The Unfinished Politics of Race

The Unfinished Politics of Race argues that the past few decades have seen important transformations in the politics of race. Contending that existing accounts have focused narrowly on the mainstream political sphere, this study argues that there is a need to explore the role of race more widely. By exploring the mainstream as well as transitional and alternative spheres of political mobilisation, the authors stress the need to link the analysis of both local and national processes in order to make sense of the changing contours of racialised politics. The underlying concern of this study is to outline both a theoretical frame for an analysis of racial politics and detailed empirical accounts of different arenas of political mobilisation. By exploring the unfinished politics of race, this study provides a timely reminder that the position of racial and ethnic minorities in political institutions remains deeply contested.

Les Back is Professor of Sociology at the University of Glasgow. He has researched and written on urban culture, ethnicity, migration, cultural politics, music, and higher education.

Michael Keith is Director of the PEAK Urban Research programme and the Director of the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford (seconded to PEAK urban until 2024). His research focuses on migration-related processes of urban change. He was a former leader of a local authority and founder, activist in third sector organisations, and was involved in the politics of east London for twenty years.

Kalbir Shukra is Senior Lecturer in Community and Youth Work at Goldsmiths, University of London. She has previously researched and written on black politics, particularly in relation to Labour Party Black Sections and anti-oppressive practice strategies in youth work and community development. Her current work is centred on youth democracy and political education.

John Solomos is Professor of Sociology at the University of Warwick. He has researched and written widely on the history and contemporary forms of race and ethnic relations in Britain, theories of race and racism, race and football, and racist movements and ideas. He is Editor-in-Chief of the international journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

The Unfinished Politics of Race

Histories of Political Participation, Migration, and Multiculturalism

Les Back University of Glasgow

Michael Keith University of Oxford

Kalbir Shukra Goldsmiths, University of London

John Solomos University of Warwick







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009261319

DOI: 10.1017/9781009261340

© Les Back, Michael Keith, Kalbir Shukra, and John Solomos 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

- Names: Back, Les, 1962– author. | Keith, Michael, 1960– author. | Shukra, Kalbir, 1962– author. | Solomos, John, author.
- Title: The unfinished politics of race : histories of political participation, migration, and multiculturalism / Les Back, Goldsmiths, University of London ; Michael Keith, University of Oxford ; Kalbir Shukra, Goldsmiths, University of London ; John Solomos, University of Warwick.
- Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2023. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
- Identifiers: LCCN 2022030031 (print) | LCCN 2022030032 (ebook) | ISBN 9781009261319 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009261357 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009261340 (epub)
- Subjects: LCSH: Minorities–Political activity–Great Britain. | Race–Political aspects–Great Britain. | Political participation–Social aspects–Great Britain. | Multiculturalism–Political aspects–Great Britain. | Great Britain–Race relations–Political aspects. | Great Britain–Ethnic relations–Political aspects. | Great Britain–Ethnic relations–Political aspects.

Classification: LCC DA125.A1 B23 2023 (print) | LCC DA125.A1 (ebook) | DDC 323.141-dc23/eng/20220803

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022030031

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022030032

ISBN 978-1-009-26131-9 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-009-26135-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

List of Images	<i>page</i> viii
Preface	ix
Introduction	1
Origins and Trajectories	4
Recurrent and New Themes	6
Outline of the Book	11
Part I Beginnings: Routes to the Present Introduction to Part I	13
1 From Empire to Multicultural Democracy?	17
Empire, Migration, and Racial Formation	18
Race, Governance, and Mobilisation	20
Spheres of Political Incorporation	22
Rethinking the Political in Multicultural Britain	25
Changing Boundaries of the Political	28
2 Changing Contours of Race and the Political	30
Situating Race and the Political	30
Political Alliances, Racism, and Anti-racism	34
Race, Class, and Politics	36
Social Movements, Civil Society, and Political Agendas	38
Situating the Present	39
3 Shifting Dynamics of Race and Local Politics Local Constitution of Race Local Associations and Community Activism Local Historicity and Spatiality Racialisation and the Local State: Geographically Marginal, Symbolically Central Cultural Rights and Recognition Local Bureaucracy and Political Processes	44 45 47 48 54 59 64
Evolving Dynamics of Race and Local Politics	65
Rethinking Race and Political Participation	68

v

vi	Contents	
	art II Moments in Time and Place: Rethinking veryday Politics Introduction to Part II	71
4	The Politics of Dwelling: From Migration to Race and	
4		02
	Back Again	83
	Dwelling in the City	83 94
	Between Cultural Needs and Universal Citizenship The Mobilisation of an Alternative Public Sphere	94 96
	Visible Hurt and Mutable Subjects: Contesting Housing Need	90 98
	'Of Its Time, in Its Place': Housing Campaigns,	70
	Recognition, Discrimination	101
	New Spaces of the Political	102
5	Anti-racism, Participation, and the Transitional	
2	Public Sphere	108
	Protest, Institutionalisation, and Politics	109
	New Individual Networks	113
	Group Networks and the Growth of the Transitional Sphere in the 1990s	116
	National Black Caucus and the 1990 Trust	118
	The Anti-Racist Alliance	119
	The National Black Alliance / National Assembly Against Racism	120
	Operation Black Vote	120
	National Civil Rights Movement	121
	Constructing a Central Space	122
	Towards a Typology of Ethnic Minority Transitional Sphere Organisations Political Alignments, Minority Mobilisation, and Leadership	123 125
	Joined-Up Politics: Bridging the Spheres of Political Activism	125
	What Gains? At What Cost?	130
6	Cultures of the Convivial	136
0	"The Only "E" We Use Is Electric': Traditions Remade and a Politics	150
	of Presence	137
	Alternative Forms of Association	138
	Politics of Presence	141
	The Terms of the Multicultural Question	142
	Black in the Union Jack?: Cultural Politics and the Lines of Inclusion	144
	Asylum: Music As Political Bridging	149
	The Making of the Asylum CD	149
	How Did Making the Asylum CD Become a Matter of Politics?	156
	Culture and Politics	164
7	Post-secular Multiculturalism and the New Political	
	Landscapes of Twenty-First-Century Britain	166
	Religion and Politics	166
	The New Political Landscape and Faith-Based Mobilisations	170
	Characterising Islamic Mobilisation in East London	174
	Modernisation and the Racial State	175

	Contents	vii
	Islam, Faith, and Issue-Based Mobilisation in the New Spaces and Micro-Geographies of the Political	177
8	The Racial Politics of Migrant Integration and Cohesion	188
	The Commission on Integration and Cohesion (CIC)	192
	Theorising Migrant Integration and the Modern City	195
	Between the Fabrication of Ethnic 'Community' and Migrant Rights:	
	The Study of Culture and a Sociology of Belonging	202
	Integration: A Sequel?	206
	art III History in the Present: Rethinking Social Science, igration, and Race Introduction to Part III	209
9	From Identity Politics to an Unfinished Politics of Race	211
9	The Mutabilities of Race and the Longue Durée	211
	Twenty-First-Century Whiteness and the Search for the Working-	211
	Class Electorate	217
	Imagining the Local: Communitarian Problems with Race and Migration	226
10	Present Times and Future Places	236

10	Present Times and Future Places	236
	Brexit, Race, and Immigration	237
	Nationalism, Racism, or Racial Self-Interest	242
	Colonial Legacies and Black Lives Matter	245
	The Past and Future of Racial Politics	247
	Locating Race in the Present and the Future	251
	References	255

Index

284

List of Images

6.1	Asylum, 2001	page 150
6.2	In the studio, 2001	152
6.3	Richard Robinson, Deal, 2001	
	(Photograph by Peter Emptage)	154
6.4	Aktar, Spex, and Lord throwing stones on Deal Beach,	
	2001 (Photograph by Peter Emptage)	157
6.5	The British National Party marching in Deal, 2001	
	(Photograph by Peter Emptage)	157

viii

Preface

The Unfinished Politics of Race is a product of our long-term collaboration on research linked to questions about the changing politics of race, ethnicity, and migration in British society. This collaboration started with a project funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) on the 'Politics of Race and Social Change in Birmingham' (Award No. R000231545) in the early 1990s, involving John Solomos and Les Back, which sought to provide a detailed analysis of the ways in which minority communities were beginning to become integrated within political institutions and parties in the local environment of Birmingham. At the time, there were few detailed empirical studies of this process of political engagement, and indeed few such studies have been carried out in the period since. This then led to further collaboration between all four of us on an ESRC-funded project on 'Democratic and Ethnic Minority Political Participation Governance in Contemporary Britain' (Award No. L215252046), which formed part of the ESRC Democracy and Participation Research Programme. Azra Khan worked with us for a period on some of the empirical research for this project, and we are grateful for her contribution. This project focused on trends and developments in London and in Birmingham, as well as on broader forms of national political mobilisations. We produced several articles from this project that sought to explore the evolving dynamics of minority political participation in the early 2000s. For a time, other priorities took over in our work, and we were not able to complete the writing up of this research at the time.

At the same time, we have continued to collaborate and work on various projects linked to the concerns of this book over the past two decades, and it is based on these collaborations that we have written this book. In addition to these more empirically focused projects, we have all engaged with evolving theoretical and conceptual debates in the broad field of race and ethnic studies, and this engagement is reflected in some of the themes that we take up in the core chapters of this book. So, this volume can be seen as reflecting the more specific collaborations focused

ix

x Preface

on the evolving politics of race and ethnicity in British society and our interest in engaging with ongoing and pressing conversations about what kind of policy agendas are needed to address the racialised inequalities that have become an entrenched feature of the contemporary situation. The three parts of this book reflect the key elements of both collaborations and conversations, and we hope that they will contribute to the debates that are currently taking place, in Britain as well as in other societies.

During the research on which this book is based, we have accumulated debts to several of our colleagues in our academic networks who have provided us with sage advice and conversations that have allowed us to develop our arguments and reformulate our analytical frame. In particular, we would like to express our thanks to Nisar Ahmed, Claire Alexander, Anwara Ali, Malcolm Ball, Leah Bassel, Vikki Bell, Gargi Bhattacharyya, Alice Bloch, Manuela Bojadzijev, Milena Chimienti, Steve Douglas, Ben Gidley, Paul Gilroy, Yasmin Gunaratnam, Sylvia Ingmire, Denise Jones, Abdul Maliq Khukhon, Marco Martiniello, Cathy McIlwaine, Gedu Miah, Ranu Miah, Karim Murji, Yasmeen Narayan, Sarah Neal, Therese O'Toole, John Pandit, Bhikhu Parekh, Steve Pile, Nirmal Puwar, Richard Robinson, Anamik Saha, Liza Schuster, Abdul Shukur, Miri Song, Brett St Louis, Rajan Jalal Uddin, Satnam Virdee, and Aaron Winter. In addition, we thank our various institutions over the years for providing us with supportive working environments that have given us the space and the intellectual environment within which to work on the book in its various stages of development. In the fast-evolving world of universities, this support has been invaluable to all of us.