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A Manifesto for Change 2014- 2020

LABOUR BLACK NETWORK (LBN)

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Foreword

This manifesto sets out our vision for a fully inclusive Labour Party which sees the party demonstrably valuing its Black members who have historically been at the acute end of the battle and the seismic successes in race relations and equality legislation. The status quo of low visibility of Black members suggests that the previous Labour Government and the Labour Party has forgotten the sterling work done and commitment from the African-Caribbean community and it has forgotten the numerous travesties and miscarriages of justice visited upon our community. Today, we are calling for action to right the wrong of poor representation of Black members.

Historically the Labour Party has been the party of the people, however after raising the bar to new heights, the party is beginning to leave its African and Caribbean members on the outside looking in. We want to work with the party to address the deficit of Black representation and agree strategies and plans of action that will again begin to open doors to ensuring a rich diversity of active, appointed and elected Labour Party members who are **Black**.

Below, we have set out what we think the Labour Party and the forthcoming Labour Government should do after -and indeed during- the 2014 party conference; what it should do nationally and how it ought to work with Labour Black Network.

Introduction

The manifestos of political parties set out the policies of those parties, their programmes and commitments to voters and indeed other supporters, such as funders, and they send important signals to international trade, political and strategic partners. Manifestos provide their domestic audiences with overviews of the party's core principles and they provide outline strategies that will be applied to realising outcomes that are invariably in the wider national interest and which, by extension, will make individuals and families better off as the country prospers under their administration. Whilst manifestos set out the programme a party proposes to follow if elected or returned to office, we know that when political parties get into power they are often reluctant to be constrained by their 'manifesto commitments'.

Manifestos are also written by advocacy and campaign groups advancing or representing particular concerns and interests, setting out their case for public support and communicating their intentions and aspirations. It is in this context that LBN has prepared this comprehensive manifesto for change.

Whilst we are concerned with macro-economics and the position of the United Kingdom in the world and in Europe, as an organisation established to work with the Labour Party to increase the number of elected representatives from African/Caribbean descent and heritage

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in 2015 and beyond, we cannot - with any sense of realism - promise tax cuts, directly affect the local strategy on housing allocation, expand or reduce welfare provision, nor can we promise new fiscal policies to stimulate growth in the medium to long-term. What we are able to do, however, is set out our plans and strategies which are aligned to our commitment to work with the Labour Party to realise tangible and indelible outcomes for Labour's African and Caribbean members in order to put us on a par with other ethnic minority groups.

Executive summary

As a minimum, 100 days after the party conference and by the next general election, Labour Black Network wants to see....



All Black Shortlists

Appoint a national Czar for Labour black representation

Establish LBN donor fund

Campaign for spending caps

Selection campaign full disclosure

The current picture

Labour Black Network (LBN) is particularly concerned about the experiences and the plethora of barriers faced by Black candidates as they attempt to secure parliamentary selections and senior positions within the Labour Party. Some of those challenges include the inevitable, financial barriers, “the old boys” network, bullying, intimidation, obstruction and a lack of transparency. Our manifesto provides answers and approaches to affecting change in these and other areas.

LBN accepts that politics is by definition political and tribal, however, in recent years we have seen black candidates briefed against, ‘encouraged’ to step down from selections, told that “they would make great MP’s, councillors, representatives but just not in this constituency or area that X, Y and Z have already been earmarked for this seat or position”.

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This has resulted in the inevitable persistent low levels of representation of Black and African members within the Labour Party.

The Black British population in the United Kingdom is 5.5 per cent (3.1 million). If Parliament reflected the diversity of the population, there would be 36 Black MPs. There are currently only nine Black MPs (five Labour). The number of Black Labour MPs has risen from three in 1987 to five in 2010. However, across Westminster, the 27 BME MPs - of which 9¹ are Black - falls short of the number of MP's required for the Commons to be representative of the wider British population². At the time of writing this manifesto, Labour has selected only two Black candidates out of 106 of its 2015 target seats³. At present, about half of Labour's candidates selected to fight in marginal seats at the next election have strong links to Westminster and Brussels as former special advisers, party workers, researchers, lobbyists or MPs⁴: this is a mechanism which by default disproportionately excludes Black members of the Labour Party.

Who we are

Labour Black Network (LBN) is a network of Black members of the Labour Party. It consists of 4 founder members Professor Cecile Wright, Cllr Josie Channer, Cllr Sanchia Alaisa and Patrick Vernon OBE. It has a governing structure which includes the chairperson Professor. Cecile Wright and a Steering Group which directs the work of the LBN. The Steering Group comprises elected Councillors, Deputy Police and Crime Commissioner, party activists drawn from across the regions (see page 26).

Whilst voter registration among the black community has historically been poor, resulting in the political power of our community remaining untapped, the commitment of signed up members of the party is not in question; neither is the fact that African and Caribbean communities are still predisposed to supporting the Labour Party at the ballot box. LBN's strong network of members is engaging with our communities to ensure increased voter sign up. Internally within the Labour Party, LBN are working to ensure that the leadership of the party takes LBN members seriously and that it takes positive steps to reflect our communities in the party hierarchy and in elected seats, which in turn will encourage greater voter participation. The time for complacency is over and the party needs to show that its commitment to diversity and inclusion runs deeper than sound bites and rhetorical flourishes.

¹ Diane Abbott, Adam Afriya, Kwasi Kwarteng, David Lammy, Mark Hendricks, Chi Onwurah, Chuka Ummuna, Sam Gyimah, Helen Grant.

² Syal, R. and Sedghi, A (31st July 2014) Parliament failing to represent UK's ethnic diversity [Guardian article](#)

³ The two candidates are; Dawn Butler selected to fight the seat in Brent South and Clive Lewis selected to fight the seat Norwich South.

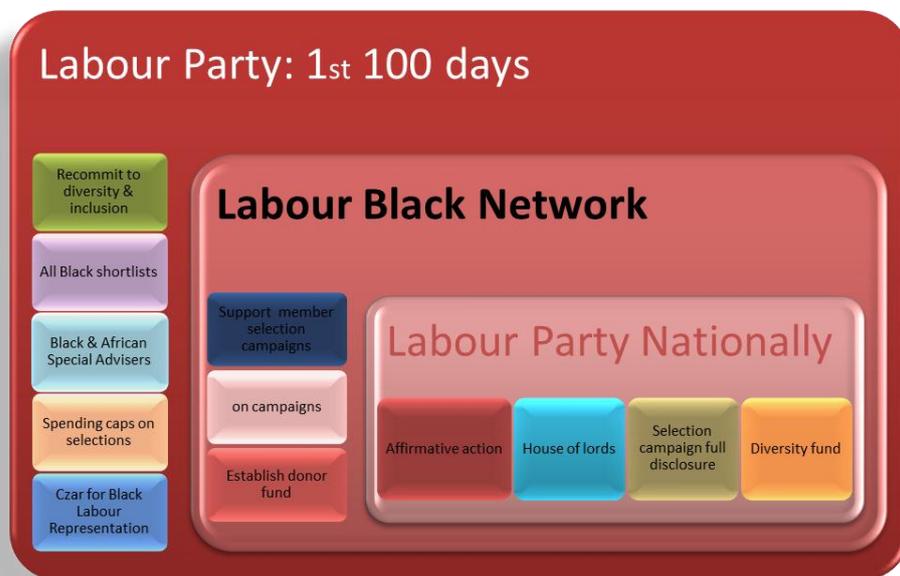
⁴ Mason, R and Gani, (June 2014) A Half of Labour candidates in marginal seats are Westminster insiders [Guardian Research](#) June 2014,

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Ethnic minorities make up 8 per cent of the electorate⁵, of which people of African and Caribbean heritage make up a significant proportion of this group. Operation Black Vote (OBV) has identified 168 marginal seats where the BME vote could decide which party wins or loses the seat. Crucially, nearly a fifth of constituents of all Labour MPs are black or minority ethnic, but the parliamentary party is 93.8per cent white⁶. 68 per cent of BME voters supported Labour in 2010, compared with 16 per cent for the Conservative and 14 per cent for the Liberal Democrats⁷. Whilst the tide is beginning to change, we know that historically BME communities have disproportionately voted Labour. With this knowledge we know that through LBN we can support our community to activate itself and to have a significant say on who wins in 2015.

LBN was formed in 2014 and launched officially in the House of Commons on 25th March 2014. Our guest speakers included our host Diane Abbott MP, Shadow Business Secretary Chuka Umunna MP, Chair of the Home Affairs Select Committee Keith Vaz MP, Chi Onwurah MP, David Lammy MP and Simon Woolley, Director of Operation Black Vote.

Our manifesto at a glance



What the Labour Party should do in the first 100 days [after party conference];

- **Statement of Commitment.** Recommit to increasing Black representation in the Labour Party by signing our Statement of Commitment,

⁵ Heath, A. Khan, O. (2012) 'Ethnic Minority British Election Study – Key Findings', Runnymede Trust: p.2

⁶ Syal, R. and Sedghi, A (31st July 2014) Parliament failing to represent UK's ethnic diversity [Guardian article](#)

⁷ Heath, A. Khan, O. (2012) 'Ethnic Minority British Election Study – Key Findings', Runnymede Trust: p.1.

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- **Affirmative Action.** Commit to Affirmative Action to realise this goal.
- **Black Representation.** Commit to engaging with LBN to increase local and national party representation of Black members,
- **Primaries.** Commit to dialogue with LBN on piloting closed primaries for the selection of 13per cent of selections,
- **Shortlists.** Implement All-Black shortlists on the same principle as All-Women Shortlists,
- **Selection processes.** Review Black representation on party selection processes at Labour Party Central Office,
- **Czar.** The party should appoint an ambassador or czar for Black members of the Labour Party,
- Impose a spending cap on selection campaigns.

What the Labour party must do nationally;

- Establish a mentoring programme and mechanisms for ensuring the retention of candidates.
- Support LBN to establish a bursary scheme to assist with the cost of campaigning,
- Identify and implement strategies to address barriers to selection:-
- **Smear campaigns.** Take decisive action against any Constituency Labour Party (CLP), Labour Campaigns Forum (LCF), Labour Party member or Union which collects and disseminate information which in all probability has been gathered with the intention of smearing any candidate/applicant and their campaign/application.
- **Briefings against.** Act fairly where there is evidence or occasion to conclude that there has been briefing to the press, opposition parties or other member against another member.
- **Withholding Information.** Be diligent and act with clarity and consistency where there is evidence of information being withheld from Labour Black Network members with the intention of stopping, thwarting or negatively affecting them standing for public office or which actions could be reasonably construed as disadvantaging their opportunity, their campaign and their progress within the party and to elected office,
- **Rule Manipulation.** Act decisively where the party rules have been manipulated with the intention of adversely affecting an individual standing- in an employment setting this c/would be construed as falling within the boundaries of Constructive Dismissal.
- **Diversity Fund.** Develop a Diversity Fund that individuals, affiliated groups and outside organisations can donate to.

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- **Advisers.** The Party Leader should commit to appointing *more* Black Advisers and Special Advisers
- **House of Lords.** An opportunity has been missed. The Party Leader should use his discretion to appoint Black working peers to the House of Lords.
- Regional targets for BAME representation for local government, Parliamentary candidates, MP's, Peers and all forms of public office at regional level.

What the Labour Black Network (LBN) must do

- Develop a Diversity Fund that individuals, affiliated groups and outside organisations can donate to.
 - Work with the Labour Party to begin the process of agreeing a spending cap on selection campaigns,
 - Develop and Implement a proactive recruitment programme,
 - Lobby and agitate for LBN members to be represented all levels of the Labour Party,
 - Work towards ensuring that LBN is identified as the major forum for advising the Labour Party on issues of Black representation and engagement.
 - LBN will design and deliver mentoring and training for Black members who wish to stand for election at any level.
-

The Launch of Labour Black Network



Diane Abbott MP

MP Diane Abbott raised the point that not enough was or had been done since her own election to parliament to support others from her own background in being selected to parliament, local councils and indeed to occupy important positions in the party.

The Shadow Business Secretary conveyed his support for LBN. Mr Umuna acknowledged that more needed to be done to encourage and to support more people of African and Caribbean decent to be seen and to have a voice.

MP for Tottenham and London Mayoral candidate, David Lammy, has become the latest Labour MP to suggest applying all-minority ethnic shortlists to future parliamentary selections in order to increase representation for black and minority ethnic (BME) people in Westminster.

Keith Vaz expressed that Black representation is an important issue for the Party to taken on board especially for the 2015 General Election. After being Parliament since 1987 I have seen the progress on women representation which is a step towards an inclusive Parliament. We will reach our target soon for women. However, it will take another 100 years to reach BAME representation. The work of Labour Black Network is important to promote more African and Caribbean MPs and that Labour's policies reflect

Panel members



Chuka Umuna MP



David Lammy MP



Keith Vaz MP

the needs of the community. I support the work of this network and will aim to lobby for more MPs from this community.

Chi Onwurah MP also reiterated her hope to see increased representation from within the Black community in decision making positions in the Party.

Simon Wolley (OBV) recounted that the experience of many Caribbean and African candidates has been well documented by OBV and occurrences of bullying and intimidation are still happening. But reading some of these accounts in LBN’s submission to Lord Collins is a shameful stain on a Party that over many decades has received great support from African and Caribbean voters.

Founding members of Labour Black Network

Professor Wright acknowledged the Labour Party has long been pioneering in addressing the issues that Black people face in the Britain. The LBN aims to sustain and enhance the Labour Party’s commitment to addressing the needs of Black people. One aspect of sustaining the commitment to these issues is to increase the representation of Black people at all levels in the Labour Party.

Cllr Channer states, “I am proud of the achievements made by a Labour Government and the Labour movement to address equality and diversity issues over the years. My hope now is that we take the next step to increase political representation at all levels in the Party. As a local Councillor I have seen how local government has a massive impact on people’s lives – for the better or worse – and it’s also a pretty basic ‘ask’ that our Town Halls should look like the communities which they serve. We are a long way from that right now – I would strongly encourage Black Members to consider standing for office”.



Chi Onwurah MP



Simon Woolley (OBV)

.....

Founding members of LBN



Professor Cecile Wright



Councillor Josie Channer

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For Sanchia Alasia, the Labour Party is without a doubt leading on equality and diversity issues both in terms of policy and representation. Labour also has the most Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic (BAME) MPs, demonstrating its commitment to reflecting the population that it serves, strengthening parliament's democratic legitimacy.

In 1987, Labour led the way by selecting the first three persons of African- Caribbean descent who were subsequently elected to parliament, Diane Abbott, Bernie Grant and Paul Boateng. Progress has stagnated since that time, however, and over a quarter of a century later the numbers of MPs from African-Caribbean descent within the party has only increased to five. In the European parliament, there is not a single female MEP of African-Caribbean descent in any of the political groups. This manifesto suggests ways in which the party can increase Black representation, which we would urge the party to consider taking on board.

For Patrick Vernon, the 2015 General Election will become a watershed in British politics that will determine the future direction of the country on issues around inequality in terms of income and wealth, its approach to Europe and foreign policy. Race equality will be an important consideration as a test to political leadership and inclusion for a multicultural Britain.



Councillor Sanchia Alasia



Patrick Vernon OBE

A National Manifesto for a National Strategy

The Economy



The current picture

Figures from the Office for National Statistics (Q2. 2014 release) show that UK GDP rose by 0.8per cent in the second quarter of 2014;’ this represents the second consecutive quarter of positive growth and the longest positive run since the financial crisis of 2008

In 2014 The UK economy is predicted to grow faster than any other G7 economy, while low wage rises will ensure interest rates do not rise until the first quarter of 2015. According to the EY Item Club⁸ UK GDP growth is expected to hit 3.1per cent this year. The Item Club raised its forecast for growth this year to 3.1 per cent from 2.9 per cent due to a 12.5 per cent jump in business investment. This compares with a 2 per cent GDP growth in Canada and 1.8per cent growth in Germany, the body forecast.

Next steps

Whatever the analysis says, and however one reads the statistics, the saying ‘lies, damn, lies and statistics’ comes to mind. Why? Because at the end of the day, it is well known that Black communities are enterprising and entrepreneurial yet our businesses find it difficult to

⁸ The Independent Treasury Economic Model Club (ITEM Club) or the EY ITEM Club are an economic forecasting group based in the United Kingdom who produce quarterly economic UK forecasts. Founded in 1977 it is sponsored by EY (Ernst & Young LLP)

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access banking and financial services. LBN wants to see the Labour Party and the forthcoming Labour government actively addressing this imbalance and the disparities between the lack of Black businesses accessing loans and other business banking facilities in comparison to their Asian and White counterparts.

In our experience, *'A rising tide does not lift all boats'*⁹. Whether the economy grows or shrinks from quarter 4, 2014 to quarter 4, 2015; historically, there is little empirical evidence of macro-economic 'trickle down' benefits of increased financial well-being accrued to black businesses and communities who are already starting from a low base.

For this reason we are concerned about the consensus amongst the three main political parties on the economy. The consensus is that there is no alternative to the prevailing economic agenda that perpetuates the status quo and the disadvantage of less advantaged communities and people. The predominant focus of politics and political parties is around which party is more efficient at managing the Free Market. However LBN believes that the fundamental challenge is that we need a Labour Party and a Labour Government that is prepared to fundamentally challenge predatory capitalism, monopoly capitalism, the cost of living and the unalloyed attachment to free market economics. There is therefore a question of what has to change before we can truly achieve an era of prosperity for all communities. "To truly deliver on One Nation, Labour must introduce affirmative action"- Patrick Vernon, Labour List, 13th August 2014.

On this basis we are asking that the Labour Party explores alternatives to the current status quo.

⁹ Although he used it continually, the origin of the phrase is – mistakenly - attributed to John F. Kennedy who gave a speech in 1963 to combat criticism on a new dam project that he was inaugurating. In fact the phrase was in regular usage particularly in economic regeneration circles in New England.

Unemployment



The current picture

The latest ONS figures released on 13 August show that UK unemployment continued to fall reaching 6.4 per cent for April to June, the lowest since 2008. According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS), this figure is the lowest level in nearly six years. There were 167,000 more people in work for January to March 2014 and 820,000 more than a year ago¹⁰. The number of Job Seeker's Allowance claimants has fallen for 21 consecutive months down 33,600 from June 2014 and down 420,600 from a year earlier. The latest figures also show that more than 78 per cent of men and 68 per cent of women are in work, giving an employment rate of 73.1 per cent¹¹.

Historically, unemployment among ethnic minorities has been consistently higher than for the UK as a whole. However, the latest data shows that this is gap rising¹². Between 2012 and 2013, unemployment levels for the UK as a whole remained constant at 8per cent; however, unemployment amongst ethnic minorities rose from 13per cent to 14per cent with a noticeable rise in unemployment in the black community from 16per cent to 17per cent¹³.

There are many reasons besides people entering work why the claimant count has reduced including the increased exercise of sanctions placed on JSA claimants, many of whom stop claiming. Also the claimant count does not as yet include people claiming universal credit.

¹⁰ Office for National Statistics Statistical bulletin: UK Labour Market. August 2014 (released 13th August 2014)

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Department for Work and Pensions (08 January 2014) Labour Market Status by Ethnic Group Statistics

¹³ Ibid

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Youth unemployment

Youth unemployment is not a new phenomenon and it is not purely a result of the recession, although this has exacerbated the problem. Youth unemployment has been on the rise since the early 2000s.

767,000 young people aged 16-24 were unemployed in April to June 2014, down 102,000 on the previous quarter and down 206,000 on the previous year.

The unemployment rate (the proportion of the economically active population who are unemployed) for 16-24 year olds was 16.9 per cent, down 2.1 percentage points from the previous quarter and down 4.5 percentage points from the previous year¹⁴.

Whilst for the UK as a whole, youth unemployment (16-24) is at 21 per cent, ethnic minorities have fared poorly and across all ethnic minority groups the unemployment rate was 37per cent up from 33per cent. All minority ethnic groups in the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) study had a higher joblessness rate than whites and the rate for young black people was 45per cent¹⁵.

Under employment is also a matter for concern and bunching. Ethnic minorities appear to be more likely to be employed in sectors relating to accommodation, food services, retail, wholesale, retail, trade, social work¹⁶; whilst these professions offer great careers we need to see more representation in the sciences, law, medicine, policing, the city and university professorship. Even in sectors where either minorities are mostly employable, the level of retention and career progression is almost non existent

Next steps

- A future Labour Government take should active measures to address Black youth unemployment, for example, increasing the representation in apprenticeship schemes.
- Re-introduce the ‘Future jobs Funds’, particularly targeting young unemployed black people.
- Create the requirement for all employers to submit an Annual Recruitment Report and the establishment of an Ombudsman for Equality of Access to Employment.
- Enforce existing laws on discrimination by setting exemplary punitive measures for recalcitrant employers.

¹⁴House of Commons Library (13th August 2014) <file:///C:/Users/Floyd/AppData/Local/Temp/SN05871.pdf>

¹⁵ Department for Work and Pensions (08 January 2014) Labour Market Status by Ethnic group statistics

¹⁶ Joseph Rowntree (10th January 2014) New DWP Stats offer Insight into Employment among different Ethnic Groups: JRF blog- unemployment

Housing



The current picture

Housing health and well being.

Unlike the present government's Decent Homes standard or other 'poor housing' indicators, the Housing Health and Safety System (HHSRS) focuses specifically on health outcomes. In 2010, there were around 2.2 million households from minority ethnic backgrounds in England which accounted for 10per cent of all households. Around 30 per cent of these households were black (African Caribbean). The Race Equality Foundation¹⁷ found that around 327,000 (15per cent) minority ethnic households lived in a home classified as poor housing (with at least one indicator in the Housing Health and Safety Systems HHSRS hazard). 18per cent of minority ethnic private sector households lived with a serious health and safety hazard compared with 8per cent of those who lived in the public sector.

- The estimated total annual treatment cost to the NHS is around £52 million per year if the poor housing among minority ethnic households is left unimproved.
- The wider costs to society of this poor housing are estimated at around 2.5 times the NHS costs. These additional costs include: lack of educational attainment, lost income, higher insurance premiums, higher policing and emergency services costs, etc.,

¹⁷ Garrett, H; Piddington, J; Nicol, S (2014) [The Housing Conditions of Minority Ethnic Households in England](#). Race Equality Foundation

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- Case studies show that investing in the improvement of poor housing will not only make the lives of ethnic minority households more comfortable, it will pay back, often within a relatively short period, in saved treatments costs to the NHS for illnesses and injuries which are now statistically less likely to occur.

Fuel poverty is also a problem. Two definitions of ‘fuel poor’ are used by the Department for Energy and Climate Change (DECC)¹⁸ to measure fuel poverty; where a household has been defined as needing to spend more than 10 per cent of its income on fuel. Under this definition, 15 per cent (344,000) minority ethnic households were in fuel poverty¹⁹. Using the Hills definition of fuel poverty which is the difference between a household's required fuel costs and what these costs would need to be for the household not to be fuel poor; 16 per cent (370,000) of ethnic minority households were in fuel poverty compared with 10 per cent of white households²⁰.

Overcrowding is of concern. The report shows that the 2.2 million minority households are much more likely to live in rented accommodation than their white counterparts and that even though their households are larger, their homes are smaller. The total estimated cost to society of poor housing among ethnic minority households is estimated by the Race Equality Foundation to be c£52 million in terms of the savings in the first year of treatment costs to the NHS.

In its 2004 report, *The Black and Minority Ethnic Housing Crisis* the homelessness charity Shelter reported that since 1997 homelessness had increased by 77 per cent amongst BME households compared with 34 per cent amongst the general population. In particular it identified that homelessness in the African and Caribbean population had risen two and half times as fast since 1997. The report concurred with the 2014 report from the Race Equality Foundation which identified that BME households were twice as likely to live in poor conditions.

Manchester University's 2013 research revealed that there was a consistent divide in who gets the best access to the most desirable housing. The university analysed Census data from 1991 to 2011 and concluded that the severe rise in insecure housing was hitting ethnic minorities hardest and it showed that ethnic minorities were more likely to live in insecure, substandard private rented accommodation²¹.

Next steps

¹⁸ Department of Energy and Climate Change (2010) [Fuel Poverty Methodology Handbook](#), URN 13 D/12

¹⁹ Garrett, H; Piddington, J; Nicol, S (2014) [The Housing Conditions of Minority Ethnic Households in England](#). Race Equality Foundation; pg 5

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Finney, D; Harries, B (2013) How has the rise in private renting disproportionately affected Some Ethnic Groups? Ethnic differences in housing tenure 1991-2001-2011 www.ethnicity.ac.uk

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- A future Labour government should take active measures to increase the availability of social housing of all types, with a particular focus on improving the living conditions of ethnic minorities.

Health and Social care



The current picture

Britain's Black communities experience poorer health along with access to health and social care compared to the general population²². There is a link between social deprivation, poverty, housing, education and cultural behaviour and norms engaging with health professionals.²³ There is also clear evidence racism and racist victimisation and discrimination that can affect a person's health status²⁴. The combination of health inequalities and racial inequalities has the following impact:

- Rates of detention under the Mental Health Act are higher than average for Black Caribbean and Black African compared to the rest of the population
- Prevalence of stroke 70% higher than the average
- Six times more likely to develop diabetes
- As we approach pension age we are more than likely to have at least two long term health conditions
- Black men and women have higher incidence of cancer such as prostate, oral, stomach and liver. There is also clear evidence of reported poor experience of cancer care.

Black staff have played a key role in developing the NHS since its creation in 1948. The NHS is the largest employer in the UK with over have 1.3 million staff. Thus the NHS is the biggest employer for Black people working across a whole range of disciplines and

²² The Afiya Trust 2010 Manifesto

²³ Race Equality Foundation report on race and health inequalities <http://better-health.org.uk/briefings/race-equality-and-health-inequalities-towards-more-integrated-policy-and-practice>

²⁴ BME Cancer Communities <http://www.bmecancer.com/index.php/cancers/prostate-cancer/83-hear-me-now>

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professions. Recent research undertaken by the RCN²⁵ show that black nurses are more likely to be bullied and put on disciplinary compared to their white peers. Despite efforts to increase representation of black staff at senior management and board level constant restructuring of the NHS has a disproportionate impact on recruitment and retention.

A recent survey by Middlesex University called 'Snowy White Peaks' further highlights the nature of racism in the NHS on board representation and poor patient experience from black communities.²⁶

Next steps

- Revamp NHS England's Equality and Diversity Council to be accountable to Secretary of State for Health and Chief Medical Officer
- Establish clear targets on tackling racial and health inequalities for Health & Well Being Boards
- Ring-fence budgets from Public Health England, CCGs and Health and Well Being Boards to fund community led social marketing and health awareness programmes
- Introduction of a national screening programme targeting black men and women for cancer
- Develop quotas and target to increase senior management and non executive board representation
- Prevent further marketisation of the NHS but encourage development of BME organisations as partners working in the support and delivering services
- Introduction of a race equality strategy to tackle health inequalities with a focus on mental health, dementia, cancer, diabetes and women's health
- Development of a national action plan for BME elders exploring housing, care, pensions, heritage and intergenerational equity

²⁵ RCN report on Work on Work life balance of Black Nurses (2008)
https://www.rcn.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0004/164146/003249.pdf

²⁶ Roger Kline report (2014) Snowy White Peaks
http://www.mdx.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0012/59799/The-snowy-white-peaks-of-the-NHS.pdf.pdf

Youth and Education



The current picture

Whilst there has been a slight dip in 2014, the numbers of students gaining A-C A 'Level's has been on an upward trajectory. In 2014, over 400,000 students secured places in their first preference universities. This in itself is a testament to higher grades having been achieved.

Despite increasing numbers of young people going to university, the attainment gap between white and ethnic-minority students appears to be an intractable problem.

Ethnicity and Degree Attainment, a government report published in 2007, found that inequalities in performance remained even once these factors were considered.

Figures released by the Equality Challenge Unit show that 69.5 per cent of UK-domiciled white students achieved a first or a 2:1 in 2010-11, compared with 51.1 per cent of BME students.

The gap was even wider for black students, with only 40.3 per cent scoring a first or a 2:1, according to Equality in Higher Education: Statistical Report 2012, published on 20 November.

Statistics obtained under the Freedom of Information Act show that the gap persists at many of the UK's most selective universities.

Social inequality is a major reason for this gap; however, whilst acknowledging important factors like gender, prior attainment, deprivation, age and subject of study, students coming from deprived backgrounds require more holistic support particularly around adjusting to their new environments.

Next steps

The Labour Party should explore the possibility of a certain element of Higher Education funding being related to narrowing these gaps between black and white attainment.

Criminal Justice and Policing



The current picture

People from the black community are over-represented at almost all stages of the criminal justice process, they are disproportionately targeted by the police, more likely to be imprisoned and more likely to be imprisoned for longer than white British people. In a recent article by Fraser Nelson (Dailey Telegraph, 22nd August 2014) he stated ‘We have no reason to feel smug about America's troubles. Problems similar to those in Missouri exist in Britain, too, but are just better hidden’.

Stop and search

In 2009/10 there were 1,386,030 arrests in England and Wales, compared to 1,429,785 in 2005/06²⁷: ²⁸.

People from the black community are more likely to be stopped-and-searched than white British people. In its 2011-12 report, the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC)²⁹

²⁷ [Youth Justice Statistics Executive summary](#) (January 2012)

²⁸ [Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2010](#) (Oct 2011) A Ministry of Justice publication under Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991

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said that in some areas black people were 29 times more likely to be stopped and searched. Whilst the report did not include stops carried out under anti-terrorism laws; overall, black people were six times as likely as white people to be stopped.

In 2012, research indicated that police are 28 times more likely to use ‘Section 60’ stop-and-search powers - where officers do not require suspicion of having being involved in a crime - against black people than white people. Analysis of all stop and searches in 2010-2011 indicated that black people are seven times³⁰ more likely to be Stop and Searched. Stop and searches were also ineffective as more than 90 per cent did not lead to an arrest³¹. We are pleased that in January 2012, Metropolitan Police commissioner Bernard Hogan-Howe announced new limits on the issuing of Section 60 stop and search orders, we are also pleased that in 2014 the Home Secretary, Theresa May, has called for Stop and Search to be reviewed. But more needs to be done to build community confidence and trust in the police.

The proportion of section 60 Stop and Searches on White communities decreased (from 53per cent to 40per cent) and the proportions for Black and Asian communities increased (from 22per cent and 9per cent to 33per cent and 16per cent respectively)³².

The anomaly is outlined in research conducted by Prof Cecile Wright et al on behalf of the Nottinghamshire Police and Crime Commissioner in 2013. The report – *Exploring and improving BME experience of policing* showed that BME males and females in Nottingham were twice more likely to be victims of crime than the national population average. The situation is compounded by grievance, police injustice and the discrimination felt by black communities. Prof. Wright’s report concludes

“When policing by consent breaks down, especially because of perceived police injustices or discrimination towards BME groups, there are dangers for all of us”³³

Arrests

According to the organisation *Joint Enterprise – Not Guilty by Association* (JENGbA)³⁴, the joint enterprise doctrine (whereby people can be arrested and convicted of an offence, despite not having committed it, if they knew or are seen to have encouraged its act) is disproportionately applied against BME communities. Of 256 cases that JENGbA was working with in 2011, 56 per cent were from BME communities³⁵.

²⁹ [Equalities and Human Rights Commission](#)

³⁰ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-24902389>

³¹ Stopwatch,(2012) *Stop and Search Factsheet*, London

³² [Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2010](#) (Oct 2011) A Ministry of Justice publication under Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991: pg 14

³³ Wright, C; Pickup, P; Mohammed, S. (2013) *Exploring and improving BME Policing Experiences Report*. Commissioned by the Nottinghamshire Police and Crime Commissioner Page 4

³⁴ Patrons of JENGbA Jimmy McGovern and Lord Herman Ouseley

³⁵ <http://www.jointenterprise.co/>

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Sentencing

In relation to courts and prisons the Ministry of Justice's report also shows that a higher percentage of BME offenders were sentenced to immediate custody for indictable offences in 2008 than offenders from a White ethnic background. Research indicated that people from BME backgrounds are more likely to plead not guilty and be tried. A guilty plea can reduce the sentence by up to a third. In 2010, 23 per cent of the white group convicted for indictable offences were sentenced to immediate custody, whilst for Black people the figure was 27 per cent.

A study in 2011, based on an analysis of over one million court records found that black offenders were 44 per cent more likely than white offenders to be given a prison sentence for driving offences, 38 per cent more likely for public order offences or possession of a weapon and 27 per cent more likely for possession of drugs. Asian people were 19 per cent more likely than white people to be given a prison sentence for shoplifting and 41 per cent more likely for drugs offences³⁶.

Prison

BME groups are significantly over-represented in the prison system. In 30 June 2009, BME groups accounted for 27 per cent of the overall prison population including foreign nationals (83,454) compared to 25 per cent of the overall prison population (76,190) in 2005³⁷. In 2011, Black or Black British people made up 13.4 per cent of the prison population. Asian or Asian British people made up 7.4 per cent of the prison population. White British people made up 74.3 per cent of the prison population³⁸.

Young people in custody

In 2012, the number of children in the secure estate (young offender institutions, secure children's homes and secure training centres) was 1,596. Of these, 37 per cent were from BME communities. Between October 2011 and 2012, the overall number of children in custody decreased by 21 per cent, but the number of BME children increased by 3 per cent³⁹.

Next steps

- A future Labour Government should introduce 'sanctionable measures' for constabularies with disproportionately high levels of stop and search of black people.
- A future Labour Government should pursue measures to divert young black people from custody.

³⁶ Criminal Justice Statistics Quarterly Update to September 2012 Ministry of Justice Statistics bulletin

³⁷ [Statistics on Race and the Criminal Justice System 2010](#) (Oct 2011) A Ministry of Justice publication under Section 95 of the Criminal Justice Act 1991: pg 70

³⁸ James Ball, Owen Boycott and Simon Rogers, '[Race variation in jail sentences, study suggests](#)', *Guardian* (26 November 2011).

³⁹ Gavin Berman, (July 29th 2013) [Prison population statistics](#) (London, House of Commons, 2012)

Welfare Reform



The current picture

The benefits system was deemed to be far too complex and there were insufficient incentives to encourage people on benefits to start paid work or increase their hours. The coalition government, supported by the Labour Party understood that for some, the gains from work, particularly if they work part-time, were far too small and any gains from working were easily cancelled out by; high marginal tax rates, the cost of transport, childcare etc...

The overall aim of the welfare reform agenda was to make the benefit system fairer and more affordable to help reduce poverty, worklessness and welfare dependency whilst reducing levels of fraud and error.

The coalition government announced plans to improve the help and training provided for people looking for work.

The coalition government has introduced a package of measures intended to reduce the increasing cost of Housing Benefit (HB), to reassess disability payments and move claimants from Incapacity Benefit to the new Employment Support Allowance (ESA).

Whilst LBN understands that these and other changes are aimed at reducing public spending and improving work incentives, some aspects such as Universal Credit are of concern. For example the reduction and cap of Local Housing Allowance are impacting disproportionately on black communities as many live in areas targeted by the cuts and as discussed earlier in this manifesto family size also impacts on the size and the quality of the accommodation. Given that child poverty rates for black and minority ethnic families are higher than the national average, Housing Benefit cuts are likely to increase this disparity.

Finally, increased conditionality for working-age claimants is more likely to impact on black and minority ethnic claimants as they are disproportionately represented among workless households.

Next steps

- Measures should be introduced to alleviate the impact of welfare reforms
- A future Labour Government should take measures to impose access to skills training and therefore the employability of black people.

Higher Education



The current picture

Students

New evidence from the 2011 Census shows that ethnic minorities in England and Wales have become increasingly better qualified than their White British counterparts.

Research by the University of Manchester's Centre on Dynamics and Ethnicity (CoDE), shows an overall improvement in attainment by students in further and higher education over the past 20 years. For example, Indian, Chinese and Black African groups had higher educational attainment than other ethnic minorities and the White British group in both 2001 and 2011.

Given the continuing ethnic inequalities in employment identified in CoDE's earlier census briefings the findings are particularly significant. Previous government policies aimed at

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raising the attainment of ethnic minority pupils in schools are also likely to have contributed to some of the improvement.

Immigration policies aiming to attract international students and high skilled migrants are also likely to have had some impact.

However, the study of the 1991, 2001 and 2001 censuses reveal some groups continue to be disadvantaged.

The study is the latest of the Joseph Rowntree Foundation funded briefings for CoDE

The findings identified that:

- In 2011, the groups with the highest proportion of people with degree level qualifications were the Chinese (43%), Indian (42%) and Black African groups (40%).
- The Black African group, which comprises of a large number of international students, were the least likely to have no qualifications (11%).
- In contrast, a quarter of people from the White British group had no qualifications (24%)

Whilst this is good news we need to remember that ethnic minority groups continue to experience inequalities in education and the labour market.

Staff

In their treatment of Black people, the Higher Education sector has merely paid lip service to equality legislation. The direct and indirect discrimination experienced by black staff is now clearly apparent for example:

- Black people are under-represented in academic roles. 1.1% of academic professionals are black, yet they are 3.3% of the UK population.
- A higher percentage of black staff (34.8%) are on fixed term contracts than white staff (31.6%).
- Senior management roles are grossly unrepresented by black staff, especially black women.
- “White academics are usually termed “academic”, Black academics are defined as “black” first and “academic” second.
- Because of the predominance of white managers, Black academics often suffer from “over- scrutiny”. Hence black academics are far more likely to leave their current institution than white academics.

Academia has not dismantled the norms, networks and practices that reproduce white male privilege. The realities of institutional privilege have been enhanced as universities

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are increasingly organised along lines of commercial logic and interest and the growing “internationalization” agenda in strategic plans. See sources⁴⁰.

Next steps

- The Higher Education sector should be required to undertake mandatory impact assessment of the recruitment, retention and progression of Black staff.
 - Positive action to increase representation of Black staff, retention and career progression.
 - Appropriate action to be taken to improve Black representation on governing bodies and academic boards beyond tokenism.
 - The sector need to recognise and address the experience and plight of Black women academics.
-

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⁴⁰ 2011 ECU Experience of Black and Minority Ethnic Staff in HE in England report; and the NUS Race for Equality Report 2011. ECU Statistical Report 2010, 2013;
Kalwant Bhopal and June Jackson’s Experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic Academics 2013 report, Noden, P; Shiner, M; Modood, T (2014) Black and Minority Ethnic Access to Higher Education: A Reassessment, and Black British Academic’s 2014 Race Equality Survey
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