



THE CENTRE FOR  
**SOCIAL  
JUSTICE**

# After Multiculturalism?

Family Links Conference  
8 July 2011

# Times Poll: National Motto for Britain

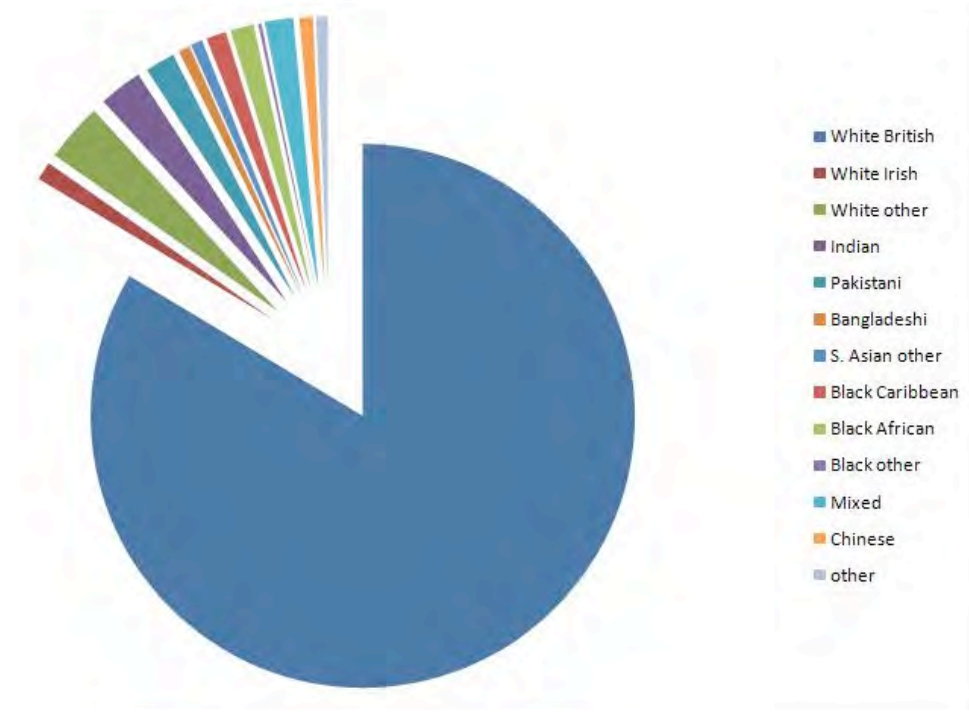
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1. No motto please, we're British (21%)
2. Dipso, Fatso, Bingo, Asbo, Tesco (19%)
3. Try Writing History Without Us (14%)
4. We apologise for the inconvenience (11%)
5. Once mighty empire, slightly used (7%)
6. Britain The Birthplace of Freedom (4%)
7. Free, Tolerant, Fair-minded & True (3%)



# UK Ethnic Minorities

- 2000 Census: 7.9% ethnic minorities in Britain
- 2010 Census Projection: 10% ethnic minorities
- 2050 Projection: 20% ethnic minorities in Britain
- Greater dispersal throughout UK
- Largest groups in UK:
  - ➔ Indian (1.8%)
  - ➔ Pakistani (1.3%)
  - ➔ Mixed Race (1.2%)
  - ➔ Black Caribbean (1.0%)
  - ➔ Black African (0.8%)
  - ➔ Bangladeshi (0.5%)



# Multiculturalism as Equality?

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‘...equal opportunities  
accompanied by cultural diversity  
in an atmosphere of mutual  
tolerance.’

—Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary,  
1966



# Multiculturalism as Separation?

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Multiculturalism divided Brits ‘into a number of ethnic boxes — Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, African, Caribbean and so on. The claims of minorities upon society were defined less by the social and political needs of individuals than by the box to which they belonged. Political power and financial resources were distributed by ethnicity. The new policy did not empower individuals; instead, it enhanced the authority of so-called community leaders, often the most conservative voices, who owed their positions and influence largely to their relationship with the state.’

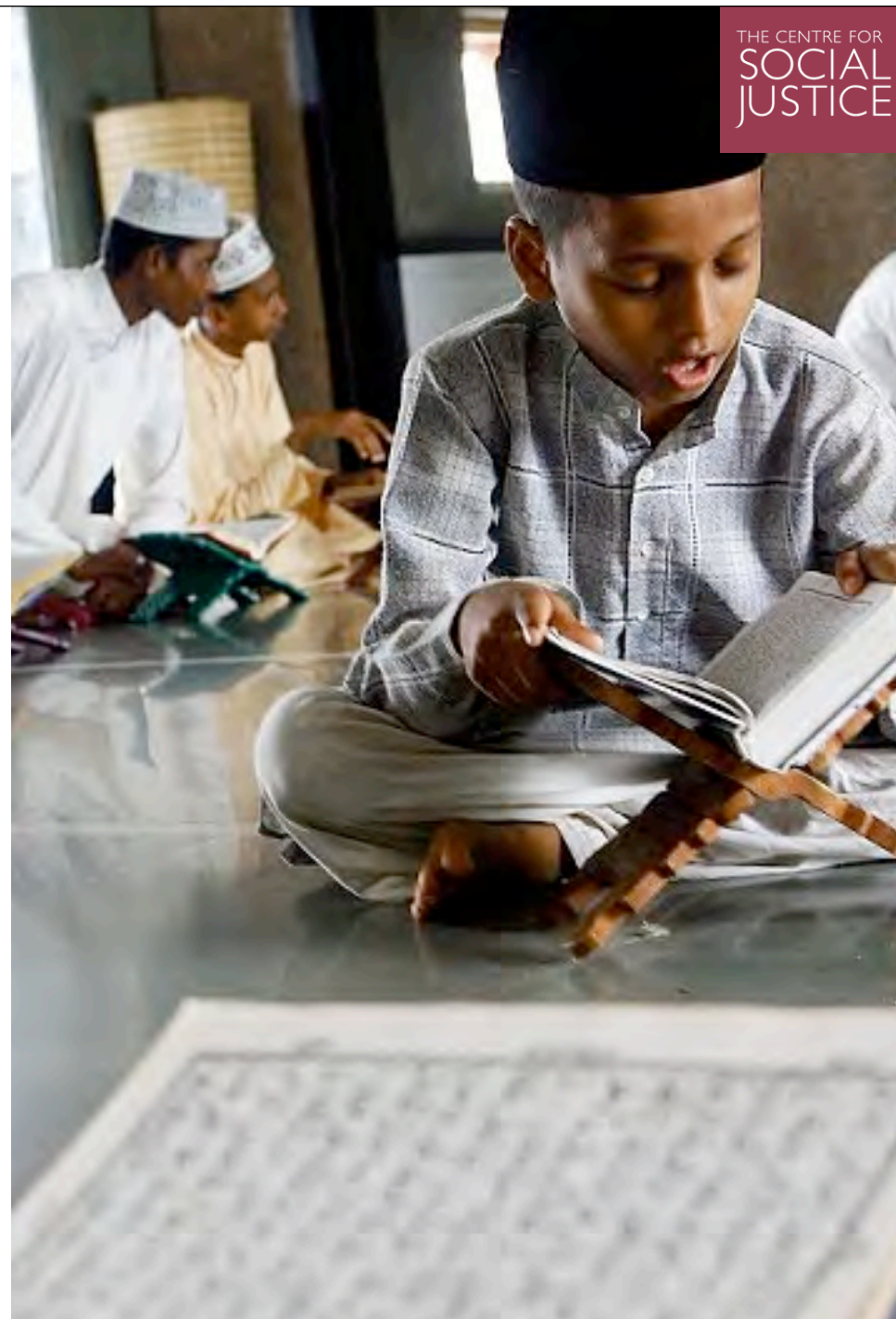
—*Kenan Malik, British author*



## Case study: Bradford Today

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- Population today: 300,000; 30% Pakistani Muslim; projected to rise to 50% of population in next 10+ years
- Mono-cultural neighbourhoods, often attending mono-cultural school
- Children attend the *madrassa* (Mosque school) for two hours every day after school, from ages 5-12
- They are taught by imported Imams; only 8% of Imams in Britain are native English speakers
- Punjabi dialect spoken at home; Arabic at mosque (rote); and Urdu for Koranic studies at mosque. Thus 'half-lingual' in 4 languages.



# Workless Households in UK

- UK average: 12%

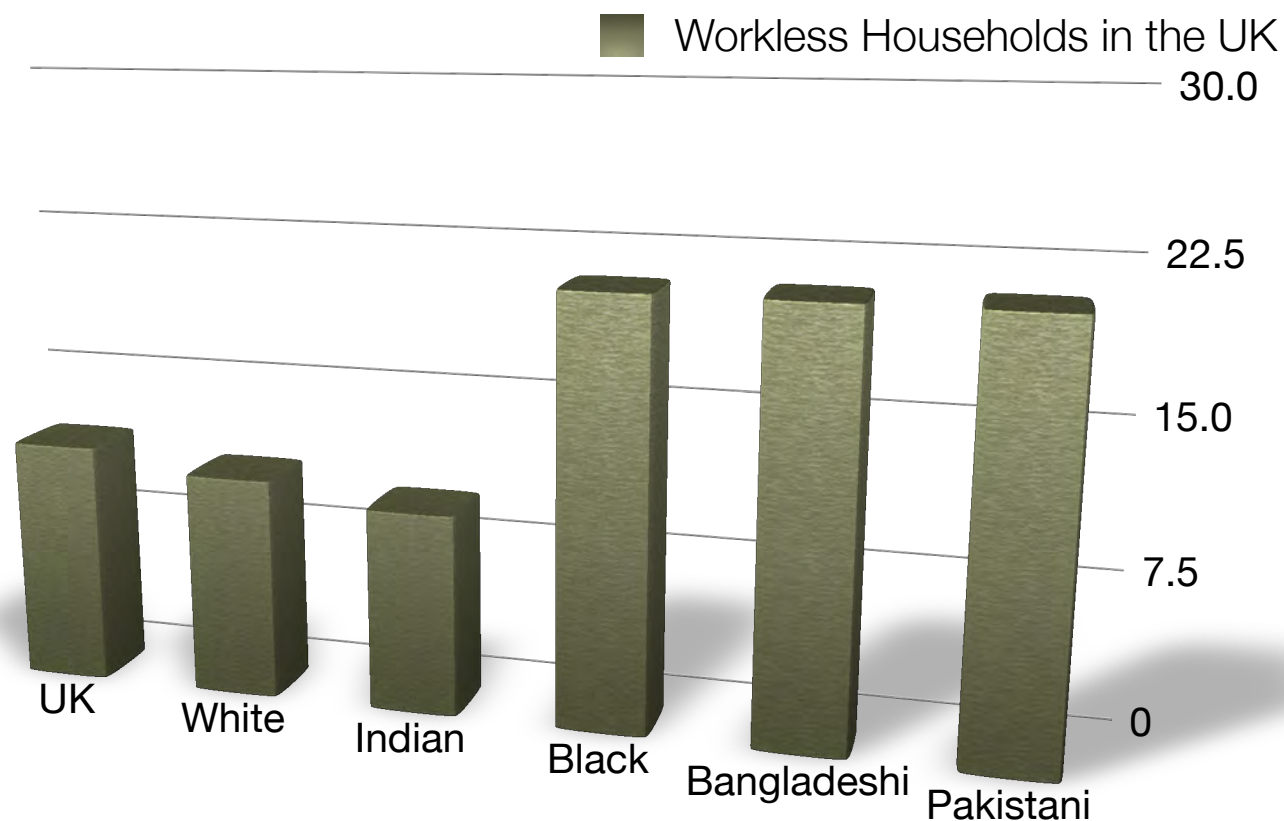
- White: 11%

- Indian: 10%

- Black: 21%

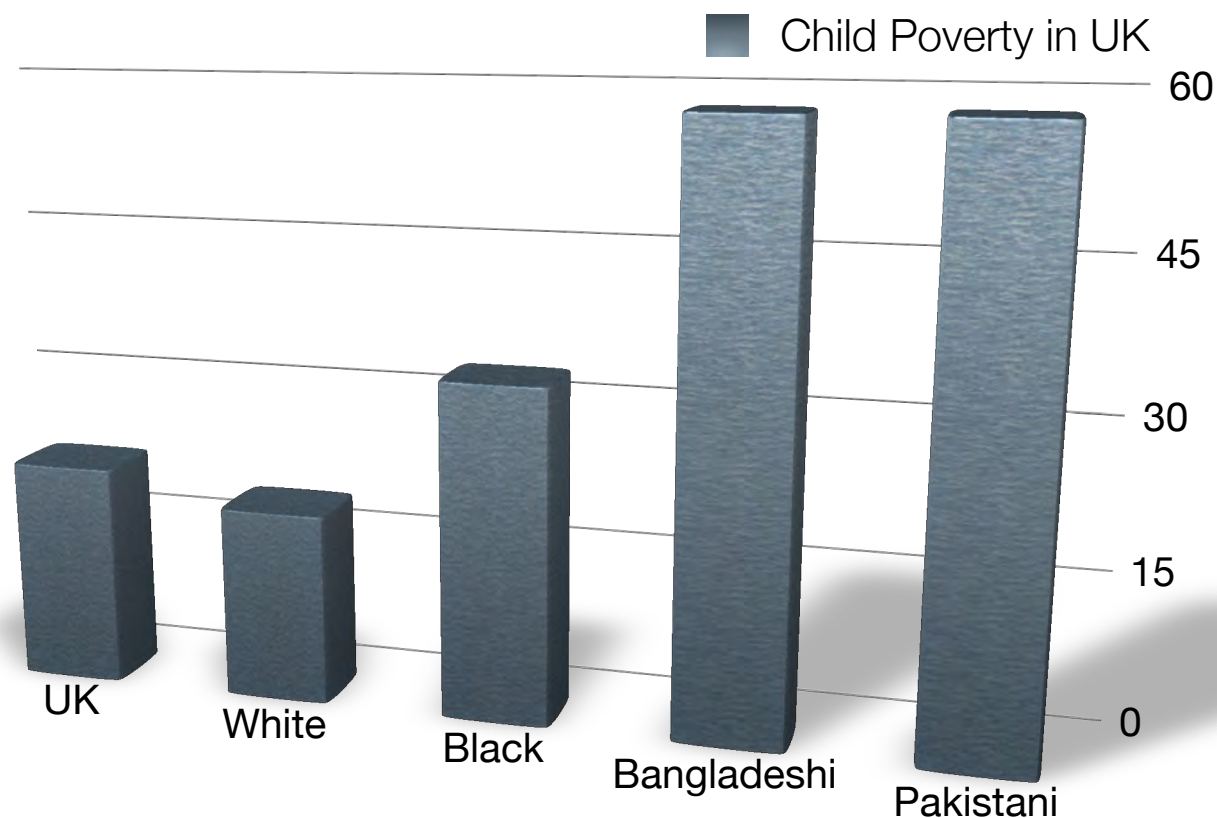
- Bangladeshi: 21%

- Pakistani: 21%



# Child Poverty in UK

- UK average: 22%
- White: 19%
- Black: 33%
- Bangladeshi: 58%
- Pakistani: 58%



## White Working Class

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- National average for all pupils in England achieving five good GCSEs including English and maths (A\* to C): **46%**
- Drops to **15%** for white working class boys
- Compared with **36%** for poor children from Indian backgrounds...
- ... and **52%** for poor students from Chinese backgrounds
- “...the white working class is not only the most underachieving group in education, they are the largest in number and the greatest underachievers by many other criteria, as well.”  
— *National College for School Leadership (2008 report)*



# Why the emphasis on socio-economics for cohesion?

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- Cohesion and integration play out in three main arenas: social, political, and economic
- Cohesion policy over the past 10 years has emphasised the social in particular.
- This is in part because economic inclusion can be so much more challenging and intractable.
- But also rooted in assumptions about ‘contact theory’: **Inter-personal contact reduces prejudice** between majority and minority group members. Conflict is due to **lack of exposure and interaction** with different points of view and ways of life. Greater exposure and interaction leads to diminished prejudice and conflict.

# **Conditions** for contact theory to be successful

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- 1. Relatively equal status between those who are coming together.**
  - Strong socio-economic dimension
  - Leading studies suggest deprivation is more central than diversity *per se*
- 2. Shared concrete projects on which they are working**
  - Versus abstract notions of ‘shared futures’
- 3. Interactions with those who disprove negative stereotypes that exist about the group**

# Economics, Integration & Inclusion

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- When you bring together people with relatively similar economic or educational backgrounds, cultural or religious differences become interesting and enriching.
- If big economic gaps between the groups exist, however—or both groups feel socially or economically alienated—bringing such groups together may not reduce tensions, and in some cases may make things worse, and further entrench prejudices and perceptions.
- So we must address deprivation and economic inclusion to see integration and inclusion take place—though easiest where there is high social mobility (cf immigrant communities in post-war USA)



# Ways Forward?

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- Macro-economic growth plans for certain regions
  - *In Bradford, 60,000 jobs shed between 1960-1990. Today over 30% of potential workforce in Bradford is economically inactive, far higher than national average, and worst among all West Yorkshire districts.*



# Ways Forward?

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- Macro-economic growth plans for certain regions
- Funding deprivation, not just ethnicity
- Nurture community-specific work where needed



# Community-specific Work

- 1.2 million Pakistani community in UK; 70% from Mirpur
- NHS 'Born in Bradford' longitudinal study: 86% of all Pakistani/Mirpuri children in Bradford, including 3rd & 4th generation, have at least one parent who is first generation.
- This is because high numbers of British (Mirpuri) Pakistani marriages remain trans-continental; 65% are cousin-marriages
- Severe health deficits: Only 3.4 per cent of babies born in Britain are of Pakistani origin, but they account for 30% of children born with genetic illnesses.
- About 30% of Mirpuri children in Bradford suffer from mild or severe disability; nearly half have special needs at school.



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