

BLACK LIVES MATTER UK: AN ANTHOLOGY

EDITED BY DR RAKIB EHSAN



**CENTRE ON
SOCIAL &
POLITICAL RISK**

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Front Cover: Black Lives Matter protestors outside Downing Street, London, UK, June 2020.
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About the Editor

Dr Rakib Ehsan is a Research Fellow at the Henry Jackson Society, sitting in both the Centre on Social and Political Risk (CSPR) and the Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism (CRT). He holds a BA in Politics and International Relations (First-Class Honours), an MSc in Democracy, Politics and Governance (Pass with Distinction), and a PhD in Political Science, all from Royal Holloway, University of London.

His PhD, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), investigated how social integration relates to generalised social trust and democratic satisfaction within British ethnic minorities – including people of Black African and Black Caribbean origin. His PhD research has been published by a number of UK-based think-tanks, including Runnymede Trust, Policy Exchange, and Intergenerational Foundation.

A columnist at *Spiked!*, he has also authored articles on matters of race and ethnicity for a number of platforms, including *The Independent*, *The Telegraph*, and *UnHerd*. He has featured on news channels such as *Sky News* to discuss the Black Lives Matter UK demonstrations.

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About Us



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About The Henry Jackson Society

The Henry Jackson Society is a think-tank and policy-shaping force that fights for the principles and alliances which keep societies free, working across borders and party lines to combat extremism, advance democracy and real human rights, and make a stand in an increasingly uncertain world.

CENTRE ON SOCIAL & POLITICAL RISK

About The Centre on Social & Political Risk

The Centre on Social and Political Risk (CSPR) is a citizen-focused, international research centre, which seeks to identify, diagnose and propose solutions to threats to governance in liberal democratic societies.

Glossary: Table of Key Terms and Concepts

Black Lives Matter (BLM)	A decentralised international socio-political movement which mobilises social action against racially-motivated violence and intimidation towards black people, as well as the dismantling of perceived forms of structural racism. Its origins can be found in July 2013, following the acquittal of George Zimmerman over the lethal shooting of African-American teenager Trayvon Martin in Florida, US in February 2012.
Black Lives Matter UK (BLM UK)	BLM UK is the British branch of the broader Black Lives Matter movement. According to its official funding page, BLM UK is dedicated to the dismantling of the market economy and committed to the defunding (and eventual abolition) of the police. It has expressed explicit support for direct action to achieve “black liberation”.
Critical Race Theory (CRT)	A theoretical framework in the social sciences developed out of epistemic philosophy, which uses conventional critical theory to examine society and culture in relation to categorisations of race, law, and power. Its origins can be found in the 1980s, as a reworking of critical legal studies through the prism of race (a process which took place in US-based law schools).
Hard-Left	A term used to refer to political movements, politicians, academics, and media commentators whose ideas fall outside mainstream centre-Left thinking. Traditionally, the term has been used to describe Trotskyite and neo-Marxist groups committed to the dismantling of market capitalism (such as Socialist Action and the Militant Tendency).
Identity Politics	A term used to describe a political approach wherein people of a particular race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation or other social background form exclusive socio-political alliances instead of more coalitional, broad-based ones. The central objective is the elevation of the perceived central concerns of particular groups, with a view to securing specific social and political changes.

List of Contributors

Inaya Folarin Iman is a writer, social and political commentator, and campaigner. She is the founder and director of The Equiano Project, a discussion and ideas forum which promotes freedom of speech on issues of race, culture, and politics. Inaya sits on the Board of Directors of the Free Speech Union and is a columnist for *Spiked!* Magazine. Inaya has written for *The Telegraph*, *Daily Mail*, *The Spectator*, *Standpoint Magazine*, and several other publications. She also regularly appears on TV and radio to provide commentary on 'big picture' subjects such as freedom of speech, democracy, liberty, Brexit, and identity politics.

Esther Krakue is a political commentator and writer, and is currently a contributor for the conservative-leaning young engagement initiative Turning Point UK. She holds a BA in Politics and French from the University of Bristol, and has written for publications such as *The Mail on Sunday*. Esther has also featured on *Sky News* and *TalkRadio* to discuss contemporary race-related issues in the UK and beyond.

Courtney Lawes is an England rugby union international and senior consultant to the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ). Born in the London borough of Hackney and raised in Northampton, where he plays for the Saints in the AVIVA Premiership, Courtney has been capped 85 times at senior level for his country, playing an instrumental role in England's impressive runners-up finish in the 2019 Rugby Union World Championships. Away from his sporting exploits, Courtney has actively promoted a socially conservative message in the mainstream British media, based on the centrality of the family unit and the social value of marriage.

Katharine Birbalsingh is Headmistress and co-founder of Michaela Community School in Wembley, London. Michaela is known for its tough-love behaviour systems, knowledge-driven curriculum, and teaching of kindness and gratitude. In 2017, OFSTED graded the school as 'Outstanding' in every category. Katharine read Philosophy and Modern Languages at The University of Oxford, and has always taught in inner-London. She has made numerous appearances on television and radio, and has written for several UK publications, including *The Telegraph* and *The Spectator*. As well as authoring two books of her own, Katharine has also edited the recently published book *The Power of Culture (The Michaela Way)*.

Calvin Robinson is a secondary school leader in the state sector. Calvin was involved in the planning and building of a new secondary school in North London, where he served on the leadership team for a number of years. He is currently consulting for the Department for Education's National Centre for Computing Education as a Subject Matter Expert, supporting school leadership teams across London. Calvin is a Director and Governor of Michaela Community School, which recently achieved the best GCSE exam results in the UK. He is a regular contributor to *The Telegraph* and *TalkRadio*, and recently appeared in an education debate on *Good Morning Britain (GMB)*.

Konstantin Kisin is a Russian-British comedian, podcaster, writer, and social commentator. He is the creator and co-host of the TRIGGERnometry *YouTube* show, where economists, political experts, journalists, and social commentators are interviewed about controversial and challenging subjects. Konstantin is a regular contributor to the *BBC*, *ITV*, and *TalkRadio*. He writes for a wide range of publications, including *The Telegraph*, *The Spectator*, *Standpoint Magazine*, and *Quillette*.

Dr Remi Adekoya is a writer and political scientist at Sheffield University, specialising in the politics of identity, and in political economy. He also holds degrees in Law and Public Relations. He has written on socio-political issues for *The Guardian*, *The Spectator*, *The Washington*

Post, Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, Politico, UnHerd and Standpoint Magazine, among others. He has provided socio-political analysis and commentary for the *BBC, Sky News, Al Jazeera, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), African International Television (AIT), Radio France International*, and *Geopolitical Intelligence Services (GIS)*.

Dr Rakib Ehsan is a Research Fellow at both the Henry Jackson Society's Centre on Social and Political Risk (CSPR) and its Centre on Radicalisation and Terrorism (CRT). Rakib specialises in the socio-political behaviour and attitudes of British ethnic minorities. His PhD investigated the effects of social integration for British ethnic minorities, including people of Black African and Black Caribbean origin. His research has been published through a number of British think-tanks, such as Runnymede Trust, Policy Exchange, and Intergenerational Foundation. A columnist at *Spiked!*, he has featured on *Sky News* and *TalkRadio* to discuss the state of race relations in the UK.

1. Introduction

Following the police homicide of African-American George Floyd in the US state of Minnesota on 25 May 2020, a wave of civil unrest involving BLM activists has gripped America's major cities, from the eastern state of California to the western state of New York. However, the death of George Floyd has thrust issues of racial inequality and institutional discrimination into the national spotlight in other countries too – including the UK. As well as large-scale demonstrations in London, there have been protests in other British cities, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Bristol. The protests, which were organised by the Black Lives Matter UK (BLM UK) movement, have divided opinion in British society.

Drawing on the views of prominent ethnic-minority voices in Britain who have been critical of the BLM UK movement, *Black Lives Matter UK: An Anthology* contains eight essays which collectively provide a comprehensive evaluation of the movement in terms of its ideological messaging, core policy objectives, interpretation of mainstream British life, and support for forms of social disorder.

The anthology begins with a contribution written by the Founder of the Equiano Project, Inaya Folarin Iman. Emphasising her own background as the founder of a debating forum, Iman critically analyses how some members of BLM UK have sought to exclude 'dissenting' voices within black British communities. This is followed by an essay from Esther Krakue, a member of the UK-US conservative youth initiative Turning Point. Krakue explains how divisive culture-war politics are being imported into the UK by British left-wing activists who are increasingly connected to their American ideological counterparts. The contribution also touches on personal experiences of left-wing misogyny.

We then move on to a thought-provoking contribution from England rugby union international Courtney Lawes. Lawes presents a compelling argument for greater attention being paid to problematic internal factors that are stalling the progression of Britain's black communities – including the development of an 'anti-responsibility' culture rooted in the proliferation of family-unit dysfunction. Building on Lawes' message of personal responsibility and individual discipline, leading educationalist Katharine Birbalsingh provides a robust critique of socially divisive demands for the 'decolonisation' of the traditional British school curriculum. The following contribution, by fellow London-based educationalist Calvin Robinson, explains how divisive race-based BLM narratives surrounding school exclusions ignore notable differences between black pupils of different ethnicities, and presents the view that more energy must be invested in cultivating a culture of aspiration and discipline in Britain's inner-city state schools.

Konstantin Kisin's contribution fleshes out the risk of emerging left-wing movements attracting 'anti-system' antisemitic conspiracy theorists, and how this feeds into British Jewish alienation from contemporary 'anti-racist' initiatives which are complicit in the normalisation of antisemitism in the UK. This is followed by Dr Remi Adekoya's insightful take on the socio-political attitudes of Britain's ethnic minorities towards the BLM UK movement, teasing out notable intergenerational and ethnic-group differences. Adekoya pays particular attention to youth attitudes towards different forms of social activism, including civil disobedience and direct action. The Anthology finishes with my own contribution, which grapples with the all-important question: "Is Britain Racist?". The contribution identifies weaknesses in prevailing left-wing narratives surrounding racial and ethnic inequalities in Britain, and offers a guide to the kind of uncharted territory that should be explored by the UK Government's recently announced Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities.

This collection of essays makes essential reading for those who are concerned over the social risks attached to the emergence of hard-Left political movements. It not only provides a

concise analysis of the socially divisive nature of prevailing BLM-led narratives, but also offers guidance for politicians and policymakers who are intent on facilitating social progress and economic empowerment. As editor, I can say that it was a pleasure to work with the writers who contributed to the Anthology, and I believe that it will serve as an important contribution to the wider debate on how to neutralise the destabilising threat of hard-Left ideology and collectively strengthen Britain's multi-racial democratic society.

Dr Rakib Ehsan

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2. Imposing Ideological Conformity Through Abuse

Inaya Folarin Iman

The Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests in Britain have catapulted the subjects of race and racism to the forefront of public debate. Questions about the nature and scope of racism in policing, wealth, employment, education, and wider social attitudes have sparked fiery and heated debate. Although I have expressed strong concerns about the trajectory and outcomes of such debates over racism in Britain, as a free speech activist, I welcome the expansion of the public conversation.¹

Light is the best disinfectant – as the phrase goes – and we hope that by maintaining an open environment for the marketplace of ideas, the most robust and well-conceived will prevail. We hope that in a civilised and democratic society, we are able to have difficult conversations in a respectful manner. However, the element of the debate that has been most alarming is not an overt racist backlash from white people – which has been notably small – but the growing normalisation and active promotion of racially charged speech within British ethnic-minority communities.

For example, Kehinde Andrews, who is a Professor of Black Studies at Birmingham City University and a regular writer for *The Guardian*, recently described acclaimed writer and broadcaster Trevor Phillips as an embodiment of the “modern day Uncle Tom”² and argued that he was the “the toast of the right wing press”.³

In a departure from Martin Luther King Jr’s vision of judging people by the content of their character, not the colour of their skin, several of Britain’s current most prominent self-proclaimed anti-racist activists (ARAs) have increasingly been seeking to impose ideological conformity. By using racially-motivated, demeaning and degrading language, these individuals suppress the views of those – even of those from similar ethnic-minority backgrounds – who do not support their specific beliefs about the degree of racism and discrimination in British society.

I am reluctant to make this a partisan point, but much of the racially-motivated abuse has been directed at conservative-leaning ethnic-minority citizens by social activists or left-wing identitarian politicians. For example, Dr Shola Mos-Shogbamimu, who declares herself as a “Lawyer, Political & Women’s Rights Activist” on her Twitter profile, has called Dr Munira Mirza, Director of the Number 10 Downing Street Policy Unit – who also happens to be a woman of Pakistani heritage from a working-class background – a “brown executioner” of ‘government racism’.⁴ Moreover, Dr Mos-Shogbamimu prefaced her assault on Dr Mirza not being the right person to set up a government review on racial and ethnic disparities with a highly offensive comparison, asking “Would #BorisJohnson put #Holocaust denier to lead commission on #Antisemitism? No” (sic).⁵ Dr Mirza may well of course have drawn ire from certain quarters because – through her own research, knowledge and experience – she argues that the problem

¹ Link to The Equiano Project website (a debating forum founded by Inaya Folarin Iman): <https://www.theequianoproject.com/about>.

² Andrews, K., ‘Beware The Uncle Tom’, *Make It Plain*, 15 March 2019, available at: <https://make-it-plain.org/2019/03/15/beware-the-uncle-tom/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

³ Andrews, K., ‘Under Covid-19, racism in Britain and the world is a matter of life and death’, *Daily Maverick*, 11 May 2020, available at: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-05-11-under-covid-19-racism-in-britain-and-the-world-is-a-matter-of-life-and-death/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁴ Dr Shola Mos-Shogbamimu, *Twitter*, 16 June 2020, available at: <https://twitter.com/sholamos1/status/1272785923483328512>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁵ Ibid.

of racism in Britain is exaggerated by the anti-racism industry, and that several factors other than racism contribute to ethnic disparities in socio-economic outcomes.⁶

Likewise, Ash Sarkar from *Novara Media* has labelled Dr Mirza a “racial gatekeeper”, a racially-demeaning slur used against non-white people who are supposedly complicit in ‘white supremacy’.⁷ This expression of racial prejudice is sadly all too familiar now, with similarly abusive rhetoric levelled against black Conservative mayoral candidate Shaun Bailey, by the aforementioned Dr Mos-Shogbamimu.⁸

In another example, Professor Andrews demeaned non-white members of the Conservative Party, saying that a “cabinet packed with ministers with brown skin wearing Tory masks represents the opposite of racial progress”.⁹ In addition, mixed-race Mayor of Bristol Marvin Rees explained how he was branded as a “traitor to his race” and “not really black” because he dared to order the removal of the illegally erected statue of a BLM activist on the plinth of the toppled statue of Edward Colston.¹⁰

It is my contention that statements of this kind are not harmless expressions of anger over structural racism; they are intentionally designed to stifle public debate. They insinuate that ethnic minorities must be a homogenous, monolithic group where a diversity of opinion is not allowed; or that, if you veer away from a narrow script, you will be publicly shamed. Such tropes are not new; they hark back to slavery and colonialism where, for example, the colonialists would recruit colonial subjects to do their bidding for them. Therefore, I believe it appears that some of today’s ARAs may be wielding these tropes for manipulative reasons – to assert a misguided sense of moral superiority and undermine others of an ethnic-minority background who challenge their interpretation of British politics and life.

Several writers and journalists have commented on a recent trend of some ARAs infantilising ethnic minority communities.¹¹ According to this line of thinking, ethnic-minority citizens are incapable of reaching their own verdicts, independent of manipulation from the so-called ‘white mainstream’. Taken to its logical endpoint, the argument continues that if individuals from ethnic-minority groups do not think the way that certain figures of the same ethnicity think they should, then they are somehow merely ‘tokens’, inauthentic, or brainwashed. A conclusion that can easily be drawn from this style of approach is that Britain’s ethnic-minority populations have distinct – even opposite – interests to wider British society, and must advocate for their race-based interests and in a way that does not enable all to think freely for themselves.

Despite recent attempts by several modern ARAs to redefine racism to mean potentially *anything* and *everything*, the definition of racism remains the same.¹² Racism is about

⁶ Mirza, M, ‘Theresa May’s phoney race war is dangerous and divisive’, *The Spectator*, 13 September 2017, available at: <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/theresa-may-s-phoney-race-war-is-dangerous-and-divisive>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁷ Ash Sarkar, @AyoCaesar, *Twitter*, 16 June 2020, available at: <https://twitter.com/AyoCaesar/status/1272780056331522048>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁸ Dr Shola Mos-Shogbamimu, @SholaMos1, *Twitter*, 10 August 2020, available at: <https://twitter.com/SholaMos1/status/1292607788947054592>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁹ Andrews, K., ‘Don’t be fooled by Johnson’s ‘diverse’ cabinet. Tory racism hasn’t changed’, *The Guardian*, 25 July 2019, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jul/25/johnson-diverse-cabinet-tory-racism-ethnic-minority-ministers>, last visited: 9 September 2020.

¹⁰ Postans, A., ‘Bristol’s mayor told he’s “not really black” and is a “traitor to the race” over BLM statue’, *Bristol Post*, 22 July 2020, available at: <https://www.bristolpost.co.uk/news/bristol-news/bristols-mayor-told-hes-not-4353572>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

¹¹ Iman, I.F., ‘The grim re-emergence of white identity politics’, *Spiked!*, 26 June 2020, available at: <https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/06/26/the-grim-re-emergence-of-white-identity-politics/>, last visited: 17 August 2020. See also: Ehsan, R., ‘The ugly rise of left-wing racism’, *Spiked!*, 17 June 2020, available at: <https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/06/17/the-ugly-rise-of-left-wing-racism/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

¹² UCLA School of Public Affairs, ‘What Is Critical Race Theory?’, *Critical Race Studies* (2009), available at: <https://spacrs.wordpress.com/what-is-critical-race-theory/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

discriminating against someone on the grounds of their real (or perceived) race, the belief that certain races are inferior or superior, and the expression of racist bigotry towards another person solely because of their skin colour. We should be mindful that to delegitimise someone based on the colour of their skin is therefore racism, and it has no place in a civilised liberal democracy regardless of the ethnic origin of the 'delegitimiser'.

As the tolerant and open-minded mainstream become increasingly aware of views and ideas hostile to freedom of thought, the sensible majority must work against allowing the toxic forces of identitarianism to define the boundaries of public debate. It is unfortunate that this even has to be said, but it is important to remember that ethnic-minority British citizens come from a vast array of backgrounds, experiences, upbringings, education, and culture. If anything, it is a sign of progress that people's political views are no longer solely defined by race, but that there is increasingly a diversity of opinion and difference of perspective.

3. The Dark Underbelly of the BLM UK Movement

Esther Krakue

For most members of the British public, the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in the UK was a relatively weak force, barely on the fringes of our political discourse. The organisation first came to prominence in 2016 when nine protestors blocked the M4 southbound spur road to London Heathrow airport.¹³ A nuisance at best, members of the group disrupted a key route to the London airport during a busy summer period, and were found guilty of wilful obstruction a year later.¹⁴ It was not until four years after this incident, following the police homicide of African-American George Floyd on 25 May 2020, that its US counterpart gained increased notoriety and lent false legitimacy to its British subsidiary.

As a conservative, and a contributor to the UK version of the American-based organisation Turning Point, I also noticed the strong drive to import divisive (uniquely) American culture-war politics from across the pond. One such example was the parallels drawn between the British police and law enforcement in the US; in particular, issues surrounding police brutality and use of firearms. Britain's policing by consent model, which is widely admired around the world, does not involve British police officers routinely carrying firearms.¹⁵ To compare police brutality in the UK to the situation in the US – a country where the use of firearms is widespread and legal for law enforcement and citizens alike – is completely absurd.

However, this became one of the core premises of the BLM UK protests. The organisation, which has been able to amass funds in excess of £1 million,¹⁶ saw many incidents where its supporters harassed British police for imagined instances largely specific to the US. Over the last decade, 163 people have died in police custody in England and Wales (with 13 being black).¹⁷ To put this in perspective, according to research group Mapping Police Violence, over 1000 people were killed by US police last year alone – with 24 per cent of the fatalities being African-Americans.¹⁸ While others may 'racialise' these figures, the main take-home point from this is the huge disparity in deaths at the hands of the police, between the two countries. British BLM activists who are framing lethal law enforcement action as a common US-UK problem, are desperately looking to develop a 'shared grievance' with their leftist American counterparts.

My own experiences with the BLM UK movement have also highlighted a growing issue in our political discourse – the normalisation of BAME-on-BAME racism. I criticised the BLM UK organisation over its aggressively anti-capitalist stance and calls for defunding the police.¹⁹

¹³ McKenzie, S., 'Black Lives Matter blocks London's Heathrow Airport', *CNN*, 5 August 2016, available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/08/05/europe/black-lives-matter-uk-heathrow-shutdown/index.html>, last visited: 3 September 2020.

¹⁴ 'Black Lives Matter Heathrow protestors found guilty', *BBC News*, 19 January 2017, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-38677126>, last visited: 28 August 2020.

¹⁵ Kelly, J., 'Why British police don't have guns', *BBC News*, 19 September 2012, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-19641398>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

¹⁶ Black Lives Matter UK, 'UKBLM Fund', 2 June 2020, available at: <https://uk.gofundme.com/f/ukblm-fund>, last visited: 2 September 2020.

¹⁷ Despite making up 3 per cent of the population, black people make up 8 per cent of deaths in police custody in the UK. See: Greig, F., 'How many black people have died in police custody in the UK? Sheku Bayoh, Sean Rigg, Mark Duggan and other cases explained', *The Scotsman*, 5 June 2020, available at: <https://www.scotsman.com/news/crime/how-many-black-people-have-died-police-custody-uk-sheku-bayoh-sean-rigg-mark-duggan-and-other-cases-explained-2876226>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

¹⁸ Higgins, T. and Schoen, J., 'These 4 charts describe police violence in America', *CNBC*, 1 June 2020, available at: <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/06/01/george-floyd-death-police-violence-in-the-us-in-4-charts.html>, last visited: 28 August 2020.

¹⁹ Doyle, A., 'We need to talk about Black Lives Matter', *Spiked*, 12 June 2020, available at: <https://www.spiked-online.com/2020/06/12/we-need-to-talk-about-black-lives-matter/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

For this public act of dissent, I became victim of a wave of horrific abuse. I was the target of a harassment campaign on social media, mainly orchestrated by both black British people and black Americans who could not fathom how a black person could hold such views. I received vile misogynistic abuse, which included individuals wishing that I were barren. The vitriol was so toxic that a picture of an underage girl was falsely circulated as me, inviting a wave of insults that no minor should have to endure.

These ‘silence-through-abuse’ bullying tactics adopted by hard-Left militant activists have become endemic in our public discourse. It is particularly noticeable within ethnic-minority groups.

Prominent British commentators on race relations, such as Birmingham City University academic Professor Kehinde Andrews, have also contributed to the othering of right-leaning ethnic minorities in this country. In reference to the appointment of Boris Johnson’s racially diverse cabinet (a feat one would have assumed would please ‘progressive’ leftists), Professor Andrews wrote in *The Guardian* that “the new ethnic minority ministers don’t represent real progress – they are among the most hard-right figures in the party”.²⁰ This narrative has become commonplace within sections of society, and has resulted in the othering of swathes of minorities from different ethnic backgrounds.

It appears that non-white citizens reaching high positions of power is only a sign of progress if they subscribe to certain ideologies. But this doesn’t stop there. Indeed – and with delicious irony – most of the racist abuse I have ever received has come from other *black* people. Words like ‘coon’, ‘coconut’, ‘house nigger’, and other forms of racist abuse, have become commonplace on the social media accounts of people like me – once again, effectively a ‘minority within a minority’.

Nonetheless, what I find most telling is the internalised racism that this movement has exposed. Many non-white ethnic groups have become so sensitive to the notion of ‘white privilege’ that I, as a black conservative, cannot be free to hold the views that I do without being accused of pandering to white individuals. The concept of ‘white privilege’, which stipulates an inherent inferiority and disadvantage to non-white people, is one that has become a staple in current discussions of race relations. How do we tackle racism if we, as a society, entertain an ideology that marks you as permanently disadvantaged because of such arbitrary physical characteristics? If I am always going to be at a disadvantage for not being white, where does the conversation go from there? There is simply no path for recourse.

It is this toxic idea that has stifled the progress of race relations in the UK over the years. And unfortunately, these notions have become magnified and widespread in the wake of BLM UK’s newfound notoriety.

²⁰ Andrews, K., ‘Don’t be fooled by Johnson’s “diverse” cabinet. Tory racism hasn’t changed’, *The Guardian*, July 25 2019, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jul/25/johnson-diverse-cabinet-tory-racism-ethnic-minority-ministers>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

4. We Need to Talk About Family and Marriage

Courtney Lawes

The current political climate in the UK is one where race-related issues are at the forefront of national debates. The acceleration of racial identity politics, following the killing of George Floyd on 25 May 2020 in the US state of Minnesota by law enforcement officers, is set to undo decades-worth of progress on race relations in Britain.

Setting aside what I think about the hard-Left policy proposals of BLM UK, the 'radical' mission statements on their funding website – including calls to defund and eventually abolish the police – overlook a number of critically important community issues.²¹

The fight against racism is an important one – and it is a fight that British society *was* winning. Speaking from my own experiences, as well as those of my Jamaican father, the country seemed to have become considerably less racist in a very short amount of time and looked very much like it would continue to be so. Indeed, this was perhaps best encapsulated by the virtual disappearance of the far-Right British National Party from politics. From Enoch Powell's notorious 'Rivers of Blood' speech back in April 1968,²² the Conservative Party now has a number of high-profile, non-white politicians of South Asian and West African origin.

Having said that, it is understandable why many black citizens continue to hold feelings of injustice. Being concentrated in the lower socio-economic classes in a market-based society can be spiritually demoralising for many from ethnic-minority backgrounds. However, this is where I think we missed a beat. Instead of merely rehashing anti-racism arguments that were already being won, it would have been far better to look inward to identify problems that need to be addressed; to try and help people to recognise the opportunities presented by virtue of living in Britain.

In my opinion, a better way to go about change would be to empower, encourage, and inspire people to make good of themselves in their own country. We have witnessed people climb out of poverty off the back of hard work, perseverance, and dedication. Now more than ever we need responsible parents in the community, pushing positive messages based on the principles of personal responsibility and individual initiative.

You can be a success in this country if you have the right values in place. Success in itself is not simply a matter of having wealth; it can be as simple as giving your children better life chances than you had. My father, although from an 'ordinary' economic background, is a successful man in my eyes. He raised me to take ownership of my mistakes and learn from them – to be disciplined, driven and focused.

We must also address disorderly behaviour within black British communities. Criminality is an issue, especially in London boroughs such as Hackney where I was born. We have to mend and improve the police-community relationships in places like this, not try and tear them down (like certain Members of Parliament are unfortunately doing at the moment). But most importantly, young black men have to stop the violence between each other; we must help our youth see that a better way of life *is* a realistic possibility, and one that can be reached through peaceful means.

²¹ Black Lives Matter UK, 'UKBLM Fund', 2 June 2020, available at: <https://uk.gofundme.com/f/ukblm-fund>, last visited: 2 September 2020.

²² See: Powell, E., "'Rivers of Blood' speech", 20 April 1968, available at: https://anth1001.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/enoch-powell_speech.pdf, last visited: 17 August 2020.

Underpinning what is, in my opinion, the right way to go about change is stressing the importance of family. Dr Tony Sewell, the chair of the Government's new Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities, has spoken of how 'fatherlessness' within black communities has contributed to youth crime and given rise to a broader anti-responsibility culture.²³ Emphasising the social value of stable families and the institution of marriage, a recent report published by the Centre for Social Justice think-tank shows that children of married couples – even after controlling for income – perform better over a range of outcomes associated with educational attainment, mental well-being, and social behaviour.²⁴ This is certainly a problem for Britain's black communities, which have a higher-than-average level of lone-parent households.²⁵ A stable family unit, spearheaded by a married couple, is the finest form of social security in modern-day Britain.

Everything starts at home, and it is in the home where we must do everything we can to give our children the best opportunity to excel and exceed in life. There are not many decisions as important in a person's life as who they decide to have children with, and how they plan for a family. Of course, there are times when life simply does not go according to plan; but the ability to make good decisions in this area can drastically change not only your personal future, but the future of your children. Trying to make wise decisions in areas of life where you have a stronger degree of control is essential for a stable and fulfilling life. The centrality of the family unit and the stability it can offer children cannot be overstated. In my view, it is the bedrock of any socially resilient culture.

Blaming 'the system' for all ethnic inequalities, as BLM UK does, is not the most productive way to prosper in life and make meaningful advancements in local communities. Ultimately, we are all individuals with a wide range of different mindsets that are shaped by our unique social experiences. However, we should not overlook the centrality of conventional family units in the context of broader social stability. For if we do not, then there will be a never-ending cycle of children being 'raised' without any sense of direction or purpose in their lives. Indeed, the truly 'revolutionary' solution may be found in the stabilising effect of traditional family structures.

²³ Sewell, T., 'Rod Liddle is right about black boys and absent dads', *The Spectator*, 23 January 2019, available at: <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/rod-liddle-is-right-about-black-boys-and-absent-dads>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

²⁴ Worringer, S., 'Family Structure Still Matters', *The Centre for Social Justice* (2020), available at: <https://www.centreforsocialjustice.org.uk/core/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/CSJJ8372-Family-structure-Report-200807.pdf>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

²⁵ 'Families and Households', *UK Government*, 16 May 2019, available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/demographics/families-and-households/latest#black-ethnic-group-by-household-type>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

5. Identitarian-Leftist Misguidance on Education

Katharine Birbalsingh

The BLM UK movement, along with ideologically-aligned initiatives such as ‘The Black Curriculum’, demand the “decolonisation” of the school curriculum in the UK.²⁶ I believe they are motivated by decent intentions. These anti-racism advocates think that if children do not ‘see themselves’ in history, they will not succeed. This is based on the perception that the teaching of history in British schools is exclusively focused on white individuals – with influential black historical figures supposedly sidelined by the existing curriculum.

But this could not be further from the truth. The existing history curriculum features a number of influential black figures – in both the UK and beyond. It includes inspirational black icons such as Mary Seacole, the British-Jamaican businesswoman who set up the famous British Hotel which tended to the wounded during the Crimean War. It also includes US civil rights activist Rosa Parks, who is primarily known for her pivotal role in the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott which took place in the southern US state of Alabama. In the current curriculum, the non-violent methods of protest supported by Indian anti-colonialist and political ethicist Mohandas K Gandhi are covered – the very methods later supported by US civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr.²⁷

For years, teachers in Britain have sought ways to diversify the curriculum.²⁸ Some have argued that there is not enough mandatory ‘black’ history, while others have argued that the black events and figures already on the curriculum (of which there are many) are enough. But this misses a crucial point: namely, that there is no *enforced* history curriculum. Yes, of course there is a national curriculum with a long list of historical topics. But apart from the Holocaust, teachers are not under a statutory obligation to teach any of these specific topics – instead they are guiding suggestions.

And, even more crucially, putting something on the curriculum does not guarantee that students will learn it. As the assessment guru Dylan Wiliam says, if students learnt *everything* we taught them, there would be no need for assessment.²⁹ But students do not learn everything we teach them, and the whole purpose of assessments are to work out if students have indeed learnt what they have been taught.

So what does mandatory national history assessment look like? Well, there is no assessment. History is not assessed in the national primary Statutory Assessment Tests (SATs) or in years 7, 8, and 9 for that matter. After that, students can choose to drop history – and 60 per cent of them do.³⁰ So only 40 per cent of children will ever be assessed on history, and even then on

²⁶ Gray, J., “‘Black British History Is Barely Covered’: How The Curriculum Could Be Decolonised”, *Huffington Post*, 13 June 2020, available at: https://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/entry/uk-curriculum-black-lives-matter_uk_5ee21f41c5b6625b095b7eb6?guccounter=1&guce_referrer=aHR0cHM6Ly93d3cuZ29vZ2xlbmNvbS8&guce_referrer_sig=AQAAALpkkJiRtFqKBmMwPh9q98QU6q60aeCRsTFD4AZKF8cZSOapAODM9B_v5aPJUqqOK5-0DYKfdA7Rey8hFXtHoq8apdXeVBVicw5vb1FFceZFp3TuOvMB4bc7pJRWbdbWRxrvCdX5OjLHjXASNMh7aiDQso3bykjlB6fkvBnozV6, last visited: 28 August 2020.

²⁷ ‘National curriculum in England: history programmes of study’, *UK Government*, 11 September 2013, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

²⁸ ‘How diverse is your history curriculum?’, *Historical Association*, 26 June 2019, available at: <https://www.history.org.uk/secondary/categories/363/resource/9620/how-diverse-is-your-history-curriculum>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

²⁹ William, D., ‘Assessment: The Bridge between Teaching and Learning’, *Voices from the Middle* 21.2 (December 2013): pp. 15-20, available at: https://imobergseed490l.weebly.com/uploads/1/2/6/7/12676707/assessment_bridge_between_teaching_and_learning__2013_.pdf, last visited: 17 August 2020.

³⁰ ‘Entries for GCSE, AS and A level: Summer 2019 exam series’, *Ofqual*, 24 May 2019, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/803906/Provisional_entries_for_GCSE__AS_and_A_level_summer_2019_exam_series.pdf, last visited: 17 August 2020.

just two years' worth of content. As a result, history has become a marginalised subject that is often not even taught as a subject; instead, it is done through a cross-curricular project-based approach which results in children remembering very little of what they have been taught.

As a result, insisting that more black figures be made compulsory in history teaching is a red herring and only serves to divide us. Advocates should be campaigning for an increase in assessments of children in order to hold schools to account for the teaching of all subjects – not just black historical figures.

Advocates also need to remember that in wanting more 'black' history to be taught (like the history of some African kingdoms, such as the medieval Kingdom of Nri), other history topics will have to be removed. Time is limited – schools simply cannot teach everything. In many schools, history is given just one lesson a week. Do we abandon the Cold War? Elizabeth I? The Reformation? Do we really want our children having no knowledge of why our Queen is the second Elizabeth?

The depressing reality is that many pupils in London do not know the capital cities of Wales and Scotland. A notable portion have no idea who Winston Churchill was. The teaching of cultural British knowledge should be a basic right to every child in this country – irrespective of their racial and ethnic background. Sadly, black children in our schools too often suffer in this regard because the prevailing mentality in education is that Britain's black children are unable to identify and connect with this supposedly 'white' cultural knowledge.

Some think it is better to teach black children French rap instead of French verbs because they believe rap music is more accessible for a black child. A number of music departments teach Stormzy instead of Mozart because – again – they think it helps to 'engage' their black pupils. But the reason Shakespeare or Mozart, in my view, trump today's urban music artists, is because their work has been influencing others for hundreds of years. These white men are important not because of their race and gender – but because their influence has helped to shape the Western canon.

SATs in primary schools, which currently include only maths and English, should include some history, geography, and science too. As a result, we could guarantee that the whole primary curriculum would be taught by all schools. This might appease the campaigners for decolonisation because it would guarantee that black figures would definitely be taught, and it would allow schools to bring children together under the umbrella of 'being British'. After all, schools should also be engines of socialisation, helping children of different backgrounds to get along with each other. At Michaela Community School where I am headmistress, we sing 'God Save the Queen' and 'Jerusalem', and we regularly celebrate being British. It means that our children are resilient, ambitious, and feel a strong sense of national belonging. When our children walk past museums, memorials, cathedrals, and castles, they feel empowered because they *know* something about them, and feel they are *theirs* to take pride in.

The campaign for curriculum decolonisation is far from a unifying endeavour. Conversely, the campaign for traditional education, which would make it far easier to include the stories of people who have been marginalised, would encourage children to turn away from racial identity politics. Indeed, a traditional education – including rigorous assessment – would ensure that children of all backgrounds were taught properly across the country. An education which not only promotes hard work and discipline, but one which also provides a learning experience which prioritises national inclusivity over group-specific interests.

African kingdoms are interesting in their own right, but British schools should primarily teach British history because we are all *British* – whatever our ancestral lineage may be. And of

course, the history of black people and other minority groups should be included in this British history – including the contribution made by the British Indian Army and the King's African Rifles (KAR) towards the Allied victory in World War II. This history is ours.

We must not succumb to the socially divisive demands of hard-Left movements such as BLM UK – especially when it comes to the education provided for our children in Britain.

6. Institutional Racism is Not Black and White

Calvin Robinson

Hard-Left ideologues are using techniques of the far-Right to shoe-horn their worldview into the English state education system. Racial superiority is once again being promoted as 'objective' truth in order to claim that white pupils experience privilege, whilst black pupils are supposedly at a natural disadvantage due to systemic racism.

In 2018, The American Society of Human Genetics (ASHG) denounced attempts to link genetics and racial supremacy, preferring to define race as a social construct.³¹ The ASHG study stated that "humans cannot be divided into biologically distinct subcategories ... the study of human genetics challenges the traditional concept of different races of humans as biologically separate and distinct".³² However, hard-Left activist groups such as BLM UK and The Black Curriculum (backed by a cross-party group of no fewer than 30 MPs) insist on perpetuating the myth of 'white supremacy'.³³

These groups are campaigning for schools to teach Critical Race Theory (CRT), in an attempt to over-compensate for what they judge to be centuries of inequality. However, they would be better off critically assessing CRT to understand the potentially disruptive nature of it, given that a number of the theory's underlying assumptions are untrue.

Proponents of CRT claim that 'white supremacy' and 'racial power' are maintained over time. The core premise of the theory is an attempt to redefine racism from 'prejudice or discrimination towards people based on their race' to a more binary, subjective theory of a structural or institutional power struggle between white and non-white people. The term Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) lends itself to this theme, by grouping all ethnic-minority persons into a single homogeneous demographic: a collection of groups with the only similarity being that they are not white. This lies at the core of CRT, which perceives economic and social inequalities as an outcome of white-privilege structures that "perpetuate the marginalisation of people of colour".³⁴

What is being witnessed is semiotics: the (re)creation of meaning. Hard-Left groups such as BLM are portraying something as fact when it is, at best, a theory – the epitome of propaganda. The problem is that it is beginning to reach our schools.

TES (formerly known as the *Times Educational Supplement*) is one of the most commonly accessed online platforms for lesson resources and is a particular concern, with entire sections dedicated to Black Lives Matter.³⁵ Steeped in CRT, the content teaches the unchallenged definitions of 'micro-aggressions', 'white privilege', and 'institutional racism'.³⁶ Similarly, The Chartered College of Teaching website devotes entire sections to teaching resources for

³¹ American Society of Human Genetics, 'ASHG Denounces Attempts to Link Genetics and Racial Supremacy', *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 103.5 (2018): p. 636, available at: [https://www.cell.com/ajhg/pdf/S0002-9297\(18\)30363-X.pdf](https://www.cell.com/ajhg/pdf/S0002-9297(18)30363-X.pdf), last visited: 17 August 2020.

³² Ibid.

³³ Proctor, K., 'MPs demand review of national curriculum, led by black leaders', *The Guardian*, 10 June 2020, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/jun/10/mps-demand-review-of-national-curriculum-led-by-black-leaders>, last visited: 17 August 2020. See also: Proctor, K., "'Tone-deaf' ministers reject BAME review of English curriculum", *The Guardian*, 30 July 2020, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/education/2020/jul/30/exclusive-tone-deaf-ministers-reject-bame-review-of-english-curriculum>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

³⁴ 'What we believe', *Black Lives Matter* (2020), available at: <https://blacklivesmatter.com/what-we-believe/>, last visited: 8 August 2020.

³⁵ 'Black Experiences: Teaching Black Lives Matter', *TES*, available at: <https://www.tes.com/teaching-resources/black-experiences-hub/black-lives-matter>, last visited: 31 August 2020.

³⁶ Ibid.

Black Lives Matter.³⁷ Definitions of ‘whiteness and privilege’ are shared, along with methods to ‘decolonise the curriculum’. Reading lists include a very narrow selection of authors who maintain the CRT narrative, including Afua Hirsch, June Sarpong, and Renni Eddo-Lodge.³⁸ No attempt is made in either case to diversify or provide any semblance of balance with alternative viewpoints such as those of Booker T. Washington and Thomas Sowell.

CRT is also manifest in schools as the bigotry of low expectations. In my experience as a state school leader, teachers often set lower standards for students of colour in order to give them a better chance, presumably by overcoming what they perceive to be a handicap. For example, a teacher may overlook incomplete or missing homework if a child is from a particular racial background. What in theory is a well-intentioned action turns out to be detrimental to the teaching and learning of the young people involved.

Evidence suggests that BAME pupils prosper when expectations are in fact *raised* rather than lowered. Young people thrive on boundaries and high standards, as is evidenced by schools like Michaela Community School in London: with high proportions of BAME students and an emphasis on strong discipline, the school has gained GCSE results four times above the national average.³⁹

The issue of low expectations is in itself a pandemic of sorts in the sphere of education. Dr Zubaida Haque, deputy director of the Runnymede Trust, claims “exclusions in schools have spiked for many reasons, but we know there are significant concerns about teacher stereotypes and in-school policies which have racially discriminatory outcomes for students from different ethnic backgrounds”.⁴⁰ Yet this does not seem to be based on any evidence other than Dr Haque’s own beliefs. Conversely, the issue of exclusions *is* worth looking into.

Data from the Department for Education shows the temporary exclusion rates of Black Caribbean pupils to be at 10.5 per cent, with Black African children being much lower at 4.1 per cent, and White British pupils at 5.7 per cent.⁴¹ Clearly, this is not a black and white race issue; there are more socio-economic factors at play. An independent review into school exclusions in May 2019 found matching results.⁴² The exclusion rate of Chinese pupils was the lowest at 0.5 per cent, with Irish Travellers being the highest at 17.4 per cent. To suggest that the English education system is institutionally racist towards BAME pupils, in general, is a falsehood.

If we take a further look at education statistics for the last few academic years, we can see Black African pupils consistently outperform White British pupils. In the academic year 2018/19, the average ‘attainment 8’ results – a measure of a pupil’s average grade across eight core subjects – for pupils of Black African origin was 47.5 per cent, against 46.1 per cent for White British, and 39.6 per cent for pupils of Black Caribbean origin.⁴³ Reading, writing, and maths

³⁷ Tyreman, H., ‘Anti-racist education: Selected reading’, *Chartered College of Teaching*, 12 June 2020, available at: <https://my.chartered.college/2020/06/anti-racist-education-selected-reading/>, last visited: 31 August 2020.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Horton, H., ‘Britain’s strictest school’s first GCSE results are four times better than national average’, *The Telegraph*, 22 August 2019, available at: <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2019/08/22/britains-strictest-schools-first-gcse-results-four-times-better/#:~:text=Britain's%20strictest%20school%20has,to%204.5%20per%20cent%20nationwide>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁴⁰ Busby, E. ‘Schools unfairly punish black students for hairstyles and for ‘kissing teeth’ amid racial bias, teachers say’, *The Independent*, 12 January 2020, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/school-racial-bias-black-students-kissing-teeth-teachers-a9279056.html>, last visited: 3 September 2020.

⁴¹ ‘Statistics: exclusions’, *The Department for Education*, 30 July 2020, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/statistics-exclusions>, last visited: 8 August 2020.

⁴² Secretary of State for Education, ‘Timpson Review of School Exclusion’, May 2019, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/807862/Timpson_review.pdf, last visited: 8 August 2020.

⁴³ ‘GCSE results (‘Attainment 8’), *UK Government*, 22 August 2019, available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/education-skills-and-training/11-to-16-years-old/gcse-results-attainment-8-for-children-aged-14-to-16-key-stage-4/latest>, last visited: 8 August 2020.

for primary children in the same school year saw Black African pupils at 67 per cent, White British pupils at 65 per cent, and Black Caribbean pupils at 56 per cent.⁴⁴

If the English education system was institutionally racist, surely these kind of disparities between black pupils of African and Caribbean origin would not exist? Instead, what they highlight is the specific underperformance of Britain's Black Caribbean pupils. To put it down to race is to entirely oversimplify the matter. While the system itself is demonstrably not racist, it seems the hard-Left activists campaigning to politicise the curriculum are in fact – perhaps unintentionally – racist *themselves*.

Research published in 2017 by the Government's 'Behaviour Tsar', Tom Bennett, showed that the most common cause of permanent exclusions in secondary state schools was persistent disruptive behaviour.⁴⁵ The research found that behaviour in schools had deteriorated over the past decade or more, which may be linked to the increase in anti-social behaviour amongst youths in society. Interestingly, the Ministry of Justice's 'Youth Justice Statistics' for 2018/9, show that where the average custodial sentence length increases, the number of young people sentenced decreases.⁴⁶ Thus, such statistics further highlight the importance of boundaries and consequences. High expectations – paired with explicit consequences – is the best way of both educating our young people, and keeping them on the straight-and-narrow.

Bennett's research demonstrates practical solutions to the current state of affairs – the lack of discipline in our schools, and the resulting poor behaviour in society. This includes cultivating an aspirational culture of high expectations and providing a well-ordered structure, where routines and rules are robustly enforced. Instead of lowering our standards in a patronising attempt to support minorities, we need to do the opposite and raise the aspirations of all young people.

Critical Race Theory as championed by BLM UK has the inverse effect – lowering expectations and making excuses for poor behaviour by subscribing to the myth that white teachers are oppressors and black children are victims of institutional racism. This reinforces the idea that exceptions need to be made, thus lowering expectations. In my view, race plays an insignificant role in the English education system, and therefore to treat it as a priority is to further perpetuate the myth of racial superiority.

⁴⁴ 'Reading, writing and maths results for 10 to 11 year olds', *UK Government*, 13 May 2020, available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/education-skills-and-training/7-to-11-years-old/reading-writing-and-maths-attainments-for-children-aged-7-to-11-key-stage-2/latest>, last visited: 13 August 2020.

⁴⁵ Bennett, T., 'Creating a Culture: How school leaders can optimise behaviour', 24 March 2017, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/behaviour-in-schools>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁴⁶ 'Youth Justice Statistics 2018/19: England and Wales', *Youth Justice Board and Ministry of Justice*, 30 January 2020, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/862078/youth-justice-statistics-bulletin-march-2019.pdf, last visited: 17 August 2020.

7. Antisemitism: The Inevitable Consequence of 'Anti-Racism'?

Konstantin Kisin

One of the most illuminating examples of the divisive nature of identity politics in recent years has been the double standard applied to different *types* of racism. Indeed, while endless column inches dissect the minutia of discrimination against certain minorities, others appear to be exempt from protection.

In the United States, Chinese-, Japanese-, and Korean-Americans are some of the most economically successful groups – far outperforming their white counterparts – and, as a result, are now actively discriminated against in college admissions.⁴⁷ There is scant discussion of systemic racism, or a legacy of discrimination directed at Japanese-Americans, despite the fact that many of their grandparents were held in internment camps during World War II.⁴⁸

This gives rise to the all-important question: why are some minorities more 'equal' than others? The answer lies in the very nature of identity-based 'oppression Olympics'. According to the new progressive dogma, whether a group is 'oppressed' is measured not by historical facts, or even their day-to-day experience of discrimination. Instead, the method used by Western left-wing ideologues to determine whether a group is disadvantaged is much more direct. If an ethnic-minority group struggles in a particular area of life, it is considered to be an oppressed section of society. If a minority group thrives, it is considered to be a privileged part of society. According to this simple formula, success is a sign of privilege, while a lack of success is a direct by-product of structural injustice.

Where does this leave thriving British minorities – such as people of Chinese, Indian, and West African origin? They need only look at the experience of British Jews to glimpse their future. Despite being one of the most persecuted, scapegoated, and exterminated groups in the history of humanity, Jews somehow remain at the bottom of the 'oppression pyramid'.

With a population in the region of 300,000, Jewish people are a tiny minority in the UK.⁴⁹ According to 2018 figures reported by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics, the global Jewish population was 14.7 million.⁵⁰ To put this in perspective, this is comfortably lower than the United Nation's 2018 population estimates for cities such as New York and Osaka.⁵¹ Yet the world's Jewish people continue to excel in the fields of science, technology, literature, and business – much to the dismay of far-Left and far-Right ideologues on both sides of the Atlantic. While even the most casual student of history will be familiar with the far-Right's obsession with Jews as the shadowy puppeteers in charge of global banking – a trope designed to explain away their relative success – the far-Left's focus on this community may be a novelty to some.

While some on the Left express concerns about Israel's treatment of Palestinians (a perfectly legitimate discussion that we should be free to have), to a growing number of so-called

⁴⁷ 'Justice Department Finds Yale Illegally Discriminates Against Asians and Whites in Undergraduate Admissions in Violation of Federal Civil-Rights Laws', *US Department of Justice*, 13 August 2020, available at: <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/justice-department-finds-yale-illegally-discriminates-against-asians-and-whites-undergraduate>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁴⁸ 'Japanese Internment Camps', *History.com*, 21 February 2020, available at: <https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/japanese-american-relocation>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁴⁹ 'United Kingdom', *European Jewish Congress*, available at: <https://eurojewcong.org/communities/united-kingdom/>, last visited: 3 September 2020.

⁵⁰ 'Global Jewish Population hits 14.7 million', *Australian Jewish News*, 21 April 2020, available at: <https://ajn.timesofisrael.com/global-jewish-population-hits-14-7-million/>, last visited: 28 August 2020.

⁵¹ 'World Urbanization Prospects 2018: Highlights' (New York: United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2019), available at: <https://population.un.org/wup/Publications/Files/WUP2018-Highlights.pdf>, last visited: 28 August 2020.

‘progressives’, the issue is much more fundamental. The problem all successful minorities pose to the progressive narrative is that they refuse to bend to their simplistic explanation of reality. This is exactly the same reason why non-white individuals who refuse to embrace their victimhood status, and talk about the need for personal responsibility and community cohesion, are targeted with identity-motivated abusive slurs – such as “house nigger”, “coon” and “Uncle Tom”.⁵²

The ideology behind all of the recent race-related turmoil relies on a few basic tenets, primary among which is the idea that history is a battle between the oppressors and the oppressed. This ethnicity-laden re-imagining of the “class struggle” first posited by Karl Marx is at the heart of ‘woke’ orthodoxy.

For a while, it was possible to ignore the obvious contradiction between this vision of society and the fact that many different ethnic groups continue to thrive – despite quite clearly being the targets of discrimination and prejudice for centuries. But as our conversations about race and racism reach fever pitch, the return of antisemitism, and a growing prejudice against other successful minorities, are inevitable.

The effects of this process can already be seen. According to the Campaign Against Antisemitism, people who self-identify as “very left-wing” are notably more likely to hold an antisemitic view than people who categorise themselves as “very right-wing”.⁵³ While antisemitism endures on the British political Right, it is being overtaken by antisemitism on the contemporary British Left. Therefore, it comes as no surprise to me that a hard-Left movement such as BLM UK has faced allegations of indulging in antisemitism.⁵⁴

The extent to which our media and political landscape has been infected with this mindset was laid bare during Jeremy Corbyn’s leadership of the Labour Party. Under his watch, the party was embroiled in an endless stream of allegations and resignations of prominent Jewish MPs and members.⁵⁵ Over 85 per cent of British Jews believed the Labour Party was antisemitic, with an even higher percentage viewing Corbyn himself as an antisemite.⁵⁶

Having never met Mr Corbyn, I would not like to speculate too much over his views. But the cynic in me thinks that, if Labour had witnessed the loss of black MPs as a result of concerns over anti-black racism in the party in the same way they lost Jewish MPs from the Labour Party over antisemitism concerns, the reaction would have been very different from certain hard-Left quarters. I suspect that the trivialisation of antisemitism-related grievances among pro-Corbyn activists would not be replicated by such actors in the event of allegations of institutionalised anti-black racism within the Labour Party.

The truth about identity politics, such as the type peddled by hard-Left movements like BLM UK, is that it inevitably drives different ethnic and racial groups into conflict and competition. Instead of teaching us how to recognise our common humanity so we can live together in harmony as friends and neighbours, the point is to antagonise and agitate ordinary people into viewing each other as enemies, in an endless struggle for power.

⁵² David Kurten, @davidkurten, *Twitter*, 30 June 2020, available at: <https://twitter.com/davidkurten/status/1277873904086892545>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁵³ ‘Antisemitism Barometer 2019’, *Campaign Against Antisemitism* (2019), available at: <https://antisemitism.uk/barometer/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁵⁴ Gold, T., ‘How anti-Semitic is BLM?’, *UnHerd*, 10 July 2020, available at: <https://unherd.com/2020/07/how-anti-semitic-is-blm/>, last visited: 28 August 2020.

⁵⁵ ‘Louise Ellman: MP quits Labour over anti-Semitism concerns’, *BBC News*, 17 October 2019, available at: <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-50077384>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁵⁶ Sugarman, D., ‘More than 85 per cent of British Jews think Jeremy Corbyn is antisemitic’, *The Jewish Chronicle*, 13 September 2018, available at: <https://www.thejc.com/news/uk/more-than-85-per-cent-of-british-jews-think-jeremy-corbyn-is-antisemitic-1.469654>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

The sensible majority of people from all backgrounds can no longer afford to stand by and allow the re-racialisation of our society. We must abandon the false hope that this new form of intolerance will go away on its own – it is time for all of us to speak with one voice and say clearly: ‘you will not divide us’.

8. On Race, Britain's Young Minorities Signal Radical, but Think Pragmatic

Dr Remi Adekoya

Although the Black Lives Matter movement was originally associated with protests against police brutality towards African-Americans, its aspirations have always exceeded the scope of police-citizen race relations. Indeed, BLM co-founder Alicia Garza was quoted in 2016 as having said: "Black Lives Matter is not just concerned with what happens in policing. The disregard, the disrespect and the lack of dignity for black life transcends through the fabric of our society".⁵⁷

BLM has been successful in tapping into a shared sense of disrespect perceived by many black people around the world – hence strong cross-continental support for the movement. Here in Britain, that feeling was echoed in a CNN poll carried out in June 2020, in which 49 per cent of black Britons reported having experienced disrespectful treatment from the police, compared to 26 per cent of whites.⁵⁸

A series of recent surveys on race suggest two other trends: that there are intergenerational differences in approaches to the issue within ethnic-minority communities, and that black Britons are significantly *more likely* to see racism as a major problem in Britain than other ethnic minorities.

According to a YouGov poll conducted in June 2020, 76 per cent of BAME people aged 18–24 supported BLM protests in Britain, compared to roughly 66 per cent in other age groups.⁵⁹ Alongside this, 48 per cent of BAME people aged 18–24 supported the removal of Edward Colston's statue in Bristol, including "the way in which it was done" – the highest backing in any age group, with support dropping as low as 18 per cent for those in the 50–64 age bracket. Support for removing "all statues of historical figures with links to slavery from British towns and cities" was highest among 18–24s – at 62 per cent, as was the opinion that BLM protests will have a positive impact on Britain, which was at 60 per cent. In comparison, just 46 per cent of BAMEs aged 25–49, and 37 per cent of 50–64s felt that the BLM protests would have a positive impact.

An ITV survey carried out in July 2020 also showed that the strongest support for removing statues of people "predominantly known for their historic role in colonialism and slavery", as well as those "not predominantly known for their historic role in colonialism and slavery, but with *some* historical associations with racism" was among 18–24 BAMEs, at 54 per cent in both cases.⁶⁰ Those most likely to believe BLM has "advanced the cause of racial equality" were also in the 18–24 group.

Fascinatingly however, while younger minority Britons are more likely to support radical actions like the tearing down of statues, this may in fact be more of a *post-factum* sense of solidarity, rather than an acknowledgement that they are optimal anti-racist strategies. When asked what is most *impactful* in reducing racism, young BAME people chose, in order: "peaceful

⁵⁷ Greenwald, D., 'Should BLM Be Held Accountable for Dallas?', *The Davis Vanguard*, 10 July 2016, available at: <https://www.davisvanguard.org/2016/07/blm-held-accountable-dallas/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁵⁸ Greene, R., 'Britain's big race divide', *CNN*, 22 June 2020, available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/interactive/2020/06/europe/britain-racism-cnn-poll-gbr-intl/>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁵⁹ 'YouGov Survey Results', *YouGov*, 10–17 June 2020, available at: <https://docs.cdn.yougov.com/6pg6w1fadp/YouGov%20Racism%20BAME%20June%202020%202.pdf>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁶⁰ 'ITV Has Britain Changed Poll (Ethnic Minority Respondents)', *Number Cruncher Politics*, 3–12 July 2020, available at: <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2020/07/itv-has-britain-changed-tabs-ethnic-minority.pdf>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

protest” (27 per cent), “voting and legal change” (20 per cent), and improved education on race (17 per cent) over “civil disobedience and direct action” (9 per cent).⁶¹ Hence, it would be wrong to interpret all expressions of solidarity for civil disobedience as proof that young BAMEs believe this is the best path forward on race.

Meanwhile, in all three polls (CNN, YouGov, ITV), black Britons were strikingly *more likely* to see racism as a major issue in Britain than other ethnic minorities. In the YouGov poll, black people were the most likely to perceive a “great deal” of racism in Britain today (65 per cent), compared to 47 per cent of British-Bangladeshis and 40 per cent of British-Pakistanis.⁶² In the ITV poll, black people were systematically more likely to describe Britain’s police, justice system, education system, media, parliament, and corporate world – as well as the sports, arts and beauty industries – as having a “culture of racism” than any other group.⁶³

There clearly exists a stronger feeling of discrimination among black Britons than among any other minority group in Britain. The problem with some of the more radical BLM-inspired actions – such as tearing down statues – is that they play right into some of the stereotypes black people themselves complain about most. In the ITV poll, 60 per cent of blacks reported having been “misperceived as angry, aggressive or a threat” compared to 37 per cent of British-Pakistanis and British-Indians.⁶⁴

Paradoxically, though much of the crowd that brought down the Colston statue in Bristol appeared white, it is likely that some who missed the visuals could attribute the action to aggressive black ‘troublemakers’. The potentially damaging effect of the perpetuation of such stereotypes cannot be shrugged off in a country where black and mixed-black Britons combined constitute under 5 per cent of the population.⁶⁵ Like it or not, the life chances of black people will continue to depend to a significant extent on the opinions of the 85 per cent white majority. Demographic realities cannot be wished away.

The question is not whether Britain should be made a fairer society for all (including black people), but rather what strategy offers the best probability of achieving that goal. Martin Luther King Jr is chiefly remembered today for his moral non-violent stance against racism. But King wasn’t just a moralist, he was also a savvy strategist. He knew the demographics of America were stark: whites outnumbered blacks more than eight-to-one at the time. Alluding to the radicals of his day, King stated in his autobiography:

Fiery, demagogic oratory in the black ghettos, urging Negroes to arm themselves... can reap nothing but grief. In the event of a violent revolution, we would be sorely outnumbered. And when it was all over, the Negro would face the same unchanged conditions... the only difference being that his bitterness would be even more intense, his disenchantment even more abject. Thus, in purely practical as well as moral terms, the American Negro has no rational alternative to non-violence.⁶⁶

⁶¹ ‘ITV Has Britain Changed Poll (Ethnic Minority Respondents)’, *Number Cruncher Politics*, 3-12 July 2020, available at: <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2020/07/itv-has-britain-changed-tabs-ethnic-minority.pdf>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁶² ‘YouGov Survey Results’, *YouGov*, 10-17 June (2020), available at: <https://docs.cdn.yougov.com/6pg6w1fadp/YouGov%20Racism%20BAME%20June%202020%202.pdf>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁶³ ‘ITV Has Britain Changed Poll (Ethnic Minority Respondents)’, *Number Cruncher Politics*, 3-12 July 2020, available at: <https://www.ncpolitics.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/5/2020/07/itv-has-britain-changed-tabs-ethnic-minority.pdf>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ ‘Population of England and Wales’, *GOV.UK*, 7 August 2020, available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/national-and-regional-populations/population-of-england-and-wales/latest>, last visited: 17 August 2020.

⁶⁶ Carson, C. (ed.), *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2001), pp.265-266.

Of course, no one is calling for violent revolution today. But a strong part of BLM's appeal for young minorities and blacks is likely its highly assertive language, which plausibly gives black people a desired feeling of agency and power. But assertive rhetoric does not equal material power. In reality, *nothing* can be achieved in the fight against racism in Britain without the overwhelming support of the 85 per cent white majority. The question is how to win over that majority. Suggesting they are inherent racists who should feel more or less perpetual guilt for slavery, colonialism, and all the problems black people have today is unlikely to be a winning strategy. Optimistically, Britain's young minorities – including blacks – do realise that democratic change, improved education on race, and, when necessary, peaceful protests, are more effective long-term strategies than feel-good feisty bluster and showy defiance. That is a very good start.

9. Is Britain Racist?

Dr Rakib Ehsan

In recent months, the UK has witnessed a wave of Black Lives Matter demonstrations. Matters of race and identity have been thrust into the spotlight, dominating national political discourse. The BLM UK movement has talked of an oppressed ‘black diaspora’ in a Britain which is supposedly falling under the racist forces of right-wing authoritarianism.

Yet there needs to be a more granular understanding of the current state of affairs in ‘Black Britain’ – a fictitious construct which is devoid of credibility from a social science perspective. The 2010 ‘Ethnic Minority British Election Study’ showed that, when compared with people of Black Caribbean origin, people of Black African origin were less likely to report racial discrimination and more likely to be satisfied with the British democratic system.⁶⁷ People of Black African origin are also notably more likely to hold a high level of trust in the UK Parliament and British politicians in general, especially when compared with people of Black Caribbean origin.⁶⁸

Similar patterns of institutional distrust are reflected in the most recent edition of the Crime Survey for England and Wales, released earlier this year. 56 per cent of respondents of Black Caribbean origin stated that they had confidence in their local police force. The corresponding figure for people of Black African origin stood a full 20 percentage points higher, at 76 per cent.⁶⁹ There are notable age effects to consider within the broader black population. In the same crime survey, only 61 per cent of black British people aged between 16 and 24 had confidence in their local police force. For co-racial respondents aged between 65 and 74, this figure rises to 77 per cent.⁷⁰

There is also an important distinction to be made between black people who have arrived to the UK as migrants or refugees, and their descendants who are born and raised in British society. The former group will include black African refugees who have fled civil unrest and political persecution in their country of birth – such as Somalia, Angola, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. This contributes to a naturally positive orientation towards the “new country”, with British democracy providing a comparatively higher level of stability, freedom, and choice.⁷¹ However, individuals in the British-born group are more likely to have stricter expectations over the racial equality credentials of public institutions and the general allocation of rewards and opportunities in British society. In the words of Sunder Katwala of the British Future think-tank: “gradual progress in race relations has been outstripped by rising expectations”.⁷²

There are challenges for Britain to overcome, but it is important to maintain some perspective. A number of studies provide support for the view that the UK is one of the most tolerant,

⁶⁷ Ehsan, R., ‘The Myth of Black Britain’, *All in Britain*, 11 July 2019, available at: <https://allinbritain.org/the-myth-of-black-britain/>, last visited: 28 July 2020.

⁶⁸ Ehsan, R., ‘Discrimination, Social Relations and Trust: Civic Inclusion of British Ethnic Minorities’ (PhD Thesis), Royal Holloway, University of London, Egham (Surrey) (2019), available at: <https://pure.royalholloway.ac.uk/portal/files/33583046/2019ehsanmrphd.pdf>, last visited: 28 July 2020.

⁶⁹ ‘Confidence in the local police’, *UK Government*, 4 March 2020, available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/crime-justice-and-the-law/policing/confidence-in-the-local-police/latest#by-ethnicity-over-time>, last visited 28 July 2020.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ehsan, R., ‘Democratic satisfaction among Britain’s immigrant communities: intergenerational divides’, *Intergenerational Foundation*, 9 October 2018, available at: <http://www.if.org.uk/2018/10/09/democratic-satisfaction-among-britains-immigrant-communities-intergenerational-divides/>, last visited: 28 July 2020.

⁷² Katwala, S., ‘What Britain thinks of race relations since Stephen Lawrence’s death’, *CapX*, 17 July 2020, available at: <https://capx.co/what-britain-thinks-of-race-relations-since-stephen-lawrences-death/>, last visited: 3 September 2020.

non-racist, anti-discriminatory societies in Europe. A study by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights has found that people of black African descent faced “widespread and entrenched prejudice and exclusion” across the EU, but the UK had one of the lowest levels of reported race-related harassment and violence in the 12-country study.⁷³ The co-author of a paper published by Frontiers on Sociology, Dr Mariah Evans, concluded that prejudice against minority groups is rare in the UK.⁷⁴

In order for Britain to make further progress in strengthening community relations and improving collective satisfaction in the democratic system, it is important that radical ideologues do not seize control of race-related narratives. While there is much room for improvement in developing a more meritocratic society where the impact of racial discrimination is reduced, Britain remains one of the most successful examples of a post-World War II multi-racial democracy.

The need for nuance in debates over racial inequalities and discrimination is crucial, and there must be an effort by politicians and policymakers alike to guard against reductive analyses in this policy space. Racial and ethnic penalties continue to plague the British labour market, with the University of Oxford’s Centre for Social Investigation finding that people of Black Caribbean origin continue to face levels of discrimination not too different to those in the 1960s.⁷⁵ There is some way to go in terms of ensuring a merit-driven allocation of opportunities and rewards. However, debates over racial and ethnic inequalities also ought to consider the centrality of a stable family unit, problematic internal cultural norms hindering female empowerment, and cultural barriers to social integration. It can only be hoped that this is reflected in the work of the new Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities set up by the Director of Number 10’s Policy Unit, Dr Munira Mirza.

The contemporary identitarian Left, with its suspect interpretation of British society and inability to even entertain the possibility that internal factors – such as family breakdown and ultra-conservative gender norms – can feed into racial and ethnic inequalities, has little to contribute to debates on social progress and economic empowerment.

And unfortunately, that includes parliamentarians and academics who are sympathetic to, and indeed support, the BLM UK movement.

⁷³ ‘Being Black in the EU: Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey’, *European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights*, 23 November 2018, available at: <https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2018/being-black-eu>, last visited: 3 September 2020.

⁷⁴ Prior, P., ‘UK prejudice against immigrants amongst lowest in Europe’, *Frontiers Science News*, 26 February 2019, available at: <https://blog.frontiersin.org/2019/02/26/uk-prejudice-against-immigrants-amongst-lowest-in-europe/>, last visited: 29 July 2020.

⁷⁵ Heath, A. and Di Stasio, V., ‘Are employers discriminating against ethnic minorities?’, Centre for Social Investigation: Nuffield College, University of Oxford (January. 2019), available at: http://csi.nuff.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/Are-employers-in-Britain-discriminating-against-ethnic-minorities_final.pdf, last visited: 14 August 2020.

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