

Annual Report 2010

**INSTITUTE OF
RACE
RELATIONS**

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, 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 *HomeBeats* CDROM. ■



IRR staff at 'Our memories of the uprisings' event at the British Library in Black History Month



Marwan Muhammed addresses the IRR's seminar on Islamophobia



A screening of IRR film, 'From you were Black you were out'

Chair's comment



FRANCE bans the 'voile intégral' and expels EU citizens who are Roma, extreme racists enter parliament in Sweden, and in Italy thousands of African migrant workers have to be moved to safety in the South as locals wage war on them. All over Europe different countries for different reasons according to their specific histories are succumbing to and/or creating racist scenarios. The UK is often seen as immune from such processes – held up as a beacon of enlightened multiculturalism. But this year we have witnessed in a number of areas the wearing away of concepts of racial justice and the kow-towing to populist racist sentiment.

In the aftermath of Labour's election defeat in May 2010, ex-ministers turned on the party leadership for not heeding and responding more swiftly and publicly to the white working class' anxieties about immigration – without, that is, considering whether such anxieties were with or without foundation and whether the Labour Party itself could have given a lead to prevent any potential racism rather than placate it.

And during the year we have witnessed a series of mobilisations in Bradford, Leicester, Luton, Stoke, Bolton, Dudley and Aylesbury by the self-proclaimed 'non-racist' English Defence League. Marching frequently through cities with large Asian/Muslim populations, there is no doubt from the tenor of slogans, placards, flags and speeches that this is a deeply Islamophobic movement with international connections.

The expectations that the Liberal Democrats might, through the coalition government, temper the Conservatives' policies on refugees, especially the end of the detention of children in asylum-seeking families promised before the election, were soon confounded. More restrictive Tory policies appear to be winning the day. But it is somewhat ironic that the nationally fixed

numerical cap on all non-EU immigrant workers that the Conservatives chose to impose as a political response has run up against the economic needs of their erstwhile allies in the business sector, with groups from the Campaign for Science and Engineering to the CBI and a group of small businesses going for judicial review.

While the UK cannot but be influenced by the cultural currents of mainland Europe and has, anyway, to accept EU requirements on immigration and asylum, it is the worldwide economic downturn and the way in which cuts are implemented which will largely define the parameters of UK race relations in the near future. Given that all the main parties take the view that racism has been dealt with through anti-discrimination laws (despite the fact that recent Equality and Human Rights Commission reports revealed gross inequalities including the facts that in the UK proportionately more young black men are incarcerated than in the US; black youth, 2-3 per cent of the population, are fifteen times more likely to be stopped and searched than their white counterparts; and that Black Caribbean and Pakistani babies are twice as likely as white babies to die in their first year), it looks as though we shall have to look to movements beyond the political mainstream to meet the possible racial backlash brought about by the recession, rising unemployment and an inevitable competition amongst those who have least for scarce resources. ■

Colin Prescod

Overview of the year

THERE is an ongoing (if sometimes muted) debate in the UK as to whether racism is on the wane. Proponents of this view argue that because some ethnic groups are 'achieving', ipso facto, racism has declined and organisations, such as IRR, which continue to talk of racism are somehow creating a problem that does not exist. The reality, as we have long argued, is that racism affects different groups differentially, changes over time and is always affected by the economic, social and political contexts. (Today this would include the impact of globalisation and the 'war on terror'.) And racism is mediated, too, by other variables such as poverty, education, class. Many years ago, IRR director A. Sivanandan differentiated between 'the racism that discriminates' (that which predominantly affects the middle class) and 'the racism that kills' (that which affects the poor, dispossessed etc).

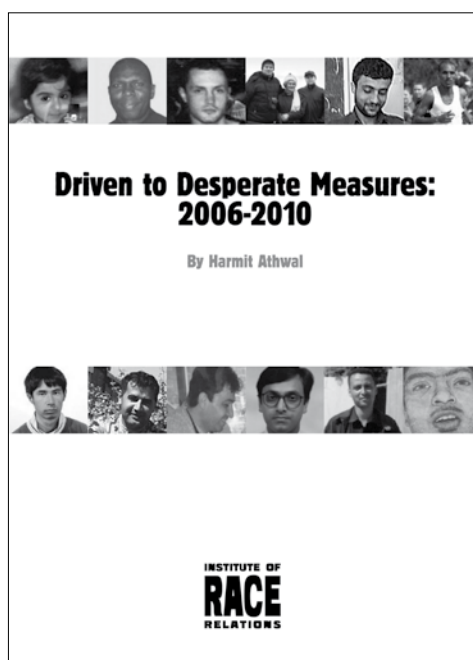
The IRR continues to see its primary role as working against 'the racism that kills' and this can be clearly seen in its research and publishing outputs in 2009/10. In January 2010, following concerns raised at the conference in 2009 about



Jimmy Mubenga who died during a deportation at Heathrow airport on 12 October 2010

the future of black youth in the UK, the IRR published a briefing paper on 'Youth Deaths: the reality behind the "knife crime" debate', which was widely used by a number of other NGOs. In May 2010, the IRR published 'Racism the buried issue' which for the first time analysed the nature and extent of cases of racial violence in the UK

– pinpointing the groups likely to be most at risk. In June 2010 the Alternative Voices on Integration project published its report contrasting official doctrine with lived experience. And in October the IRR published two complementary reports on the treatment of dispossessed asylum seekers. Research on Europe analysed the implications of Europe's accelerated programme of deportations, 2009-10, and detailed some of those who had lost their lives, sadly chiming with



the experience at Heathrow of Angolan Jimmy Mubenga on 19 October 2010. Research on deaths (including the many by self-harm) over the past four years of asylum seekers and 'foreign' migrants consequent on UK immigration and asylum policies was also published. Together, the two reports provided a strong body of evidence about the human cost of restrictive government policies.

That the IRR has been so productive this year, despite a reduction in permanent staff (partly brought about by funding problems) redounds to commitment from core members of staff and also to the valiant contribution from an excellent body of volunteers and interns. We particularly wish to thank Trevor Hemmings, Nora El Massioui, Jehanzeb Khan, Anne Singh and Maria Werdine for their help. ■

Race & Class

WE are sad to have to record the death of Africanist scholar Basil Davidson, one of the most stalwart supporters of the IRR and *Race & Class* and a member of its Editorial Working Committee from its transformation (from *RACE*) in 1974. With Thomas Hodgkin, Malcolm Caldwell, Ken Jordaan and Eqbal Ahmad, he was the last surviving member of the generation of anti-imperialist scholar activists who, over thirty years ago, valued the idea of launching with us a journal 'for Black and Third World Liberation'.

In terms of the production of the journal, we have brought in a number of changes, following the resignation of Arun Kundnani as editor (to continue his research into national security programmes at the Open Society Institute in New York). Although the IRR was extremely sorry to see him go from the staff – he remains as an advisor on the Editorial Working Committee – it also provided us with the opportunity to rethink many of the journal's working practices. We have decided to streamline the production of the journal, handing to Sage, our publisher, much of the styling and copy-editing which is now done electronically, with the page formatting then being outsourced abroad. This will bring us more into line with the way in which other journals work using new technologies.

The editorial decisions, the liaising with contributors and initial editing is still being done in-house through a *Race & Class* team composed of Hazel Waters, Liz Fekete and Jenny Bourne with A. Sivanandan also acting as an advisory editor. Jenny Bourne has taken on the temporary post of Acting Editor.



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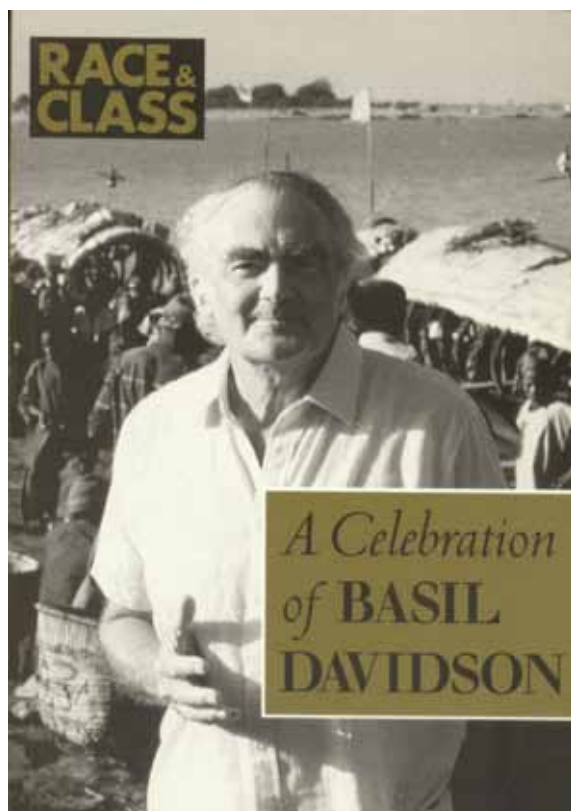
An innovation this year was the introduction of a facebook page for the journal which already has almost 300 friends. It gives us the chance to draw attention to activities around the journal, and especially when *Race & Class* authors are

speaking at meetings, making presentations or participate in artistic events, based on what they have written for us. We feel at a time when our more traditional ways of attracting individual readers clearly no longer work, this will be a useful way of making the journal known to a new generation of readers.

During the year we have published three general issues and one themed special on Canada. The January 2010 issue led with a piece by Tony Bunyan

on 'The surveillance society and the state in the EU' and Matt Carr in a complementary piece examined military futurism in the US and UK. Iris Wigger contributed an analysis of 'Black Shame', the sexually-based racist campaign against black colonial soldiers in 1920s Germany and Rebecca Lee wrote on the politicisation of race and ethnicity in Peru.

The April 2010 issue in part focused on incarceration with a lead piece by Liz Fekete and Frances Webber on 'Foreign nationals, enemy penology and the criminal justice system' and



a review article by Luk Vervaeet revealing the convergence of Europe's penal policies with those of the US. Jeremy Seabrook contributed a piece on poverty induced by globalisation in a Bangladesh city, Colin Nicholson wrote on race, class and subjectivity in Tony Harrison's poetry sequence *The Loiners* and Peter Custers on military Keynesianism.

The July issue was a special issue on 'Canada: colonial amnesia and the legacy of empire', guest-edited by David Austin, Sean Mills and Scott Rutherford, with contributions from fourteen Canadian activists and scholars. It revealed how the prevailing narrative of

a peaceful, immigrant-welcoming, safe and economically prosperous nation, spared from colonialism and imperialism was in fact a complete travesty.

The October issue returned to the theme of contemporary state surveillance with a lead article by Nancy Murray on the implication of 'total information awareness' in the US. Rehana Ahmed reinterpreted community responses to the book *Brick Lane* and its filming, Ché Singh Kochhar-George examined the Gurkhas struggle for equal rights and Jerry Harris explored the contradictions between capitalism and green energy. ■



IRR News

THIS year the IRR's news service under Harmit Athwal's editorship has developed in many ways. Thanks to support from Rebecca Wood and a number of volunteers we managed to set up a data base into which all the cases of racial violence in 2009 were inputted. This multifaceted database enables us to derive a range of information about the nature of attacks, perpetrators and victims. Analysis of these cases and the deaths attributable to racism was made available in a briefing paper, 'Racial violence the buried issue'. This report, which revealed that there had been eighty-nine deaths since that of Stephen Lawrence in 1993; that certain groups, such as Muslims, asylum seekers and overseas students, were particularly at risk of attack; and that racial violence was being experienced in areas which had hitherto not known it, made considerable impact and was widely reported in the media.

The cases monitored for 2010 (derived from extensive daily research into over 300 web-based news sites) are being systematically included in the database, enabling us to make regular reports on trends and to provide the media and other groups with briefings. A grant from the Esmée Fairbairn Foundation should allow us to develop this area of IRR News over the next three years. The news service has also been enhanced by developing its news and reports on racism across Europe. We have decided to publish the work of the European Race Audit (which used to provide a print and online version of its regular bulletins) solely through the website and news service of IRR – since most people now wish to receive information electronically and we feel it is increasingly important to situate British racism in a European context.

We did this in October 2010 with the release through IRR News of two reports – one from the European Race Audit on deaths of asylum seekers and others during deportations from Europe, the other, complementary report, on deaths, including suicides, medical neglect, destitution etc affecting asylum seekers and migrants over the past four years. The two reports provided a



The Guardian highlights two of the IRR's reports

body of evidence, on which the media could report, to show the implications of restrictive and inhumane government policies on the most vulnerable in society.

IRR News has continued to provide training workshops to the voluntary sector on media skills, asylum rights, detention and racial violence. Five such workshops were held in London and, additionally, IRR personnel went to a number of venues out of London to support other groups' training on issues relating to asylum, immigration rights and the effects of the points-based system for students. The project has also been able to provide training for four young people via its internship programme.

But above all the importance of IRR News lies in its daily news output which goes to over 8,000 subscribers and is also re-circulated to thousands more readers by a range of other NGOs. Once again this year, the output has been greatly enhanced by the regular contributions from barrister Frances Webber on aspects of immigration and asylum policy which have proved invaluable to professionals, especially lawyers working in the field, and campaigners. ■

USER COMMENTS

'Thanks yet again for such excellent coverage. Your services are always first-class.'

'I would like to thank you for keeping us informed. This is an invaluable service that you provide. Just wanted to say how useful your weekly digest is.'

'I want to congratulate you on your report: 'Desperate Measures'...I hope that it helps all of us to shout louder about what we know is happening every day.'

European research

DURING the past year, Liz Fekete, with support from her extensive network of volunteers and occasional help from staff members, has been able to coordinate two key projects the European Race Audit (ERA) and the Alternative Voices on Integration.

It was decided that, because of the costs involved in producing a print bulletin for ERA and the fact that most subscribers preferred to receive electronic information, with many now expecting such information to be available free of charge, ERA should change the way in which it disseminated its information bulletins. Still working through a network of some twenty volunteers who provide stories and translations, Liz Fekete has produced four online briefing papers, which now go out to subscribers and are accessible through the website as per our domestic news service. These briefings have covered four key subjects: the Swiss referendum on minarets, direct democracy, racism and the Right, the background to the French parliamentary commission on the burqa and niqab, and the impact of accelerated removals from Europe. In addition, Liz Fekete or members of the network have contributed a number of features and news items on developments in racism and anti-racism in a number of European countries. It is hoped that integrating European research outputs into IRR News will serve to educate a greater range of people about the need to situate British racism in the European context and awaken them to pan-European trends, for example on Islamophobia, threats to free speech, denial of children's rights.

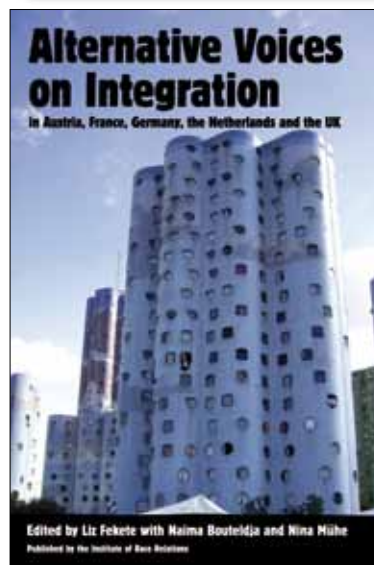
The Alternative Voices on Integration project,

funded by the European programme for Integration and Migration of the Network of European Foundations for Innovative Cooperation, has proved to be a great success. In addition to meeting with community groups in the Netherlands, France, Austria, Germany

and the UK with innovative programmes and writing up their profiles, including successful strategies, for a dedicated page on IRR's website, Liz Fekete created a unique report on integration in June this year. It contrasted official policies in each country under review with the lived experience of that country's ethnic minorities. It proved such a successful idea that groups in Belgium and Ireland have approached the project to ask for similar research to be carried out in their countries. Through the project and the work of IRR News, links have also been strengthened with strategic organisations such as the Institute for Media Responsibility in Erlangen and the Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants.

In October 2010, the project brought together in London some of the representatives of the groups in the network that the project had created for a seminar to examine the particular problems Islamophobia presented as one

of the main barriers to integration in Europe. This meeting attended by over sixty people – from community, NGO, academic, legal and other sectors – was hailed as a tremendous success and participants have urged the IRR to continue to act as a coordinator for building a solidarity network across Europe. (This project is presently funded only till January 2011, so new ways will have to be found to carry forward this work.)





Sabine Schiffee exposes Islamophobic imagery (credit: Sinan Ertugrul)

Particular thanks on this project’s work are due to Nora El Massioui, Nina Mühe and Naima Bouteldja.

Despite the fact, as noted in the Overview of this report, that the UK is in part succumbing to some of the regressive trends of mainland Europe , especially in terms of Islamophobia and treatment of non-nationals, the UK is still looked to for progressive ideas and campaigning experience in many areas. Liz Fekete has over the year been asked to speak to meetings in Ireland, Poland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Brussels, Hungary as well as a range of academic institutions and civil society groups in the UK (see Diary of Events). And press and TV journalists continue to seek her opinion on events and trends. ■



Promoting the Alternative Voices on Integration Network in Brussels



Discussing report on European integration at meeting hosted by Dublin City Council

USER COMMENTS

‘the discovery of your text has opened up a new world to me’

‘the report was a breath of fresh air and so spot on in terms of tackling the very deep structural problems embedded in debates about integration.’

‘I continue to follow and admire IRR work.’

Diary of events

Events, meetings and seminars at which IRR staff and Council members have contributed as speakers, facilitators or in other capacities.

November 2009

4 – Talk to meeting of Prisoners’ Advice Service for migrant/ solidarity groups, lawyers on foreign national prisoners

4 – Lecture at School of Law, King’s College, London on counter-terrorism, racism and human rights

12 – Lecture at Criminology Department, Stockholm University on Islamophobia and counter-terrorism

20 – Lecture at Sociology Department, University of Greenwich on racism, migration and Islamophobia in Europe

21 – Speaker at ‘People’s Charter’ Campaign conference, St Pancras Town Hall, London.

26 – Debate on multiculturalism at The Drum, Birmingham

29 – CLIP conference on intercultural approaches in European cities, Eurofound, Brussels

30 – Panel speaker on community and campaigning at TUC conference on Stephen Lawrence – ten years on

December

2 – Discussion with Association of Charitable Foundations on Preventing Violent Extremism

3 – Speaker at University of Ghent on international terror lists and conflict resolution

7 – Meeting of Children’s Society Research Advisory Group

7-9 – Participant at conference organised by Open Society Institute on Muslims in Europe

11 – Speaker at conference on deportation and citizenship, department of International Development, university of Oxford

12 – Speaker/facilitator at ‘End of Poverty’ film and discussion event (with Amnesty International and War on Want), British Film Institute, London

14 – Speaker at public meeting of ‘Peace and Progress’ party Birmingham on treatment of asylum seekers

January 2010

18 – Oral evidence presented to Communities and Local Government parliamentary select committee on Preventing Violent extremism, Houses of Parliament

19 – Talk to Indian Muslim Welfare Society, Batley

20 – Talk to meeting of Discrimination Law Association, London on employer sanctions

February

1 – Panellist at Bristol City Academy on debate to end detention and deportation of school children

20 – Huntley Collection conference at London Metropolitan Archives

24 – Speaker at Housing and Hate Crime conference, Northampton

March

4 – Speech at conference on education and Islamophobia, University of East London

4 – Speech at meeting on ‘Asylum, law and justice’ Sheffield, for migrant/ solidarity groups

6 – Panellist at launch of Octavia Foundation’s Hidden Herstories DVD, LSE

12 – IRR training workshop on fundraising

15-17 – Presentation to workshop on communication and the media, European Programme for Integration and Migration

17 – Speaker on panel about New Labour, xenophobia and migration, London school of Economics

18 – Talk at student meeting at Goldsmiths College on points-based system

24 – Member of panel on BNP and discrimination law, Discrimination Law Association, London

26 – IRR training workshop on racism in the media

April

16 – Training workshop at IRR on supporting asylum seekers for migrants’ and solidarity/ support groups

26 – Speech on Ira Aldridge at Penge Festival

28 – Speech to NUS international students’ conference on implications of points-based system

30 – Training workshop at IRR on combating racial violence

May

7 – Speech on Islamophobia and the extreme Right in Europe to Olof Palme Foundation, Stockholm

11 – Speech at Tribute to Jan Carew event, The Tabernacle, London

14 – Training workshop at IRR on detention and deportation for migrants’ and solidarity/ support groups

15 – Panel speaker at United for Intercultural Action conference, Budapest

June

2 – Roundtable discussion at Runnymede Trust on Coalition policies on migration.

5 – Talk on Islamophobia at conference organised by British Muslim Initiative, Camden Centre

14 – Attendance at launch of the International State Crime Initiative at King’s College, University of London.

23-25 – Participant at ICOPA 13th Conference at Queen’s University Belfast on ‘Abolition, Reform and the Politics of Global Incarceration’

29 – Presentation on ‘How is Europe affecting asylum and migration in the UK’ to meeting of Association of Charitable Foundations

July

14 – Talk to The Monitoring Group in Chinatown, London on the implications of the points based system for students

22 – Talk at conference on Victorian Popular Culture, Institute for English Studies, University of London

September

15 – Roundtable discussion organised by IRR’s Alternative Voices on Integration project and European Network Against Racism on ‘Are debates on integration popularising racism?’, Brussels

20 – Roundtable discussion hosted by Dublin City Council and the Forum on Migration and Communications on ‘Alternative Voices – Not Integration but Civil Rights’

20 – Participant at RESPECT forum with TUC and migrant/solidarity groups at TUC HQ, London on progress of campaign for ILO Convention to protect domestic workers

22-23 – EPIM workshop in Dublin on Evaluation and Impact Assessment of Public Campaigns and Advocacy

27-28 – Participant in meeting on migration, development and human rights, Mexico DF, organised by People’s Global Action on Migration and Development

October

2 – Training on asylum and the law at Gateshead civic centre

6 – Platform speaker (with Kenan Malik), Black History event, The Drum, Birmingham

16 – Speaker at PBIS conference on ‘Points-based immigration in context: research and campaign strategies’, University of London.

20 – IRR Alternative Voices on Integration meeting on Islamophobia at Garden Court Chambers, London

20 – IRR seminar on Islamophobia and the anti-terrorism laws at Garden Court Chambers, London

25 – Memories of the uprisings, Black History event at the British Library

29 – Black History event organised by UNISON

Finances

Income and Expenditure Account and Statement of Financial Activities for the year ended 31 March 2010

| | Restricted Funds £ | Unrestricted Funds £ | Total Funds 2010 £ | Total Funds 2009 £ |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Incoming resources | | | | |
| Incoming resources from generated funds: | | | | |
| Voluntary income | 68,427 | 8,636 | 77,063 | 127,438 |
| Activities for generating funds | — | 89,378 | 89,378 | 77,841 |
| Investment income | — | 209 | 209 | 2,850 |
| Other incoming resources | — | 605 | 605 | 527 |
| Total incoming resources | <u>68,427</u> | <u>98,828</u> | <u>167,255</u> | <u>208,656</u> |
| Resources expended | | | | |
| Costs of generating funds | — | — | — | 6,765 |
| Charitable activities | 85,407 | 97,579 | 182,986 | 214,696 |
| Governance costs | 1,000 | 13,280 | 14,280 | 1,530 |
| Total resources expended | <u>86,407</u> | <u>110,859</u> | <u>197,266</u> | <u>222,991</u> |
| Net incoming/outgoing resources before transfers | (17,980) | (12,031) | (30,011) | (14,335) |
| Net movement in funds | <u>(17,980)</u> | <u>(12,031)</u> | <u>(30,011)</u> | <u>(14,335)</u> |
| Reconciliation of funds | | | | |
| Total funds brought forward | 170,497 | 70,854 | 241,351 | 255,686 |
| Total funds carried forward | <u>152,517</u> | <u>58,823</u> | <u>211,340</u> | <u>241,351</u> |

Balance sheet as at 31 March 2010

| | 2010 | | 2009 | |
|---|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Fixed assets | | | | |
| Tangible assets | | <u>144,552</u> | | <u>146,584</u> |
| Total fixed assets | | <u>144,552</u> | | <u>146,584</u> |
| Current assets | | | | |
| Debtors | 45,249 | | 43,481 | |
| Stocks of Stationery and Publications | 4,900 | | 7,007 | |
| Cash at bank and in hand | <u>18,537</u> | | <u>55,154</u> | |
| Total current assets | 68,686 | | 105,642 | |
| Creditors: amounts falling due within one year | <u>(1,898)</u> | | <u>(10,875)</u> | |
| Net current assets/(liabilities) | | <u>66,788</u> | | <u>94,767</u> |
| Net assets | | <u><u>211,340</u></u> | | <u><u>241,351</u></u> |
| The funds of the charity: | | | | |
| Restricted funds | | 152,517 | | 170,497 |
| Unrestricted funds: | | | | |
| Designated | 35,523 | | 35,523 | |
| General fund | <u>23,300</u> | | <u>35,331</u> | |
| Total unrestricted funds | | 58,823 | | 70,854 |
| Total charity funds | | <u><u>211,340</u></u> | | <u><u>241,351</u></u> |

The purpose of these pages is to provide a summary of the charity's income, expenditure and year end position. This summary is derived from the full annual accounts, and is not a full representation. This report may not be sufficient to give a full understanding of the charity's finances. A full copy of the annual accounts and auditor's report can be obtained from the charities offices. The statutory accounts have been delivered to the Registrar of Companies.

About the IRR

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Liz Fekete – executive director and head of European research
Hazel Waters – advisory editor *Race & Class*
Jenny Bourne – company secretary and acting editor *Race & Class* (from June 2010)
Harmit Athwal – editor *IRR News*
Arun Kundnani – editor *Race & Class* (till June 2010)
Rebecca Wood – publications officer (maternity leave from May 2010)
Melanie Sirinathsingh (maternity cover from May 2010)

Council of management

Lee Bridges
Victoria Brittain
Tony Bunyan
David Edgar
Paul Grant
Louis Kushnick
Herman Ouseley
Naina Patel
Colin Prescod (**chair**)
Fizza Qureshi
Danny Reilly
Cilius Victor
Frances Webber (**vice-chair**)

Funders

Allen Lane Foundation
City Parochial Foundation
European Programme for Integration and Migration of the Network of European Foundations
Garden Court Chambers
Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust
Stichting ter Ondersteuning van Geweldloze Strijdt tegen het Racisme

Volunteers

Kiran Athwal
Jon Burnett
Norberto Laguia Casaus
Rhona Desmond
Nora El Massioui
Mutlu Ergün
Imogen Forster
Chandra Frank
Sofia Hamaz
Kate Harre
Trevor Hemmings
Lotta Holmberg
Vincent Homolka
Terese Jonsson
Simon Katzenellenbogen
Feliz Keküllüoğlu
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