



# Race Equality in Greater Manchester: An analysis of key issues

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# Race Equality in Greater Manchester: An analysis of key issues

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May 2022

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## Contents

Acknowledgements .....	5
Executive summary .....	6
Education.....	7
Employment .....	8
Health and well-being .....	8
Criminal Justice.....	8
Conclusion .....	8
National policy implications .....	9
Introduction.....	11
Background.....	12
Equality Measurement Framework.....	13
Organisational amnesia.....	13
Future research .....	13
Learning from the response to Covid-19.....	14
Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS).....	15
Education.....	16
Employment .....	21
Health and well-being .....	25
Background.....	25
Health services .....	25
Broader determinants of health.....	26
Ageing.....	29
Criminal Justice.....	30
References.....	34

## List of tables and figures

Table 1 – Census data available at neighbourhood level .....	7
Figure 1 – Male and female unemployment rate by age and ethnicity in Greater Manchester (2011) ...	23
Figure 2 – Likelihood of a duty for relief or prevention under the statutory homelessness duty in Greater Manchester April 2020 – March 2021.....	28
Figure 3: Likelihood of police intervention by ethnic group .....	32

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The views expressed in this report are my own.

Nigel de Noronha

May 2022

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## Executive summary

This report demonstrates the national failure to address racial inequality effectively in education, employment, health and criminal justice. Successful action to address inequality has been driven by local activities by those committed to racial justice. Too often, these initiatives have not been sustained as the individuals involved have moved on. The commitment of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) to develop a race equality strategy is welcome but GMCA must recognise the need for that strategy to be sustainable, embedded in their programmes of work, and to be transparent and accountable about their achievements.

GMCA has demonstrated commitment to 'Building Back Better' and invested in the independent Inequalities Commission, the Marmot City Region report on health inequalities, the Covid-19 Resilience Plan and the establishment of a Race Equality Panel.

Many of the contributors to this report emphasised the need for GMCA: to allow current ideas and practice to be challenged; to make senior staff accountable for reducing racial inequality within their areas of responsibility; to take account of the experiences of people with lived experience of racism to design anti-racist solutions; and diversifying the GMCA workforce and leadership.

The delivery of race equality relies significantly on partnership working which may be limited by organisational boundaries, the legal powers that individual authorities have and the way these are interpreted. The need for continuing challenge has been a characteristic of programmes to deliver race equality. This suggests the need for independent oversight to allow the programmes developed by GMCA and its partners to be held accountable by the communities they serve.

The 2021 census data will be released during 2022/23 and will provide the ability for improved understanding of outcomes by ethnicity at neighbourhood level. Table 1 summarises the key information that will be available to provide a baseline for planning and delivering interventions.

**Table 1 – Census data available at neighbourhood level**

The following indicators can be modelled against demographic characteristics including ethnicity, language competency, passports held, identity, religion, migration history, household composition, age, sex, social class, moved in last year and where from (and combinations of these)

In 2001 and 2011 detailed (write-in) ethnic categories were available at neighbourhood level and are likely to be helpful in identifying smaller communities live to inform better engagement.

Type	Indicators
Education	Highest level of qualification (individual) Educationally deprived (household where no-one has at least a Level 2 qualification)
Employment	Economic activity (individual) Employment status (individual - full-time, part-time, unemployed) Occupation (individual) Industry (individual) Employment deprivation (household)
Health	Self-reported health (individual) Limiting long-term illness (individual) Caring responsibilities (individual) Health (household) Housing (household tenure, overcrowding, shared facilities, central heating)

Quantitative data sources, such as the census, remain a useful tool to highlight patterns of inequality across the region, but GMCA and its partners must continue to recognise the importance of combining these data with an understanding of the ‘lived experience’ of people affected by these inequalities. Census data alone cannot be used to design and implement effective interventions to address racial inequality.

The GMCA Research office will be undertaking further analysis of a 5% sample of individual census records in 2023 to assess the impact of intersectional issues, for example, assessing the extent to which racial inequalities are exacerbated by gender, age, social class, or religion.

## Education

The response to Covid-19 by schools highlights the importance of the professionalism of the teaching workforce and the benefits of inter-school collaboration to help young people achieve their potential. Measures of success should include well-being and broader pro-social attitudes and behaviours as well as attainment. Collaboration between schools in Greater Manchester offers the potential to develop appropriate measures and work together to deliver them effectively.



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## Employment

Building back better requires all working people in Greater Manchester to have access to good jobs and support systems to protect those experiencing poverty, debt and the precarity that arises. The main sources of data for understanding this in Greater Manchester are survey data (the Labour Force and Annual Population Survey). The sample size means that detailed information for ethnicity is limited. This suggests the need to develop local mechanisms, perhaps through the Greater Manchester Residents' survey that will capture the information required. In particular, this will mean defining what a 'good job' is. The Marmot report uses full-time employment at above two thirds of median pay in its analysis (Marmot et al., 2021). In 2018 the 34 local public service organisations in Greater Manchester committed to tackling racial inequality in the workforce. The latest evidence from April 2021 suggests that many have struggled to deliver this commitment.

## Health and well-being

Health services have significant weaknesses in the collection of ethnic monitoring data which limits the ability to assess racial inequality in healthcare provision. The Greater Manchester Health and Social Care partnership has plans in place to address this and promise to achieve a step change in how we understand race equality in Greater Manchester. This will allow targeted interventions to address major areas of racial inequality including primary and secondary care treatment in areas such as mental health and maternity services. Partners in Greater Manchester need to work together to address the broader determinants of health for all. These include income, poverty and debt; housing; and encouraging healthy behaviours. For older people particularly, investment in social infrastructure is central to addressing social isolation.

## Criminal Justice

The criminal justice system needs to address how it can improve the protection of all people in Greater Manchester. This will include moving beyond the measures currently used to exercise social control over racialised minorities by collective prosecution, widespread surveillance and disproportionate use of punishments.

## Conclusion

I hope that this report will inform and inspire policy makers to take targeted action and enable the Race Equality Panel to work with them to co-design solutions to address the racial inequality across Greater Manchester. The work will have been successful if it is used to support Race Equality activity in private, public and voluntary organisations, and empower communities to hold those with power to account for tackling racial inequality.

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## National policy implications

GMCA's commitment to delivering race equality is made more difficult by national policies. The implementation of effective ethnic monitoring, better data quality and statistical publications at appropriate scales would significantly improve the ability of Greater Manchester and other areas to gather the intelligence necessary to deliver race equality.

The top-down nature of national policy making has had different effects in education, employment, health and criminal justice. At the root of current government policy is an assumption that racism is an individual 'bad' behaviour and that the outcomes people experience are because of their own actions. The need to recognise structural and institutional racism is central to effective policy making. In making representations and responding to consultations GMCA need to identify and challenge central government on these issues.

For education, the major area of concern identified in the report is the undermining of teacher professionalism and the failure to allow the space and resources for local innovation to address local issues. The education system faces significant challenges which mean that the capacity to build back better is limited.

For employment, there is a need for better regulation in areas such as the gig economy, pay levels, job security and discriminatory practices. The ability to collectively or individually challenge bad employment practices is limited by lack of access to support, guidance and advocacy services. The lack of visible leadership by racialised minorities is evident in most institutions and in some the lack of workforce diversity is a significant issue.

For effective health improvement, the challenges to building back better include the need to address institutional and individual racism within health providers, to gather ethnic monitoring data more effectively and to integrate reporting on the broader determinants of health for racialised minorities. The work in Greater Manchester may offer valuable learning on how this might be achieved nationally.

In criminal justice social control of 'dangerous' minorities has been increasingly extended through practices developed to control immigration, to counter terrorism and to address guns, gangs and knife crime. All of these practices have been targeted at racialised minorities and this world view seems to be embedded in the operation of the Home Office and Ministry for Justice.

The government's major policy offering for the North is the Levelling Up agenda. In response to a written question the politician responsible at the time promised that equality implications in terms of the protected characteristics would be considered in the process. There has been no evidence published that suggests this has taken place yet.

*The Levelling Up Fund prospectus sets out the Government's approach to considering equalities impacts. The prospectus notes that to ensure we are considering the potential impact of funding on individuals with protected characteristics, we will give due regard to the Public Sector Equality Duty at key decision points and will seek information from applicants and lead authorities to support this process.*

*Eddie Hughes, Parliamentary Under Secretary  
(Housing, Communities and Local Government, March 2021)*

On 17<sup>th</sup> March 2022 the government published its response to the Sewell report. The report identifies 74 proposed actions to '... put us on a course toward a more inclusive and integrated society' (gov.uk, 2022). The failure to recognise structural racism is likely to limit the effectiveness of these actions but it does highlight activity and funding opportunities that may be relevant to the plans of GMCA.

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## Introduction

This report provides an assessment of race equality in Greater Manchester. It has been developed by the [Centre on the Dynamics of Ethnicity \(CoDE\)](#) based on a review of academic and policy literature, feedback and discussions with colleagues from CoDE, the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA), members of the Race Equality Panel for GMCA and equalities officers from local public services in Greater Manchester. The project was initiated in response to a recommendation from the Greater Manchester Inequalities Commission and funded by [Policy@Manchester](#).

The report explores the impact of racism on the experiences of racialised minorities in Greater Manchester. Racism can take many different forms and changes over time and in different contexts. It is helpful to think of the distinctions between structural, institutional and interpersonal racisms and the effects they produce, even though they overlap (Nazroo et al 2020). Structural racism generally refers to longstanding macro-level historical political, social, cultural and economic processes which categorise people into racialised hierarchies, produce inequalities based on those hierarchies and then normalise the disadvantaged position of people of colour. Institutional racism is related to structural racism and focuses attention on how racialised inequalities are produced and ingrained through the function of particular institutions (such as those involved in the delivery of education or health, for example). Finally, interpersonal racism recognises individual acts of racism and hostility which are too often part of the daily experience of racialised minorities. Whilst these individual acts are distressing, they are the product of both structural and institutional racism and should be addressed within legal and political frameworks within individual organisations and the wider society. As a result, the focus of this report is on the lived experiences of structural and institutional racism by racialised minorities.

The next section provides some background on historical evidence of race equality and policy responses, discusses what matters to racialised minorities, the challenges faced by organisations in addressing them and the limitations of this report. This provides a framework to discuss the key areas of employment, education, health and well-being, and criminal justice that are covered in sections within the report.

It is recognised that this analysis covers issues outside the powers or duties of GMCA and that the role they can play may be limited to seeking to influence their partners to address them.

Accompanying this report is a separate report by GMCA Research Team: *Greater Manchester Strategy: Ethnicity Evidence Baseline*, which summarises the Greater Manchester Strategy performance framework through an ethnicity lens. The Greater Manchester Strategy is Greater Manchester's plan for all the communities, neighbourhoods, towns and cities which make up the city-region. The Ethnicity Evidence Baseline report draws on available data to provide a snapshot of what life in Greater Manchester is like for communities experiencing racial inequalities. Key indicators come from a survey of residents in Greater Manchester. Whilst this does provide useful evidence it is important to note that for some issues, particularly those that only affect some people, it will be important to gather further evidence. For example, the experiences of young black youths with the police and criminal justice are unlikely to be reflected adequately in a population wide survey. For areas of concern such as these it will be important to gather the views of those affected through other means.

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## Background

The UK has expressed a commitment to race equality for over 50 years through the first race equality legislation in 1965 and signing up to the UN Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 1966. This commitment has not been translated into reality with continuing experiences of racial inequality in all aspects of the lives of racialised minorities. Many recommendations to address structural racism have been ‘ignored or shelved’ (Ashe, 2020:2). The research for this report evaluated legislation, official reports and targeted policies to address racial discrimination in education, employment, health, policing, criminal justice and community cohesion. The most salient recommendations within this analysis are covered in the individual sections in the report.

The quantitative data used in the analyses covered in the report and the monitoring of performance against any targets set has some limitations. Firstly, the categorisation of ethnicity is partial and at times inadequate. The categories used in official reporting often do not map neatly onto the ways in which people self-identify. In addition, categories such as Black African, European and Other Ethnic Group cover diverse populations and there may be more differences in outcome measures within the category than between that category and others. Surveys and administrative data often contain small numbers of an ethnic group and as a result, higher level categories are used: for example, Asian covering Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi and other Asian - ethnic groups with significantly different outcomes in many domains. The recording of ethnicity may be inaccurate, particularly when carried out by officers of an organisation rather than asking people to identify their racial identity.

Secondly, when local data is not available, the GMCA research team (and many others) must make use of national survey data. The subsequent analysis may not reflect local conditions, the data gathered often reflects central government priorities and may fail to provide reliable evidence on the experiences of racialised minorities.

Thirdly, the use of place-based measures is often used as a proxy for interventions that seek to address inequalities. Area based initiatives (ABIs) set out to address long-standing issues in urban neighbourhoods through programmes of funding to address social and economic problems. They may not appear to have achieved substantive change for people, particularly where the initiatives were relatively short-lived. One such programme, the New Deal for Communities targeted areas suffering significant urban decline and was funded over ten years from 1998-9. The impact of the programme improved attitudes to the area and perceptions of crime though the effect on people is less evident (Batty et al., 2010). In East Manchester the New Deal for Communities combined with other ABIs to develop a long-term strategy for change whose effects have been to transform both the area and the population through major investment in housing (Blakeley and Evans, 2013). Housing-led regeneration is particularly problematic to assess as the replacement of social housing by mixed tenure accommodation has often led to significant population change that may have had little impact on the original residents. The transformation of East Manchester has led to increased numbers of homeowners and more affluent private rented sector tenants alongside the displacement of social housing residents through demolition (de Noronha and Silver, 2022). This suggests a need for caution in assessing change for people living in neighbourhoods that have been redeveloped.

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The analysis and reporting of ethnicity data, use of national surveys and place-based measures may still provide evidence of racial inequality in outcomes but will often need to be supplemented by more detailed investigation to understand its causes and identify suitable interventions to address them.

## Equality Measurement Framework

Unequal outcomes may also reflect individual or household choices about priorities, although it is important to remember the context in which those choices are made. The development of the Equality Measurement Framework (EMF) by the Equality and Human Rights Commission used the concept of capabilities; the ‘central and valuable things in life that individuals can *do* and *be* rather than in terms of income, wealth, utility or happiness’ (Burchardt and Vizard, 2011: 96). GMCA’s commitment to engage with the lived experience of racism by setting up [the Race Equality Panel](#) goes some way to addressing the need to consider what matters to racialised minorities.

The measures developed in the EMF have been used for reporting to Parliament and the latest measures relevant to this report are included. The EMF covered six key domains in the last report in 2018. It used data from 2015-2016 mainly. In addition to education, employment, health and criminal justice identified in this report aspects of the broader determinants of health are covered in the domain of living standards and the domain of participation incorporates representation in governance and leadership structures, and transport and access to services.

## Organisational amnesia

A key barrier to delivering the commitment to race equality is the collective organisational amnesia that is evident within many organisations due to staff changes. This is reflected in the demand for action rather than further research, echoed by the Race Equality Panel, when local public services do engage with their racialised minorities. It highlights the need for adequate induction of new staff to understand what is already known when planning action on race equality and a commitment to record the evidence gathered to inform future activity.

## Future research

Where research is planned there is a need to engage effectively with the subjects of research. Researchers should respect and value the perspectives of research participants. Researchers should make sure that they listen to and understand what they are being told and importantly translate that into concrete actions that lead to change. To demonstrate the impact of interventions organisations should commit to transparent reporting and evaluating the outcomes of the actions they take.

James and Buffel (2021) highlight the value of co-research with older people through better understanding of the issues they face, more inclusive and responsive policy and the development of new skills for those participating. They discuss challenges in the approach and suggest key areas to focus on. This includes negotiating ways to accommodate the lived experience of the co-researchers and providing them with adequate support. They advocate fostering reflexivity and involving co-researchers throughout the process. This will improve the rigour of the research and encourage

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ownership of the process and findings. These lessons are clearly relevant for other areas of research that will inform the delivery of race equality in Greater Manchester.

## Learning from the response to Covid-19

The disproportionate impact of Covid-19 on communities and neighbourhoods was highlighted in the Marmot report (2021). Local authorities responded by supporting community hubs, engaging with communities to address concerns about the vaccination programme and providing advice and support because of the pandemic. The learning from this has informed actions by local authorities in Greater Manchester as part of the Covid-19 recovery:

*We are working with the community to transition these hubs from focusing on Covid humanitarian needs into strategic community support hubs and will be setting goals around inclusion. (Trafford Council)*

*We held a Big Listening Festival with a focused week on equality that included engaging with communities and school pupils. We recognise the need to:*

- *get everyone involved, not just in design but implementation.*
- *focus on lived experience.*
- *avoid generalising and recognise that people have multiple characteristics*
- *understand each other's experiences.*
- *use the right language. (Wigan Council)*

In Bury we heard about an open approach to listening to communities.

### **Case Study: Listening Sessions in Bury**

In Bury a series of listening sessions about race as part of the joint inclusion strategy between Bury Council and Bury Clinical Commissioning group. They commissioned an external facilitator to co-produce a series of listening sessions. This involved developing listening skills with their network of Community Hub Managers and Bury Voluntary Community & Faith Alliance, the VCFSE infrastructure organisation in Bury.

Ahead of the sessions the facilitator undertook a series of interviews with key stakeholders from the public, private and voluntary sector to shape the sessions. Sessions took place in community settings within different parts of the Borough – more happened in Bury East where the demographics were most diverse. They explored neighbourhood level experiences with sessions across the borough.

Sessions were open to all and asked people to outline *their experiences of living and working in Bury* – there were not set themes as they were keen not to pre-suppose what would be the most important to people. Sessions were badged using Bury's Community Strategy 'Let's Do It' strapline as the organisers were keen events weren't seen as purely Council-led but as 'Bury listening to Bury'.

Key areas raised include that of representation in public life; access to primary care with very raw experiences shared of racist practice experienced; discussions on communication and the need to increasingly shift to more diverse voices taking more diverse approaches in places where people are and how could this be expanded beyond Covid messaging.

There are some practical successes in terms of engagement of the African Caribbean Women's Network which have become embedded within engagement activity including anti-poverty support and involvement in International Women's Day through linking into the promotion of a Licensing Women's Safety Charter Consultation.

## Voluntary and Community Sector (VCS)

VCS organisations are engaged with, and trusted by, many people from racialised minorities. The VCS offers the potential to provide mechanisms to listen to and develop actions to address inequalities they experience in work, access to financial support, health and well-being, education and criminal justice. Whilst some VCS organisations prefer to fund themselves and maintain their independence, the ability of others to carry out their mission is limited by the availability of affordable spaces to engage with the communities they service. The impact of local funding cuts has been to increase the cost of space which has led to restrictions on what they can do, an increasing reliance on small pots of short-term funding to maintain services. This leads to insecurity and makes forward planning difficult. These barriers to developing services is, in turn, likely to silence the lived experience of some racialised minorities.

### **Case Study: Europia's engagement with the Roma community**

Europia was set up in 2008 to support EU nationals living and working in Greater Manchester. The impact of the pandemic on the EU Roma community has exposed the systemic racism they face. The need to build trust and acceptance means that providing the support needed requires significant investment in time and space to meet face-to-face. The precarious, cash in hand work that many Roma were engaged in dried up during the pandemic meant that many were not eligible for financial support. Combined with insecure and exploitative housing conditions led to destitution for many. Crowdfunding was used to raise funds to support those who were destitute but their case raises significant issues about regulating employment and housing conditions for those living on the margins in Greater Manchester.



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## Education

In the face of unprecedented global challenges to education with an estimated 1.6 billion having their education disrupted, the existence of structural inequality means that the effects of this were more likely to fall on those who lacked the family resources to compensate for the social and educational benefits of schooling.

Measures of educational success have tended to focus largely on educational attainment through formal assessments. There is consistent evidence of inequality in attainment outcomes in terms of race, class and gender, although these show some complex differences between different ethnic groups. One area of reporting that suggests racism within institutions disproportionately affecting boys and some ethnic minorities is the use of fixed-term exclusions as a disciplinary measure (EHRC, 2019).

The impact of Covid-19 has been to replace formal exams at ages 16 and 18 with teacher assessments for the cohorts completing GCSE and A-Levels in 2020 and 2021. A review by the Office for Qualifications suggests that there was variability in teacher assessments. It showed that in 2020 ethnic and gender bias was mixed and that negative bias on the basis of disadvantage and those with a statement of educational needs was evident (OfQual, 2021). The assessment process for 2021 was revised to address this and their analysis found no systematic bias in the results.

National statistics mask significant variation at school level. Schools need to understand the characteristics of their pupils (which may mean looking in more depth than the general ethnicity statistics that are usually collected). At primary level this will mostly reflect the local population. Families are central to providing the space and support for their children's education. This would include understanding the levels of spoken English-language and literacy in households as well as access to computers, wifi and other technology. Whilst these considerations are true for secondary schools and an important element in enabling pupils to achieve their full potential, the element of choice is more significant for some secondary schools. In Greater Manchester the high performance of Trafford with its grammar school system, independent schools and the better reputation of other schools across the boroughs means that children of parents with more resources (either economic, social or cultural) are more likely to go there. Further intelligence is needed at a local area level about the choices families are making, the outcomes for children and the implications for resource needs at school level. This reflects the lack of adequate data at an appropriate scale to inform interventions and the evaluation of their effectiveness. For education data, this appears to be possible through the National Pupil database but it is only available to approved researchers with agreed projects in specific 'safe' environments.

The report by GMCA provides attainment results at borough level. It should be noted that these results are quite dated due to the lack of availability of national data. They reflect the performance of pupils at publicly funded schools within each borough. Published statistics on school exclusions are available at local authority level by ethnic group, age, gender, free school meals and special educational need (SEN) status. The published statistics do not allow for an intersectional analysis as they are based on summaries of performance by individual categories. The focus on measures of attainment in both the regulation of schools and media reporting of educational outcomes ignores aspects of pupils' lives that are equally important.

Structural educational inequalities based on race, class and gender are ‘at risk of being marginalised, especially in policy circles’ (Reay, 2020: 819). In reflecting back on her work as a teacher and researcher in the Sociology of Education, Diane Reay argued that managerial approaches to educational improvement have limited the scope for activities derived from common sense principles of social justice.

The broader environment for many schools in the last two years is challenging, with major issues around poverty and safeguarding. In some areas these challenges are exacerbated by the impact of local housing markets that are used to provide accommodation for refugees resettled from other areas, children placed in care and high levels of insecure private rented accommodation. The changing population is not taken into account when planning for investment in resources for local schools and demographic change may often be temporary leading to shifting demands.

The Pathways to Success programme, a collaborative approach to recovery plans for school pupils in Greater Manchester, provides concrete evidence of other important aspects that have come to the fore as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic (Armstrong and Rayner, 2021).

*The absence of clear and unambiguous leadership from government has freed school leaders from the constraints of top-down directives and has enabled them to make timely decisions based on their professional expertise and local knowledge.  
(Armstrong and Rayner, 2021)*

The relative freedom that school leaders had during the pandemic led some schools to engage with children and their families differently to better meet their needs. It also engaged staff with the challenges faced by their students and local communities. The responses included initiatives to provide learning materials, food and tailored support to address student needs. This ‘collective capacity’ of the workforce mobilised the ‘vast pools of expertise and knowledge that exist within schools’ for the benefit of the communities they served.

The ‘Raising Rochdale’ project provides a more local example where secondary schools have come together to develop a shared understanding of attendance and behaviour issues. Armstrong and Rayner (2021) describe four key areas that were addressed by schools during the pandemic:

- Creating a climate for learning
- Managing resources and logistics
- Supporting vulnerable learners and families
- Caring for staff.

The schools involved in the initiative gained significant benefits from the programme and have come to recognise the value of collaboration between schools. The experience reinforces the importance of professional leadership and the need for educational policy and research to recognise and support rather than contain it. The desire to collaborate with other local schools may be limited by the capacity

within schools to move beyond firefighting and the governance and information sharing protocols imposed by academy trusts.

The experiences of working together in the Pathways to Success project and local initiatives supports the benefits of collaboration between schools. Schools in Greater Manchester have been working together to share practice about embedding anti-racist strategies in schools. This illustrates the opportunity for schools in Greater Manchester to work together to develop common accountability measures that take account of structural inequalities in the communities they serve. Any programme could be flexible to allow schools to agree their own priority areas for collaboration and use the measures developed for this purpose to share them, benchmark their performance, discuss and try out strategies to address the issues facing them.

The focus of these would include attainment, participation and broader pro-social behaviours such as the measures of campaigning and advocacy undertaken by pupils. An important element of whole school improvement is pupil and community voice. For those secondary schools that are participating in the Bee Well survey<sup>1</sup> measures of well-being for Year 10 pupils will be provided. This covers emotions, understanding yourself and meaning, purpose and control that are underpinned by six factors: physical health and routines, school, hobbies and entertainment, relationships, environment and the future.

Other issues were raised in the initial analysis and discussions which deserve further attention. These are summarised below.

Racism has an impact on how pupils feel able to participate in their education, their achievements and the choices they feel able to make about their futures (Alexander and Shankley, 2020). This might include racism between pupils including name calling, bullying and serious violence as highlighted in the MacDonald report on the murder of Ahmed Iqbal Ullah at Burnage High School in 1986. It may also include relations between pupils and teachers.

In 2013 the coalition government signaled the end of multiculturalism in education by the actions of Michael Gove as Education Secretary. His approach to teaching history where the focus on history is 'resolutely insular... a real departure from the current syllabus'<sup>2</sup>. This meant that the cohorts being educated since then have only learnt the history of the British Empire from the perspective of the coloniser. The 'Inclusive Britain' report produced by the government has called for a Model History curriculum to be produced by 2024 and support for all-year teaching on Black history (gov.uk, 2022). This initiative is welcome, although the impact will depend on the quality of the curriculum and the

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<sup>1</sup> Collaboration between GM Learning Partnership, University of Manchester and Anna Freud partnership providing report for individual schools who have signed up (120 in June 2021 more than 50% of mainstream schools). The survey was developed with pupils.

<sup>2</sup> David Priestnall writing about the new curriculum in the Guardian in 2013

resources which accompany it. The same report also calls for a more inclusive approach to hair and uniform in schools which is welcome.

There is a risk of intervention when government sensibilities about ‘woke’ culture are inflamed, as in the Trojan Horse<sup>3</sup> affair in Birmingham (Holmwood and O’Toole, 2017). More recently the Education Secretary intervened on the issue of impartiality in a Nottingham primary school (BBC, 2022).

Pupils can be awarded an education, health and care plan (previously known as a statement of special educational needs or SEN) in light of their ability to learn. The assessment process takes time and where pupils are judged as having additional needs is likely to require further material or staffing resources. There are also concerns about the extent to which the SEN label is stigmatising, particularly in light of its extensive use in the 1960s and 70s (Coard, 1971). The Race Equality Panel felt that the operation of the SEN process should be evaluated in Greater Manchester as it did not seem to be meeting the needs of racialised minorities.

The Race Equality Panel also raised concerns that the implementation of PREVENT<sup>4</sup> and the location of police officers in schools<sup>5</sup> are specifically targeted at racialised minorities. The panel reflected broader community concerns about the impact of these interventions with young people. The rationale for School Engagement Officers<sup>6</sup> is contained within the GMCA Serious Violence Action Plan, and whilst this has been discussed with the Panel, there still remain serious concerns amongst members about the strategy.

The GMCA research team have developed analyses of outcomes by race for the school leaving population covering both colleges and apprenticeships. These are included in the Greater Manchester Strategy: Ethnicity Evidence Baseline.

Higher education has persistent racial inequalities in the type of institution students’ access, their attainment in those institutions and their progression after university (Arday et al., 2022). Whilst the gap in BAME<sup>7</sup> students attending elite universities has fallen, the proportion who leave their studies before graduating are higher than for white students. The attainment gap, as measured by a good

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<sup>3</sup> The Trojan Horse affair was claimed to be a plot to promote radical Islam in Birmingham schools. It has since become apparent that the government knew this was not the case whilst supporting intervention in local secondary schools.

<sup>4</sup> PREVENT guidance for schools requires them to monitor and report on radical extremism. Pupils suspected of being exposed to radical extremism are referred to external agencies.

<sup>5</sup> The No Police in Schools (NPIS) has campaigned against the location of officers in schools in Greater Manchester. They wrote to all Manchester city councillors and were informed that “officers currently based in Manchester’s schools will be pulled out and redeployed into a different role” (NPIS, 2022).

<sup>6</sup> Schools Engagement Officers - Greater Manchester Violence Reduction Unit ([gmvru.co.uk](http://gmvru.co.uk))

<sup>7</sup> The use of BAME reflects the term used in the article to describe UK resident students from racialised minorities.

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degree<sup>8</sup>, is 15% between white and BAME candidates after controlling for A-Level grades on entry. After university, white graduates are more likely to be in a professional job than their BAME peers with the same qualifications and are under-represented in the postgraduate research population. The authors attribute the causes of these continuing gaps to a lack of attention to BAME student experiences. They highlight the effect of the hostile environment, the 'White' curriculum and the failure to recognise the damage caused by racism.

Collection of data measuring participation in Higher Education at neighbourhood level has been discontinued, with the last available report tracking the cohort of pupils who turned 18 between 2010 and 2014. Historically these reports showed significant variation between neighbourhoods in Greater Manchester but data were not disaggregated by ethnicity.

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<sup>8</sup> Defined as a First or 2:1 degree

## Employment

Ethnic inequalities in the labour market are not only unjust but also affect productivity and the prospect for economic growth. They cover employment, unemployment and access to 'good jobs'. Whilst there is no agreed definition of a good job it tends to include elements of pay, security and stability. Analysis of inclusive growth in Greater Manchester identified the need to be informed about who is not included and why (Elahi, 2017). It showed that all racialised minorities are 'less likely to be employed in Greater Manchester. Pakistani and Bangladeshi people, especially women are least likely to be employed' (Elahi:1). These patterns varied between local authorities. The report identified complex reasons for these differences based on national research. Employer discrimination affects not only appointment of staff but also training opportunities and progression. It may also allow toxic workplace cultures to go unchallenged. Racialised minorities are more likely to be in low-paid, precarious jobs and some may live in areas with lower employment levels. Some key indicators described in more detail in the GMCA report will provide evidence of inequalities in access to employment. These include educational attainment, access to information about careers and apprenticeships, and access to transport.

Despite improving educational performance by racialised minorities, barriers in the labour market mean that there are continuing inequalities in employment and earnings (Platt and Nandi, 2020). Longitudinal work based on the census from 1971 to 2011 showed disadvantage for first generation migrants affecting those who came from the New Commonwealth in the 1950s and 1960s as well as evidence of structural racism affecting racialised minorities born in the UK (Karlsen et al., 2020).

This pattern of employment disadvantage is likely to be evident for those who came to the UK in later waves of migration and settlement. The 'hostile environment' has also restricted the opportunities for those without full citizenship rights leading to unregulated employment for some (Migrants' Right Network, 2019).

Studies highlight the intersectional nature of inequalities in employment with gender, religion and country of birth disadvantaging groups differentially. Whilst employment rates of racialised minorities have reduced over time, there is still an apparent ethnic penalty. There are significant pay differentials between white and racialised minorities, particularly for those from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds. The employment rate for black men is 71% compared to 81% for white men. White women are twice as likely to be employed as Bangladeshi and Pakistani women (Ayrton and Holden, 2021). Labour market participation by racialised minority women was the focus of research and an investigation by the Equal Opportunities Commission (Ahmed and Dale, 2007). The findings identified specific barriers in the labour market which included the availability of appropriate jobs, the need to balance employment with other responsibilities and racism, which tended to reinforce the occupational segregation of racialised minorities.

The effect of occupational segregation continues to be identified by later research (Brynin and Güveli, 2012; Longhi, 2020). The growth of more insecure forms of work through zero hours contracts and the 'gig economy' has disproportionately affected racialised minorities (Ayrton and Holden, 2021). Perceptions of the labour market may contribute to a hierarchy in the opportunities that racialised minorities believe are realistic (Phillips, 2020).

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In their analysis of changing labour market conditions for racialised minorities Clark and Ochmann (2022) explore the trends in access to ‘good jobs’. They define good jobs as paying at least 60% of the regional median wage, being secure, not having less hours than desired or not being solo self-employed<sup>9</sup>. The results show that whilst the number of some racialised minorities in employment has improved and for some groups the number in good jobs has increased, they are more likely to be in bad jobs:

*For example consider Bangladeshi men; the sample records an unemployment rate [in 1994] of around 27%. This fell to only 5% [in 2019]. However while the proportion of the Bangladeshi male labour force in good jobs remained unchanged, the proportion in bad jobs rose from 10% to 32%.*

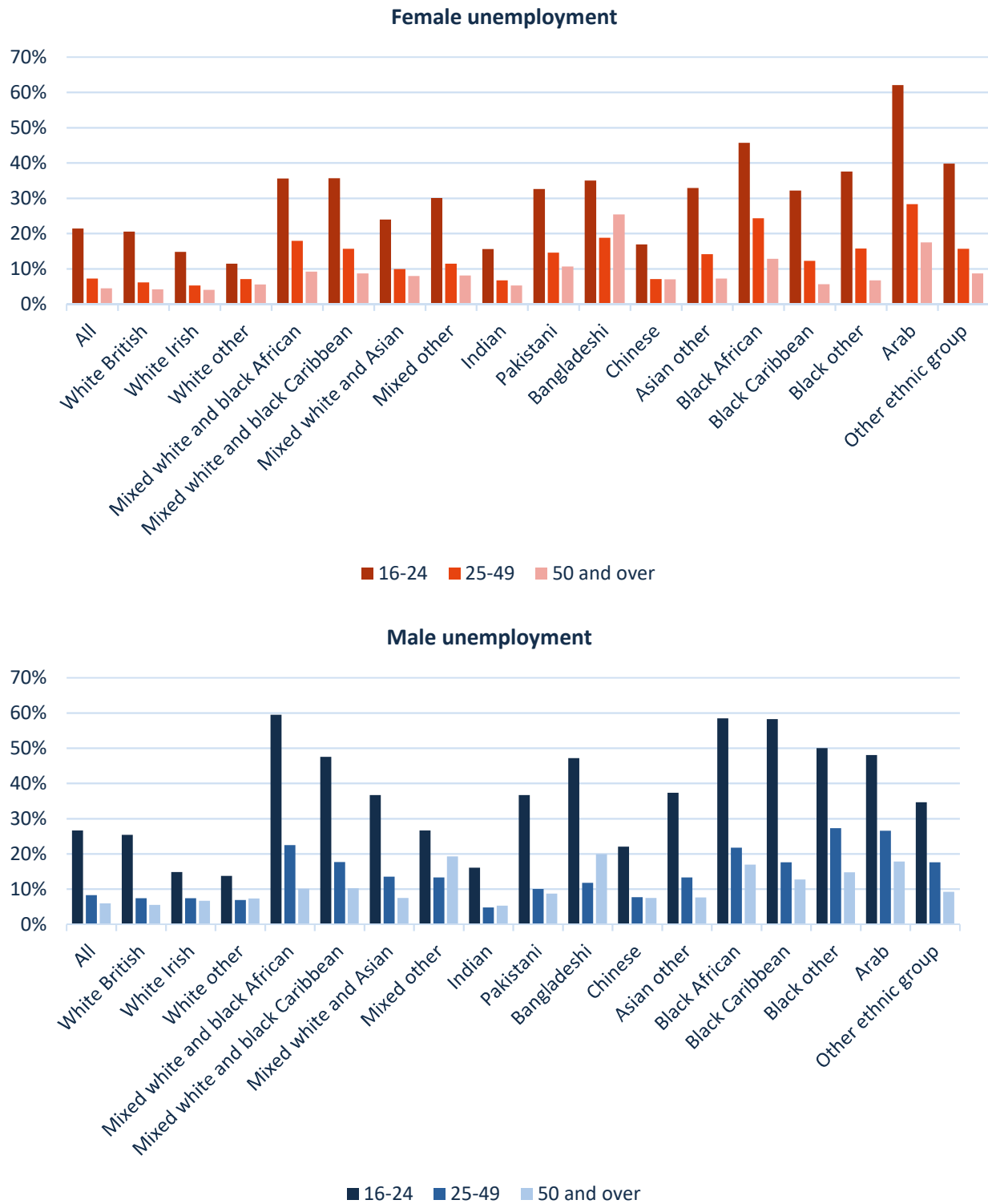
*(Clark and Ochmann, 2022:14)*

National research provides evidence and explores the potential causes of racial inequality in employment, earnings and job quality. This may not adequately reflect the differences within groups and the way that this affects the working age population in Greater Manchester. The 2021 census will provide a more comprehensive description of differences between and within racialised minorities at neighbourhood level covering occupational social class and employment sector. This evidence will provide a baseline to develop local interventions that address structural inequalities in employment and earnings. Figure 1 shows the male and female unemployment rates by ethnicity for those who were economically active as recorded in the 2011 census in Greater Manchester. This shows stark inequalities particularly for young people. The charts exclude students and those who are economically inactive from the analysis.

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<sup>9</sup> This category of worker has increased significantly as a result of the gig economy. It may be worth further refinement if it were adopted by GMCA to exclude those in higher level jobs

Figure 1 – Male and female unemployment rate by age and ethnicity in Greater Manchester (2011)



Source: 2011 census standard table DC2601EW



The Race Equality Panel also highlighted the need for transparency and accountability in terms of workforce representativeness across public, voluntary and private sector organisations in Greater Manchester and specific issues around the retention of racialised minorities in senior roles. Local public services are key employers in Greater Manchester and in 2018 they committed to tackling racial inequality in the workforce. The review of performance against these objectives in 2021 identified challenges for many of the 34 local public service organisations (GMCA, 2021b).

#### **Headlines from the review of workforce race equality programme for Greater Manchester public sector organisations**

If you are from a community which experiences racial inequalities, you are:

- Less likely to work in public services (unless you are qualifying as a NHS member of staff or police officer)
- Less likely to see people like you in senior positions of organisations
- More likely to be subject to a formal disciplinary

and

- Less likely to earn the same hourly rate as your white counterparts.

To achieve the ambition to address racial inequality in local public service organisations in Greater Manchester needs more commitment to achieve change and the data collected should be published to increase transparency around the issues identified.

GMCA has worked with Operation Black Vote to promote a leadership programme to address the under-representation of racialised minorities in civic and public life, with a particular focus on young people.

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## Health and well-being

This section considers race equality in health service delivery, the broader determinants of health and recent research on ageing in Greater Manchester. The Greater Manchester Health and Social Care partnership are developing their approach to equality which will be incorporated within the Greater Manchester strategy in the future.

### Background

In 2006 the NHS brought thirteen primary care trusts (PCT), including Central Manchester PCT, into a programme to improve outcomes for people from racialised minorities. **Race for Health** focused on the skills and approaches needed to commission services that are effective for all. The initiative promised significant improvement but seemed to evaporate in the face of health service re-organisation and a government focused on austerity (NHS, 2008).

### Health services

The failure of health services to address racial inequalities has been extensively documented. The latest report commissioned by the NHS Race and Health Observatory (Kapadia et al., 2022) identified fear of discrimination as a barrier to racialised minorities seeking help for mental health issues. It showed lower referral rates to psychological therapies for racialised minorities compared to white patients. The rates of compulsory admission to acute mental health services were much higher for black people and were also higher for mixed black and white and South Asian patients compared to white patients. There were similar experiences for younger populations who were more likely to be referred to Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services (CAMHS) through statutory agencies such as social services, education or criminal justice. In contrast young white people were more likely to be referred by their parents (Kapadia et al., 2022). The evidence available is limited by poor quality ethnic monitoring data. A lot of the studies used in this section of the report are based around the Maudsley hospital which has good data linkage and better ethnic monitoring.

Communication with racialised minorities using maternity services was identified as problematic. For those whose first language is not English there is a lack of adequate interpreting services. Racialised minorities with good English reported a lack of trust in maternity services reinforced by insensitive behaviours, failure to actively listen and bridge cultural difference. The impact of this treatment is to make women feel 'othered'. These challenges are compounded by other aspects of women's identity such as being refugees, recent migrants, teenagers or young mothers (Kapadia et al., 2022).

There was limited evidence on experiences of digital inclusion and its impact on access to health services. Racialised minorities make less use of NHS Direct and are less satisfied with telephone triage by GPs. There were some concerns about older racialised minorities' ability and willingness to use digital technologies. Racialised minorities are not well represented in genomic research which leads to potentially less effective treatments that are informed by such research (Kapadia et al., 2022).

There are complex inequalities in the NHS workforce which reflect the types of jobs taken by racialised minorities and lower rates of career progression. The experiences of racist abuse and their impact on the health and well-being of those who experience them are not well understood and deserve significantly more attention (Kapadia et al., 2022).

This detailed review of areas identified by the NHS Race and Health Observatory is reinforced by other studies. Racial inequality 'in health outcomes, experiences of health care and employment in the NHS workforce are substantial and, in the main, have not changed over time' (Chouhan and Nazroo, 2020). Whilst racialised minorities are more likely to experience poor health there is considerable variation across groups and different health conditions.

Poor recording of ethnic monitoring is a recurring issue in health, particularly highlighted in the response to Covid-19. The development of health records in Greater Manchester promises to address this weakness through a master patient index together with linked activity data.

## Broader determinants of health

This section is largely based on the report by the Institute of Health Equity *Build back fairer in Greater Manchester: Health equity and dignified lives* (Marmot et al., 2021).

At the heart of the report is the impact of a decade of austerity policies on individuals and local public services. The impacts of the cuts are associated with the disproportionate impacts of Covid-19 on those who have been disadvantaged in different ways. The report identifies key issues that need to be addressed including homelessness, school exclusions and low educational attainment, food poverty, debt, poor health and unemployment. It proposes standards for employment quality, environment and housing, transport and clean air. The report identifies a set of beacon indicators to measure the impact of work by GMCA and partners on these areas of disadvantage.

The report echoes the focus of GMCA on young people and the impact the Covid-19 pandemic has had on their education and well-being. Beacon indicators in this area include a measure of school readiness to inform early years' provision, well-being in secondary school as measured by the Beewell survey, attendance and educational attainment. The availability of data disaggregated by race for these indicators is discussed in the Greater Manchester Strategy: Ethnicity Evidence Baseline report. Similarly, the extent to which people feel safe in their local area and that people with different backgrounds get on well together are included as beacon indicators. The measure of anti-social behaviour is a place-based measure and is not easily disaggregated by race.

The importance of access to good jobs for all and skills and employment for young people is highlighted in beacon indicators covering the proportion of 18-24 year olds not in education, employment or training (NEETs), the unemployment rate, low earnings and temporary employment. The availability of reliable breakdowns of these indicators by race is discussed in the GMCA report.

The focus on income, poverty and debt identifies three key indicators – children in low income households, percentage of households with low income and debt advice services provided by Citizens Advice. The Marmot report states that 35% of children in Greater Manchester are living in poverty. The

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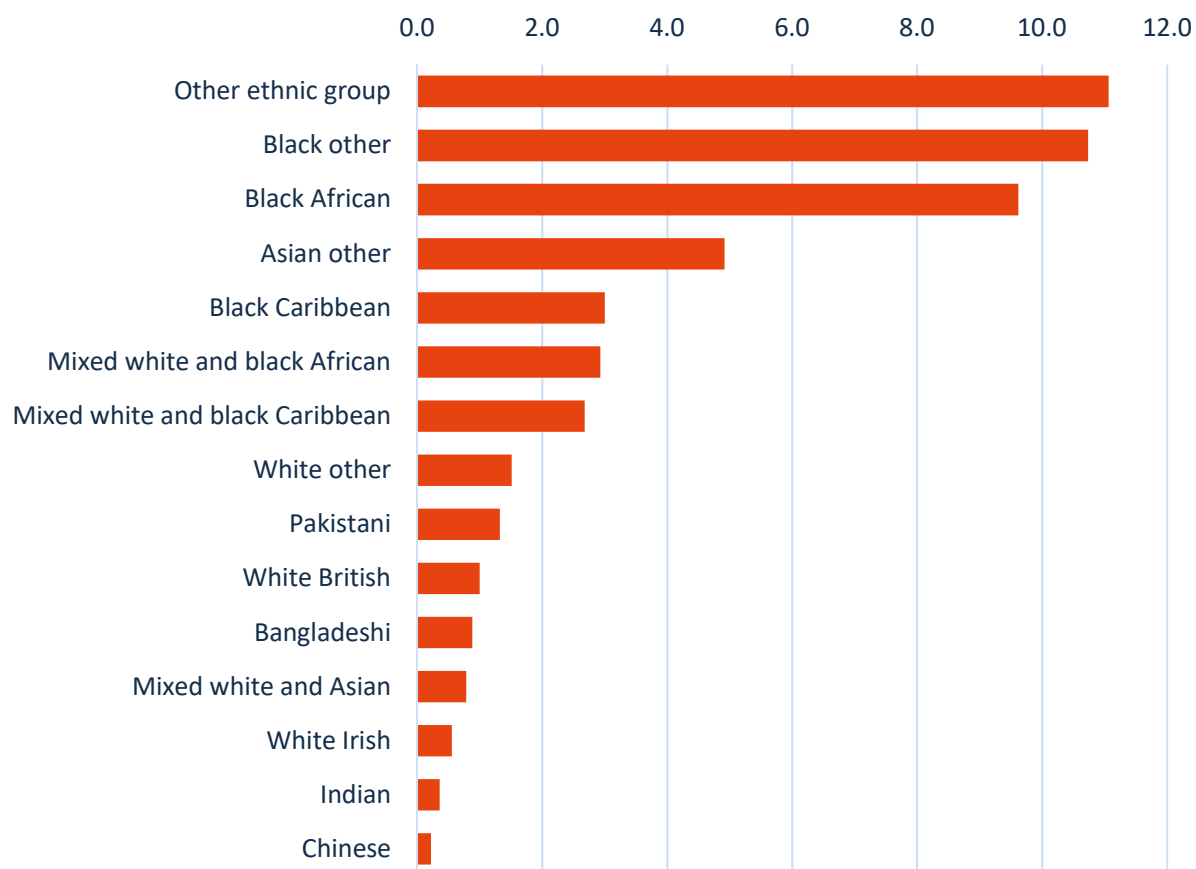
Greater Manchester Strategy: Ethnicity Evidence Baseline Report shows significant ethnic inequalities within this figure, reflecting the impact of racial disparities in pay. In Greater Manchester, one third of black workers and 27% of Asian workers were paid below the living wage, compared with 21% of white workers. Interventions to address poverty need to be aware of the potential for stigmatisation and consider how to overcome this (GMCA, 2021a).

It is likely that the number of people in poverty will increase as inflation, increases in National Insurance and fuel prices, and cuts to Universal Credit come into effect. The extent to which these will disproportionately affect racialised minorities is a particular cause for concern. The consequences of cuts in available household income are likely to be reflected in food and fuel poverty, and increased housing precarity, particularly for those living in the private rented sector. The levels of housing arrears and fuel payment debt were significantly higher for some racialised minorities compared to the white British group (de Noronha, 2021). More than a quarter of Bangladeshi and a fifth of black African and Pakistani responding to the Understanding Society Covid-19 survey were in housing arrears compared to 6% of the white British. Nearly a quarter of black African, Bangladeshi and Pakistani respondents to the same survey were behind with bill payments compared to 4% of the white British. It would be advisable to collect information on debt in the Greater Manchester survey.

The quality and affordability of housing are key measures. Poor quality housing as measured by overcrowding, lack of central heating and shared facilities has been shown to disproportionately affect racialised minorities (de Noronha, 2015). The 2021 census will enable neighbourhood level analysis of the extent to which this affects racialised minorities in Greater Manchester. The proportion of non-decent homes nationally is highest in the private rented sector. Housing costs in the private rented sector are higher than other tenures. We believe it is important to measure household income after housing costs to get an accurate reflection of debt and precarity. However, the inclusion of detailed questions on income and housing costs in the survey of Greater Manchester residents might deter some from completing it.

Many households are unable to access affordable housing and need support which, given the lack of availability of sufficient social housing, is inadequate. For many this will mean living in temporary accommodation which is often unsuitable. This is one of the beacon indicators and should be disaggregated by race. Figure 2 shows the likelihood of presenting as statutory homeless based on the ethnicity of the person presenting. The profile is different from the national one and shows significant ethnic inequalities.

**Figure 2 – Likelihood of a duty for relief or prevention under the statutory homelessness duty in Greater Manchester April 2020 – March 2021**



Source: Extracted from *Statutory homelessness: detailed local authority-level tables and projections of ethnic populations by local authority* (Rees et al., 2011)

Homelessness for those who are not classed as owed a duty of relief or prevention may include rough sleeping and sofa surfing. The Greater Manchester programme *A Bed Every Night* was successful in reducing the number of people sleeping rough. However, the overall impact of the programme appears to be more limited with mixed effectiveness in addressing the support needs of those who accessed the scheme and limited effectiveness in securing suitable move-on accommodation (Watts et al., 2021).

There is a beacon indicator for the cost of public transport. Data from Transport for Greater Manchester on use of public transport by race is identified in the report by GMCA and offers the potential to analyse the ease of access to public transport. Breaches in air quality is a beacon indicator that is place-based and has limited potential to be disaggregated by race though it does highlight neighbourhoods where air quality is poor.

The final section of the report identifies the need for action to encourage healthy behaviours and address the major causes of mortality. It highlights concerns that the pandemic has led to increases in smoking, alcohol, obesity and violence and abuse within households. The GMCA report highlights

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differences in physical activity, obesity and smoking at regional or national level. Other areas of focus identified are falls amongst older people and low birth weight babies. There is a need to explore the evidence available on ethnic inequalities in these measures in Greater Manchester to inform the plans of the Greater Manchester Health and Social Care Partnership.

## Ageing

The Ambition for Ageing programme in Greater Manchester invested in small scale projects in target wards across the county. The evaluation identified key factors that contributed to successful projects (Barker, 2022). These included a recognition of the knowledge held by communities and the need to work with them to develop solutions to the problems they identify; the importance of relationships and networks and the need to invest time and resources in developing them. Central to the programme was a recognition of diverse experiences of ageing and the ‘need to address lifelong inequalities associated with class, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation, together with the impact of these on quality of life in old age’ (Lang, 2022).

Covid-19 increased social exclusion among older people, with social distancing, self-isolation and shielding policies disrupting the ability to meet others outside the home. Addressing social isolation amongst older people requires places for older racialised minorities to meet informally (Yarker, 2020). Central to this is investment in the provision of space by community and voluntary organisations. The lack of local neighbourhood involvement in the response to the pandemic was likely to have encouraged lower levels of compliance with central government guidance. (Phillipson et al., 2021: 6). The authors identify benefits from community-centred approaches as they would:

- be more likely to come up with solutions that meet the diverse needs of the community
- be more effective in challenging negative views of the effectiveness of the vaccine programme
- be able to deliver tailored public health messaging, for example about the importance of testing and self-isolation
- convince people that their actions can make a difference.

Building back better needs to take account of the needs of older people and embed age-friendly principles. The specific needs of marginalised groups<sup>10</sup> of older people are reflected in their location in more deprived urban neighbourhoods where the effects of austerity policies have been most severe with many living in poor quality housing (Buffel et al, 2022).

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<sup>10</sup> The research defines marginalised to include race, ethnicity, gender, disability, LGBTQ+ and dementia

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## Criminal Justice

The primary function of the criminal justice system is to protect people and their property. Criminal justice is delivered through different agencies designed to detect, apprehend and convict those guilty of crime, to punish them appropriately and help them to stop offending. Structural racism and institutional racism in many of the agencies involved (Shankley and Williams, 2020) means that the delivery of criminal justice for all is problematic for racialised minorities in the UK. Official reports and inquiries have failed to achieve sustained change in the criminal justice system (Ashe, 2021).

There is a wealth of evidence of the failure to protect racialised minorities from crime. Over a century ago race riots in port cities were organised by white workers to remove the right to work of black seamen from the British Empire. In 1958 race riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill were organised by young white men to demonstrate against 'coloured immigration'. Anti-immigration movements attack on the rights of racialised minorities to live in the UK have continued with organisations like the National Front, British National Party and the English Defence League taking direct action. In Southall in 1979 and Bradford in 1982 and elsewhere the National Front attacked local communities, the police and courts failed to protect them and as a result young people defended themselves (Ramamurthy, 2013).

More recently, toxic anti-immigrant rhetoric framed the emergence of UKIP and the Vote Leave campaign during the EU referendum. The discourse of anti-immigrant rhetoric, the Brexit debate, the 'war on terror' and the justifications for the deportation of 'foreign criminals' has led to some groups seeing racialised minorities as a threat which in turn has increased levels of race hate crime.

Despite these tactics the images associated with race and criminal justice are of the black mugger of the 1970s, black rioters from the 1980s, armed black gangs dealing drugs and the Muslim terrorist. The criminal justice system has contributed to the racialisation of different groups at different times to create the basis for collective social control of those perceived as a threat to the social order.

The riots in 1981 were associated with racism, exclusion and discriminatory use of stop and search powers by the police. It was particularly associated with young black men, in inner-city areas in England. The period was characterised by high rates of unemployment which disproportionately affected young racialised minorities. The Scarman report on the 1981 riots identified the need to address discriminatory policing, low levels of trust in the police and broader social policy to address racial inequalities in employment, housing and education. Police treatment of young black men was clearly discriminatory.

The MacPherson report identified the institutional racism evident in the Metropolitan Police response to the murder of Steven Lawrence. This led to the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000) which required the police to address race equality for the first time. Racism was not recognised in the official report of the 2001 riots in northern towns (Oldham, Burnley and Bradford). The explanation focused on a thesis of 'parallel lives', specifically Muslims living, working and being educated separately. The analysis led to the development of policies on community cohesion.

Black Lives Matters has had a significant effect on public attitudes toward race and policing in particular. Government failure to recognise structural racism and these changing attitudes have led to an increasing polarisation of views. The recent debate amongst chief constables reflects this polarisation with their failure to collectively accept institutional racism within their forces.

The continuing evidence of disproportionate policing is evident in stop and search statistics, higher levels of arrest, use of excessive force, the continuing use of Prevent legislation against Muslims and low levels of trust in the police and criminal justice system amongst those racialised minorities subject to disproportionate treatment. The impact is evident in the broader criminal justice system. There are a higher proportion of black, Asian and gypsy, Roma and travellers in prison.

The approach to charging black people reflects the discourse of drugs and gangs (Williams and Clarke, 2018). This has led to the use of ‘joint enterprise’ in cases involving those perceived as members of gangs, particularly young black men.

*[Joint Enterprise] is a doctrine of common law that permits the prosecution of more than one person for the same offence. The doctrine can apply where suspects have played different roles, and where a suspect was not in the proximity of the offence committed. Intrinsic to its application is the principle of ‘common purpose’, in which it is alleged that individuals have planned to commit a crime together. Where such a ‘common purpose’ is demonstrable, peripherally associated individuals, or ‘secondary parties’, may be held liable for crimes committed by a member of a group, even though they may not have participated in the crime or intended to commit it (Crown Prosecution Service 2018). (Clarke and Williams, 2020: 118)*

The development of conditional citizenship in the Nationality and Borders Bill 2021 compounds the structural racism of the criminal justice system. The discourse around the ‘foreign criminal’ has led to the deportation of those who have been sentenced to prison for more than a year (de Noronha, 2020). For young black men and women, many of them brought up in the UK, this has led to family breakup, disrupted relationships and significant hardship.

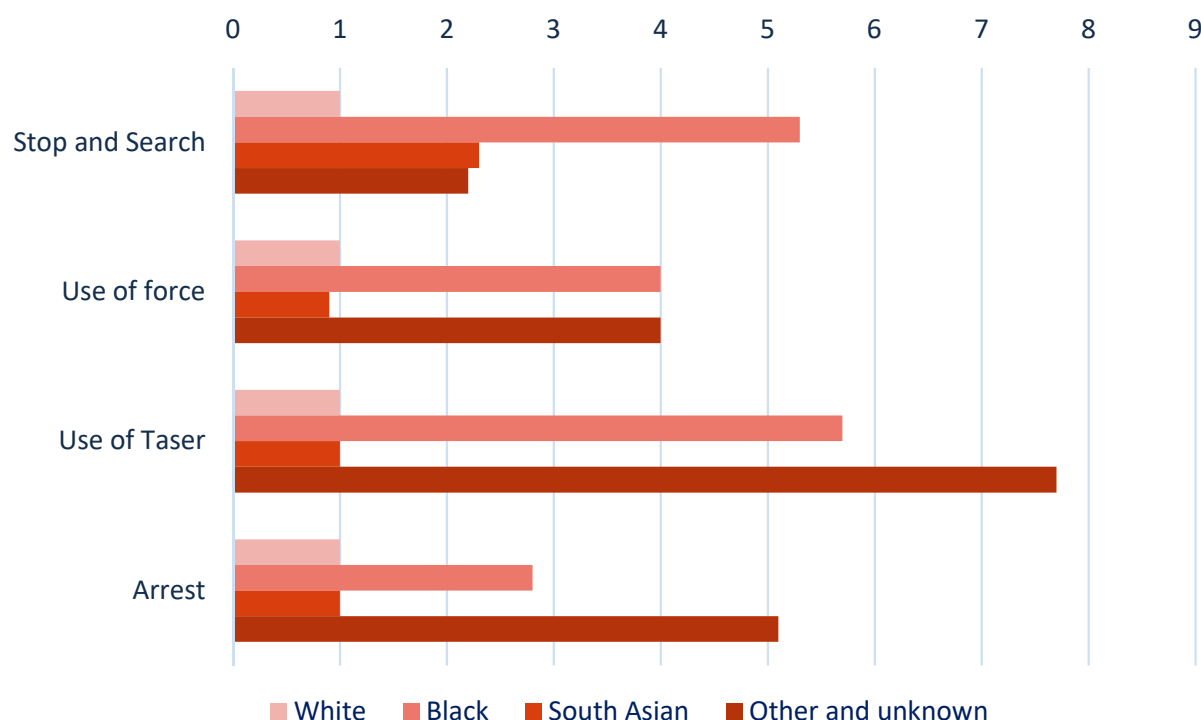
The approach to radicalism developed from the war on terror after the Twin Towers attack in 2001. The national response was developed after the London bombs in 2005. Many argue that the practices that have been developed to address terrorism are disproportionate, capturing information about beliefs rather than just the intention to act and that the focus on the Muslim community does not reflect the threats to the safety of racialised minorities from far-right activities. The use of covert intelligence gathered through the Prevent duty in education, health and criminal justice and the security services places a significant part of the population under surveillance. It is supported by sentencing practices designed to imprison those seen as a risk. The potential removal of citizenship rights mirrors the provisions to deport foreign criminals, leading to the potential loss of family and social connections, and significant hardship through having to survive in what is for many a foreign country.

Greater Manchester Police (GMP) report on applying race equality shows disproportionate use of stop and search, use of force and Tasers, and arrest. The workforce does not reflect the diversity of the communities they serve. The high level ethnic categories may mask differences between the more



detailed ethnicity of the people involved. Figure 3 shows the likelihood of an individual being subject to stop and search, having force used against them or being arrested, by ethnic group. The rate is compared to a rate of 1.0 for white people (GMP 2022).

**Figure 3: Likelihood of police intervention by ethnic group**



Source: derived from GMP report (2022)

GMP failed to accurately record, report on and deal with race hate crime effectively during the period used for their report so this is not included within their analysis. The latest inspection report from Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary identifies a number of areas for improvement for GMP (HMICFRS, 2022):

- There are inconsistencies in how community and neighbourhood priorities are decided. Often priorities are set by the police with limited community engagement or influence to understand what matters to [their diverse] communities.
- GMP currently doesn’t have enough data to effectively understand its use of force, meaning that it isn’t able to adequately understand how it can try to improve the way in which it uses force.
- There are significant numbers of neighbourhood officers being regularly abstracted to support response policing teams. The force is aware that this is having an adverse effect on their ability to prevent and deter crime.
- GMP is failing to respond appropriately to some people who are vulnerable and at risk. This means that it is missing some opportunities to safeguard victims and secure evidence at the

scene. This enduring service failure has given cause for concern about public safety in Greater Manchester.

Whilst these reflect area-based weaknesses, the extent to which the last three recommendations may affect racialised minorities is not explored in the report. It will be important that the response to the weaknesses takes adequate account of race equality.

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