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Midlands, Unit F3, Business Innovation Centre, Aston Science Park,
Love Lane, Birmingham, B7 4BJ**

Tel: 0121 250 3859 Fax: 0121 250 3522

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**CONFRONTING THE RACIST ACTIVITIES
OF POLITICAL PARTIES**

A GUIDE FOR LOCAL AUTHORITIES

FEBRUARY 2005

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CONFRONTING THE RACIST ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

A GUIDE FOR VOLUNTARY AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS

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Introduction

Purpose of the guide

This guide is designed to (i) provide information to local authorities on what they can expect when faced with political parties engaging in activities and campaigns that are driven by a racist agenda, and (ii) what they can do to help to ensure:

- race relations in their area is not damaged, and
- the electoral appeal of racist political activity is minimised.

Reference is made in this guide to various pieces of legislation. The guide should not be regarded as an authoritative statement of the law. Local authorities, when dealing with this legislation, should seek their own legal advice.

A The nature and scale of the problem

1.0 The racist nature of far-right political parties

- 1.1 Mainstream political parties, in principle, are committed to race equality and an acceptance of a multi-cultural Britain. This does not mean, however, that in all localities and circumstances these parties are immune from racist activity. Particularly at a local level, situations can arise where such parties engage in campaigning activities that are widely viewed as racist. This guide applies to these situations in the same way as it does to the much more common situations arising from the activities of those political parties whose core beliefs embrace racism.
- 1.2 There are a number of smaller political parties whose core beliefs are about preserving the independence and separateness of Britain as a nation state. They also advocate preserving Britain's racial and cultural heritage which is usually defined in terms of its white population. These parties are more commonly referred to as extreme nationalist, or far right and their origins can be traced back to the fascist political movements of the 1920s and 1930s.
- 1.3 The most well known and largest of these parties is the British National Party (BNP) which frequently contests elections at a local and national level. Other far-right parties that occasionally contest elections are the National Front (NF), the England First Party, and the Freedom Party. Each of these parties has its own distinctive views and approaches. But they also have links with one another and try to avoid fighting each other in elections, although this can happen.
- 1.4 There are other far-right groups which do not view themselves as political parties established to contest elections. For example, there is Combat 18 (18 stands for the position in the alphabet of Adolf Hitler's initials) which, since its formation in 1992, has had a history of racial violence and hooliganism. Activities of this kind can be immensely damaging to race relations and have to be addressed. This guide is not primarily devised with the activities of these groups in mind.
- 1.5 To contest national and local elections in the United Kingdom (UK), political parties are required under the Political Parties Elections and Referendums Act 2000 (PPERA) to be registered with the Electoral Commission. They have to meet certain administrative and financial requirements. A political party's application to be registered cannot be rejected on the grounds of the party's ideology, constitution or policies. The BNP, National Front, England First Party and the Freedom party have all been registered by the Electoral Commission and can contest elections¹.
- 1.6 The Electoral Commission can refuse to register a party's name or emblem and ask for it to be changed where it is obscene or offensive and where it

¹ For a complete list of registered political parties, see Electoral Commission website

would be likely to amount to the commission of an offence. The 'White Nationalist' party was refused registration by the Electoral Commission because its name was considered contrary to the principles of public policy as set out in the Race Relations Act. The party now stands in elections as the England First Party.

- 1.7 The ideology of far-right parties means that they are opposed to the UK entering into close economic, social and defence arrangements with other countries, such as the Common Market and NATO. They also dislike multi-national companies and international finance. However, what makes far-right political parties particularly distinctive from other political groups is their belief in the racial and cultural purity of Britain, which to them means a Britain with a white population. It is this theme or policy which they consistently campaign on and with which they are publicly identified. They frequently talk in their campaign literature about putting 'Britain and the British people first'.
- 1.8 The BNP in its own internal literature says that when it talks about being British, it means 'the native peoples who have lived in these islands since before the Stone Age and the relatively small numbers of peoples of almost identical stock, such as the Saxons, Vikings, and Normans, and the Irish who have come and assimilated'. Given the history of migration into the UK, under this definition many British people who classify themselves as white would not meet the BNP's test for being British. In the same literature, the BNP also makes it clear that it is opposed to mixed race relationships. Its says 'When whites take partners from other ethnic groups, a white family line that stretches back into deep history is destroyed. And, of course, the same is true of the non-white side'.
- 1.9 These views on what racial groups should reside in the UK are reflected by BNP advocacy in their publicity material and leaflets of:
 - An end to immigration, as it is undermining the national identity and values of Britain and making the native population become aliens or a minority in their own country. Phrases such as 'Britain is being destroyed by a liberal/communist elite or dictatorship' frequently punctuate BNP publications, along with claims that, in future years, some white communities face extinction, to be replaced by immigrants.
 - An immediate halt to the entry into the United Kingdom of asylum seekers. They are usually described as 'bogus' or as people who could find a safe haven nearer their home countries. This will always be accompanied by exaggerated or misleading claims about the public cost of asylum seekers and refugees, with the suggestion that the money could better be spent on pensions and the health service, etc.
 - A programme of voluntary resettlement for legal immigrants (those who are not by the BNP's definition 'British') by giving them generous financial settlements to return to their country of ethnic origin. How much this would be and what it would cost is never or rarely mentioned.

- Deportation of criminal and illegal immigrants.
- Policies at a local level that are designed to keep racial groups in their own separate residential areas. They will, for example, oppose any school re-organisation plans that result in more multi racial schools as, in their view, this is forced integration.
- Opposition to a multi-cultural society considered to have been forced onto the British people against their wishes in many urban areas and to have brought no benefits.

These views inevitably mean that the BNP is opposed to legislation that makes racial discrimination unlawful and want to see the abolition of the Race Relations Act. The BNP, as with most far-right political parties, also restricts full membership to persons of 'British or kindred European descent'. There is, however, a debate currently taking place within the BNP over whether its membership criteria should be modified to make it less open to public criticism and challenges of unlawful discrimination under the Race Relations Act.

2.0 What to look out for when the BNP contests an election in your area

- 2.1 The BNP is still a relatively small party (the current estimate is that it has a national membership of around 6000) and does not have the resources to effectively contest or put up candidates for seats in many council elections or for all parliamentary seats at a General Election. It does, however, contest all seats for elections to the European Parliament as it only has to find 75 candidates, and the proportional representation system of counting votes means that it can win a seat in a regional constituency with just over 10% of the share of the total votes cast.
- 2.2 In elections for local Councils, the BNP is contesting elections in areas where one or more of the following factors is present:
- Some level of organisation or activity already exists.
 - The local Council is unpopular and no other political party is effectively exploiting this situation.
 - A significant proportion of the electorate might be persuaded to support it. This usually means concentrating on council seats located in areas with a largely white population but close enough to multi-racial areas so that fears can be exploited about what this could mean for the white communities if ethnic minorities were to move in.
- 2.3 When the BNP contest seats in Council elections, it increasingly runs campaigns to win. Experience has shown that the BNP is capable of running well-organised election campaigns with high quality election leaflets and a lot

of door-to-door contact with electors. Its candidates and key helpers will adopt a 'smart and disciplined image' for the electors and will campaign vigorously on local issues of concern that any mainstream political party could legitimately take up. The BNP wants the electorate to see it as a responsible mainstream political party in touch with them and effectively acting on local issues.

- 2.4 When the BNP decides to contest an election for a vacancy in a Council seat that has arisen outside a normal election period (known as a by-election) with a view to winning it, the level of campaigning can be very high with each house in the electoral ward concerned being canvassed a number of times. This is because it is able to attract party helpers to the area from across the UK as no other elections are taking place.
- 2.5 While the BNP in its campaigning in local Council elections will seek to put across to the electorate an aura of responsibility, it will continue in both its campaign leaflets and in its canvassing of the electorate to communicate its racist agenda. It will seek to stir up any concerns that people may have about race at either a local or national level and to create concern, fear and even animosity amongst the white electorate about minority ethnic communities. The material it uses around race can be expected to exaggerate or distort issues and even to be false or untrue.
- 2.6 Experience has shown that the most commonly-used campaign themes by the BNP in local Council elections on race issues include:
 - Misleading and often false claims about the numbers of asylum seekers and economic migrants in the area and the impact of this on local public services and the area generally. There have been examples of the BNP in Council elections falsely claiming that asylum seekers or certain ethnic groups are getting preferential treatment in the local health service with white people being pushed to the bottom of waiting lists. In a recent Council election in Dagenham, the BNP falsely claimed that the Local Authority had entered into an arrangement with an Inner London Authority to change the ethnic make-up of the local population by making grants of up to £50,000 available to buy houses under a scheme known as "Africans for Essex".
 - Linking Muslim communities to terrorism and the maltreatment of both Muslim and white women. There have also been examples of BNP campaigning leaflets saying it will oppose planning applications for Mosques and the granting of further taxi licences to Muslims.
 - Misleading and often false claims that black and minority ethnic communities are heavily involved in local crime and that the police ignore it in order to satisfy a politically-correct lobby. As a consequence, areas with minority ethnic communities acquire the reputation of no-go areas for the white population.

- Misleading and often false claims that the police and other public institutions ignore racial attacks on white persons by persons from minority ethnic groups. There are plenty of examples of the BNP seeking to exploit for electoral purposes a physical attack on a white person by someone who is black or Asian, regardless of whether the attack was racial or not.
 - Attacks on arrangements in schools which embrace a range of different cultures. These will include opposition to Halal meat in schools, the publication of notices, etc., in Asian languages by schools, the teaching in schools of Asian languages, and the teaching of religions other than the Christian religion.
 - Misleading or false claims that areas with Black, Asian and minority ethnic communities are unfairly favoured in the allocation of public funds for regeneration schemes or in grants to voluntary bodies, to the detriment of white communities. The BNP will produce campaign leaflets showing a picture of a street in an area known to be inhabited by minority ethnic communities that has been improved under a regeneration scheme. Along side it, it will then put a picture of a derelict street in a known white area in the ward it is contesting. This will be accompanied by a slogan such as ‘we want equal funding in our ward’.
- 2.7 Persons who are publicly known as opponents of the BNP and far-right political groupings (it is not restricted to party politicians) can find photographs being taken of them, and their home addresses, telephone numbers, and car registration numbers, placed on far-right political websites so that they can be directly contacted by persons opposed to them. Where this happens, it is usually done in an intimidating, hostile or violent way.
- 2.8 The most well known far-right website is ‘Redwatch’. Redwatch is believed to be run by a small group of persons associated with the National Front and the White Nationalist party. The BNP usually seeks to officially distance itself from Redwatch but it is known that material collected by BNP activists has appeared on the site. To prevent action against the site by the police in the UK, it is based abroad.
- 2.9 It is still being explored whether any action against the Redwatch site can be taken in the UK. Should a community or voluntary organisation find that it has members or staff on such a website, the police should be notified and they should be expected to make full inquiries to see whether any action can be taken. Other organisations involved in work against far-right political activity should also be notified so they can be alerted to what is happening.

3.0 Who votes for the BNP?

3.1 Research² has been conducted into the characteristics of persons who vote or are likely to vote for the BNP. Information is also available from mainstream political parties that have had experience of contesting elections that are actively fought by the BNP. In summary, voters that are likely to be attracted to the BNP or far-right political parties will:

- Be particularly concerned about what they perceive to be high and unsustainable levels of immigration into the UK and about issues around asylum seekers.
- Be particularly concerned about what they perceive as high levels of crime and inadequate responses from the police and the courts to address this situation.
- Have a poor perception of public services generally in their area. This will extend beyond the services provided by their local authority.
- Will have little experience or daily contact with minority ethnic communities in their area and will view the state of local race relations as poor.
- Believe that ethnic minority communities are being more favourably treated by public institutions.
- Be owner occupiers living in terraced or smallish semi-detached housing who believe that what they possess is under threat.
- Have previously voted for the dominant mainstream political party in their area or, equally, not voted at all. The perception that, if BNP voters have previously voted for a mainstream political party, it is for the Conservatives is a myth.
- Be a significant, although still minority proportion, of younger white males that actually vote.

4.0 The level of votes cast for the BNP and far-right political parties

4.1 The elections for the European Parliament in June 2004 provided an opportunity to see what kind of vote across the UK the BNP could obtain, as it had candidates in each of the eleven regional and country constituencies. The BNP secured 808,200 votes, which amounted to 4.9% of the total votes cast. The turnout of voters was 38.0%. Whilst the BNP did not gain any seats in the European Parliament, this was largely due to the strong showing of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) which was, like the BNP, also advocating withdrawal from the Common Market.

² Rowntree Trust 2003

- 4.2 The main difference between the BNP and UKIP was the BNP's more overly racist agenda. The number of votes obtained by the BNP in these elections shows that their racist agenda has an electoral appeal. In the West Midlands regional constituency, the BNP received 107,794 votes, which was 7.5% of the total vote in the constituency. It was the BNP's second-best constituency result in the UK.
- 4.3 In the local council elections in June 2004 in the West Midlands, the BNP and other far-right parties had 65 candidates contesting seats in nine different local authorities. This compares with 26 candidates in the 2003 council elections. The BNP obtained just over 54,000 votes. The main areas where it stood candidates were Birmingham, Dudley, Sandwell, Walsall, and Stoke. It finished the elections with three councillors (two in Stoke and one in Sandwell) compared with the five it had at the start of the election.
- 4.4 The results, in terms of council seats won, were disappointing for the BNP and other far-right political parties. However, the results also showed:
- A substantial minority of the electorate is prepared to vote for the BNP and other far-right political parties where they stand candidates.
 - In a number of local authority areas, the BNP is receiving a substantial share of the votes, which means it remains well placed to win seats in these areas in future years. For example, in Stoke, it won one ward and came second in four others. Its average share of the vote in the wards it contested was almost 28.0% and this was slightly higher than in the 2003 elections. All this points to the BNP remaining in a strong position to win seats in Stoke in the future.
 - The substantial increase in candidates fielded by the BNP means it has a growing organisation in certain towns, many of which have large minority ethnic communities.
- 4.5 The conclusion to be drawn from the June 2004 elections is that the BNP, in particular, will continue in those areas where it has potential electoral support vigorously to contest national and local elections. Whether the BNP is successful or not will depend on the effectiveness of the actions that are taken to combat its racist agenda. Local authorities have a role to play in this area.

B What can local authorities do?

5.0 The starting point is the race equality duty

5.1 The Race Relations as Amended Act 1976 requires local authorities, in carrying out their functions, to have due regard to the need to:

- eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, and
- promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups.

5.2 It is commonly known as the 'race equality duty'. The duty applies to that very wide area of a local authority's functions or work where it has to exercise its powers or discretion over what it does. The duty covers all aspects of a local authority's functions apart from those functions where what a local authority is required to do is specifically set out in other legislation.

5.3 All parts of the race equality duty are complementary which means that a local authority to comply with the duty must, for example, consider the requirement to promote good race relations, as well as the more commonly-known requirements of eliminating racial discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity.

5.4 Racist political activity and, in particular, the activities of far right political parties are contrary to the promotion of good race relations which is founded on such concepts as:

- equality of rights/opportunities for persons of different racial groups.
- respect for the cultural diversity of different racial groups.
- an environment that is free from the threat of racism.
- the shared values and responsibilities of all communities.
- co-operation between communities to achieve common aims and resolve conflict.

5.5 The race equality duty, therefore, provides a basis for a local authority to act against racist political activity. Exactly how a local authority responds will depend upon the particular circumstances with which it is faced. What a local authority cannot do is to ignore the duty and say that dealing with racist political activity is a matter for councillors to deal with in their party political capacities. In fact, to do so, could open the local authority to a legal challenge.

5.6 Persons or groups of persons with an interest in the matter can bring a judicial review claim where they believe a local authority is not meeting its race equality duty. The Commissions for Racial Equality can also bring such a

claim, as well as use the legal powers available to it to ensure that local authorities have the required policies and practices in place to help them meet the race equality duty.

- 5.7 Local authorities are involved in a range of joint working groups and partnerships with other public bodies and also with the voluntary and community sector and private company sector. Local authorities in these arrangements are still required to meet the race equality duty even though it does not apply to the private and voluntary sectors. Consequently, where local authorities are involved in such partnerships, their representatives (be they officers or councillors) have to comply with the duty and they should be made aware of this. Where the partnerships remit covers areas which are subject to far-right or racist political activity, then local authority representatives have a duty to ensure that relevant action is taken to promote good race relations.
- 5.8 Local authorities will also be involved in contracting out some of their functions to the private and voluntary sectors. In these situations, the local authority remains responsible for meeting its requirements under the race equality duty. Consequently where a local authority has, for example, contracted out some of its services to a voluntary organisation and racist political activity could have an impact on the delivery of those services, then the local authority will need to have arrangements in place to ensure that its obligations under the race equality duty are adhered to.

6.0 Setting the climate for race equality

- 6.1 It is a commonly held view that, where the concept of race equality is accepted and supported by leading public institutions, private companies and voluntary organisations as well as by the public at large, it will be much more difficult for far right and racist political activity to take place in an area. Such situations however, do not come about by “silence” or avoiding key issues that need to be addressed on race equality. Instead, it will have been created by strong and sustained leads being shown by leading institutions in the area to eliminate racial discrimination, promote equality of opportunity in employment and the provision of services, and action to promote good relations between different racial groups.
- 6.2 The effective communication of information relating to the race equality agenda is crucial to the creation of a supportive climate for racial equality. The support of the local media in this process is important. It will also involve a willingness to recognise that race equality is not something that can be achieved at a particular moment in time. Instead, it is a continual process where shortcomings have to be identified and faced up to and corrective action taken.
- 6.3 As pivotal bodies in the communities they represent, local authorities are key players in creating and sustaining a positive climate on race equality that makes it difficult for racist political activity to attract credibility amongst the electorate. The statutory requirement on local authorities to have race equality schemes to help them meet the race equality duty will assist this process.

These schemes provide a strategic and systematic approach to identifying race equality needs and issues, for appropriate action to be taken to address such issues, and for this to be done in a transparent and open way involving both the public and its own employees.

6.4 There is an expectation on local authority councillors that they will uphold the principle of good race relations and the duty on local authorities to promote race equality. This was set out in a decision of the Adjudication Panel of the Standards Board for England in January 2004. As local authorities will be aware, this is the body that looks into and, if necessary, adjudicates on potential breaches of the code of conduct on standards that all local authority councillors are required to comply with.

6.5 In the case of Thompson and Restormel Borough Council, the Adjudication Panel ruled that a councillor who openly and publicly admitted that he held racist views and was prejudiced and did not subscribe to the principles behind the race equality duty that his authority was required to introduce was 'bringing his office and the Council into disrepute'. The Panel added 'by his conduct he undermined confidence in:

- the Council's stated aim of tackling all forms of racial discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity and good race relations
- his commitment as a member to tackling all forms of racial discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity and good race relations.'

6.6 The councillor concerned was disqualified from office for three years. The ruling clearly shows that standards are expected of councillors on race equality and that involvement in racist political activity which breaches them could lead to a councillor being found in breach of the code of conduct on standards and disqualified from office.

7.0 Action that can be taken

7.1 *Monitor racist political activity.* Start by establishing the nature and seriousness of any far right or racist political activity or campaigning that is taking place. This will provide an informed base for determining any future action. It will also form part of the local authority's duty to promote good race relations. Local authorities should do this work in conjunction with other key public bodies in their area which have a similar duty placed on them. Voluntary sector and faith groups should also be involved in the monitoring, as their respective roles and closeness to the communities they serve means that they may have crucial information about any far-right political activity and its impact.

- 7.2 The kind of key information required is:
- The form of far right/racist political activity (leafletting, meetings, door to door canvassing of people, marches, etc.) and the issues that are being campaigned on.
 - The geographical area and racial make up of the population which is being targeted by far right/racist political activity.
 - The concerns that the far right/racist political activity is raising and its damage and/or potential damage to good race relations in the areas affected.
 - Whether the far-right/racist political activity can be expected to lead to a far-right party, such as the BNP, or a candidate with racist views, standing in a future election to the council and if so, whether they can be expected to campaign seriously to win the election?
- 7.3 In considering the impact of racist political activity on an area, it is necessary to guard against taking the view that, because there has been no history of such activity and race relations in the area have generally be viewed as not being a problem, it can be dismissed. Experience shows that far right political parties, like the BNP, have secured significant numbers of votes and sometimes won council elections in areas where there has been no history of racist political activity.
- 7.4 When monitoring far or racist political activity, the damage and/or potential damage it is doing to race relations in an area needs to be quantified. This is necessary if the local authority is to comply properly with that part of its race equality duty to promote good race relations. It will also be necessary if the local authority wishes to take action in areas covered by other legislative frameworks and to minimise the possibility of any legal challenge.

Quantifying the Damage to Good Race Relations	
Information required	Possible sources
Levels of race hate crime (figures up to date by local area).	Police. Community advice groups. Media.
Ethnic origins of households by local area. Number of asylum seekers in area, where housed and how funded.	Census 2001. Electoral registers. Research opinion surveys. NASS Local knowledge (councillors, community groups, police, etc.). Social housing tenant data. Asylum/refugee support groups.
Schools: ethnic composition of school. catchment areas for pupils. levels of racist incidents.	LEA data. School monitoring data.
Socio-economic status of disadvantaged communities (white and BME) and how these communities respond to institutions (local authorities, police, community groups) working with them.	Local authorities, police, community groups/leaders. Census/local survey data. Local councillors. Regeneration projects.
Level of far-right political activity, its format and potential impact on race relations.	Mainstream political parties. Far-right political material. Media coverage of far-right activity. Community groups. Local resident leaders/opinion formers.
General state of race relations.	Local authority citizen panel surveys Research/opinion surveys. Levels of interaction between different ethnic groups. Local police tension indicators. Knowledge of local political leaders. Knowledge of community groups. Local media reporting on race.

- 7.5 The list of information required and the sources quoted are not exhaustive. It is a guide to what can be collected but it will vary depending on local circumstances. Its advantages are that:
- ‘real’ as opposed to ‘supposed’ problems about race relations in an area are more likely to be properly identified and addressed.
 - action to address race equality issues can be more easily presented and justified to the public as a whole.
 - it is using a local authority’s race equality duty to address issues arising from far right political activity in a proper manner.
- 7.6 *Rebuttal news strategy.* Historically, a common view has been that the best way to negate far-right party political propaganda is to ignore it. To publicly attack it, for example, in the media or campaign leaflets, was to give it extra publicity and thus make it more likely that the public at large would take notice of it.
- 7.7 The problem with this approach, is that far right political parties, like the BNP, are now mounting well-organised campaigns in some areas to win council seats. In their campaign material they will consistently repeat attacks on particular, or all, minority ethnic communities, and seek consistently to undermine race relations. In these circumstances, to ignore what the BNP is saying runs the serious risk of their arguments gaining credibility amongst the electorate simply because it is not presented with any alternative information. There have been instances of the BNP gaining many votes and sometimes winning council elections by, for example, consistently repeating false claims about certain minority ethnic groups being given preferential treatment in the areas of community grants, housing and health.
- 7.8 Exactly how local authorities take action to deal with these kinds of circumstances will depend on the particular situations they are presented with. However, to comply with their race equality duty, local authorities should ensure that they refute untrue or misleading information circulating in an area that is or could potentially lead to racial hatred or damage relations between persons from different racial groups.
- 7.9 Where the accusations being made relate to the local authority, it should publish the rebuttal information itself. However, where the accusations are directed at, for example, the police or a health trust, the organisations are likely to be in a better position to respond. The local authority should encourage them to respond, and in so doing, point out to these public bodies that they are also covered by the race equality duty.
- 7.10 Local authorities should also pass appropriate information to relevant voluntary or community groups, as well as to organisations campaigning against the BNP.

- 7.11 *Promote good news stories on race equality.* Recurring themes in far-right political campaigning are attacks on minority ethnic communities and claims that multi-cultural societies don't work. To counter this kind of propaganda, local authorities should proactively, over a sustained period, initiate, either by themselves, or in conjunction with other institutions/voluntary groups, positive stories about minority ethnic communities, or stories of how well race relations are working.
- 7.12 To comply with the framework that local authorities operate under in relation to publicity, the stories need to be accurate, factual, and free from any unreasonable bias. Local authorities will be well aware of the range of ways that this can be done, which, whilst including the local media, will extend to other forms of publicity. A local authority, for example, can:
- publish accurate information about minority ethnic communities in the area, including the true number of asylum seekers.
 - explain what public resources are going to what communities and, if there are differences, the reasons for this.
 - explain what it is doing to meet its race equality duty.
 - publish initiatives that have brought all sections of the community together and benefited them equally.
 - publish achievements by groups/individuals in minority ethnic communities.
- 7.13 Local authorities will be aware that local government legislation prohibits them from publishing material in whole or in part that appears to be designed to effect support for a political party. The guidance that is provided on how to combat racist political propaganda does not contravene this legislative requirement even during election periods. What is important is that the content and style of the publicity material is objective, balanced, informative, and accurate, and does not amount to a prejudiced, unreasoned political attack on the policies of a particular political party.
- 7.14 Local authorities can also say that issuing publicity to address racist political propaganda:
- forms part of their policy to increase public awareness of the services provided by the authority and the functions it performs, so that electors are better informed about the reasons for the authority's particular policies and priorities and can have a better say about the issues that affect them. (To do this, a local authority must have clear policies on race equality as set out in the race equality duty.)
 - complies with the requirement under local government legislation to promote or improve the well being of their area/communities. Racist political propaganda that damages relations or even creates hatred between

persons of different racial groups can be said to be contrary to the promotion of wellbeing in communities and has to be addressed. (To do this, a local authority will have to have quantifiable information about the damage being done and thus be in a position to make an informed publicity response.)

- 7.15 *Address legitimate concerns.* Far-right political activity can be expected to identify legitimate shortcomings in public services. In doing so, it will be no different from campaigns run by mainstream political parties. Far right and racist political activity can also raise concerns with minority ethnic communities and white communities about their relationships with each other.
- 7.16 A local authority should seek to address legitimate shortcomings in public services and, where this requires action that will require some time to implement, publicly explain to the communities concerned the reasons for the delay and when the shortcoming can be expected to be addressed. A local authority should also be using its networks in all communities to appeal for calm and provide reassurance and support to any community that is worried about its safety as a result of heightened racist political activity.
- 7.17 *Address racist activity in funded voluntary bodies.* Local authorities provide grants to a range of voluntary sector and community groups in the geographical areas they are responsible for. Where there is far-right party political activity, or other forms of racist political activity, it is likely that the far-right party and other persons involved will seek to become involved in local voluntary and community groups. This is to show that they are engaged in mainstream activities that look after community interests and thus enhance their credibility with the local electorate.
- 7.18 Local authorities need to have policies and arrangements in place to address these kinds of situation. They need to be able to offer advice and support to voluntary organisation seeking to deal with infiltration by far-right party political supporters or other persons with racist agenda³. They also need to make it clear that, should voluntary organisations they fund pursue policies and /or actions contrary to their race equality duty, funding may be withdrawn.

³ See REWM guidance to voluntary and community groups on addressing racist political activity for more detailed information in this area. (Red 11 January 2005)

C Further ways of challenging racist and far-right political activity

8.0 The Human Rights Act 1998

8.1 Local Authorities will be aware that they have to comply with the Human Rights Act in all their activities apart from certain limited exceptions. The rights which are particularly relevant to political campaigning activity and the protection of persons from activities which are racist are:

- *Article 8, Respect for family and private life.* It includes an individual's right to physical integrity and the right to respect for the home.
- *Article 9, The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.* It covers sets of beliefs such as atheism and pacifism, as well as how persons express their religious beliefs through worship and dress, etc.
- *Article 10, The right to freedom of expression.* It is viewed as an essential foundation for a democratic society and extends to the expression of ideas that are favourably received, as well as those that offend or shock or disturb.
- *Article 11, The right to freedom of association and assembly.* It protects peaceful gatherings and meeting in public and private. Gatherings that are likely to lead to violence or public disorder are not protected.

8.2 In the case of all of these rights, public authorities (this expression includes local authorities) are entitled to put limits on them where it is necessary for reasons of national security and public safety, for protection from public disorder and crime, and for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others. Also, the way in which these rights are exercised must be done in a way which is free from discrimination (it includes race, colour, place of birth, and national origin) (Article 14).

8.3 Issues around how the Human Rights Act applies to racist political activity usually arise when a far-right political party or group actively campaigns in an area. It will claim that it is entitled to do this in a democracy and that any attempt to curb its activities by public bodies is an infringement of human rights. Others, however, particularly the racial groups being publicly singled out for criticism in the far-right campaign, will want to know what protection against such racist activity is afforded to them under human rights legislation.

8.4 The rights to freedom of expression and assembly, for example, are not absolute. Persons, in exercising their rights to freedom of expression and assembly, cannot discriminate, create public disorder and crime and interfere with the rights and freedoms of others. Where a local authority believes that this is happening, or is likely to happen, it is entitled to, and should, intervene. In doing so, it will also be acting in accordance with its duty to promote race equality and good relations between persons of different racial groups.

- 8.5 What intervention is made by a local authority will depend on the circumstances. Usually, a local authority will first consult with a range of interested parties that will include the police as well as relevant community interests before deciding to take any action. Further the form of intervention by the local authority will be dictated by those who have the powers to curb racist political activity. In practice, any action by a local authority is likely to be taken in conjunction with the police.
- 8.6 Any intervention, however, must be based on sound evidence and be proportionate. If this is the case, it will be lawful, and any legal challenge will be dismissed. It could mean, for example, in the case of a proposed march by a far-right group, that the reasoned and proportionate response by public bodies is to change the route of the march, rather than to ban it.
- 8.7 The reasons for any intervention to curb racist political activity by a local authority, either on its own or in conjunction with other public bodies like the police, need to be made public. This is necessary:
- to provide reassurance to those racial groups being targeted in far-right political campaigns that the authorities are taking steps to protect them from such activity.
 - to limit the opportunity for the far-right political party concerned to persuade the public that their democratic and human rights have been violated. The public needs to be aware that the human right of persons to express views and to associate does not extend to the promotion of racial hatred and the ensuing damage it does to race relations.

9.0 Use of the law to challenge racist and far-right political activity

Incitement to racial hatred

- 9.1 Local authorities will be aware that under the Public Order Act 1986, incitement to racial hatred is a criminal offence. For such an offence to be committed it is important that local authorities are aware of the actions that have to have taken place. They are as follows:
- There has to be a particular action, such as the use of words, behaviour, or the publishing, distribution, or broadcasting of written material, images or sounds. It includes material on the internet.
 - The actions mentioned above have to be threatening, abusive or insulting. The courts have given these words their ordinary dictionary meaning so that actions which are annoying, rude, offensive or distasteful might not in themselves be enough for an offence to have taken place.
 - The offender must intend to stir up racial hatred or, considering all the circumstances, intend to stir up racial hatred. Hatred has been defined by the courts as ‘an extreme emotion stirring up racial tension’. Also, the

'hatred' must be likely to happen. The fact that it is possible is not enough to meet the test.

- The hatred has to be directed against racial groups which are defined in the same way as in the Race Relations Act. It means the hatred has to be against a group of persons defined by reference to colour, race, ethnicity, nationality or national origins. It does not currently include hatred that is directed against religion.

9.2 Responsibility for investigating cases of potential incitement to racial hatred rests with the police. Decisions on whether there should be a criminal prosecution rest with the Attorney General, based on recommendations from the Crown Prosecution Service. Where a local authority has information that an offence of racial hatred has taken place it should refer it to the police for inquiries to be made. In doing this, the local authority will be acting in accordance with its race equality duty. Also, the police, as part of the race equality duty that is placed upon them, have to treat such cases seriously. A local authority should always monitor what happens to cases of incitement to racial hatred that it passes to the police and, if a prosecution cannot take place, should ascertain the reasons for this.

Discriminatory advertisements

9.3 Under the Race Relations Act (Sec 29), it is unlawful to publish, or cause to be published, an advertisement which indicates, or might be reasonably understood as indicating, an intention to discriminate. An advertisement includes any form of notice displayed or circulated in any way. For an offence to be committed, the publicity from a political party will, for example, in a local council election, have to say that the party would refuse all planning applications for mosques, or that the party would not employ persons from a particular racial group. It is unlikely to apply to publicity merely urging people to vote for a particular political party, even though it is generally associated with racist views.

9.4 Legal action concerning unlawful advertisements can only be taken by the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE). Any local authority that believes publicity material is potentially in breach of the Race Relations Act should pass it to the CRE.

10.0 Marches and public meetings by racist far-right political parties

Marches and processions

10.1 Local authorities will be aware that under public order legislation the police can impose conditions on public processions/marches if they believe it may result in serious public disorder, or the purpose of the persons organising them is to intimidate others. The kinds of conditions which the police can impose include changes to routes, timing of marches, and exclusion from certain areas. Local authorities will be further aware that, in conjunction with the

police, they can ask the Home Secretary for an order prohibiting 'for such periods but not exceeding three months the holding of all public processions in a defined part of a local authority's area'.

- 10.2 Where a local authority believes that racist political activity in its area, such as marches/processions by far-right political parties/groups, will be damaging to good race relations, it should seek to curb such activity. This forms part of its race equality duty. In conjunction with the police, it should seek to have restrictions placed on marches or for them to be banned entirely. To do this, it will need to have quantifiable evidence of the damage or potential damage that such activity is doing, or will do, to good race relations. The kind of information required has already been set out in section 7.1.

Meetings of far-right political parties

- 10.3 Periodically, far-right political parties will seek to hold meetings in buildings owned by a local authority. It is not their regular campaigning technique but is designed to try to demonstrate that they are a legitimate political party and are entitled to hold such meetings in local authority properties like any other political party. They also hope to get some positive publicity in the media through doing so.
- 10.4 Outside of an election period, whether a local authority hires any of its properties to a political party for functions is a matter for it to determine. Some local authorities do hire their buildings to political parties and others do not.
- 10.5 Where a local authority does permit the hiring of its properties to political parties outside of election periods and it receives a request from a far-right political party for the hire of a room(s) in one of its buildings, the authority is not automatically obliged to agree to such a hiring. Under its race equality duty, it will need to consider any damage that might be done to good race relations and balance this against what its policy says on the letting of rooms and the entitlement of persons in political groups to meet and associate under human rights legislation. If a local authority has good grounds for believing that race relations will be damaged, it could refuse the letting. It cannot, however, refuse to hire a building to a far-right political group simply because it disagrees with their views.
- 10.6 In an election period for national and local elections, the position of a local authority on the hiring of its properties for political meetings changes. Under the Representation of the People Act 1983, all candidates have the right to use schools or publicly-funded premises to hold meetings in support of their election campaign. A local authority's race equality duty does not override this entitlement. Local authorities are required to have a list of properties suitable for such meetings and the list must be open to inspection. Local authorities do have some discretion in determining what properties are listed as being suitable for political-party meetings during elections. In determining that a particular facility is not suitable for such meetings, a local authority could take into account race relations considerations. However, this would have to be done at the time that the list was being drawn up or revised (not

during an election period) and would have to apply to all political parties or candidates.

- 10.7 There are certain conditions that must be complied with by a political party wishing to hire public premises in an election period, namely:
- The meeting must be open to the public and not restricted to party members.
 - The room that is hired must be used at reasonable times and not disrupt the activities it is normally used for. This is particularly important in the case of schools.
 - Candidates must pay for the running costs associated with the hiring of a room and for any damage that may be caused.
 - Candidates must give reasonable notice that they wish to use a room.
- 10.8 If a far-right political party in an election period asks to hire a room from a local authority then, providing it meets the necessary conditions, the room has to be let to it. The only situation where a local authority can have grounds for not doing so will be if, in consultation with the police, there is a real risk of public disorder. Amongst the range of public order offences is incitement to racial hatred. In taking such action, a local authority could also seek to rely on human rights legislation. However, in doing so, a reasoned and proportionate response might be to offer alternative and more suitable premises for a meeting, rather than to offer no premises at all.
- 10.9 Local authorities need to be aware that far-right political parties rarely hold meetings that are genuinely open to the public even in election periods. Instead, they hold meetings to which only their members and sympathisers are invited. They are also likely to be the only people who will know precisely where a meeting is taking place. The meetings will not be publicly advertised and members of the public will not automatically be admitted. If meetings such as these are being held in a public building during election periods by far-right political parties/candidates under the Representation of the People Act 1983, then the conditions of hire are not being complied with. Consequently, if a local authority is approached by a far-right political party for the hire of one of its buildings for an election meeting during an election period, it needs to check whether the statutory conditions of hire are going to be complied with.
- 10.13 Far-right political parties frequently meet in public houses or in other establishments where alcohol is consumed. All of these places are required to have licences to sell alcohol and, if they provide entertainment, a licence to do this as well. Local authorities will be aware that under the Licensing Act 2003, responsibility for the granting of alcohol licences is to be transferred to them and this is expected to be at some point in 2005. They will also continue to have responsibility for the granting of entertainment licences.

- 10.14 Under the Licensing Act 2003 local authorities are required to have a statement on licensing policy and, in framing it, must consult with local stakeholders. Amongst the licensing objectives identified in the Licensing Act are the prevention of crime and disorder, public safety, and the prevention of public nuisance. Exactly how these objectives can be set against a local authority's race equality duty and the requirements of human rights legislation will probably have to wait for test cases to be brought before the courts.
- 10.15 There is a good case for saying that how a local authority frames its licensing policy within the parameters set by the legislation is within its discretion and therefore subject to its race equality duty. Consequently, local authorities should be considering how they can relate their race equality duty to their licensing policy and, for that matter, to their existing policies on the granting of entertainment licences. This could mean, for example, a local authority having a licensing policy that provides for the rejection of alcoholic licences to public houses that host meetings promoting racist political activity in areas where this will be unnecessarily provocative and damaging to good race relations. A similar policy should be in place for the granting of entertainment licences.

11.0 School governors

- 11.1 Far-right political parties, like the BNP, are now seeking to place their supporters on school governing bodies. It is part of the BNP's drive to establish itself as a respectable mainstream political party involved in the communities where it has a presence.
- 11.2 Local authorities will be aware that the make up of school governing bodies varies, depending on the status of the school and that the process of appointment and removal of school governors is set out in various statutory regulations and guidance. They will have to be followed by local authorities in dealing with persons with far right political/racist views who are, or are seeking to become, school governors.
- 11.3 The majority of schools are Local Education Authority (LEA) community or maintained schools. It is these schools which are most vulnerable to attempts by the BNP to put their supporters on to governing bodies. These schools have three types of governor:
- Parent governors elected by parents of school pupils.
 - LEA governors appointed by a local authority.
 - Community or co-opted governors appointed by the school governing body.

The BNP can be expected to seek to place its supporters on school governing bodies using the appointment process for all these types of governors.

- 11.4 In seeking to become a school governor, persons are not required to disclose their political affiliations. This means that a BNP supporter standing for election as a parent governor in a school does not have to disclose that he/she supports the BNP and/or is actively involved in promoting the party. Involvement in, or support of, a political party with known racist views and actions does not automatically bar someone from being a school governor.
- 11.5 Schools are covered by the race equality duty and are required to have certain race equality policies and procedures in place to help them meet that duty. A school race equality policy forms part of its ethos. School governors that act in a way that is contrary to a school's ethos and policies on race equality, thus bringing, or likely to bring, the school into disrepute, can have action taken against them by the governing body. In these circumstances, a governing body should, in any event, be taking action as part of its race equality duty.

Action that can be taken to curb racist political influence on governing bodies

- 11.6 *Local Authority (Local Education Authority) school governor appointments.* In the handful of local authorities where the BNP have councillors who can appoint school governors, the BNP can be expected to argue that the appointments should be made on the basis of the political composition of the council. This will automatically entitle them to a number of school governors. Local authorities, however, are not required to appoint school governors on the basis of the political composition of their authority. Instead, government guidelines recommend that local authorities appoint high calibre candidates to school governing bodies, irrespective of political affiliations. Normally, local authorities will do this by setting up some form of independent panel to assess the suitability of persons wishing to become Local Education Authority (LEA) appointed governors. Panels should reject persons with known racist views and by doing so will be in compliance with their own race equality duty.
- 11.7 Where LEA-appointed school governors act in a way contrary to a school's race equality duty, the governing body should either suspend them for up to six months or ask the LEA to remove them. Where such a request is received, the LEA should accept it, subject to being satisfied that the required procedures have been complied with and that suitable evidence exists to show that the governor concerned has acted contrary to the school's race equality duty.
- 11.8 Where school governors have been co-opted on to a school governing body by other governors, the governing body is entitled to remove those governors or suspend them for up to six months when they act in a way that is contrary to the school's race equality duty. LEAs should remind school governors that they do have this power and are expected to exercise it in these circumstances.
- 11.9 Where school governors have been appointed as parent governors following an election process (irrespective of whether an election actually took place as there was only one candidate), the action that a school governing body can take against such governors who act in a way contrary to the school's race

equality duty is more limited. It cannot remove parent governors in these circumstances. All it can do is to suspend them for a period of up to six months. LEAs should remind governing bodies that they do have this power and, if the circumstances arise, they should exercise it.

11.10 In order to minimise the possibility of persons with racist political views being appointed to school governing bodies, or subsequently acting on such views if they are able to gain appointment, LEAs should:

- Have policies in place to ensure that persons being appointed as school governors are aware of the requirements on both LEAs and schools to act in accordance with the race equality duty that is placed upon them.
- As part of their monitoring of racist political activity, be aware of attempts by far-right parties, like the BNP, to have their supporters appointed as governors. Where this is identified, take steps to ensure that they, as well as the school(s) concerned, take what ever action may be appropriate to reduce the possibility of this happening.

12.0 Employees and membership of far-right political parties

12.1 The expansion of far right political activity means that local authorities are more likely to be faced with situations where employees or prospective employees are members of parties like the BNP. What should local authorities do in these situations?

12.2 In English law, there is no general prohibition preventing employees from joining and being active in political parties. Local authorities will, however, be aware that there are statutory regulations which restrict political activity by senior officers and/or those involved closely in giving advice and guidance to council members. In the case of *Ahmed v UK* 1998, the European Court of Human Rights accepted that such regulations interfered with a person's human rights to freedom of expressions and association. However, it ruled that such an interference in a person's human rights was justified in order to strengthen the role of a permanent corps of politically-neutral advisers, managers and arbitrators, above factional politics and loyal to a local authority as a whole. Thus, there is in existence an authoritative basis for constraints on the political activities of certain employees in local authorities and this obviously includes any employees in such positions who are members of far-right political parties.

12.3 Local Authorities are entitled to expect all of their employees to adhere to their policies and practices on race equality which are now underpinned by the statutory race equality duty that is placed upon them. This means their policies will not be limited to taking action to prevent unlawful discrimination but also action to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between persons of different racial groups. Employees should be expected to adhere to policies

in all of these three areas. Local authorities can include adherence to their race equality policies in an employee's contract.

- 12.4 Employees should also be made aware that disciplinary action can be taken against them should they breach the local authority's policies and practices on race equality and that in serious cases this could result in dismissal. This setting out of expectations on employees on race equality and the action that can be taken if they do not meet them should help to deter employees who are members of far-right political parties from engaging in racist activity during the periods when they are working for the local authority.
- 12.5 The Race Relations Act specifically makes discrimination unlawful in such areas of employment as promotion, dismissal and harassment. Local authorities will be aware that, where Employment Tribunals find that they are in breach of this legislation, they are usually liable to pay compensation to the person who has been discriminated against. Further, under statutory regulations introduced in 2003 to comply with new European Directives on equality matters, it was made clearer what was meant by racial harassment. It now takes place where persons because of their racial origins, are subjected to forms of conduct by someone else that violate their dignity or create an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment. This is now likely to cover situations where an employee in the workplace wears insignia associated with a far-right political party or distributes far-right political party leaflets or notices.
- 12.6 At the time of writing this guide, few, if any, cases have come before the courts in the UK concerning persons who worked for local authorities and have had disciplinary action taken against them because of their membership of a far-right political party. This also extends to persons who have applied for jobs with local authorities and have been rejected because of their involvement with a far-right political party. Therefore, exactly how the Courts will look at these situations is not yet known. However, a number of guidelines do exist on how local authorities could effectively deal with these situations in ways that prevent or limit the possibility of a successful legal challenge. They are:
- Local authorities need to ensure that their policies and practices on race equality are known to their employees.
 - Prospective employees should be aware of the local authority's stance on race equality and what is expected of them should they be appointed.
 - Any disciplinary action taken against employees on account of racist political activity should be in accordance with the authority's disciplinary procedures.
 - A useful starting point for a local authority when dealing with employees or prospective employees who are members of far-right political parties is that such parties are racist and therefore their members, irrespective of their level of activity in the party, must be assumed to be subscribing to their racist agenda. This calls into question their ability to function in a

non-discriminatory way and without regard to the racial origins of other employees and members of the public that they may have to deal with.

- Whether a local authority can refuse a job to a prospective employee or remove an existing employee from a job who belongs to a far-right political party will depend on the nature of the job. It will be more difficult to do so where the job has little direct contact with the public or the employee works alone. It will be easier to justify where the job involves the trust and confidence of the public or communities served by the local authority, for example, teachers, social workers, and officers, who provide advice on, or actually deliver services to multi-racial communities.
- Legislation which does exist and the few relevant court cases that have taken place suggest a distinction over the action that can be taken against employees who are members of far-right political parties. It depends on whether the employee is actively and publicly involved in a far-right political party (for example, they have stood in elections) or is just a non-active passive member. In the case of the former, action is more easily justified. The new Employment Act 2004 which has just come into force, for example, gives trade unions the power to expel or discipline members who engage in activity for far-right political parties that is contrary to a trade union's policies and rules on race equality. Trade unions however, cannot remove a member who simply belongs to a far-right political party. In the European case of *Van Der Heljden v Netherlands* (1985) (App no 11002/84) it was ruled that the applicant's dismissal from an organisation promoting the 'integration of immigrants' because of his active involvement in a political party hostile to the presence of foreign workers in the Netherlands was justified. It was accepted that the dismissal was an interference with the applicant's human rights of freedom of expression and association but that it was justified because of the adverse effects which the applicants political activities could have on his employer's reputation amongst the persons it served.
- It is legitimate for a local authority to distinguish between political parties when considering the suitability of an employee's active political involvement. To prevent all teachers or social workers, for example, from engaging in political activity with mainstream political parties is likely to be regarded as being too wide and an unnecessary restriction on their human rights. However, if the restriction is limited to far-right political parties, because of the incompatibility of their racist agenda, it is more likely to be justifiable.

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REWM Honorary Officers

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Derrick Campbell, Secretary of REWM and Chief Executive of Race Equality Sandwell

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Neville Meredith, Development Officer, Herefordshire Racial Equality Partnership

Mohammed Tufail, Director, North Staffordshire Racial Equality Council

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Publications list

Most Race Equality Digests and research reports are available in hard copy from the REWM office or on the REWM website at www.rewm.org.

Race Equality Digests (RED)

- RED 1 *Community cohesion, Bradford, Burnley and Oldham: four significant reports* (January 2003).
- RED 2 *The draft statutory code of practice on the duty to promote race equality* (February 2002).
- RED 3 *Ethnicity and religious affiliation in the West Midlands region: information from the 2001 Census* (Spring 2003).
- RED 4 *The success of the British National Party and other extreme right-wing parties in the local elections on 1 May 2003* (May 2003). RED Supplement: *From BUF to BNP: a concise chronology of extreme right-wing activity in Britain and of the responses to it* (May 2003).
- RED 5 *How should local race equality work be organised? Developing and positioning race equality organisation in the context of Neighbourhood Renewal and the statutory duty of public authorities to promote race equality* (October 2003).
- RED 6 *Race equality councils and partnerships: their strengths, needs and aspirations. The 2003 audit of resources of West Midlands race equality councils and partnerships* (February 2004).
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- RED 9 *The 2004 national audit of race equality councils and partnerships* (September 2004).
- RED 10 *Assessing the impact on local race equality work of the Commission for Racial Equality's policy for funding organisations under Section 44 of the Race Relations Act (Getting Results 2004-05)* (October 2004).

- RED 11 *Confronting the racist activities of political parties. A guide for voluntary and community organisations* (January 2005).
- RED 12 *Confronting the racist activities of political parties. A guide for local authorities* (February 2005).

Research reports

1. *Race equality: the significance of working with local communities. A strategic review of West Midland racial equality councils and partnerships* (August 2001, revised November 2001).
2. *West Midland Race Equality councils' development project. End-of-project report* (August 2002).
3. *Promoting race equality and community cohesion through local strategic partnerships. Report and recommendations based on research into local strategic partnerships in West Midland NRF and local management pilot areas* (Race Equality West Midlands in association with Government Office for the West Midlands and the Commission for Racial Equality, Birmingham office) (November 2002).
4. *Local authority race equality schemes 2002 and their preparation. How local authorities in the West Midlands have responded to their duties under the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000* (Race Equality West Midlands in association with Government Office for the West Midlands, the Commission for Racial Equality, Birmingham office and West Midland Race Equality Councils and Partnerships) (December 2002).
5. *Community cohesion: concept, policy, implementation and theory. An introduction to recent community cohesion initiatives, with reference to West Midlands pathfinder programmes* (Race Equality West Midlands in association with Government Office for the West Midlands, the Commission for Racial Equality, Birmingham office and West Midland Race Equality Councils and Partnerships) (October 2003).
6. *Impact assessment as a means of improving race equality schemes, eliminating institutional racism and promoting race equality. Scoping the tasks involved with a view to undertaking further analysis of method and providing guidance* (Race Equality West Midlands in association with Government Office for the West Midlands, the Commission for Racial Equality, Birmingham office and West Midland Race Equality Councils and Partnerships) (December 2003).
7. *A new approach to race equality in Warwickshire* (research report undertaken for Warwickshire County Council and other partners as a joint report by TMP Worldwide and Race Equality West Midlands) (May 2004).

8. *Walsall racial equality and diversity audit, review and plan* (research and development report undertaken for Walsall Borough Strategic Partnership) (August 2004).
9. *Jigsaw Mentoring Partnership. Project Review and Recommendations*, prepared for East Staffordshire Race Equality Council (May 2004, finalised September 2004).

Conference reports

Combating racism through the ballot box: meeting the challenges of the racist far-right, conference organised jointly by the Commission for Racial Equality, Trades Union Congress Midlands Region and Race Equality West Midlands, 15 March 2004, at the Bescott Stadium, Walsall.

The local race equality roadmap: the way ahead, conference organised by Race Equality West Midlands, 22 October 2004, at the Hawthorns, West Bromwich, Birmingham.