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# SHF RACE REPORT

40 years of tackling racial  
inequality in Britain

Dr Stephen D. Ashe

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STUART HALL  
FOUNDATION

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# FOREWORD

In the wake of the Black Lives Matter protests in summer 2020, the Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced a cross-government inquiry into all aspects of racial inequality in the United Kingdom. The cross-governmental 'Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities' would look into discrimination against black, Asian and minority ethnic people in education, health and the criminal justice system. A number of people questioned why another inquiry was necessary. Speaking on BBC Radio 4's *Today* programme, David Lammy MP and Shadow Secretary of State for Justice expressed the frustration of many at the lack of progress in addressing racial inequality in the UK over a number of years and he urged the government to take action and legislate rather than embarking on another inquiry:

*I made 35 specific limit recommendations in the Lammy review. Implement them. There are 110 recommendations in the Angiolini review into deaths in police custody. Implement them. There are 30 recommendations in the Home Office review into the Windrush scandal. Implement them.<sup>1</sup>*

Writing in the *New Statesman*, the journalist Anoosh Chakelian echoed Lammy's invocation noting that

*previous inquiries into the ways racial discrimination plays out in the UK have produced large numbers of recommendations, almost all of which have been ignored or shelved*

by successive governments and counting up 375 recommendations that could be used instead of launching yet another commission on equality.<sup>2</sup>

Responding to the imperative to review, recall and re-count the work of earlier commissions and inquiries into racial inequality and to assemble their findings in an accessible form, the Stuart Hall Foundation in partnership with the Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity (CoDE) commissioned this report. It provides summaries of a selection of reports published between 1981 and 2017 and offers a thematic analysis of recommendations put forward to address racism and racial inequality in communities, education, employment, policing and the criminal justice system. The report examines 589 recommendations and draws out a number of common, overarching themes running through the recommendations including the need to address the disconnect between legislation and its enforcement; the requirement for holistic and co-ordinated approaches across government and between government

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<sup>1</sup> David Lammy, *Today* programme, BBC Radio 4, Monday 15 June 2020.

<sup>2</sup> Anoosh Chakelian, 'The 375 government recommendations Boris Johnson could use instead of launching yet another commission on inequality', *The New Statesman*, 15 June 2020.

agencies, employers and community groups; the requirement for further research as well as for regular, improved and standardised forms of data collection; and the need to establish accountability and responsibility at organisational and leadership levels as well as the need to establish independent oversight, investigation and review.

We are hugely grateful to Dr. Stephen D. Ashe for his diligent and robust research and analysis which has resulted in this important piece of work; to Professor Claire Alexander who advised on the scope and parameters of the research; and to CoDE and the Hollick Family Foundation for their valuable support which made this report possible.

Established in 2015 to build on the unique legacy of Professor Stuart Hall, founding figure of British Cultural Studies, arts supporter, inspirational educator and leading voice for social justice, the Stuart Hall Foundation is committed to public education and to addressing urgent questions of race and inequality in culture and society. Throughout his life, Stuart Hall was committed to asking difficult questions about race and inequality in Britain. He contributed to a number of inquiries and commissions on racial inequality and participated directly in the Commission for the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain. As Dr. Ashe writes in his executive summary, “for more than fifty years, successive British governments have tried to tackle the enduring nature of racism and the consequences of structural racial inequality through legislative interventions [and yet] in 2020, racism and racial inequality persist”. Questions have been asked repeatedly over decades and hundreds of answers have been provided as evidenced in this report. As David Lammy has written, ‘it is time for action on the countless reviews, reports and commissions on race that have already been completed.’<sup>3</sup> We very much hope that this report can make a modest contribution to galvanising such action.

### **Gilane Tawadros**

Chair  
Stuart Hall Foundation

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<sup>3</sup> David Lammy, ‘Britain needs leadership on race and inequality. Not just another review.’ *The Guardian*, 16 June 2020.

# ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Stephen D. Ashe is a researcher working on racism, class, the far right, anti-racism and anti-fascism, institutional whiteness and racial inequality in higher education, and workplace racism. His recent publications include *Reframing the 'Left Behind': Race and Class in Post-Brexit Oldham* (co-authored with James Rhodes and Sivamohan Valluvan) and *Racism Ruins Lives: An Analysis of the 2016–2017 Trade Union Congress Racism at Work Survey* (co-authored with Magda Borkowska and James Nazroo) and *Researching the Far Right: Theory, Method and Practice* (co-edited with Joel Busher, Graham Macklin and Arron Winter). Stephen is currently working towards completing his monograph, *The Rise and Fall of the British National Party: A Sociological Perspective*, for the Routledge *Studies in Fascism and the Far Right* Series. He has published articles in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *Race & Class* and *Discover Society*.

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For more than fifty years, successive British governments have tried to tackle the enduring nature of racism and the consequences of structural racial inequality through legislative interventions. However, in 2020, racism and racial inequality persist.

The first Race Relations Act came into force on 8 December 1965, outlawing discrimination on the grounds of colour, race, ethnic or national origins in public places. Amidst criticism that the 1965 Act did not go far enough, the Race Relations Act (1968) was introduced, making it illegal to refuse housing, employment and public services to a person(s) on the 'grounds of colour, race, ethnic or national origins'. As John Solomos points out, the 1965 and 1968 Race Relations Acts had the 'twin task' of:

*(a) setting up special bodies to deal with the problems faced by immigrants in relation to discrimination, adjustment and welfare, and (b) helping to educate the population as a whole about race relations, and hence minimising the risk of racial conflict developing in Britain in the way it had done in the US (2003, p.81).*

Almost a decade later, the 1976 version of the Race Relations Act not only brought the concepts of 'direct' and 'indirect' discrimination into law, it also led to the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) being set up. As a non-departmental public body, the CRE set out to tackle racial discrimination and prejudice, while also striving to contribute to the creation of a 'just and integrated society, where diversity is valued'. It would be almost twenty-five years before further legislative changes were introduced.

The Macpherson Report was published in 1999 following the racist murder of Stephen Lawrence in 1993. With a remit that stretched beyond the murder of Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent police investigation, the Macpherson Report offered a series of recommendations relating to legislation and policies relating to race relations, racism, the police, the education system and the civil service. Macpherson's recommendations would play a key role in shaping the Race Relations (Amendment) Act (RRAA) 2000, particularly Macpherson's discussion and recommendations in relation to institutional racism, which Macpherson defined as,

*The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people (1999, para. 6.34).*

The RRAA 2000 imposed a statutory duty on all public institutions to eliminate racial discrimination and actively promote race equality.

The Human Rights Act (1988) also came into force in 2000 in an attempt to ensure that existing British legislation did not contravene the European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Ten years later, the Equality Act (2010) merged various pieces of existing anti-discrimination legislation, including the 1976 Race Relations Act, in an effort to make the law easier to understand, while also strengthening legal protections in certain areas.

Between 1966 and 1988, a series of perhaps lesser known legislative interventions sought to tackle urban deprivation, including in multiracial settings (Solomos, 2003). For example, Section 11 of the Local Government

Act of 1966 aimed to provide central government funding to local authorities so that they could meet the educational and social welfare needs of ethnic and racial minority groups. Similarly, the 1969 Local Government Grants (Social Need) Act was intended to provide financial assistance to localities where social deprivation was pervasive, including areas where ethnic and racial minority groups lived. Almost a decade later, the 1978 Inner Urban Areas Act was then introduced to address the way in which national policies might discriminate against certain areas and communities, while also addressing inner city decline and a lack of local job opportunities. Ten years after that the Local Government Act (1988) gave local authorities the power to carry out contract vetting as part of their duties under Section 71 of the 1976 Race Relations Act.

In 2017, the Conservative government's Race Disparity Audit clearly demonstrated that, despite the various legislative interventions summarised here, there is still entrenched racial inequality in education, employment, health, housing, policing, the criminal justice system and in the public sector workforce, not to mention considerable disparities in terms of levels of poverty. For example, the 2017 Race Disparity Audit found that:

- **Poverty:** 'Around 1 in 4 children in households headed by people from an Asian background or those in the Other ethnic group were in persistent poverty, as were 1 in 5 children in Black households and 1 in 10 White British households' (See p. 9).
- **Education:** 'Although pupils in the Black ethnic group made more progress overall than the national average, Black Caribbean pupils fell behind (See p. 9).
- **Employment:** 'Around 1 in 10 adults from a Black, Pakistani, Bangladeshi or Mixed background were unemployed compared with 1 in 25 White British people' (See p. 10).
- **Health:** Black adults were more likely than adults in other ethnic groups to have been sectioned under the Mental Health Act.
- **Housing:** 'The households that are most likely to rent social housing were headed by someone in the African, Caribbean, Other Black, Bangladeshi, Irish and Arab groups, or the Mixed groups'; (See p. 10).
- **Policing:** 'While there has been a very large reduction in the use of Stop and Search among Black people since 2008/09, the use of these powers remains far higher on this ethnic group than others. Black men are also almost three and a half times more likely to be arrested than White men' (See p. 11).
- **Criminal Justice:** 'White offenders consistently received the shortest ACSL [Average Custodial Sentence Length]. In 2016, the ACSL for White offenders was 18 months whereas Black and Asian offenders received the longest ACSL at 24 and 25 months respectively' (See p. 11).
- **Public Sector Workforce:** 'Only 7% of very senior managers and 11% of senior managers were from an ethnic minority group' (See p. 12).

## The aim of this report

A number of government-commissioned and influential independent non-governmental reports have been published in the period in-between the introduction of the various articles of legislation summarised above. Concerned with addressing the enduring and systemic nature of racism in Britain, these reports put forward a wide range of recommendations which, it might be argued, add flesh to the bones of existing legislation.

This report provides summaries of a selection of reports published between 1981 and 2017. It also offers a thematic analysis of recommendations put forward to address racism and racial inequality in the following areas:

- Community cohesion and multiculturalism (Parekh, 2000; Cattle, 2001).
- Education (Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985).
- Employment (Ethnic Minorities in the Labour Market, 2001; MacGregor-Smith 2017; Parker 2017).
- Policing and the criminal justice system (Scarman, 1981; MacPherson, 1999; Adebowale, 2013; Young, 2014; Angiolini, 2015; Lammy, 2017).

In addition to this, Section I draws on the recently published, *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK: State of the Nation* (Byrne, Alexander, Khan, Nazroo and Shankley, 2020) to provide deeper insights into the nature of racial inequality in each of the aforementioned area.

## Key findings

The thematic analysis of some 589 recommendations reveals nine common, overarching themes running through the recommendations put forward in reports published between 1981 and 2017. These are:

1. Addressing disconnect between both legislation and its enforcement/implementation, and between policy and practice;
2. The adoption of holistic approaches based upon collaboration between, and the coordination of the work being done by, various government departments at both the national and local levels, as well as collaboration between government agencies, employers and community groups;
3. Calls for further research, as well as regular, improved and standardised forms of data collection which measures and monitors the nature of racism, racial inequality and the effectiveness of policy interventions;
4. The introduction of, or changes to existing, training and educational programmes;
5. Addressing racism and racial inequality through improved forms of communication and through disclosure and transparency, particular in relation to publishing data which measure, monitor, and evaluate the effectiveness of policies and actions taken to address racism and racial inequality;
6. Proposals in relation to the recruitment, retention and career progression of ethnic minority people, and addressing the lack of representation of ethnic and racial minority people in senior leadership positions;
7. Establishing accountability and responsibility, at both the organisational and senior leadership-levels, through the introduction of targets and performance indicators; and finally,
8. Establishing independent oversight, investigations and reviews, particularly in matters relating to complaints procedures and reports of racism procedures, as well as handing independent bodies the power to carry out routine inspections and issue compliance notices.

# SECTION ONE: SUMMARY OF KEY REPORTS

In this section, we offer a series of short summaries of a selection of key reports commissioned by the government, as well as reports published by non-governmental organisations between 1981 and 2017. Here the discussion will focus on reports published in relation to community cohesion and multiculturalism, education, employment, policing and the criminal justice system. In addition to this, the discussion here also provides brief thematic overviews of the recommendations put forward in each of the reports.



# EDUCATION

## Key statistics

- The demography of the pupil population in state education in England shows that it is more diverse than the broader population. The same is true for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland.
- The 2016/17 GCSE grades data for England show that there is disparity in attainment between different ethnic groups: Chinese and Indian pupils were the most likely to achieve A\* to C in maths and English; meanwhile, Black Caribbean, Pakistani and Gypsy and Irish Travellers were the least likely to achieve A\* to C grades in maths and English.
- The 2016/17 data show rates of permanent exclusion continue to be a significant issue for Black and Gypsy and Irish Traveller pupils compared to other ethnic pupil groups.
- Recent Prevent policies targeting radicalisation have been criticised for producing highly racialised surveillance of Muslim and South Asian pupils, threatening the relationships between local communities and schools.
- The 2016/17 data show that White British people continue to be over-represented in apprenticeship schemes compared to ethnic minority people. In contrast to apprenticeship schemes, ethnic minority pupils disproportionately enter further or higher education. Ethnic minority groups constitute 26% of all undergraduate students in England. However, they are less likely to attend Russell Group Universities, with the Black group particularly under-represented.
- The 2016/17 data show that all ethnic minority groups are less likely than White students to receive a 'good' (2:1 or first class) degree.

(Taken from *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK – State of the Nation, 2000*, pages 93–94, [click here](#)).

## The Rampton Report (1981): West Indian Children in our Schools — 80 recommendations

The 1981 Rampton Report was a direct response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration's 1977 report on 'The West Indian Community'. The Select Committee's report noted there was a 'widespread concern about the poor performance of West Indian children in schools' (See p. 1). In 1979, a committee was established to explore the needs of children from all ethnic and racial minority groups, with priority being given to children of West Indian origin. Chaired by Anthony Rampton OBE, the 'terms of reference' for this inquiry were to:

- Review in relation to schools the educational needs and attainments of children from ethnic minority groups taking account, as necessary, of factors outside the formal education system relevant to school performance, including influences in early childhood and prospects for school leavers.

- Consider the potential value of instituting arrangements for keeping under review the educational performance of different ethnic minority groups, and what those arrangements might be.
- Consider the most effective use of resources for these purposes; and to make recommendations.

The main finding of the Rampton Report was that 'West Indian children as a group are failing in our education system' and that 'urgent action' was needed to remedy this (See p. 70). In doing so, the following were identified as the drivers of so called 'poor performance' and 'underachievement':

1. 'In the eyes of many West Indians the major cause of their children's underachievement is racism and its effects in school and in society'.
2. 'In the pre-school field, provision for the under-fives in terms of day care and nursery education, has long been acknowledged as inadequate and those facilities which do exist are generally inappropriate to the needs of West Indian families'.
3. 'The linguistic difficulties of West Indian pupils and particularly the "dialect interference" from which they are said to suffer, have often been mentioned as factors in their underachievement'.
4. 'Within both primary and secondary schools the inappropriateness of the curriculum and the books and teaching materials used to the needs and backgrounds of West Indian pupils has been cited as a cause of their lack of motivation and commitment to the work and their consequent underachievement'.
5. 'West Indians have claimed that low expectations of their children on the part of both careers teachers and careers officers lead to the children being discouraged from aspiring to the full range of post-school opportunities available. Discrimination is still widespread in the employment market and the levels of unemployment amongst West Indians is disproportionately high. Both these factors may have a demotivating effect on West Indian pupils in schools and discourage them from achieving their full potential. Schools need to do far more to prepare their pupils for adult life'.
6. 'The lack of understanding by schools of the social and economic pressures faced by West Indian parents, and the failure of some West Indian parents to appreciate the part which they must play in supporting schools and teachers in the education of their children'.
7. 'Teachers are the key figures in our education system. Teachers and head teachers are the moving force in developing and implementing a multicultural approach to the curriculum. Their training, both initial and in-service, needs to inform and sensitise them to the particular needs and backgrounds of ethnic minority groups and give them an understanding of the theory and practice of a multicultural approach to education'.
8. 'We are convinced that the absence of ethnically-based statistics throughout the education system has contributed to the lack of positive action at both national and local level to identify and seek to remedy the underachievement of West Indian pupils'.
9. 'We have identified no single cause for the underachievement of West Indian children but rather a network of widely differing attitudes and expectations on the part of teachers and the education system as a whole, and on the part of West Indian parents, which lead the West Indian child to have particular difficulties and face particular hurdles in achieving his or her full potential'.

The Rampton Report also identified the following as having a role to play as 'agencies of change': central government, the DES, Her Majesty's Inspectorate, local authorities including local education authorities, the Schools Council, trade unions, Examining Boards, teacher training institutions, school governing bodies, the Commission for Racial Equality and local community relations councils. To bring about change, the Rampton report put forward recommendations relating to:

1. Pre-school provision.
2. Reading and language.
3. The curriculum.
4. Books and teaching materials.
5. Examinations.
6. School pastoral arrangements.
7. Links between schools and the community, including parents, school governors and supplementary schools.
8. Special provision, such as 'educationally sub-normal' schools.
9. Suspensions, exclusions and disruptive units.
10. Preparation for adult life.
11. Teacher education.
12. The creation of advisory services.
13. Recording statistics.
14. Funding.

### The Swann Report (1985): Education for All — 74 recommendations

The 1985 Swann Report (1985: vii) sought to build on the findings of the Rampton Report. In fact, the Swann Report had the exact same terms of reference (see above) as the Rampton report and was co-chaired by Anthony Rampton OBE. The main conclusions of the Swann Report were that (See p. 768):

- 'IQ is not a significant factor in underachievement.'
- The resulting deprivation, over and above that of disadvantaged Whites, leads in many instances to an extra element of underachievement.

- 'A substantial part of ethnic minority underachievement, where it occurs, is thus the result of racial prejudice and discrimination on the part of society at large, bearing on ethnic minority homes and families, and hence, indirectly, on children.'
- 'Not all of underachievement, where it occurs, is to be accounted for in these terms, and the rest, we believe, is due in large measure to prejudice and discrimination bearing directly on children, within the educational system, as well as outside it.'

Premised on the principles of 'education for all', the Swann Report put forward a 'strategy for change' which aimed to develop 'a pluralist approach to the curriculum, and to countering the influence of racism' (See p. 769). This strategy included recommendations in relation to:

1. Language and language education, including English as a second language and 'Mother Tongue provision'.
2. Religious education.
3. The 'separate' schools debate.
4. Teacher education.
5. The employment of ethnic minority teachers.

Interestingly, many of the recommendations put forward in both the Rampton Report and the Swann Report in relation to developing a more inclusive and representative school curricula are similar to those put forward in debates on diversifying and decolonising the curriculum in higher education.



# EMPLOYMENT

## Key statistics

- Labour Force Survey (LFS) data show significant differences in levels of economic activity across ethnicity groups and, within groups, by gender, including a sustained ethnic penalty in earnings suffered by some groups. (1) While the LFS shows variation across ethnic groups by gender, there is evidence of employment rate gaps between white groups and non-white groups narrowing over time. Removing students from the analysis also narrows the employment rate gap; (2) Self-employment rates differ between men and women, with Pakistani men and Chinese women showing the highest rate of self-employment. High rates of self-employment for non-white groups can be linked to discrimination in the paid labour market, which makes self-employment an attractive alternative.
- Broader economic and labour market policy has been found to disproportionately impact on ethnic minority workers and households. (1) The introduction of Universal Credit disproportionately affects ethnic minority groups particularly women. Their immigration history and socio-economic profiles reduce their resilience to any sanctions imposed; (2) Despite higher coverage rates, the national minimum (or living) wage may not be paid to individuals from some ethnic minority groups (particularly Bangladeshis, Pakistanis and Chinese). This is partly the result of non-compliance by employers.
- There is great variation in the representation of non-white workers in the public sector, with the state education system (primary and secondary), armed forces and non-medical positions in the National Health Service (NHS) dominated by white groups, while ethnic minority groups are well represented in medical roles in the NHS. Future policy needs to address exclusionary practices in specific institutions rather than the public sector as a whole.

(Taken from *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK – State of the Nation, 2000*, pp.127–128, [click here](#)).

## Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market – Final Report (2003) – 42 recommendations

Published by the Cabinet Office, this report notes that ‘Making the best use of [ethnic minority peoples] energy and talent will be a major challenge for Government and employers, as well as for ethnic minorities themselves’ (p.7). Noting that Indian and Chinese people were ‘on average, doing well and often out-performing Whites in schools and in the labour market’, this report argued that this was evidence that there ‘are no insuperable barriers to successful economic and social integration’ (See p. 7). At the same time, this report also noted that ‘Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Black Caribbeans’ are doing ‘less well’ and ‘experience, on average, significantly higher unemployment and lower earnings than Whites’, which ‘brings not only economic costs but also potential threats to social cohesion’ (See p. 7).

In order to 'improve the performance' of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Black Caribbean people in schools and in the labour market, this report stated that the government would be undertaking:

*a fresh approach which goes beyond traditional antidiscrimination policies to address the many factors that can stand in the way of success in jobs and careers, including targeted action on schools, jobs, housing and discrimination (p.7).*

The principle aim of the recommendations put forward in this report were to ensure by that 2013, 'ethnic minority groups living in Britain should no longer face disproportionate barriers to accessing and realising opportunities for achievement in the labour market'. Moreover, this report stated that government would be taking 'action' to:

1. 'Improve the employability of ethnic minorities by raising levels of educational attainment and skills'.
2. 'Connect ethnic minorities with work by reforming existing employment programmes, tackling specific barriers to work in deprived areas, like poor transport, and promoting self-employment'.
3. 'Promote equal opportunities in the workplace through better advice and support to employers, and through more effective use of levers such as public procurement.
4. 'Place a Minister in charge of a cross-departmental Task Force comprising relevant Ministers, senior officials and key external stakeholders, reporting through the Secretary of State for Work and Pensions to the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs, Productivity and Competitiveness'.

## The Parker Review (2016) — 11 recommendations

At the request of government, Sir John Parker published his independent review on the lack of 'ethnic diversity' in boardrooms across Britain in 2016. Parker's review explored why 'the majority of Boards of our FTSE 100 companies remain all-white domains'. Parker also laid down the following challenge: by the end of 2021, the Boards of all members of the FTSE would not lack a 'person of colour' as a director. Parker also challenged FTSE 250 companies to meet this goal by 2024.

In order to meet these targets, the Parker Review set out a series of recommendations designed to 'Develop a pipeline of candidates and plan for succession through mentoring and sponsoring', and 'Enhance transparency and disclosure to record and track progress against the objectives' (Diversity UK, 2017). Interestingly, in his update report on The Parker Review, Sir John Parker has recently commented that,

*With less than two years to go to meet the first of these targets, it might seem that we are way off course. However, our report suggests that whilst we may not yet be up to speed, it could still be possible to complete our journey in time (2020: 3).*

## The McGregor-Smith Review (2017) – 25 recommendations

Four months after the publication of the Parker Review, the government published Baroness Ruby McGregor-Smith CBE's review on *Race in the Workplace*. Baroness McGregor-Smith's review noted that while successive governments and employers had expressed their commitment to racial equality, racial inequality continues to exist.

Five key points lie at the heart of the McGregor-Smith Review (see p. 1):

1. Employers must become more comfortable talking about race and devise strategy to ensure that their organisations are 'fully inclusive'.
2. If companies were to make full use of the 'BME talent' this would result in a £24 billion boost to the economy.
3. It is essential that employers both set and publish targets for achieving racial equality, while also being both transparent and accountable in terms of actions undertaken and the progress made in realising their targets.
4. It is critical that we recognise the structural nature of racial inequality and 'stop hiding behind the mantle of "unconscious bias"'.
5. 'The public sector must use its purchasing power to drive change', thus resulting in all organisations that receive public funding being required to set and publish targets aimed at ensuring that 'they are representative of the taxpayers they deliver' for.

McGregor-Smith's recommendations for employers include making 'ethnic diversity' a key indicator of organisational success, and changing the culture of an organisation so that BME staff 'have confidence that they have access to the same opportunities, and feel able to speak up if they find themselves subject to direct and indirect discrimination or bias' (See p. 7). Moreover, McGregor-Smith argues that, from recruitment to progression, employers must ensure that opportunities and processes related to career progression are 'transparent and fair', while also putting candidate and progression support structures in place. Lastly, McGregor-Smith recommends that organisations should start to view 'diverse teams as the norm, while also celebrating the benefits that a truly inclusive workforce can deliver'.



# HEALTH

## Key statistics

- Ethnic inequalities in health outcomes, experiences of health care and employment in the NHS workforce are substantial and, in the main, have not changed over time.
- Ethnic minority people have an increased risk of poor health compared with white people, but there is considerable variation across groups and across particular health conditions.
- There is a substantial body of evidence demonstrating that the multidimensional social and economic inequalities experienced by ethnic minority people, including racism, make a substantial contribution to ethnic inequalities in health.
- Despite the evidence on these inequalities, the issue of ethnicity has taken a marginal position in policy work on inequalities in health, with some significant pieces of policy work almost completely neglecting ethnic inequalities in health, in part because they are often reified as reflecting biological and cultural difference. A reorientation of the public health focus to one that considers the social character of ethnicity, and the socially and economically determined nature of health, could help the development of meaningful policy in this area.
- Evidence suggests that the provision, through the NHS, of publicly funded primary care with universal access and standardised treatment protocols has resulted in equality of access and outcomes across ethnic groups.
- However, there are inequalities in access to secondary health care and dental care, and in satisfaction with care received.
- Ethnic minority people report less good experiences than White British people of almost every dimension of General Practice services. And ethnic minority people who had been diagnosed with a cancer saw their General Practitioner several more times than White British people before they were referred to a hospital.
- Stereotyping, discrimination, racism and cultural incompetence have been identified in the delivery of care across the health service. This is illustrated in the chapter using evidence in relation to severe mental illness, interpreting services and sickle cell and thalassaemia disorders.
- Ethnic minority people are over-represented in the NHS workforce, but experience marked inequalities in type and grade of employment. This is reflected in pay bands, representation among senior staff and representation on NHS Trust boards.
- Only 7% of NHS Trust board members across England are from an ethnic minority group and more than two fifths of NHS Trusts have no ethnic minority board members.

(Taken from *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK – State of the Nation, 2000*, pp.73–74, [click here](#)).



# HOUSING

## Key statistics

- Ethnic inequalities in housing stem from the particular settlement experiences of postwar migrants to the UK in terms of the location and housing access afforded to them. This is consolidated by dramatic changes to the UK's housing landscape over recent decades, which have, to a large extent, exacerbated housing disadvantage for minorities. Evidence reveals stark and persistent ethnic inequalities in housing: (1) Census data analysis shows differences across ethnic minority households in housing tenure and overcrowding; (2) At least 1 in 3 households of some ethnic groups (Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Black African) live in overcrowded conditions compared to 1 in 20 white households; (3) Ethnic minority households are over-represented as statutory homeless in Britain and a person's ethnicity is one of the key characteristics that increases the likelihood of experiencing homelessness; (4) New migrant groups show an overwhelming concentration in the private rented sector with associated vulnerability to housing precarity.
- Housing law, systems and practices create disadvantage for minorities and migrants in the UK: (1) Practices of discrimination and racism exist in housing, for example in restricting ethnic minority households from entering specific housing tenures in Britain; (2) The tragedy of the Grenfell Tower fire in 2017, which disproportionately befell ethnic minorities and migrants, has shed light on the challenges for the social rented sector including the lack of housing supply. The tragedy also exposes the systemic failures of existing social housing structures to maintain quality housing and to provide clear processes of accountability for tenants; (3) Policy changes such as the 'Right to Buy' have significantly reduced the social housing stock and this has had an adverse impact on specific ethnic minority groups; (4) Policies such as the 'Help to Buy' scheme have helped many ethnic minority households enter owner-occupied housing but have also increased the financial risk that these first-time homeowners encounter by granting them mortgages that they would have previously been denied; (5) Recent changes to immigration law have disadvantaged minorities in housing, for example, the 'right to rent' procedures.
- Addressing ethnic disadvantage in housing requires better data and increased research investment to understand experiences, causes of disadvantage and impacts of recent policy changes. It also requires political commitment and collaborative action to make use of this evidence to bring about more equitable housing systems and practices.

(Taken from *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK – State of the Nation, 2000*, pp.149–150, [click here](#))



# POLICING AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

## Key statistics

- The majority of employees in the criminal justice system in England and Wales (93.4% of police officers; 93.2% of court judges; 89.6% of tribunal judges and 94% of prison officers) come from an ethnically White background.
- While the rates of stop-and-search have declined steadily across all ethnic groups between 2010/11 and 2016/17, Black groups continue to face the highest rates of stop-and-search by police, with the rate being eight times that of white people in 2016/17.
- Ethnic minority groups are increasingly and disproportionately represented in the youth criminal justice system population.
- Ethnic minority people are increasingly and disproportionately incarcerated (rising from 26% in 2008 to 45% in 2018).
- Policy and politicians' focus on 'the gang' leads to criminal justice practices against racialised communities without an evidence base. Joint Enterprise powers have also been used disproportionately against ethnic minority defendants. Stop-and-search powers continue to be used disproportionately against ethnic minority people.
- Data analysed by Inquest shows a disproportionate number of ethnic minority people in custody compared to white people.

(Taken from *Ethnicity, Race and Inequality in the UK – State of the Nation, 2000*, p.51, [click here](#)).

## The Scarman Report (1981) – 45 recommendations

Lord Scarman OBE was appointed to conduct an inquiry into the urban disorders that had taken place in Brixton, London between the 10th and 12th April 1981. In doing so, The Scarman Report compared the 'social conditions' in Brixton with those in Southall, Toxteth, Moss Side and the West Midlands, where there had also been similar disorder. In doing so, Scarman examined the role of factors ranging from housing, leisure and recreational facilities, the family, education, unemployment and discrimination.

In his report, Scarman examined:

- The nature of the disorders.
- The role of the police, criticisms of the police and the principles of policing.
- Social policy in the relation to the 'inner city', housing and employment, and responses to ethnic minority needs and discrimination.
- The role of the Community Relations Council and the Commission for Racial Equality.
- The role of the media.
- Legislative reform, especially in relation to stop and search, the 'Sus Law' and 'Lay Police Station Visitors', the case for a new 'Riot Act' and selective bans on public processions.
- Reform of the police complaints procedure.

In reference to the policing and police, the Scarman Report put forward recommendations in relation to:

1. Recruitment.
2. Training.
3. Supervision and monitoring.
4. Discipline.
5. Complaints against the police.
6. Methods of policing.
7. Improving consultation and accountability.
8. Policing public disorder.

## The Macpherson report (1999) – 70 recommendations

On the 15th February 1999, Sir William Macpherson was asked to lead an inquiry 'into matters arising from the death of Stephen Lawrence, in order to identify lessons to be learned from the investigation and prosecution of racially motivated crimes' (See p. 17). In his forty-six chapter report, Macpherson examined:

- The nature of racism, in particular institutional racism and unwitting racism.
- The initial and second investigations undertaken by the police, including the role of investigating and senior police officers.
- The culture inside the Stephen Lawrence murder inquiry incident room.
- Police procedures, such as house-to-house inquiries, surveillance, arrests, interviews, evidence handling, family liaison, and reviews of other police investigations.
- The role of the Racial Incident Unit.

- Issues of corruption and collusion in the police force.
- First aid.
- The role of the Police Complaints Authority.
- The role of the Crown Prosecution Service.
- Court and legal proceedings, including the Main Committal hearing, the Criminal Court trial and the Coroner's inquest.

Macpherson also considered the impact of both Stephen's murder and subsequent events on his parents Doreen and Neville Lawrence, as well as his friend Duwayne Brooks who had been with Stephen when he was murdered.

The forty-seventh chapter of the Macpherson Report lists no fewer than eight pages of recommendations in relation to the following:

- 'Openness, accountability and the restoration of confidence' in the police services.
- The definition of a racist incident.
- Reporting and recording of racist incidents and crimes.
- Police practice and the investigation of racist crime.
- Family liaison.
- Victims and witnesses.
- The prosecution of racist crimes.
- Police employment and retention practices.
- Police training, including racism awareness, valuing cultural diversity and first aid.
- Police discipline and complaints procedures.
- Stop and Search.
- The role of the education system, including changes to the National Curriculum in order to promote cultural diversity, prevent racism and 'better reflect the needs of a diverse society' (See p. 382).

## The Adebowale Review (2013) – 28 recommendations

The remit of the 2013 Independent Commission on Mental Health and Policing chaired by Lord Victor Adebowale CBE was to,

*...review the work of the Metropolitan Police Service (MPS) with regard to people who have died or been seriously injured following police contact or in police custody and to make recommendations to inform MPS conduct, response and actions where mental health is, or is perceived to be, a key issue (See p. 6).*

Based on case reviews, surveys, meetings and visits, the Commission offered twelve key findings (See p. 7):

1. Failure of the Central Communications Command to deal effectively with calls in relation to mental health.
2. The lack of mental health awareness amongst staff and officers.
3. Frontline police lack of training and policy guidance in suicide prevention.
4. Failure of procedures to provide adequate care to vulnerable people in custody.
5. Problems of interagency working.
6. The disproportionate use of force and restraint.
7. Discriminatory attitudes and behaviour.
8. Failures in operational learning.
9. A disconnect between policy and practice.
10. The internal MPS culture.
11. Poor record keeping.
12. Failure to communicate with families.

In order to address these issues, the Commission put forward recommendations in relation to (See pp. 7–9):

- Leadership.
- Recognition that mental health is 'core business' and 'needs to be reflected in all policy, guidance and operating procedures'.
- 'On the frontline skills, awareness and confidence of frontline staff need to improve in regards to mental health and the MPS must become a learning organisation'.
- The need for the police to 'develop a safer model of restraint'.
- Better information and IT systems.
- Improved health care in custody.
- More effective interagency working.

## The Young Review (2014)

Funded by the Barrow Cadbury Trust, and chaired by Baroness Lola Young, the aim of the 2014 Young Review was to identify the drivers of 'disproportionately high numbers of black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) offenders and the poor outcomes they face in the Criminal Justice System (CJS)' (See p. 10). In particular, the Young Review focused on improving the outcomes of young Muslim men in the Criminal Justice System.

The key findings of the Young Review include (See pp. 10–11):

- 'There is greater disproportionality in the number of black people in prisons in the UK than in the United States.'
- 'Muslim prisoners account for 13.4% of the prison population compared with 4.2 % in the 2011 Census... This figure has risen sharply since 2002 when Muslim prisoners were 7.7% of the prison population.'
- 'BAME representation in the prison population is heavily influenced by age with many more young BAME male prisoners than older ones.'
- 'In the youth estate BAME disproportionality is even starker with 43% of 15–17 year olds coming from such backgrounds.'

In response to these findings, the Young Review put forward five key recommendations:

1. 'Rigorously monitored mechanisms need to be developed and implemented to ensure that independent providers address the specific needs of BAME offenders'.
2. The National Offender Management Service 'publishes its Equality Strategy in order to a) provide transparency for all stakeholders and b) form the basis for action, to include a stringent overhaul of the approach to services for young black and/or Muslim men in the CJS'.
3. 'Individuals who understand the lived experience of young black and/or Muslim male offenders should play an integral part in the planning and delivery of programmes and interventions to support desistance'.
4. 'The emphasis should be on dedicated resources for community engagement and partnership working models in prisons, rather than commissioning frameworks and supply chains'.
5. 'Ministry of Justice should give consideration to potential future opportunities for legislation in regards to BAME offenders similar to that which exists to ensure that provision meets the specific needs of women offenders under the Public Sector Equality Duty [Equality Act]'.

## The Angiolini Review (2017) — 110 recommendations

In January 2017, Dame Elish Angiolini DBE QC published her independent review of deaths and serious incidents in police custody. This review explored (See p. 7):

- 'Events leading up to such incidents, as well as existing protocols and procedures designed to minimise the risks'.
- 'The immediate aftermath of a death or serious incident, and the various investigations that ensue'.
- 'How the families of the deceased are treated at every stage of the process'.

Dame Angiolini's review also identified a number of areas where improvement was needed. In doing so, a series of recommendations were put forward with a view to ensuring 'humane institutional treatment when such incidents occur' (See p. 7). This review explored the following issues:

1. Restraint.
2. Intoxication.
3. Mental health.
4. Self-inflicted deaths.
5. Children and young people.
6. Race and the investigative process.
7. Police conferral.
8. National Health Service investigations.
9. Medical care, inspections and the role of external agencies in relation to police custody.
10. Police misconduct.
11. Prosecutions.
12. Family support.
13. The coronial system.
14. Sustained learning.
15. The Independent Police Complaints Commission;
16. Stereotypical assumptions.
17. Other vulnerable groups, including women, homeless people, and people suffering from epilepsy and social and perception disorders.
18. Statistics.
19. Accountability.

Having explored these issues, Dame Angiolini put forward a wide-ranging set of recommendations to be considered by government, the police, the Independent Police Complaints Commission, the Crown Prosecution Service, the Coroner and other agencies involved in issues relating to deaths and serious incidents in police custody. The primary goal of these recommendation was to 'minimise as far as possible the risks of such incidents occurring in future', and to ensure that 'when such incidents do occur, the procedures in place are efficient, effective, humane, and command public confidence' (See p. 7).

## The Lammy Review (2017) – 28 recommendations

Noting that a comprehensive examination of both the adult and youth justice systems was 'overdue' (See p. 3), the Lammy Review 'covers the role of the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS), the courts system, prisons and young offender institutions, the Parole Board, the Probation Service and Youth Offending Teams (YOTS)' (See p. 3). More specifically, the Lammy Review focuses on:

- How 'disproportionality' is monitored in the criminal justice system (CJS).
- Arrest rates.
- Charging decisions made by the Crown Prosecution Service.
- The role of plea decisions.
- Courts.
- Prisons.
- Rehabilitation in the community.

In relation to the above, the Lammy Review offers a series of recommendations based on the following principles:

- Creating 'robust systems' that will ensure fair treatment in all parts of the CJS.
- Open decision-making and transparency so that the CPS can be subject to public scrutiny.
- Rebuilding trust in the CJS, which includes dismantling the 'us and them' culture that exists in the CJS by addressing the 'lack of diversity among those making important decisions'.
- Improving the CJS' understanding of 'where responsibility lies beyond its own boundaries', including doing more to work with local communities and statutory services.
- The need for a 'concerted approach' that focuses more attention and enforcement on the powerful adults much further up criminal hierarchies.



# COMMUNITY COHESION AND MULTICULTURALISM

## Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain (2000) — 107 recommendations

The Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain was set up by the Runnymede Trust – an independent think tank committed to racial equality – in January 1998. The aim of the Commission was to,

*... analyse the current state of multi-ethnic Britain and to propose ways of countering racial discrimination and disadvantage and making Britain a confident and vibrant multicultural society at ease with its rich diversity (Parekh, 2000: VIII).*

According to the Commission, this would require:

- Rethinking the national story and national identity.
- Understanding that all identities are in a process of transition.
- Developing a balance between cohesion, equality and difference.
- Addressing and eliminating all forms of racism.
- Reducing material inequalities.
- Building a pluralistic human rights culture.

To this end, the Commission considered a wide-range of issues, alongside the role of key institutions. This included:

- Police and policing.
- The wider criminal justice system.
- Education.
- Arts, media and sport.
- Health and welfare.
- Employment.
- Immigration and asylum.

- Politics and representation.
- Religion and belief.

When considering strategies for change at the national, regional, local and institutional level, the Commission focused on issues of government leadership, legislation and enforcement, and organisational change. When putting forward its recommendations, the Commission argued that, 'In most instances, it is up to a government department or agency at Cardiff, Holyrood or Westminster to take the first initiative' (See p. xxii). At the same time, the Commission also stated that,

*...it is frequently not necessary or even desirable for other bodies to wait for government action. All individuals and organisations can be involved in advocating and lobbying for the implementation of the recommendations made in this report, and can set up pilot projects and feasibility studies at local and institutional levels (See p. xxii).*

### Community Cohesion: A Report of the Independent Review Team Chaired by Ted Cante (2001) – 67 recommendations

In 2001, the Home Secretary established an independent review team led by Ted Cante to carry out an inquiry into the disturbances that had occurred in towns and cities in England that summer. The primary aim of the Community Cohesion Review Team (CCRT) was to 'identify good practice, key policy issues and new and innovative thinking in the field of community cohesion' and 'focus on the lessons for national policy and practice' (p.5). In order to do so, the CCRT visited Oldham, Burnley and Bradford, as well as Southall, Birmingham, Leicester and Sheffield, meeting with 'local community leaders, voluntary and faith organisations, the CRE and BME organisations, government Offices including officials tasked with delivering regeneration programmes, and youth and community workers' (See p. 5).

The main findings from the aforementioned visits include (See pp. 9–10):

- Surprise at 'depth of polarisation of our towns and cities', with 'Separate educational arrangements, community and voluntary bodies, employment, places of worship, language, social and cultural networks, means that many communities operate on the basis of a series of parallel lives'.
- 'Some agencies were not used to working together, or had not even met together previously'.
- 'We found little evidence of such a debate and rather, a reluctance to confront the issues and to find solutions. It was evident that this failure ran through most institutions, including the political parties and even voluntary organisations'.
- 'There has been little attempt to develop clear values which focus on what it means to be a citizen of a modern multi-racial Britain'.
- 'The programmes devised to tackle the needs of many disadvantaged and disaffected groups, whilst being well intentioned and sometimes inspirational, often seemed to institutionalise the problems'.
- 'Area-based regeneration initiatives clearly have a role to play, but in many cases they again reinforced the separation of communities and we saw few attempts to tackle problems on a thematic basis, which could have served to unite different groups'.

- 'We recognised that some communities felt particularly disadvantaged and that the lack of hope and the frustration borne out of the poverty and deprivation all around them, meant that disaffection would grow...For example, some black and ethnic minorities felt that they were always identified without sufficient differentiation and "problematized" as a result. Similarly, some poorer white communities felt left out completely'.
- 'Opportunities are also far from equal, with many differences in real terms, in respect of housing, employment and education...The same observation can be made in respect of policing, where there was not only inconsistency in their approach but also in the extent to which they felt supported and part of a positive vision for the local area'.
- 'Good practice could be found and obstacles were generally overcome where there was the will to do so. This was not always evident and the means to develop and spread good practice did not generally exist'.

With a view to bringing about structural change, as well as ensuring that community cohesion processes are 'mainstreamed', the CCRT put forward a body of proposals in relation to the following themes:

1. Peoples and values.
2. Political and community leadership.
3. Political organisations.
4. Strategic partnerships.
5. Regeneration programmes, initiatives and funding.
6. Integration and segregation.
7. Younger people.
8. Education.
9. Community organisations.
10. Disadvantaged and disaffected communities.
11. Policing.
12. Housing.
13. Employment.
14. The press and media.

## SECTION TWO: THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF RECOMMENDATIONS

In this section, we offer a thematic analysis of the recommendations put forward in a selection of the government-commissioned and key independent non-governmental reports published between 1981 and 2017, and we identify nine cross-cutting and overarching themes. Interestingly, the term anti-racism is only used in the report published by *Commission on the Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*.

**First**, as well as calling for either a review and/or reform of existing legislation, many of the reports summarised in the previous section draw attention to there being a disconnect between legislation and its implementation/enforcement, as well as there being discrepancies between policy and practice. Moreover, several of the reports propose that action must be taken to ensure that existing legislative provisions and statutory duties are both used and acted upon, particularly in relation to the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) and the Equality Act (2010). In order to achieve this, it is commonly recommended that regulatory frameworks, procedures and protocols and codes of conduct are established. This also includes developing standards for, and sharing examples of, good practice with relevant stakeholders.

**Second**, as well as recommending the review of existing initiatives, practices and structures, several reports also highlight the need for holistic approaches, joined up thinking and greater collaboration across different branches of government at both the local and national levels. For example, the reports relating to education highlight the need for greater collaboration and coordination between different bodies responsible for pre-school education, mainstream schools, supplementary schools, as well as the Department of Education, local education authorities and teacher training. It was also common for various reports to recommend that the role of different stakeholders in such partnerships to be clarified.

The relationship between the government and local communities also features prominently. This includes recommending collaborative ways of consulting and working with relevant experts and stakeholders across the public, private and voluntary sectors. This is arguably most prominent in the reports on community cohesion, multiculturalism, education and criminal justice. Here the recommendations seek to ensure that the voices of different ethnic and minority community groups and leaders are represented on various task forces, bodies, committees and forums. As well as engaging the local community, a number of reports propose different ways of engaging with parents and families.

**Third**, arguably the most common recommendations put forward relate to data collection and the need for further research. In terms of data collection, recommendations typically refer to either improving and/or standardising quantitative and statistical data collection mechanisms in order to establish consistency in how different ethnic and racial categories are defined. Such recommendations are also closely aligned to proposals calling for data-led/evidence-based approaches to both decision- and policy-making processes. Another common recommendation is that statistical data is collected on a regular basis in order to map and monitor racial inequality and break down differential outcomes and the effectiveness of various interventions over time.

**Fourth**, a number of reports put forward recommendations relating to issues of disclosure, communication and transparency. For example, it is recommended that different institutions, organisations and bodies draft statements publicly communicating their commitment to equality and diversity, as well as any relevant actions undertaken to achieve this. It is also commonly recommended that such statements and actions are included in relevant policy documents and reports. Relatedly, several reports encourage transparency and disclosure of data collected which measure, monitor, and evaluate the effectiveness of policies and actions taken to address racism and racial inequality.

**Fifth**, several reports recommend that improvements must be made when it comes to the recruitment, retention and career progression of ethnic and racial minority people, while recommending that the lack of representation of ethnic and racial minority people in senior leadership positions must also be addressed. Relatedly, several recommendations stress that if the needs of different ethnic and racial minority groups are

to be met, then the demographic makeup of different agencies, institutions, organisations and professions must reflect the ethnic and racial composition of the communities which they serve. Several reports also recommend that being able to demonstrate expertise, knowledge and understanding of the multiracial and multicultural nature of British society, the nature of racism and the drivers of ethnic and racial inequality should be a feature in recruitment and appointment processes.

**Sixth**, almost all reports recommend the introduction of new, or changes to various existing, training and educational programmes. Over time, this includes calls for the introduction of the racial awareness, cultural diversity, cultural competency and/or unconscious bias training. Across the various reports, there is variation in terms of whether training and educational programmes ought to be mandatory or voluntary, as well as variation in terms of whether they should be for all staff or just staff in certain roles/positions. Where training is voluntary, several reports recommend that participation rates might be improved through financial incentives and the creation of recognised and accredited qualifications. In order to meet the needs of different ethnic and racial groups, several reports also recommend that those undertaking training are provided with knowledge of the local contexts and communities they will serve.

**Seventh**, in order to establish accountability and responsibility several reports recommend that targets and key performance indicators are established, routinely monitored and published to ensure transparency. This includes using targets and key performance indicators to evaluate the performance of public bodies and institutions, and private organisations, as well as appraising the performance of individuals in senior leadership positions.

**Finally**, a number of the reports recommend that independent bodies are set up to handle complaints and reports of racism. Here proposals included empowering non-departmental public bodies such as the Commission for Racial Equality and the Human Rights Commission to have independent oversight, carry out routine inspections and issue compliance notices.

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