  
Bromley Refugee Network  
Centre for Refugees from Vietnam, Laos & Cambodia  
Chile Democratico  
Chile: Sports, Culture and Development Association  
Chinese & Vietnamese Association of Milton Keynes  
Chinese Information & Advice Centre  
Community Centre for Refugees  
Congoese Voluntary Organisations  
Ealing Somali Welfare & Cultural Association  
East Europe Advice Centre  
East London Community of Refugees from Vietnam  
Eritrean Community in the UK  
Ethiopian Advice & Support Centre  
Ethiopian Community in Britain  
Ethiopian Refugee Association in Haringey  
Ghana Welfare Association  
Greenwich Refugee Association  
Group to Relieve & Absolve Suffering & Poverty  
Harlow Vietnamese Community Association  
Hawkarani Kurdistan  
Horn Of Africa Advice Centre  
International Tamil Refugee Network  
Iranian Association  
Iranian Community Centre  
Iraqi Community Association  
Iraqi Welfare Association  
Isis Refugee Project  
Islington Somali Community  
Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants  
Kongolese Centre for Information & Advice  
Kurdish Cultural Centre  
Lambeth Community of Refugees from Vietnam  
Latin American Association

Latin American Golden Years Club  
Latin American Women's Rights Service  
Latvian National Council  
Leeds Vietnamese Community Association  
Lewisham Indo Chinese Community Chinese School  
Lewisham Refugee Network  
Liberian Immigrants & Refugees Welfare Organisation  
Lithuanian Association in Great Britain  
London Congo-Brazza Association  
London Indo-Chinese Association  
Midlands Refugee Council  
Midlands Vietnamese Community  
Migrant & Refugee Communities Forum  
Migrant Organisations Development Agency  
Migrants Resource Centre  
Minority Rights Group  
Northern Refugee Centre  
Organisation of the Angolan Community in the UK  
Pan African People's Welfare Advisory Service  
Pentecostal Church Of Good Shepherd in UK  
Polish Ex-Combatants Association  
Rafidain Relief Association  
Red Sea Community Organisation  
Refugee Action  
Refugee Action Kingston  
Refugee Advice Centre  
Refugee Support Centre  
Relief Society for Poles  
Renewal Refugee & Migrant Project  
Royal Borough of Kingston Equality Support Service  
Russian Refugee's Aid Society  
Scottish Refugee Council  
Sierra Leone Women's Forum  
Somali Advisory Bureau  
Somali Carers Project  
Somali Development Organisation  
Somali Refugee Action Group  
Somali Women's Support Group  
South London Iraqi Community  
South London Tamil Welfare Group  
South Sudanese Community Association (UK)  
South Thames African Welfare Association  
Southern Ethiopia People's Action Group  
Southwark Refugee Project  
Sudan Relief & Rehabilitation Association: SRRA  
Tamil Relief Centre  
The Community of Congolese Refugees In GB  
The Harrow Refugee Forum  
The Serbian Society  
The Three Faiths Forum

Third World Refugee Bureau  
Twickenham Refugee Welcome Centre  
Uganda Refugee Welfare Association  
Vietnam Refugee National Council  
Vietnamese Mental Health Services  
Vietnamese Refugee Community Lewisham  
Waaberi Cultural Association  
Welsh Refugee Council  
Western Kurdistan Association  
Zimbabwe Refugee Asylum Association

## **Appendix 7: Sample of Refugee Organisations in West London (out of 279 in 2002)**

Afghan Culture and Art Association  
Afghan Action Committee International  
Afghan Association of London (Harrow)  
Afghan Youth Association  
Afghanistan Culture & Arts Association  
African People's Link  
African Refugee Foundation  
African Swahiliphone Refugee Project  
African Women's Care  
All Nepalese Association in Hounslow  
Al-Zahra Women Centre  
Anglo-Romanian Centre for Integration  
Angolan Advice & Information Centre  
Angolan Civic Community Alliance  
Angolan Community in London  
Arab Welfare Advisory Centre  
Arab Women's Group  
Barnet Somali Community Group  
Bosnia Herzegovina Club Brent  
BRAVA  
Brentford & Chiswick Citizens Advice Bureau  
Busoga Association  
Cabinda Community Association  
Centre for Armenian Information & Advice  
Chinese Information & Advice Centre  
Dadihiye Somali Development  
Ealing Somali Summer University  
Ealing Somali Welfare & Cultural Association  
East African Youth Group  
East European Advice Centre  
Eritrean Community Association  
Eritrean Community in the UK  
Ethiopian Advice & Support Centre  
Ethiopian Community in Britain  
Harrow Iranian Community Association  
Hiiraan Women Action Aid  
Hillingdon Chinese Association  
Hillingdon Chinese Community Organisation  
Hillingdon Somali Women's Group  
Horn of Africa - Human Rights and Rehabilitation Forum  
Horn of Africa Advice Centre  
Horn of Africa Somali Women's Organisation  
Horn of African Women's Organisation  
Hounslow African Health Project  
Hounslow Arab Group  
Hounslow Somali Association  
Hounslow Somali Consortium  
Hounslow Translation and Interpretation Services

Iranian Association  
Iraqi Community Association  
Iraqi Welfare Association  
Jeffrey Kelson Diabetics Centre  
Kenya Women's Association  
Kenyan Society of London  
Kosovan Support Group  
Kurdish Association (Children Section)  
Kurdish Association (Elderly Section)  
Kurdish Housing Association  
Latin American Association  
Latin American Elderly Project  
Latin American Women's Rights Service  
Merton Somali Community  
Methodist of the Diaspora Charity  
Migrant Advisory & Advocacy Service  
Migrant Resource Centre  
Muslim Women's & Children's Group  
Nathan Suresh & Amirthan  
Naz Project London  
Nepalese Association  
Nepalese Women's Ass.  
Pakistan Welfare Association  
Refugee Aid and Development RAAD  
Red Sea Community Programme  
Red Sea Health & Community Care Association  
Refugee Education and Training Advisory Service  
Refugee Employment Advice/Hounslow Law Centre  
Refugee Housing Association  
Refugee in Effective & Active Partnership  
Refugee Link and Training  
Refugee Mental Health Development Group  
Refugees Into Jobs  
Rockingham Somali Support Group  
Russian Immigrants Association  
Somali Community Information Centre  
Somali Cultural Centre  
Somali Education Advice & Counselling  
Somali Health & Mental Health Link  
Somali Information Group  
Somali Medical Association  
Somali Professional Association  
Somali Refugee Development Group  
Somali Teachers Association  
Somali Welfare Association  
Somali Women Support & Education Service  
Somali Women's Centre  
Somali Women's Refugee Community  
Somali Women's Support & Development Group  
Somali Youth Team

Somalia Cultural Centre  
South Brent Primary Care Group  
South Norwood Community Mental Health Team  
Southall Black Sisters  
Southall Rights Legal Advice Centre  
Sudanese Relief & Rehab Association  
Swahili Cultural Association  
Tamil Refugee Action Group  
Tamil Relief Centre  
The African Child  
The Arab Group in Hounslow  
The Kenyan Society of London  
The Sikh Missionary Society (UK)  
Togolese Advice & Support Centre  
Vietnamese Mental Health Service  
West London Refugee Employment and Training Initiative  
West London Refugee Forums Standing Committee (WLRSC)  
Young Refugees Rights Project