
ANNUAL REPORT 2005

**INSTITUTE OF
RACE
RELATIONS**

The Institute of Race Relations

The Institute of Race Relations (IRR) was the first educational charity on race relations to be established in the UK in 1958. Since then, it has striven to change its focus with changing needs and pioneer new thinking to keep abreast of the changes in racism, itself. Today, the IRR is at the cutting edge of the research and analysis that informs the struggle for racial justice in Britain, and internationally. It seeks to reflect the experiences of those who suffer racial oppression and draws its perspectives from the most vulnerable in society.

The IRR carries out research

into pressing issues of contemporary racism. To meet specific demands from community groups, the IRR has concentrated on research to combat the rise of racial violence and on evidence about the plight of asylum seekers. The European Race Audit is currently conducting a major research project on European racism.

IRR's print publishing includes the world-famous international quarterly, *Race & Class*, the *European Race Bulletin* and occasional pamphlets. IRR also publishes an online anti-racist news service - IRR News. And increasingly IRR is making its information,

Contents

Director's note	3
Overview	5
<i>Race & Class</i>	7
IRR News	8
European Race Audit	9
Diary 2004/5	10
Finances	11
Information on staff and users	12

research and publishing available electronically. As part of its educational function, the IRR continues to distribute a wide range of anti-racist materials, including the CD Rom *HomeBeats*. ■

Chair's note



The 'war on terrorism' has had an even greater influence on domestic debates and policy changes on race relations this year. The fact that the London bombings on 7 July 2005 and attempted bombings two weeks later appear to have been carried out by Britishers has, for the government, thrown many of the most cherished tenets of race relations policy into question. Of most concern to us is the haste with which politicians and the media have clutched at flimsy, simplistic explanations for the disaffection/alienation which could have led to the bombings. By discounting the very obvious influence that foreign policy, particularly the war in Iraq, has had, and eschewing a serious debate on endemic racism, the tendency has been to rely on cultural explanation and to look to cultural remedies, such as the setting up of the com-

mission on integration to investigate the limits of multiculturalism.

The other response from the government to 7/7 has been to massively extend the scope of counter-terrorism measures to include a new offence of indirectly inciting terrorism, the removal of citizenship from naturalised citizens, the proscription of an additional number of groups, the controlling of mosques and the holding of suspects without charge for up to three months. These draconian measures, and the shoot-to-kill policy for the police (which had such a devastating consequence just days after the bombings) have, not surprisingly, been decried by a wide cross-section of Muslim and human rights groups - alienating precisely those whom the government needs to win over if it is to root out terrorism. ■

Colin Prescod

Director's note

Multiculturalism did not create separatism or ethnic enclaves.

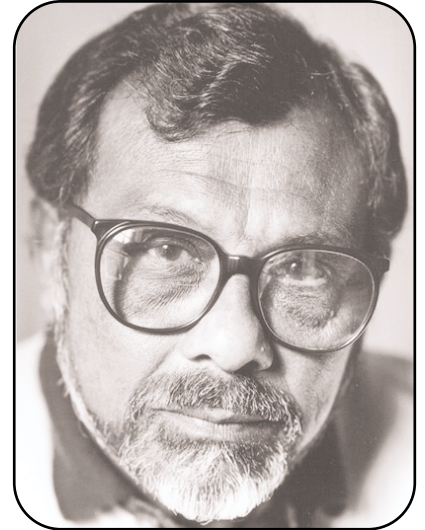
Culturalism did. The confusion arises from the inability of government and commentators alike to distinguish between the multicultural society as fact and multiculturalism as policy.

Culturalism, or ethnicism, as policy was Thatcher's and Scarman's answer to the racism that in 1981 had ignited the major cities of Britain. Lord Scarman in his investigations into the Brixton riots denied point blank the existence of institutional racism, and located the cause of the riots in 'racial disadvantage', the cure for which was pouring money into ethnic projects and strengthening ethnic cultures. But as the Institute of Race Relations pointed out at the time, the fight against racism cannot be reduced to a fight for culture. Nor does it require the state to give people their cultures; they already have them, however attenuated these cultures may be by racism. Nor does learning about other peoples' cultures make the racists less racist. Besides, the racism that needs to be contested is not personal prejudice (which has no authority behind it) but institutionalised racism, the racism woven, over centuries of colonialism and slavery, into the structures of society and into the instruments and institutions of government, local and central. And that is why Macpherson, in his landmark report on racism, passed over the myth of cultural compensation as the antidote to racism and

established institutionalised racism instead as the problem that needed to be tackled. Alas, this proposal had hardly become policy before it was virtually killed off by the tabloids and the Right.

Multicultural Britain did not come out of the much-vaunted British traditions of fair play, equality and social justice. Rather, it was created out of decades of struggles against racism by black communities - struggles for equal pay and against discrimination on the shop floor, struggles to make the police protect communities from racial attack, struggles for children not to be streamed or bussed out of schools, struggles to include other histories in educational curricula. And because most Black and Asian people who came to Britain after the second world war had citizenship, unlike their counterparts in other European countries, they had the security from which to mount militant fights for racial justice.

When integration was first defined, by Roy Jenkins in 1966, it was 'not as a flattening process of assimilation' but as 'equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance'. And by and large there was agreement among politicians on integration and multiculturalism - until, that is, Margaret Thatcher's pre-Premier statement in 1978 in which she bemoaned the fact that some people thought Britain might be rather swamped by people of a different culture. But with the urban 'riots' of '81



and '85, she gave up her intentions of reining in multiculturalism - try as the right-wing journalists and ideologues and think tanks around her might to deride loony leftism, cultural relativism, political correctness and anti-racism.

Today, some twenty years later, with a section of the tabloid press still upholding its dire warnings over multiculturalism, it is a Labour government which is about to turn back the clock and ride roughshod over those many hard-won anti-racist victories which established the UK as an exemplar to the rest of Europe on integration. But Britain is now showing all the signs of reducing its policies to those of the lowest common denominator in Europe. Core values, enforced language classes, citizenship classes will all shift the UK towards the standard European model of monoculturalism. Already decades behind the UK in terms of race relations policy, Continental European countries have, under pressure from extremist electoral anti-immigrant parties, abandoned whatever tentative steps they

had taken towards a more inclusive pluralist approach. And across the Continent, commissions similar to that proposed by Blair have led to policies of forced assimilation, with the debate on multiculturalism carried out in terms that stigmatise and humiliate ethnic minorities and hold them collectively responsible for the few. With Blair shifting the idiom of debate towards the European model, the danger is a return to assimilationist policies long since discredited in the UK.

This government - which has itself parodied anti-racism in its own culturalist policies - now threatens to undermine the fundamentals of the diverse society that has been created in this country from below, as it were, and despite government. Integration, Britain has shown, however spasmodically, comes from the removal of racist barriers not from the promotion of culturalism, on the one hand, or of nativism, on the other. ■

A.Sivanandan

IRR News' media workshop



Overview

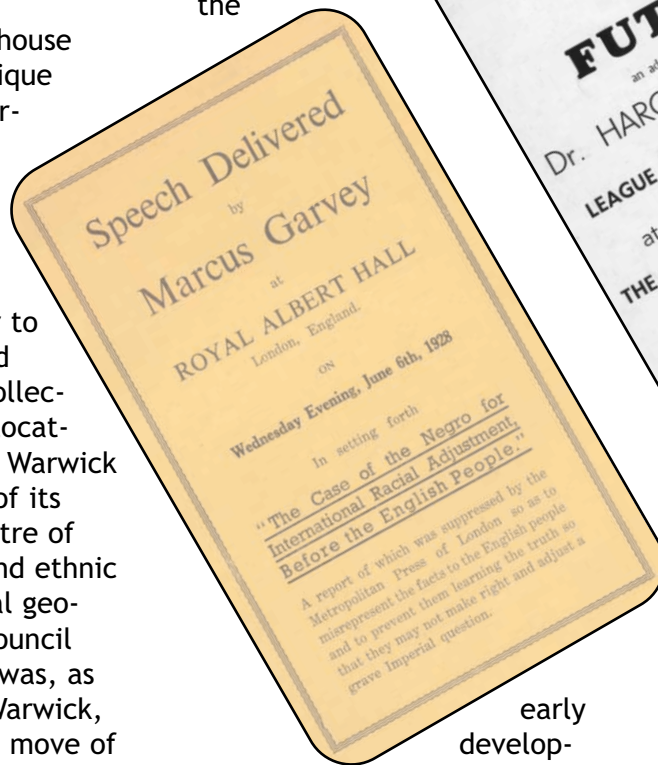
Although we have noted before the need for IRR to look to the future and, particularly, to embrace new technologies as a way of disseminating and publishing information, the IRR had not, up till this year, recognised the simultaneous need to relinquish those functions of IRR for which demand was dwindling. During this past year we have ceased publication of the *Race Relations Abstracts* (which is to continue, but as a Sage publication) and have transferred the majority of the IRR's library holdings to the University of Warwick.

The decision to rehouse the extensive and unique library (of books, journals, pamphlets and press cuttings, assembled since 1964) was not taken lightly. But it was decided that in order to ensure its upkeep and extend access, the collection needed to be relocated. The University of Warwick was chosen because of its track record as a centre of excellence on race and ethnic studies and its central geographical location. Council member Lee Bridges was, as Professor of Law at Warwick, able to negotiate the move of the library and we are most grateful for all his endeavours on IRR's behalf.

The IRR's library which will be known as the Sivanandan Collection (the library was created and developed by IRR's director who worked for forty years as chief librarian) will be housed alongside the collection from the Warwick

Centre for Race and Ethnic Relations (CRER) in the main library at the University, under the care and guidance of Lynne Wright, the former CRER librarian. We are happy to report that IRR members and other community-based users will have access to both collections and enjoy the extended opening hours that the Warwick library affords.

The IRR has retained a small number of books, pamphlets, ephemeral material and magazines which were produced within, or chart the



Examples of material in the IRR's Black History Collection

early development of, Britain's Black community and its struggles against racism. These, along with the IRR's own archive, will form the basis of a Black history collection which will be mapped and developed over the coming years. With offices and storage areas being vacated by the removal of library



From left to right, Lord Ouseley, Liz Fekete, Emma Ginn, Dr Charlotte Granville Chapman and Bill Bolloten at the Launch of *The Deportation Machine*

stock, there is a possibility now to rethink space allocation within IRR's headquarters at Leeke Street and consider extending existing services and developing new ones. The jettisoning of the 'ballast' has opened up exciting new possibilities for IRR's future.

Already this year, the IRR has moved into new areas. Research for example has had, by force of circumstance, to link human rights concerns to racial justice issues. European research carried out by the European Race Audit has focused on the way in which the operation of the European deportation programme (of unsuccessful asylum seekers) has led to cases which contravene international human rights conventions and agreements, on the ways in which counter-terrorism measures across Europe are creating a new 'speech crime'. Domestic research has covered the impact of anti-terrorism legislation and in-depth monitoring of racial violence levels in the UK since 7/7.

In terms of strategy, the IRR has realised the need to work on two fronts: to bring an understanding of the implications of human rights to those who work primarily in the 'race' field and to bring to those working on human rights an understanding of the racial dimension.

This dual approach was

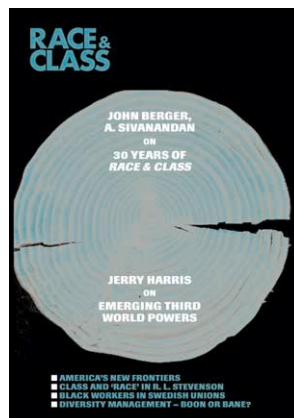
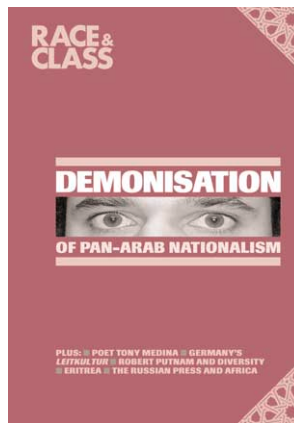
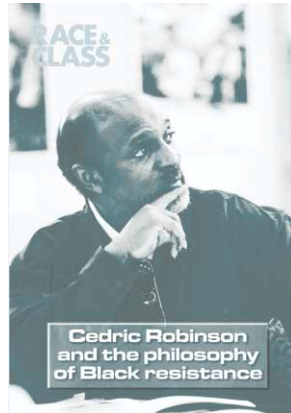
exemplified in the launch event at the European Parliament's UK offices in April of *The Deportation Machine*, written by Liz Fekete. This event which had speakers from a range of organisations from the Green Party and Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture to the National Coalition of Deportation Campaigns and the Irish Coalition Against the Deportation of Children, began a practical debate of how different professional groups could face up to challenges that the government's programme posed. This was the first time for many years that IRR had tried to draw together a broad groups of NGOs and campaigners to work towards developing strategies. The meeting was an unqualified success and is likely to augur a new departure for IRR.

The other new venture was in training. As part of the programme of IRR News, the Big Lottery had agreed to fund a number of workshops for voluntary groups in the BME and refugee sectors so as to help develop skills in dealing with print and broadcast media. On 16 September, seventeen participants attended the first workshop which utilised the expertise of Council members (Paul Grant as trainer/facilitator and Colin Prescod as facilitator with media experience) plus input from successful campaigners and practising journalists. Feedback about the day and the take-away materials has been extremely positive. And the media workshops will be repeated next year. ■

Race & Class

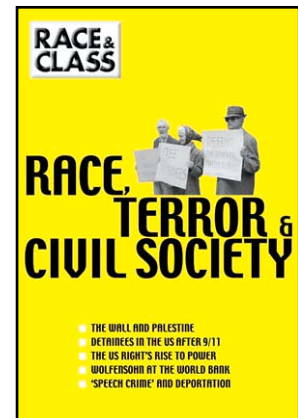
The journal has, as always, published four issues in the course of the year - three of them general issues and one a special number to celebrate the work of Cedric Robinson. We were delighted to have the opportunity provided by two symposia in the US organised to mark 20 years from the publication of the book, *Black Marxism*, to pay tribute to Cedric, who is one of our longest-serving editorial working committee members. His writing has had a major and continuing impact in the UK as well as in the US, especially among Black students. Yet, despite his influence, he has never had the public recognition that other lesser scholars have had. To coincide with Black History Month, and as our way of emphasising the radical dimension of Black history, we published, 'Cedric Robinson and the philosophy of Black resistance'.

During this year, Hazel Waters, who had worked on the journal for thirty-three years (and at the IRR as librarian for an additional three years) retired from full-time work. She and A. Sivanandan continue as editors, both working part-time, with editorial support being provided by other IRR staff members and sub-editing by Sarah Roulson (courtesy of Sage Publications). ■



'It's the best journal all around and the one I look forward to reading the most.'

'In my view, it's the very best journal on the subject of race and racism, a point reflected in the fact that one segment of my filing cabinet is filled with dozens and dozens of Race & Class articles going back to 1980...I'm so pleased to have my work featured in the journal.'



Forthcoming January 2006 issue of *Race & Class*

RACE & CLASS



SAGE Publications

IRR News

'I'm a freelance radio journalist working regularly for stations such as radio Netherlands, Deutsche Welle, Pacifica Radio in the US and ABC's Radio National Australia and specialise in producing programmes on human rights and migration. The IRR news service and analysis is one of the most valuable resources available to me. There are many occasions when, thanks to the IRR, I have covered events or issues that I might not otherwise have known about. IRR News not only alerts me to events and issues, it also provides invaluable analysis in excellently researched and written reports.'

The News Service has continued its high standard of coverage and output this year and now has over 6,600 subscribers who receive, in the course of the year, over 1,250 news items. (On average at least two new stories are generated each week by IRR News, together with daily round-up of news items from external sources, listings of important upcoming events and links to new relevant publications in the race or refugee fields.) We are pleased to report that four volunteers now contribute on a regular basis and we have a number of other occasional contributors.

The output from IRR News is also circulated by a wide number of other online groups and services and selections and round-ups can often be found on other organisations' sites, which means that the information reaches far in excess of our 6,600 subscribers. It is also important that increasingly often, journalists on national papers and programmes are taking up the stories on our site so as to investigate issues in-depth. Through the reputation of his work on the service, especial-

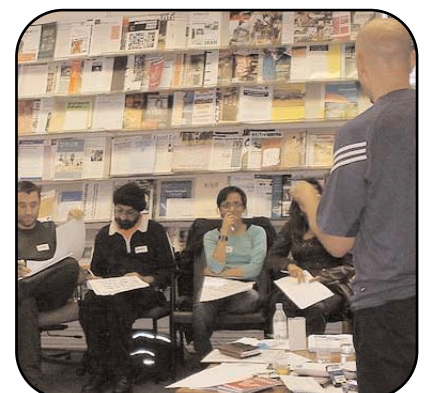
ly his own in-depth features, Arun Kundnani has been asked to contribute to seminars and meetings on community cohesion, refugee rights, religion and multiculturalism. Harmit Athwal has given talks to community organisations in Germany and the UK based on the experience of campaigning against racism in the detention and criminal justice systems.

Since July IRR News has been specifically monitoring the incidence of racial violence and harassment - which has increased enormously, especially in relation to the Muslim communities. And this research, along with continued monitoring of anti-terror arrests and black deaths in custody and cases of self-harm among failed asylum seekers - all carried out by Harmit Athwal - have attracted interest from within the media as well as from community organisations and campaigners. Indeed, both Harmit Athwal and Arun Kundnani are frequently consulted by journalists and media professionals for their expertise and range of contacts. ■

IRR News Service website



IRR News' media workshop



European Race Audit

Over the course of the year, the work of ERA has expanded - in that another five volunteer contributors have joined the team. But the way that the input from contributors is used in the *Bulletins* has changed. Instead of country-by-country summaries of developments, the data is being used as the basis for themed articles and reports which point out European trends and examples of good practice or effective campaigns against different manifestations of racism.

In that sense, ERA's identification of significant issues and presence in their coverage has had a lasting public impact (see also the list of speaking engagements, many of which were carried out by the ERA worker, Liz Fekete). For example, one issue of the *Bulletin* concentrated on the reaction, in terms of debate and legislation, in the Netherlands to the murder by an Islamic extremist of controversial film-maker Van Gogh (who had offensively

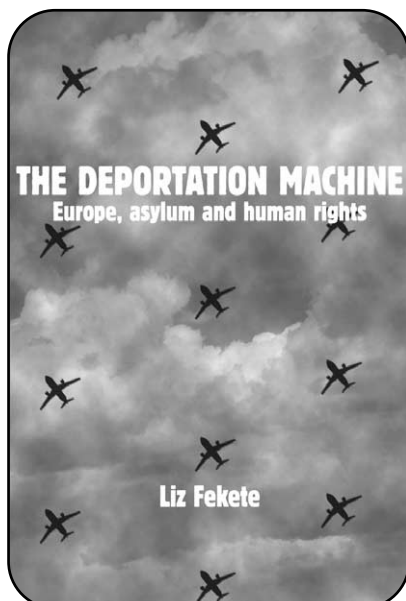
portrayed Islam); another, which was produced as an 80-page report, examined the human rights abuses involved in Europe's accelerated deportation programme of failed asylum seekers; a third examined the ways in which European countries were infringing freedom of speech by creating 'speech crimes' which might carry, via immigration law, the penalty of deportation. The fourth *Bulletin* examined the far-right and extremist parties in Europe and their links to racial violence. Further research is under way on anti-Muslim racism and the different strands within the 'intellectual' onslaught against multiculturalism across Europe. All these themes have been so pertinent this year that Liz Fekete has been asked to speak on issues involving refugee rights, deportation, the rise of anti-Muslim racism and the protection of civil rights to a wide variety of NGOs and community organisations, from local mosques to the World Tribunal on Iraq in Istanbul. ■

ABOUT THE DEPORTATION MACHINE

'It's a fantastic research report and it will be incredibly useful for NGOs lobbying/advocacy work around returns.'
Protection Unit Manager, Refugee Council

'A terrific and terrible read – the overall picture is so deeply disturbing that I hope it will galvanize enormous protest. You have done a magnificent job. Any chance of getting an additional 10 copies to get to the right people over here?'
US civil liberties worker

'It is an excellent but depressing report about the process of harmonising deportations. We will refer to it in our publications and we are glad that our material was of use to you.'
Pro Asyl, Germany



Diary 2004/5

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS, MEETINGS AND SEMINARS WITH IN-PUT FROM IRR PERSONNEL

2004

12 October Black History Month event, Kensington & Chelsea
14 October Public meeting organised by the European Forum on Communication Rights at Camden town hall UK Race Equality Network AGM, discussion on extreme Right in Europe
16 October Meetings at European Social Forum - on civil liberties and war on terror, proscribed organisations and the making of refugees, Black History Month event, Museum of the Docklands
22 October North-West Conference on asylum and refugee issues, Edge Hill College
26 October Address on asylum and the EU to Becoming Visible Project, Helsinki
8 November Stop the War meeting on anti-Muslim racism
22 November Conference during Islam Awareness Week, Birmingham central mosque

2005

18 January Conference on Britain and Multiculturalism organised by the Guardian and Barrow Cadbury Trust
9 February Roundtable on immigration policy organised by the Smith Institute and Barrow Cadbury Trust
23 February Meeting to free Kurdish politician, Remzi Kartal, House of Lords

26 February Conference on young refugees facing deportation in Canterbury, organised by Kent Committee to Defend Asylum Seekers
2 March Roundtable organised by the Smith Institute and Barrow Cadbury Trust
12 March Public education day, Museum of the Docklands
21 March Panel meeting on European Commission Against Racism and Intolerance's report on use of racist, xenophobic and anti-Semitic discourse in the electoral process, Paris
2 April European Day of Action on Rights of Asylum Seekers, Manchester
11 April Launch of *The Deportation Machine* at European Parliament UK Office
11 May Conference on access to higher education for asylum seekers and refugees, London Metropolitan University
21 May Conference on 'Suspect Communities', London Metropolitan University
24-27 June Giving testimony on 'racism and insecurity' to the World Tribunal on Iraq, Istanbul
29 June Meeting of Race Equality Partnership, Kensington & Chelsea
13 July Meeting on Congolese child asylum seekers, Bolton
18 July Launch of Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage report, Victoria & Albert Museum, London
16 August Meeting on police racism organised by Reachout, Berlin
21 August Presentation to South Asian Alliance,

Birmingham
24-27 August Global International Studies Conference, Istanbul
12 September Meeting on Defending Civil Liberties, defend the Muslim Community, Birmingham central mosque
13 September Annual lecture, Stephen Lawrence Trust
16 September Media training workshop for voluntary groups at IRR headquarters
23 September Roundtable discussion on community cohesion and multiculturalism, organised by Barrow Cadbury Trust
29 September Discussion of 'Playing with Fire' by David Edgar, the National Theatre, London
30 September Launch of Black History Month event, Birmingham
1 October Launch Black History Month event, Kensington & Chelsea
5 October Seminar on 7/7 and the end of multiculturalism, Goldsmith's College, London
11 October Seminar on anti-terrorism and multiculturalism, Goldsmith's College, London
19 October Meeting of Bail for Immigration Detainees on Deaths in Detention, St James' church, SW1, London
2 November Meeting on War on Refugees: Justice, not deportation and torture, House of Commons
10 November Seminar on xeno-racism and refugee protection at Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford ■

Accounts

BALANCE SHEET AT 31ST MARCH 2005

	2005		2004	
	£	£	£	£
Fixed Assets		158450		162596
Current Assets				
Stocks of Stationery and Publications	3114		2025	
Debtors	20605		20868	
Prepayments	361		271	
Cash at Bank and in Hand	112391		59673	
	<u>136471</u>		<u>82837</u>	
Less: Creditors				
Amounts falling due within one year				
PAYE and other taxes	3720		7431	
Sundry Creditors	5860		4839	
	<u>9580</u>	<u>126891</u>	<u>12270</u>	<u>70567</u>
		<u>285341</u>		<u>233163</u>

Represented by:

Funds Available		
Unrestricted	90155	35217
Designated	35523	35523
Restricted	159663	162423
	<u>285341</u>	<u>233163</u>

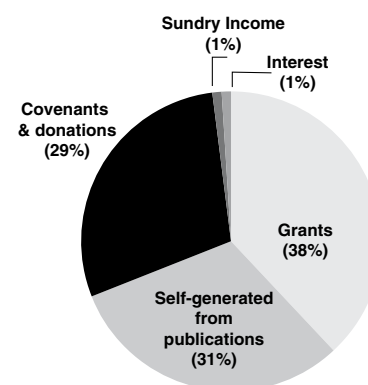
Approved by Council of Management on 11th July 2005 and signed on its behalf. These Financial Statements have been prepared in accordance with the special provisions of Part VII of the Companies Act 1985 relating to small companies.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT AND STATEMENT OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES FOR THE YEAR ENDED 31ST MARCH 2005

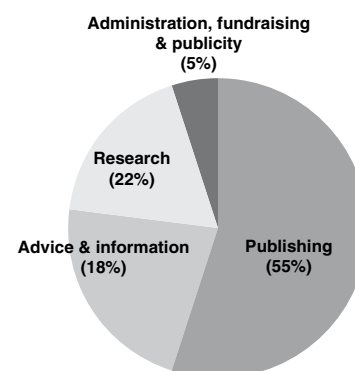
	Designated	Un-restricted	Restricted	Total 2005	Total 2004
	£	£	£	£	£
Incoming Resources					
Grants	-	1500	78633	80133	76530
Income from Publications:					
Race & Class	-	57270	-	57270	56207
Other	-	6469	-	6469	15740
Donations	-	60990	-	60990	4642
Sundry Income	-	1750	-	1750	360
Interest received	-	2430	-	2430	2106
Total Incoming Resources	-	<u>130409</u>	<u>78633</u>	<u>209042</u>	<u>155585</u>
Resources Expended					
Costs of generating funds	-	6854	-	6854	5608
Charitable expenditure:					
In furtherance of the objectives of the charity:					
Governance costs	-	3413	-	3413	1780
Total Resources Expended	-	<u>78549</u>	<u>128315</u>	<u>206864</u>	<u>182101</u>
Net Incoming Resources	-	51860	49682	2178	(26516)
Transfers Between Funds	-	(46922)	46922	-	-
Sale of Abstracts	-	50000	-	50000	-
	-	54938	(2760)	52178	(26516)
Balance Brought Forward at 1st April 2004	35523	35217	162423	233163	259679
Balance Carried Forward at 31st March 2005	<u>35523</u>	<u>90155</u>	<u>159663</u>	<u>285341</u>	<u>233163</u>

There were no recognised gains or losses in the year, other than those shown above. All of the Company's activities are continuing.

IRR INCOME



IRR EXPENDITURE



These accounts are extracted from the full audited accounts for the year ended 31 March 2005 on which the auditor, Susan Field, FCA, reported without qualification on 11 July 2005. A copy of the full accounts is available on request from the Company Secretary.

IRR information

SERVICE USERS 2004/5

Phone enquiries	2,400
Email enquiries	4,400
Letter enquiries	235
Personal visits	160

ON-LINE USERS

Subscribers to IRR News	6,600
Website page views over year	2,088,112
Orders processed since October 2004	185

STAFF:

A. Sivanandan: Director and Co-editor *Race & Class*
Liz Fekete: Deputy Director and Head of European Research
Hazel Waters: Co-editor *Race & Class*
Jenny Bourne: Senior Researcher and Company Secretary
Harmit Athwal: Manager IRR News Network
Arun Kundnani: Editor IRR News Network

COUNCIL OF MANAGEMENT:

Colin Prescod (Chair)
Professor Lee Bridges
Tony Bunyan
Paul Grant
Suresh Grover
Professor Louis Kushnick
Lord Ouseley
Naina Patel, OBE
Danny Reilly
Cilius Victor
Frances Webber

VOLUNTEERS:

Georgios Antonopoulos,
Bianca Brigitte Bonomi,
Norberto Laguia Casaus,
Heather Clarke, Tim Cleary,
Sean Cody, Steve Deegan,
Rhona Desmond, Jonathan Ervine, Dan Firth, Imogen Forster, Urmila Ghirrao, Margaret Goff, Trevor Hemmings, Lotta Holmberg, Vincent Homolka, Simon Katzenellenbogen, Changez A Khan, Terese Jonsson, Virginia MacFadyen, Louisa O'Brien, Thushari Perera, Fizza Qureshi, A. Rangunathan, Nicholas Sanders, Anne Singh, Arnaud Vervoitte, Rosie Wild, Chris Woodall

FUNDERS:

Methodist Church
Two Garden Court Chambers
Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust
Community Fund
The Big Lottery
Stichting ter Ondersteuning van Geweldloze Strijd tegen het Racisme

IRR
2-6 Leeke Street
London
WC1X 9HS
Tel: 020 7837 0041
Fax: 020 7278 0623
Web: www.irr.org.uk
Email: info@irr.org.uk

The Institute of Race Relations is a Company Limited by Guarantee, Registered in England, No. 601929, Registered Charity No. 223989, VAT Registered No. 238 8869 01