



Ethnic Minorities
& Youth Support
Team Wales

Tim Cymorth
Lleiafrifoedd Ethnig
& Ieuenctid Cymru

All Wales Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic Engagement Programme

“Race, Employment & the Unemployment Crisis?” Forum

Date: 8 December 2021 Location: Zoom

Project Staff – Adam Johannes (host), Selima Bahadur (chair), Hasminder Aulakh (cohost) and Judy Li (co-host and tech)

Key Speakers: Nirushan Sudarsan (Citizens Wales Cymru, Community Jobs Compact) and Leila Usmani (Development Worker, Race Alliance Wales)

Attendees: Amanda Rogers (Platform), Fiona Mocko (Flintshire council), Frankie Hackett (Skills & Volunteering Cymru), Gareth Thomas (Senedd Wales), Pat Dunmore (Citizens Advice NPT), Paul Davies (Carmarthenshire Council), Reehana Joiya (Platform), Alison Parken (Cardiff Uni), Abi Lasebikan (Senedd Wales), Sam Etheridge (Pobl Group), Charlotte Ajomale-Evans, Vicky Bolton (AVOW), Elinor Crouch-Puzey (NSPCC), Gary Lewis (Stand Up to Racism Wales), Mo Miah (Urban Circle Newport), Shaheen Sutton (TNL Community Fund), Martin Gallagher, Alice Bailey (Sustrans). From EYST: Sadia Malik, Anna Szymanska, Dalia Alhusseini, Jessica Perkins, Derin Omole, Deborah Cooze

AJ: Introduction to Discussion. *Race, Employment & Unemployment.*

Overview of current British Economy. Highlighting failures such as extremes of wealth and poverty. In last 40 years transformation of Britain into a low wage economy with high living costs including most expensive energy bills, rents, railfares, university education in Europe. Racial inequality must be understood within wider context of dysfunctional economy.

April 2021, a Guardian report revealed stats between October-December 2020 that Black youth unemployment (16-24 year old's) was at over 40% (White youth unemployment at 12%) highest rate since 1981. In the 21st century Black youth are being taken back 40 years. This racialised crisis of joblessness not



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acknowledged or addressed enough at council, Welsh and UK government levels. Young people starting their adult lives in a state of precariousness that could shape their whole lives, including future wages and careers.

Poverty soared during pandemic. Spike in food bank use. BAME workers disproportionately hit with layoffs, less likely to be furloughed and trapped in more insecure areas of employment before COVID-19. TUC research says that for every year of the 21st century BAME unemployment has been 70% higher than White unemployment. When we talk about economic recessions, we have to ask why are BAME communities being trapped into a 'permanent recession'?

Is Britain's economy structurally racist? British economy built on racism, spanning five centuries and four continents. Cannot understand how a small island of the coast of the Western Europe became the no. 1 global economic superpower in the 18th and 19th century without centering the looting of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan to its East, and the imposition of slavery in the Caribbean to its West. This is the basis of the British economy. We also have to look at what happened during post-war reconstruction how migrant workforces were brought in to certain sectors of the economy.

The NHS, the jewel in the crown of the post-war welfare state rested on a migrant workforce from its inception, doctors from South Asia and nurses from the Caribbean. It is now Britain's most multicultural employer, kept going by workers drawn from over 200 countries, yet more than seventy years after its foundation BAME NHS workers still talk about facing structural racism from the nation's most multicultural employer? Why is this? Why is this an issue still?

We are often encouraged to see joblessness, precariousness and poverty as the result of individual failure or character flaws, but people on low incomes don't create global economic crises, they don't pay wages so low that people struggle to cover basic essentials, they never decided to impose the highest rents in Western Europe. Many of the decisions creating joblessness, precariousness and poverty in BAME communities are deeply structural to the British economy.



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Too often these issues are framed in terms of 'breaking the glass ceiling' the barriers to a certain section of BAME communities being held back from representation in management, boards or elected to bodies like the Senedd. But even if some people break the glass ceiling, what does that mean, if the majority are in the class who are on their hands and knees cleaning up the broken glass? In the 1980s, Thatcher and Reagan used the term 'trickle down economics' to describe how if some people made it, their success and wealth would slowly trickle down to the rest of society, but maybe this didn't happen? But if we lift from the bottom, we all rise.

Introductions from Key Speakers

NS: From Cardiff, lives in Grangetown. Community Jobs Compact is about getting people into work in good jobs that are paid a real living wage. In work and campaigning realised unemployment an issue after listening campaign in 2016/17. Listening campaigns involves one-to-one conversations with people from your area and surrounding areas. A team of leaders he was part of started to do this living campaign around Butetown, Grangetown, Riverside, the southside of the city of the Cardiff. Importance of 'southern arc' of the city explained later.

Doing this listening campaign and having one-to-one conversations, themes kept coming up around employment, lack of opportunities, lack of secure jobs, and jobs where people are paid well. Revealed issue not just issue for individuals, but for community as a whole.

Cardiff Bay transformed in last two decades with lots of big business coming in and cultural institutions. People didn't feel those businesses and those institutions benefiting local people. Local people didn't see themselves working in these institutions and businesses. Ethnic minorities who grew up there, go to school there, families live there, struggle to find work in the institutions that have set up in their community.

An issue in the southern arc of the city. Launched '*Community Jobs Compact*' based on relationship between us, as individuals and community, and employers. Bridging gap between locals looking for work and employers struggling to get



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locals to work for them. The compact is an agreement with employers. A team identifies a list of local employers to target to sign up to the compact to make commitment to work with it to employ locals.

Three key elements

1. Compact asks employers to pay real living wage and accredit as a real living wage employer. From listening campaign found that people spoke to on poverty wages, temporary contracts and zero hours, working two or three jobs, struggling to meet essential needs. Paying all staff a real living wage essential.

2. Compact asks employers do unconscious bias training for those involved the hiring process. Hiring processes in the private sector not applied consistently across the sector. Also having a foreign sounding name or postcode was huge issue. From listening campaign found individuals said that their name or postcode from southern arc of city barrier to getting employment, felt only reason they didn't get certain jobs was name, address and where they lived. So having a hiring process that uses name/address blind CVs/applications.

3. Making sure there is job security and development for those who get work. We don't want people to get jobs and that's the end of it, we want high quality jobs there to be career development, training and be able to establish a long-term career. A lot of graduates and academically successful people were still getting jobs that were not long term, not good quality, still zero hours. This helps tackle unfair practices. An agreement between Compact, communities and employers. And build bridges between us and employers to target unemployment in our city.

Compact worked with employers sign posting people from our communities to them, worked with individuals helping them with CVs and applications forms to make them high quality, and with interview techniques.

Connected employers with trainers in unconscious bias and real living wage.

Many graduates were struggling to get jobs in big institutions. Community Jobs Compact started working with big employers, signed up 20 employers to



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Tim Cymorth
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Compact. Has good case studies of apprenticeship scheme with Senedd/Welsh Parliament, good examples of relationships with Legal & General, Millennium Centre, Ikea to get local people into those places of opportunities.

Why Southern Arc of the city of Cardiff? If you look at Cardiff, southern arc vastly much more unequal. North is wealthier. Higher life expectancy and educational attainment. The south has been redeveloped, people have moved in. Our aim is that the compact bridges that gap and local people get those opportunities.

What is key for employers addressing under-representation in workforce is connecting with people who can connect you to the right people to get opportunities through the door, tailor your needs and the support you can offer, and work with communities to get that workforce in. Part of that is showing commitment, signing the compact, for example, shows you are willing to address under representation and inequality in the city.

Employers should think about their practices, how they can improve, work with communities to make opportunities more accessible and fairer.

LU: Project Development Worker for Race Alliance Wales undertaking action-based research, this year's focus on racism in employment. Making recommendations to Government and public bodies. Since 2020 and murder of George Floyd, renewed emphasis on tackling racism locally, nationally, and internationally.

Research looks at experience of racialised workers in employment. Have heard stories of racialised workers in employment about treatment, about microaggressions that happen daily and create unsafe spaces.

High levels of racialised unemployment unacceptable. Same levels as 1980s. Going backwards, but also taking steps forward and need to emphasise also that forward momentum.

Since last year a new recognition from the White-majority in UK that institutional and systemic racism is prevalent everywhere. Racialised people have known this



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& Youth Support
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Tim Cymorth
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for a very long time, but more White people acknowledging. People are wanting to tackle this, and not just overt instances of racism, interpersonal relations, language and hate crime, but looking at how racial inequality embedded in every institution. White supremacy is foundation of world and society we live in. These institutions are a framework for society, and they hold a strong pillar in our socialisation and feed us as members of societies, our thoughts, our biases, our misinterpretations especially media and education institutions.

A lot of emphasis on recruitment and fostering diverse workplaces so employers don't look bad. But having a diverse workforce is not going to solve institutional racism and get rid of it. Hence, current research.

At present running interviews, doing a survey, literature review. Varied pieces around organizational culture in offices. One important piece from 2019 by Emmanuel Ogbonna at Cardiff University. Exploring organisational culture and its impacts on racialised workers. Found that organisations will reflect insidious racism prevailing in society, because they sit in society are staffed by the White majority, so cannot escape it.

When these organisations are fed by the wider culture in society then racialised people are discriminated against. Looked at through lens of recruitment, and internal promotion, it's not just about getting racialised people into employment, but also, are there development paths and support for career progression?

Culture management and internal promotion based on values and cultural-fits has a preference for people with the same values and cultures of the dominant culture. Ogbonna highlights gap of little understanding of what aspects of these culture are. He called for there to be more research on what these aspects are, how do they play out, what are their impact on professional arenas.

In relation to doing a job, what elements of culture and values do you need to do your job? Also, relationship development. Highlighted in our research is that



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Tim Cymorth
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cronyism is rife, it is important who you know and who you have relationships within professional fields if you are going to progress.

In the development of the Race Equality Action Plan, Welsh Centre for Public Policy undertook some rapid reviews of evidence. In regard to employment, need to start prioritising psychological safety of staff. This came out when they reviewed evidence, documentation, and reports regarding recruitment, tackling workplace discrimination, development of anti-racist policies.

Psychological safety needs to be central. Remove risk of speaking up, voicing concerns, making mistakes at work. Racialised workers fear they will be pinned as the troublemaker, might lose their job, will impact their professional career, not just challenging racism but challenging everything.

So, this was basis of research proposal. Aim to decolonise research, racialised people researching experience of racialised people, looking at cultures, norms and interpersonal in office-based culture. Example, are you expected to make a cup of tea for everyone or just make one for yourself in office, is an example of norm. You can be ostracised if don't follow norms.

Want to understand how these aspects can impact racialised people specifically, tangibly in regard to progression in the workplace, but also emotionally and sense of belonging, what brings that sense of psychological safety? What makes people feel scared or anxious? Can they bring their authentic selves to work?

Racialised workers often feel they don't fit in, they feel they are not safe, hard to pinpoint or specify in words that White people understand and take action on.

A lot of these aspects of organisational culture are so pervasive due to international prevalence of White supremacy and how professional working and working in offices has been conceptualised. Many multicultural organisations, on face of it, promote adaptation to conformity to existing norms, failing to create room for other norms.



Ethnic Minorities
& Youth Support
Team Wales

Tim Cymorth
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Employers need to start reviewing their cultures to mitigate these aspects, to have a diverse workforce will need recognising and making space for diverse cultures. We need to make sure people in employment can thrive, progress and develop. If we as racialised people face danger or vulnerability for bringing ourselves to work and challenging issues, we will not be able to thrive.

Maybe flip EDI (Equality, Diversity and Inclusion) around. Look at inclusion first, ensuring our organisations are inclusive first, to bring about diversity to ensure equality.

DISCUSSION

AJ: Apologies on behalf of local Black Lives Matter activist who was due to speak, but unable to attend today due to unforeseen circumstances, will replay some of our conversation before event. People had recently gathered at unveiling of Statue of Betty Campbell, first Black headteacher in Wales, what is happening with our children and young people coming out of school facing unemployment and racism?

Black Lives Matter demonstration over summer. When one sector moves, sets in motion other sectors of society to stand up for themselves. So, in Cardiff, White NHS staff who organised a protest for a pay rise said they were inspired by seeing BLM that getting out into the streets could make an impact.

In the Black radical tradition on both sides of Atlantic, there is a huge history and legacy of political activism and organizing around economic injustice. Cut short by his assassination, Martin Luther King launched his *Poor People's Campaign*, arguing for a transition from civil rights to building a multiracial coalition with the aim to end poverty in America. He called racial injustice and economic injustice inseparable twins. Arguing that racism and economic disenfranchisement were linked. Speaking of early de-segregation campaigns he asked, What's the use of desegregating a lunch counter if our people can't afford the price of a hamburger and a cup of coffee?



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LU: Just having people who are brown or from ethnic minority backgrounds in a workforce doesn't mean you have solved problem of institutional racism. That's very relevant in Wales, getting people through the door doesn't change systemic disadvantages we see. What else are you doing to change the culture, change systems in place, disadvantaging some people?

Important that Community Jobs Compact is reaching into private sector. Sometimes wall between private sector and third sector.

Is Britain's economy structurally racist? Yes, the evidence we have covered in today's forum would suggest so. Disparities regarding unemployment, type of employment that racialised workers engaged in, low paid, insecure. We must look at the origins of British economy based in colonial-expansionist projects. Insurance was developed in banks based on enslaved bodies.

The way we are set up as a society means that wealth is hoarded by certain people, places and institutions. It is an unequal society we live in. The way our economy is set up. Unless you start thinking about work, livelihoods and people in different way, some people will be excluded from the opportunities claimed out there. The compact does this in a miniature, but we need to do this for whole society.

For some services there are scale payments where pay according to income, could we do scale payments based on if people pay less on basis on race to mitigate racial disparities?

Reparations for slavery are discussed in the US but rarely in the UK. Welsh Government are doing audit of buildings, monuments, street names etc. linked to slavery. Shouldn't wealth based on slavery be given back to the community?

We have Black Pound Day. Invest in and spend money in Black and Brown businesses could be a way to start shift to an anti-racist economy.

Comment from attendee: History of British capitalism white-washed, story of triangular trade and slavery and empire obscured. Very difficult to transform police, army, and judicial system because they grew up under this history of economic racism. Important in trade unions to raise issue of unconscious bias,



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& Youth Support
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Tim Cymorth
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gender and race pay gaps. Need to be on the streets. March for UN Anti-Racism Day important.

Comment from attendee: Charity trying to make spaces and places for everyone, but not reflected in the workforce. Team is growing, is not attracting as a diverse range of applicants as would like. How do we do that? How do we make the application, interview and hiring process attractive without giving impression that you are filling a diversity quota or being tokenistic?

HA: Explicitly mentioning diversity in adverts, and blind applications with no names, addresses and postcodes could attract more diverse candidates.

NS: Many organisations have the same issue. Think about relationships you have now and connections you must advertise vacancies, it's not tokenistic, if you build community relationships and reach out. If diverse candidates come forward and do not come through, then look into reasons why.

AJ: A book, *The Invention of the White Race* by Ted Allen, useful in understanding how economies become structurally racist. When White people first went to Virginia in the 16th century and started to bring people from Africa over as enslaved people, historian noticed going through court records in early decades, words 'White' and 'Black' rarely used. Instead referred to Italians, English, Africans and so on. Suddenly these words 'White' and 'Black' began to be used more decisively.

There had been a rebellion where lower class White people gained some support from Black slaves against the rich White people. From this point, a much more systematic and structural racism was introduced - 'the invention of the White race' to bind lower class White people to rich White people with certain privileges and a sense that they were part of the ruling group, who were actually holding them down This racial division of the workforce that would appear to favour poor White people was also the secret to holding down both the White and Black working class, by giving one section some privileges and a sense of superiority, while denying them real liberation. These racial hierarchies have divided us, this



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must be recognised. How do we bridge these gaps and build alliances to take on those right at the top and free everyone?

LU: The Welsh Government making provision for lending and loaning to BAME businesses? In Welsh Development Bank, in 2019, committed to looking at gender equality in their work, who they fund, and bring more focus to that. Could they do the same for race equality? And focus on multiple strands? Not just tick box one form of inequality, but consider all at once, and put pressure on them.

Comment from attendee: Wales Food & Drink working with Welsh Government are doing things to bring together black owned businesses to see how they can help them, and create employment, including training meetings, but this is an early stage.

Question: Why are so many in BAME communities hit badly in recessions?

LU: The economy is structurally racist. The institutions that manage the economies are institutionally racist. When you look at Bank of England setting the interest rates. The Bank of England is institutionally racist. Racialised workers are too overrepresented in insecure sectors of the economy. During COVID we saw who was impacted by job losses.

NS: BAME individuals are heavily represented in communities that are undeveloped or gentrified. Issues around racism in education that holds people back, issues around housing and environment play a role in why BAME communities are impacted more. It's about systemic racism and inequality we have in the UK. We can't tackle one problem in isolation, have to tackle every issue with an anti-racist approach to all. If we solve one, but leave the rest, we won't solve the racist economy.

Comment from attendee: Marcus Garvey talked about vertical and horizontal economies. How to own a farm, seed, distributing and marketing and everything between. Black owned businesses have struggled, need to diversify their literacy, and opportunities not offered. Would be good to have training and mentoring



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Team Wales

Tim Cymorth
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programmes that could broaden people's understanding and ability to intervene in the global economy.

Question: How do we build back better? To ensure Wales and the UK economy is safer and more profitable for BAME communities?

NS - Idea of 'Build Back Better' is rhetoric used by those in power to take no responsibility of how things were before. To say we will tackle the problem even though we created it. We need investment, creating more equal opportunities for those not getting opportunities. We have seen progress over 18 months from murder of George Floyd to the pandemic, culture is shifting due to work on ground by activists, organisers and leaders creating the change. We need to make sure entrepreneurs give out that funding, offer that mentorship, build relationships in communities. More representation not good enough, better to have actual quotas. Looking at leadership journeys within current staff. Listen to workforce and culture changes will come from them. Making sure that staff gets a decent wage that provide essential needs and services. Social care, supermarket workers and other minimum wages on frontline when we were in the crisis of the pandemic still on low wages.

LU: Creating environments that are safe to work in. Everything is influenced by the economy; everything is impacted by the economy. How do we create psychological safety and well-being for racialised workers? This is not just theory. Even if we are not directly experiencing these attacks, we know that our brothers and sisters are, and it takes our toll on our mental health and well-being. We need to push for organisations to listen to staff, creating spaces to support them. Hear them out, we need to adopt MacPherson definitions of a racist incident that focuses on, and centers experience of person who has been harmed, rather than opinion of others. Incident in school when a Black teenager being bullied with racist slurs, got to the point where it got to a physical fight with White students, they were all punished the same way, with no consideration of context.



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Question: What is impact on individuals, communities, and society if poverty and jobless soars on a racialised basis?

LU: It will impact people's mental health, their physical health, impact ability to move into other areas, re-training, education, impact people's abilities to support each other, impact people's ability to come together and work together, impact people's ability to engage in entrepreneurial activities because they won't have the financial foundation or energy to do so. As long as it soars, it will prevent people from engaging in broader society and engage in the economy, creating gaps in society. It effects working class, and disproportionately effects racialised working class. Creates culture wars between White and racialised working class, and we have to break down this culture war.

HA: How do we safeguard People of Colour working in rural Wales. Example of valleys, base of Rhondda. Will I have bigger job prospects in cities? Few opportunities for people in general, even more so if you are a racialised woman. Can feel toxic to stay, despite loving community. We don't have a good basis in the economy to keep people in these communities? What can be done?

NS: Rural parts of Wales have issues regardless of race because of historical under-investment and lack of wealth and opportunities in those places. We need investment, investment comes from government and big business. We need them to create more opportunities, so people don't move out. Lots of challenges for people trying to solve that problem, exacerbated by poor infrastructure, even poor Wi-Fi infrastructure, have to invest in these communities to create more wealth and opportunities.

Comment from attendee: In North Wales the opportunities for Gypsy, Roma, Traveller communities are really scarce. Austerity has stripped services such as support for GRT pupils, so kids go under the radar and get lost and go under radar in the bigger towns, but even less funding in rural areas. Seen youth clubs and youth centres closed down due to austerity funding cuts. When these community facilities and services supporting young people were taken away, important



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opportunities for young people to access support and life opportunities they might not have had before were also closed down. That funding could be life-changing, give people opportunities they never had, because of who society told them they are supposed to be. If the funding is not there, people's life chance taken away.

LU: Don't do things through fear but because they are the right thing to do.

NS: We need to tell the personal stories of poverty - it effects your health, paying the bills, exercise, getting good education, the real-life stories. You can go away and try and grasp why structural issues affect us. Think about what you can practically do, how do we make workplaces more inclusive, more diversity and representation, reach out to someone who can help you along that journey.



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APPENDIX 1

RACE & THE UNEMPLOYMENT CRISIS

FORUM AGENDA for Wednesday 8 December, 10am-12pm

Key Speaker/Panelist: Nirushan Sudarsan (Community Jobs Compact, Citizens Wales Cymru), Leila Usmani (Development Worker, Race Alliance Wales) + Bianca Ali (Black Lives Matter Cardiff Community)

EYST: Adam Johannes (host), Selima/Hasminder (co-host/chair) and Judy Li (co-host and tech)

09:45-09:55	Log in to Zoom meeting	Key speakers and EYST
10am-10.10	Welcome. Team introduces themselves – J, S, H S & H says for 3 mins why they think the topic is important	Adam, Judy, Selima, Hasminder
10:10-10.20	Overview of topic and introduction of three speakers	Adam
10:20-10.45	Nirushan/Leila/Bianca speak for around 5 mins each, N may speak for a bit longer	Key speakers
10.45-11.50	Open Discussion, with some pre-prepared questions for when pause in	Selima & Hasminder



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	discussion/flow Closing comments	
11.50 – 12	Closing remarks	Adam

PRE-PREPARED QUESTIONS TO PANEL

We have had three very interesting presentations, we would like to ask the speakers to response to each other’s presentations, was there anything another speaker said that captured your attention?

Our publicity for this event asked a question, 'Is Britain's economy structurally racist'? Would you say, yes, or no? If yes, how? How can an economy be racist? Should we start using the term 'Economic Racism'? What would an anti-racist economy look like?

Why are many Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities hit so badly by recessions?

Everyone who wants to work deserves decently paid, good quality work. Leila's presentation suggests that even when people find work, some workplaces are alienating for BAME workers. Since COVID, many commentators have said economic recovery after the pandemic should 'build back better'. What would need to happen to 'build back better' Britain and Wales' economy for Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic communities?

What is the impact on individuals, families and our communities if joblessness and poverty soars, including on a racialised basis?



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Many issues were raised in the three presentations. What action(s) would you like to see from local employers, the council, Welsh Government and UK government to help improve things?

In Wales, our government is looking to establish a non-racist country by 2030, as per the Race Equality Action Plan. In relation to employment, what do you see as the most difficult area for this to be achieved? The employers recruiting people from Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic backgrounds? Employers being more inclusive with their practices for diverse team members? Progression along the career path for Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic individuals? & Do you think we will achieve a non-racist Wales in less than 10 years time?

In your experience (personal or professional) what stops individuals from Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic backgrounds applying for certain jobs/within certain organisations? To start making a difference to unemployment figures among our communities, is it time to start calling out bad practise that is present in employers, organisations, even funding decisions?



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APPENDIX 2

Resources mentioned during presentations

Nisreen from Wales TUC asked us to share this link on BAME workers trapped in zero hour contracts jobs, she made the point that we often try to get people into any job, but we have to push for good quality jobs.

<https://www.tuc.org.uk/research-analysis/reports/bme-workers-zero-hours-contracts>

Ethnic minority unemployment 70% higher than white joblessness for past 20 years:

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/ethnic-minority-unemployment-labour-disparity-b1950050.html>

Black youth unemployment rate of 40% similar to time of Brixton riots. Young Black workers have been hit disproportionately hard during the pandemic, according to Guardian analysis, with more than 40% unemployed – three times worse than white workers of the same age:

<https://www.theguardian.com/society/2021/apr/11/black-youth-unemployment-rate-brixton-riots-covid>

This is a newspaper report on TUC research, Ethnic minority unemployment 70% higher than white unemployment for past 20 years.

Ethnic minority unemployment 70% higher than white joblessness for past 20 years | The Independent :

<https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/ethnic-minority-unemployment-labour-disparity-b1950050.html>

Article based on full report: “Ogbonna, E. (2019) The uneasy alliance of organisational culture and equal opportunities for ethnic minority groups: A



Ethnic Minorities
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British example, Department of Management, Employment and Organisation, Cardiff Business School, Cardiff University. Human Resource Management Journal, Vol. 29, Issue 3”

<https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/businessreview/2019/09/10/can-organisational-culture-explain-the-labour-market-discrimination-of-ethnic-minorities/Ogbonna>

“Hatch, S; Woodhead, C; Rhead, R, & Connor, L (2021) Improving race Equality in Employment and Income Wales Centre for Public Policy”

<https://www.wcpp.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/Improving-Race-Equality-in-Employment-and-Income.pdf>

Adam Johannes wrote an article about the Black Panther Party's legacy, particularly their work on poverty and building a multiracial alliance, Rainbow Coalition

<https://www.voice.wales/the-black-panthers-anti-capitalist-legacy-still-matters-today-adam-johannes/>

More on the Community Jobs Compact –

<https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/2397981-community-jobs-compact>

https://smk.org.uk/awards_nominations/community-jobs-compact/

<https://cynnalcymru.com/bay-citizens-community-jobs-compact/>