

Contents

Preface to the First Edition

xi

Preface to the Second Edition

xiii

Introduction

Recent trends and developments	1
Key questions	2
Racism in contemporary Europe	3
Focus of study	5
Plan of the book	6
	9

1 Theories of Race and Racism

13

Introduction	13
Approaches to the study of race relations	14
The sociology of race in Britain	17
Politics, power and racism	21
Critiques of the race relations problematic	25
Culture, community and identity	31
What kind of alternative?	33
Summary and conclusion	35

2 Historical Background and Context

38

Introduction	38
The historical context of racism in Britain	39
Anglo-Saxons and Celts	40
Political and ideological responses to Jewish immigration	43
Race and labour in the early twentieth century	47
Summary and conclusion	51

3 The Politics of Race and Immigration since 1945

52

Introduction	52
The post-1945 conjuncture and European migration	53
Migration, colonial labour and the state: 1945-62	56
Immigration and racialised politics	59
Immigration controls and state racism	61

The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act	63
The changing terms of political debate	64
Institutionalising immigration controls	68
Immigration and race since 1979	70
Prospects for reform	74
Summary and conclusion	77
4 Race Relations Policies and the Political Process	78
Introduction	78
Racism and racial discrimination	79
Race relations legislation in context	80
The origins of anti-discrimination legislation	82
The genesis of race relations policies	83
The 1976 Race Relations Act	85
From policy to practice	89
Proposals for reform	91
Summary and conclusion	93
5 Urban Politics and Racial Inequality	95
Introduction	95
Concepts and models of local politics	95
Race and local politics in historical perspective	96
Processes of racialisation	98
Models of policy change	101
Policy change and conflict	102
Pressures for change and their impact	105
Resistance to change	106
Positive action and new initiatives	108
Training and racial equality	113
Changing forms of local governance	116
Summary and conclusion	118
6 Race, Policing and Disorder	120
Introduction	120
Race, crime and disorder	120
Alienated youth and ghetto life	124
Policing minority communities	127
Mugging and street violence	130
Racialisation and popular images	136
Policing and violent disorder	139

Race, crime and statistics	143
Summary and conclusion	146
7 Protest, Racism and Urban Unrest in the 1980s	147
Introduction	147
Disorder and urban unrest	147
Explanations of urban unrest	149
Law and disorder	152
Racial disadvantage and urban unrest	156
Alienation and powerlessness	158
Power, legitimacy and political disorder	160
Policing after the riots	165
Scarman and beyond	169
The changing politics of policing	174
Summary and conclusion	178
8 Racism, Nationalism and Political Action	180
Introduction	180
Changing forms of racial ideology	181
Conceptions of race and nation	184
New-right ideologies and national identity	186
Neo-fascist politics	188
The politics of racial attacks	191
Racialised politics and the enemy within	192
Naturalisation of racism	193
Anti anti-racism	194
Nationalism and the interests of the majority	196
Summary and conclusion	197
9 Race, Politics and Mobilisation	198
Introduction	198
Political participation and exclusion	199
The context of black political participation	200
Origins of black political mobilisation	202
Forms of black political organisation	203
Anti-racist politics and political alliances	211
The politics of race and class	212
Politics, social movements and reform	214
Summary and conclusion	216

10	Race, Culture and Social Change	218
	Introduction	218
	Imagined communities	219
	Multiculturalism, identity and the nation	221
	Rushdie and Islam	222
	Nationality and immigration	227
	Social and economic change	229
	Summary and conclusion	231
11	Changing Dynamics of Race and Racism	233
	Introduction	233
	Racism, politics and ideology	234
	Equality or symbolic reforms?	235
	Protest and social change	239
	Rethinking the politics of racism	241
	Racism and nationalism in Europe	244
	What kind of future?	246
	<i>Guide to Further Reading</i>	249
	<i>Bibliography</i>	252
	<i>Index</i>	273

Index

- Abbott, D. 208–9
 Abbott, S. 85, 88
 Afro-Caribbean(s) 47, 57, 86, 90,
 100–1, 162
 Ahmed, A. S. 218
 Akhtar, S. 222, 225
 Alderman, G. 45
 Alford, R. 199
 Aliens Order (1905) 43–4, 46
 Aliens Order (1920) 46–7
 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act
 (1914) 46
 Aliens Restriction (Amendment) Act
 (1919) 46
 America(n) *see* United States
 Amos, V. 115–16
 Anglo-Saxons 40–2
 Anthias, F. 219
 anti-discrimination legislation 78,
 236–8
 Anti-Nazi League 190, 211–12
 anti-racism 3, 79–80, 106–7,
 114–15
 ‘anti-anti-racism’ 194–6
 anti-racist alliances 198–9, 211–14
 anti-semitism 44–5, 47
 Anwar, M. 35, 198, 201, 205
 Appignanesi, L. 218, 222
 Applebey, G. 90
 Asad, T. 218–19, 222–3, 228
 Asian(s) 162
 East African 65–6, 135
 migrants 90, 100
 Atkin, S. 210
 Austria 5

 Back, L. 8, 36, 118, 209, 211, 220,
 223, 230
 Balibar, E. 3
 Ball, W. 103, 107
 Banton, M. 14, 18, 26, 36, 79–80,
 117, 121

 Barker, M. 35, 70, 193
 Batley, R. 103
 Beetham, D. 100
 Benedict, R. 17
 Ben-Tovim, G. 100, 106, 212
 Benyon, J. 92, 117, 148, 171
 Berghahn, M. 47
 Berkeley, H. 65
 Bevan, V. 46, 56
 Bhabha, H. 33
 Billig, M. 181, 188
 Bindman, G. 83, 85, 236
 Birmingham
 race and politics in 20–1, 36, 82,
 97–8, 100, 201, 222
 policing in 141–3
 black(s)
 migrants 22–3, 48–50, 52–4
 MPs 209–11, 213
 politics 198–9, 214–16
 see also Afro-Caribbean(s),
 Asian(s)
 Black Country 98
 black youth 4
 alienation of 124–5
 images of 130–3
 mugging and 74, 128–9, 143–4
 see also Afro-Caribbean(s),
 Asian(s)
 Boateng, P. 209
 Bosnia 74
 Bradford 97, 107, 222
 Brah, A. 2, 219–20
 Brent 97, 107
 Bristol 47, 99–100
 Bristol riots (1980) 147, 149
 British Nationality Act
 (1948) 56–7, 58
 British Nationality Act (1981) 71
 British politics, race and 35, 73–4
 ‘Britishness’ *see* ‘Englishness’
 Brixton 74, 133, 171

- Brixton riots
 - April 1981 147
 - September 1985 164
- Broadwater Farm 148, 163, 167
- Brockwell Park 134
- Brockway, F. 82
- Brown, C. 90-1, 109, 237
- Brown, J. 142
- Bovenkerk, F. 5
- Burnage High School 107, 196
- Butler, Lord 62
- Campaign Against Racial Discrimination 203
- Cardiff 47, 120
- Carter, B. 56, 62, 121
- Carter, T. 198, 203
- Casey, J. 186-7, 194
- Cashmore, E. 189
- Castles, S. 3, 55, 69
- CCCS Race and Politics Group 14, 29, 72, 135
- Cheetham, J. 206
- Cheltenham 4
- Chinese seamen 49-50
- Clare, J. 160
- Cloward, R. 199
- Coates, D. 23
- Cohen, P. 48, 192
- Cohen, R. 5
- Colley, L. 219
- Collins, P. H. 2
- Colls, R. 186
- Colour Bar 53, 66
- Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) 68, 80, 87-8, 90, 92-3, 104, 108, 110, 191, 195, 218, 236-7
 - Code of Practice 92-3
- Commonwealth 52, 58, 64
- Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1962) 60-4
- Commonwealth Immigrants Act (1968) 66, 75
- Community Relations
 - Commission 84, 87, 99, 138
- Community Relations Councils 97, 104
- Connelly, N. 101, 104
- Conservative Party 56, 70-1, 74, 122, 195, 200
- contract compliance 110-13
- Cox, O. 27
- Crewe, I. 205
- Crick, B. 218
- crime(s)
 - Asian 128
 - race and 143-6
 - young blacks and 126-7
- Cross, M. 160
- Crossman, R. 65
- culture, race and 15, 32-3, 219-20
- Curtis, L. 40, 43
- Daily Express* 149, 167
- Daily Mail* 144, 149, 155
- Daily Star* 149
- Daily Telegraph* 144, 155, 172, 176, 196, 224
- Daniel, W. W. 80
- Deakin, N. 57, 64-5, 100
- Dean, D. 56
- Dear, G. 163, 165
- Dearlove, J. 22-3
- Deedes, W. 61, 196
- Deptford 150
- Deva, N. 210
- discrimination
 - direct 87-8
 - indirect 87-8
- disorder(s) *see* urban unrest
- Dodd, P. 186
- Dunleavy, P. 28, 95
- East End, of London 4, 44-5
- Edelman, M. 73, 158, 167, 176, 178, 192, 199
- Edgar, D. 189
- education, racism and 106-7
- Edwards, J. 103
- equal opportunity 108-9
- electoral politics, race and 204-5
- Empire Windrush* 54
- employment, racism in 98
- 'enemy within' 74-5, 184-5, 192-3

- Englishness, conceptions of 38-9,
43, 59, 183, 183-4, 220-1
- ethnic minorities *see* Afro-
Caribbean(s), Asian(s), black(s)
- Europe 5-6
Eastern 6, 43
racism in 2, 31, 230-1, 233,
244-6
Western 6
- 'European identity' 5-6
- European Volunteer Workers 55-6
- Evans, J. M. 42, 56
- Evening Standard* 228
- Falklands War 197
- feminism 2
race and 24, 220, 223
- Fielding, N. 181
- Financial Times* 149, 161
- First World War 44
- Fitzgerald, M. 35, 75, 201
- Flew, A. 78, 184
- Fogelson, R. M. 158
- Foot, P. 62, 65
- France 3-4
- Fredrickson, G. M. 39
- Freeman, G. 35, 52, 60, 66, 82, 181,
236
- Freeman, M. D. A. 73
- Friedland, R. 199
- Fryer, P. 38-9, 48-9, 121
- Gainer, B. 43-4, 120
- Gaitskell, H. 63
- Gamble, A. 241, 247
- Garrard, J. A. 43, 120
- Gartner, L. P. 43-4
- Gates, H. L. 33
- Gay, P. 99, 109, 237
- gender, discrimination and 112
- General Election (1987) 116, 177
- General Election (1992) 4
- Germany 3, 17
- Gilley, S. 40-2
- Gilroy, P. 14, 29-30, 35, 114, 135,
179, 183, 203, 212, 215, 216,
219, 230
- Glasgow 42
- Glass, R. 17
- Goldberg, D. T. 2, 8, 13, 32-3, 246
- Gordon, P. 47, 70, 191, 236
- Goulbourne, H. 206, 221
- Grant, B. 166, 209, 225
- Greater London Council 97, 111,
191
- Greenberg, S. B. 39
- Griffiths, P. 65-6, 99
- Grossberg, L. 219
- Guardian, The* 73, 131, 138, 144,
149, 161, 175, 183, 240
- Gulf War 225-7
- Hackney 97, 105, 108, 115
- Hall, S. 29, 34, 73, 123, 131-2, 136,
152, 216, 219-20, 243
- Halstead, M. 107
- Handsworth 20, 74, 100, 126-7,
133, 141-3
- Handsworth riot (September
1985) 148-9, 162
- Hansard* 58, 71, 72, 75, 84, 103,
121, 135, 154, 157, 164, 165,
176
- Haringey 97, 105
- Harris, C. 48, 56, 58, 62, 121, 219
- Harvey, D. 230
- Hattersley, R. 150, 153, 157
- Hechter, M. 40
- Heineman, B. 203
- Hepple, B. 49-50,
- Hirschfeld, G. 47
- Holmes, C. 38-9, 43, 52, 54, 120
- Holland 3, 17
- Home Affairs Committee 89-90
- Home Office 86, 88, 133, 191
- Honeyford, R. 107, 115
- Hong Kong 4
- hooks, b. 2
- housing, discrimination in 98, 100
- Humphry, D. 123, 126, 133
- Hurd, D. 165, 175
- Husbands, C. 3, 189, 244-5
- *identity, race and 30, 31-3, 59,
219-22

- immigrant(s)
 - crime and 120-1
 - images of 44-5
 - undesirable 46
- immigration 1, 6
 - controls on 58-9, 62-3, 122-3
 - politics of 56-77
- Immigration Act (1971) 69-70
- Immigration Appeals Act (1969) 68
- Independent, The* 183
- India 53, 57
- Indian Workers' Association 203
- inner cities 116-17, 132-3
- Inner London Education Authority 110-11
- Ireland 40-1
- Irish migrants 26-7, 40-3, 44, 54, 64, 120
- Italy 5

- Jackson, J. A. 41, 54
- Jacobs, B. 35, 72, 203
- James, W. 219
- Jeffers, S. 209
- Jenkins, Richard 90, 109, 236
- Jenkins, Roy 86
- Jessop, B. 28
- Jewish migrants 38, 39, 43-7, 120-1
- John, G. 123, 125, 126-7, 134
- Joshi, S. 56, 62, 121
- Joshua, H. 49-50, 148

- Katz, J. 114
- Katznelson, I. 25, 73, 96, 100, 199-200, 213
- Kaufman, G. 75
- Kay, D. 54
- Keith, M. 184, 230
- Kennedy, P. 44
- Kettle, M. 159
- Khabra, P. 210
- Kirp, D. 25
- Kosack, G. 55, 69
- Kumar, A. 210

- Labour Party 7, 60-1, 69-70, 75, 82, 195, 202, 214
 - black sections and the 207-9
- Ladywood 141
- Lambert, J. R. 123, 125
- Lambeth 97, 108
- law and order, reactions to riots and 152-6
- Lawrence, D. 99
- Layton-Henry, Z. 35, 52, 60, 71, 75, 181, 188, 202, 205
- Lebzelter, G. 44
- Lee, A. 44
- Leeds 135
- Lees, L. H. 41
- Lester, A. 83, 85
- Lewis, R. 195
- Lewisham 141
- Leys, C. 23, 174
- Lipsky, M. 148, 167, 176
- Little, K. 121
- Liverpool 43, 47, 74, 120, 212
- Lloyd, C. 5
- local government, reform of 116-18
- Local Government Act (1966) 98, 102-3
- Local Government Act (1988) 113
- local politics
 - race and 95-119
 - political participation in 96-7
 - theories of 95-6
- London 42, 47, 106, 120
- 'loony left' 210
- Lunn, K. 39, 120
- Lustgarten, L. 87

- Macdonald, I. 46, 52, 63, 68, 71, 107
- Macmillan, H. 62
- Maitland, S. 218, 222
- Major, J. 118
- Manchester 97, 106
- Marable, M. 25, 213
- Mark, R. 123
- Marxism 25
 - Eurocentrism and 26
 - racism and 17, 25-31

- Marxism Today* 209
 Mason, D. 2, 13
 McAdam, D. 25
 McCrudden, C. 81, 87–8, 236
 McGoldrick, M. 104
 media, race and the 2, 143–5,
 151–2
 Mercer, K. 220
 Messina, A. 25, 100
 Metropolitan Police 137, 140–1,
 168
 migrant labour 3, 29–30
 Miles, R. 8, 14, 17, 28–9, 34–5, 40,
 52, 54, 57, 60, 66, 72, 189, 202,
 245
 Millward, P. 43
 Mishan, E. J. 193–4
 Modood, T. 223, 225
 Moore, R. 20, 68, 85, 99
 Moran, M. 23
 Moss Side 141
 Mullard, C. 201
 multiculturalism 1, 221–2
 Murray, N. 107
 Muslims 32–3, 117–18, 222–7
 Myrdal, G. 16

 Nairn, T. 218
 National Front 181, 188–91, 212
 nationalism
 national identity and 35, 182–3,
 187–9, 196–7
 race and 184–8
 Nazis 17, 212
 ‘new’ racism 3, 193–4
 New Right, race and the 184–8
New Statesman 196
 Newman, K. 139, 168, 175
 Newnham, A. 91
 Newton, K. 100, 201
 Nicholls, A. 44
 North Africa 5
 Notting Hill 133, 135
 Carnival 139–40, 198
 1958 riots in 58, 59, 121
 Nottingham 59–60, 100, 121

Observer, The 67, 97, 143, 158

 Offe, C. 89
 Olson, D. 148, 167, 176
 Omi, M. 30, 242
 Osborne, C. 60
 O Tuathaigh, M. 42
 Oxford, K. 172
 Ouseley, H. 102, 104

 Pakistan 52–3, 57
 Palmer, F. 78, 114, 184
 Parekh, B. 117, 219
 Park, R. 14–15
 Parkin, F. 26
 Parmar, P. 220
 Patten, J. 223–4
 Patterson, S. 17, 57, 60, 63, 82
 Pearson, D. 203
 Phizacklea, A. 34–5, 52, 57, 66, 72,
 189, 202
 Pilkington, E. 58
 Piven, F. F. 199
 police
 relations with black
 communities 121–2,
 127–30, 136–9
 relations with black
 youth 124–7, 130–6
 riot tactics 139–43, 165–9
 policing of inner city areas 174–7
 Policy Studies Institute 80, 90–1
 Polish migrants 54–6
 political participation 199–202
 political parties, race and 7–8,
 58–68, 70–4
 political science 2, 21–5
 Pollins, H. 44–5
 positive action 108–13
 Powell, E. 74, 103, 135, 137, 145,
 150–1, 162, 182–4
 Powellism 34, 67–8, 76
 Preston, M. B. 25

 race
 advisers 105–6
 as social category 27–9, 36–7
 class and 21, 25–6, 212–14
 immigration and 4, 49–51, 61–2,
 70–4

- race (*cont.*)
 media and 32-3
 meanings of 14, 28-9
 nation and 184-8
 sociology of 6, 30-1
 theories of 1-2, 8-9
 race awareness training 113-16
 race relations
 in Britain 2-3, 17-21
 cycle of 14
 policies 23-4
 research on 11-12, 14
 sociology of 17-21
 Race Relations Acts
 1965 81
 1968 83
 1976 72, 85-9, 104-5, 113
 Race Relations Board 84-5
 racial attacks 191-2
 racial discourse 34
 racial ideologies 1, 13, 197
 racial inequality 3
 racialisation 1, 5, 23, 31, 57-8,
 143-4, 230
 racism
 in Britain 1-2
 definition of 1-2, 8-9, 14, 31-2
 politics of 22-3, 178-9, 234-5,
 241-4
 power and 34
 Ramazanoglu, C. 2
 Ramdin, B. 48, 50, 203
 Rastafarianism 140, 142
 Rattansi, A. 219
 Redford, A. 40
 Reeves, F. 35, 60
 Reiner, R. 171
 repatriation 50-1
 Rex, J. 2, 13, 19-21, 28, 39, 99,
 127, 143, 201
 Rich, P. 50, 58, 221
 Richmond, A. 53, 99
 Ridley, N. 112, 220-1
 riots *see* urban unrest
 Robinson, C. 26
 Robson, B. 116-17
 Rock Against Racism 190, 212
 Rose, E. J. B. 57, 62, 83
 Rose, R. 216
 Rushdie, S. 4, 32-3, 117, 218-19,
 222-5
 Rutherford, J. 219
 Ruthven, M. 218, 222
 Saggar, S. 198
 Sahgal, G. 223
 Salisbury, Lord 59-60
Salisbury Review 184, 186, 193
 Samad, Y. 117, 218, 222
 Samuel, R. 38, 219
 Saunders, P. 22-3, 95
 Scarman, Lord 89, 148
 description of riots 154
 on positive action 116-17
 Scarman Report 72, 148, 155-6,
 159, 169-71
 Scotland 42
 Second World War 2, 43, 51
 black American soldiers in 53-4
 Seidel, G. 180, 183
 Select Committee on Race Relations
 and Immigration 73, 85,
 128-30, 138-9
 Sheffield 106
 Sherman, A. 47
 Sherwood, M. 53
 Shyllon, F. 48
 Sim, J. 172
 Sivanandan, A. 52, 62, 69, 85, 114,
 198, 203
 Skolnick, J. 158
 Slavery 27
 Smethwick 65, 99
 Smith, D. 80, 85
 Smith, G. 53
 Smith, S. 100, 109, 230
 social movements 214-16
 Soja, E. W. 230
 Solomos, J. 8, 29, 36, 73, 74, 84,
 90, 92, 103, 107, 109, 117-18,
 148, 171, 184, 186, 209, 211,
 223, 228, 236
 South Africa 13, 16, 39
 Southall 141, 148
 Sowell, T. 94
 Sparkbrook 20, 100

- Special Patrol Group 139-40
 Spencer, S. 73, 236
 Spivak, G. 33
 Stoker, G. 96, 105, 118
 Studlar, D. 25, 205
Sun, The 144-5, 149, 210, 238
Sunday Telegraph 162, 198

 Tannahill, J. A. 55
 Taylor, S. 181, 190
 Tebbit, N. 228-9
 Thatcher, M. 70, 96, 118, 157,
 187-8, 193, 221
 Thatcherism 196
 Thrift, N. 96
Times, The 66, 121, 122, 125, 166,
 173, 208, 224
 Tomlinson, S. 20, 99, 127, 143, 201
 Tottenham 148
 Toxteth 148
 Troyna, B. 179

 underclass 20-1
 United Nations, racism and the 79
 United States of America
 Civil Rights Movement in
 the 24, 88
 immigration to the 15
 racism in 2, 39
 riots in 148
 sociology of race in 13-17, 25
 urban politics
 race and 101-5
 urban left and 105, 109-10
 urban programme 103
 urban unrest 139-43, 147-79
 explanations of 149-52
 impact of 102, 169-71
 policing and 165-9
 politics of 158-64
 racial disadvantage and 156-8
 social causes of 157, 171, 239-41

 Urry, J. 95

 van Dijk, T. A. 180, 184, 195
 Vaz, K. 209, 225
 Victorian England 42
 Visram, R. 49

 Walker, M. 188
 Walker, Patrick Gordon 65
 Wallace, T. 49-50, 68, 148
 Waller, M. 42
 Walvin, J. 40, 48
 Ware, V. 2, 220
 Weir, M. 199-200, 213
 West Indian(s) *see* Afro-
 Caribbean(s)
 West Indies 53
 West Midlands 98-9, 161
 Whitelaw, W. 149, 157
 Widgery, D. 212
 Wieviorka, M. 230-1
 Williams, J. 179
 Williams, P. 96
 Wilson, H. 64
 Winant, H. 30, 242
 Wolf, E. 39
 Wolpe, H.,
 Wolverhampton 82, 212
 Women Against
 Fundamentalism 223
 Worsthorne, P. 152-3
 Wrench, J. 228

 Young, K. 99, 101, 104, 108
 Young, R. 33
 Yugoslavia 73-4
 Yuval-Davis, N. 219, 223

 Zubaida, S. 19, 21-2, 234
 Zubrzycki, J. 54