

# A HARDENING COLOUR BAR? 1: THE FACES

The crunch is the 200,000 children born in this country of immigrant parents. They, and coloured school-leavers, are the point at which society can no longer leave its attitudes vague. Is Britain going to get a genuine colour bar? Anne Lapping looks first at the young people themselves.

## Anne Lapping

Employers who discriminate against coloured school leavers have surprising allies. Teachers, youth employment officers and immigrants themselves are reluctant to attribute to racial prejudice the failure of coloured boys and girls to get as good jobs as their white schoolfellows. Talking to people in two areas of south London, Brixton and Croydon, I found an odd reticence among those involved to discuss prejudice in the job market.

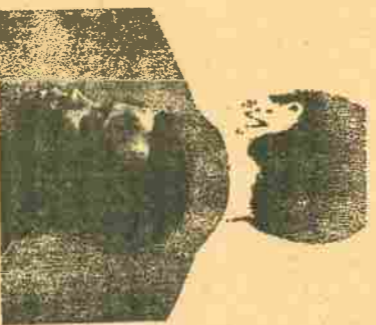
The headmaster of a secondary modern school in Croydon, 17 per cent of whose pupils are coloured, said at first that he could remember no case of a coloured boy being forced to take a job beneath his qualifications. But he readily agreed that "office work could be more difficult to find than it is for white boys." A youth employment officer in Lambeth (the London borough that incorporates Brixton and an area with a higher concentration of immigrants) could not think of any coloured youngster he had put forward for a job being turned down unreasonably. But, he added, "in the case of the coloured boy the personnel officer is careful to make sure that he will make a good social adjustment; that he will be able to talk to Englishmen like an Englishman. It's often, frankly, a matter of the face that fits."

The kids don't talk much to anybody about their problems—not even to their parents. "Yeah, you bet I had trouble," a good-looking, dark West Indian boy jerked out. "I was in the grammar stream of the comprehensive. I got four o levels. I was going to stay on, then my Dad said no. So I rang up these agencies. They said, 'What have you got?' I told them and they said I was to come round. When I got there they looked at me and said, 'If we'd known we wouldn't have bothered.' I've got the list at home. Twelve times that happened. I've got a job now working a lift in a hotel—but those agencies turn your mind off." This boy's outburst was unusual. Most youngsters eventually got jobs and then they don't want to discuss the ones that got away. It's embarrassing to talk about why you are in a factory assembling prams when your former classmates are apprentices and clerks.

## Optimistic parents

It's easy to see why West Indian parents generally don't talk to their children about the trouble they may have looking for jobs. Some are just ashamed. Other parents had no trouble finding the unskilled or unpleasant jobs that provide the family income, and are shocked when their ambitions for their children, reaching out to offices and apprenticeships, are thwarted. One father said he would certainly not warn his children that they might face obstacles—in spite of the fact that he himself had to become a builder when he arrived in this country because he could not get the office job for which he was trained. This father felt that forewarning would undermine his children's confidence. "And," he said, "getting a job depends on not acting scared or like a novice." Lots of parents are optimistic and their children absorb these attitudes.

Many of the children's teachers, too, say little about job discrimination. For many of them, prejudice has replaced sex as the undiscussable subject. Schools feel it's part of their task to remedy deficiencies or to expand on what children are taught at home about sex. They do not usually think they ought to prepare immigrant children for the knocks



that await them when they come, as one West Indian father put it, "into a hostile market without protection." A headmaster reported with satisfaction that "not many coloured youngsters know much about prejudice in this school." He, like others of his colleagues, thinks "it is more important to give coloured children a feeling of security in school than to give them direct warnings about problems they are likely to come up against"—as though the two were incompatible. This attitude even carried through to the head of a vocational commerce course in a college of further education. Though her students were on the point of applying for jobs (which private agencies, at least, admit they will have trouble getting), she said she did not want "to bring the girls' attention to the fact that their position in the employment market is different from any one else's."

Two boys who had been out of school for a couple of years (they left as soon as it was legal), remembered precisely which teachers had "talked straight" to them about the position of a coloured boy looking for a job. They were far from resenting it. "If they don't tell you, you won't learn will you?"

The explanation of the blind eye turned by the officials and victims involved in discrimination against coloured school-leavers is that the injustices are not dramatic enough to inspire a crusade. It tends not to be a case of youngsters with brilliant exam results being turned down daily for jobs they could do easily. A grammar-school headmaster talked proudly of a brilliant West Indian ex-pupil, now a medical student. Many grammar school boys anticipate discrimination ("some of my boys do try to avoid embarrassment") by not applying to commercial concerns whose prejudices are known to headmasters and careers advisers. But the mass of children affected are from secondary modern schools. "Even if they were natives," said a headmaster about two West Indian boys, "they'd have to earn their living by their hands." (Only ten of Croydon's coloured school-leavers were from grammar schools, and the proportion of Lambeth's 700 is similar.) It is the large number of average and below-average children who are vulnerable to what seem from the outside like slight setbacks.

But setbacks due to prejudice may mean the difference between working in a factory when you wanted to be a secretary, or taking a dead-end job when you wanted to be apprenticed. Though white secondary-modern youngsters face similar disappointments, it is not because they are whites. If coloured children were more sophisticated in their approach to discrimination or trained to deal with it, they might not be so passive about doing inexplicably badly in the job stakes. At the moment, too many of them accept their partial failure as a fair reflection on their personalities, and this too makes it easier for headmasters, youth employment officers and parents to understate the problem.

Thus prejudiced employers have won a round of the game. Singing their sad variations on the old ladies' songs ("it's not us, it's the other tenants"), they have convinced many of those to whom they refuse equal opportunity to work that they are in good faith. A West Indian accounts clerk said: "There's more to getting a job than qualifications. If my boy didn't get a job I'd think he wasn't right for it." A coloured schoolgirl, due to leave in the summer, said

she wouldn't think it was the boss who get a job. "Often they want you on because of other girls in the queue. I be an air hostess (her brother is in the air force). I don't want to be a more cynical about employers. I agency principal said: 'What are you for not wanting coloureds? Excuse me, heard them all. As soon as they agency they say, 'Don't send me Indian girls. The others won't like on the telephone, we've had one girls do better than the usual run Mary', a pretty, light-coloured at school in Croydon, will prob trouble finding a job. But she ex longer than her white friends. F in England for six years and h rubber factory. In spite of h housework at home, she is the t Mary has managed to get four headmistress wants her to go o course. But Mary will have to k is one of two coloured girls in 24. Her teachers advise her to interviews. She knows a bit abo You shouldn't wear bright clot £8 a week.

## Publ

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## OUR BAR?

of immigrant parents. Which society to get a genuine colour bar?

When they come, as one West put it, "into a hostile market without a headmaster reported with satisfaction many coloured youngsters know much dice in this school." He, like others of us, thinks "it is more important to give children a feeling of security in school than direct warnings about problems they come up against"—as though the two incompatible. This attitude even carried the head of a vocational commerce college of further education. Though her re on the point of applying for jobs at agencies, at least, admit they will get), she said she did not want "to draw attention to the fact that their position in the employment market is different from any

who had been out of school for a couple of years left as soon as it was legal), remembering which teachers had "talked straight" at the position of a coloured boy looking for a job, they were far from resenting it. "If they say you won't learn will you?"

Of the blind eye turned by the education system towards the victims of discrimination and school-leavers is that the injustices are not enough to inspire a crusade. It tends to be a case of youngsters with brilliant exam results turning down daily for jobs they could do. A grammar-school headmaster talked of a brilliant West Indian ex-pupil, now a student at a university, who had been out of school for a couple of years. Many grammar school boys anticipate a "crash" ("some of my boys do try to get a job by not applying to concerns whose prejudices are known to them and careers advisers. But the mass of school-leavers are from secondary modern schools. They were natives," said a headmaster of a West Indian boys' school, "they'd have to earn by their hands." (Only ten of Croydon's school-leavers were from grammar schools, a proportion of Lambeth's 700 is similar.) The number of average and below-average school-leavers is vulnerable to what seem from the statistics to be slight setbacks.

Due to prejudice may mean the difference between working in a factory when you wanted to work in a dead-end job when you were apprenticed. Though white secondary school-leavers face similar disappointments, it is not the same. They are whites. If coloured children were to be discriminated in their approach to discrimination, it would be to deal with it, they might not be so good at it doing inexplicably badly in the job market. At the moment, too many of them accept failure as a fair reflection on their ability and this too makes it easier for headmasters and employment officers and parents to ignore the problem.

Discriminated employers have won a round of the game by their sad variations on the old landlady's ("it's not us, it's the other tenants"), convinced many of those to whom they refer to opportunity to work that they are in good luck. An Indian accounts clerk said: "There's no chance of a job than qualifications. If my boy gets a job I'd think he wasn't right for it." A schoolgirl, due to leave in the summer, said

she wouldn't think it was the bosses' fault if she didn't get a job. "Often they want you but can't take you on because of other girls in the office." She wants to be an air hostess (her brother is in the air force), but she's not sure if coloured girls can be. Agencies are more cynical about employers. One Brixton private agency principal said: "What reasons do they give for not wanting coloureds? Excuses, you mean. I've heard them all. As soon as they know I'm a Brixton agency they say, 'Don't send me any of your West Indian girls. The others won't like it. They're no good on the telephone, we've had one before.'" Attractive girls do better than the usual run.

Mary, a pretty, light-coloured West Indian girl still at school in Croydon, will probably not have much trouble finding a job. But she expects it will take her longer than her white friends. Her family have been in England for six years and her father works in a rubber factory. In spite of having to do a lot of housework at home, she is the eldest of six children. Mary has managed to get four CSE exam passes. Her headmistress wants her to go on to do a commercial course. But Mary will have to leave this summer. She is one of two coloured girls in the top exam class of 24. Her teachers advise her to "stress her maths" at interviews. She knows a bit about offices from friends. You shouldn't wear bright clothes; she hopes to earn £8 a week.

### Public and private

John, who was born here, has lost out. He got three O levels. He tried to get an electrical apprenticeship and failed. He stayed on another year and thought about being a printer. He found he was too old. He looked for other jobs. One evening a friend of his father's came round and said how about being a cutter. Now he is a cutter and earns £7 10s a week. His mate also went for a lot of interviews which were all right; no one was nasty. He wanted to be a clerk, he had a couple of O levels, but now he's in a factory, been there for about a year. He doesn't like it.

At present even youth employment officers can put no pressure on potential employers who say that they have enough coloured workers for the time being. If

the youth employment office doesn't supply white labour, private agencies will. Quite a few firms operate unofficial quota systems, more firms in the Croydon area having some coloured labour than none. Agencies and officials say that bigger firms, who presumably have to be more explicit about recruitment policy, are more liberal. The only organisations where coloured children appear to be treated on completely equal terms are those that are publicly controlled. If they are up to standard, they will get jobs in local government, the civil service and the post office. Coloured boys, according to the head of a college of further education, have to be better qualified than their white competitors to get apprenticeships with private companies.

The shortage of apprenticeships is another problem. Many of the boys want to be motor mechanics or electrical engineers, and the openings are limited. And lots of those who want this sort of work are not qualified. A large number of coloured school-leavers have no, or few, exam passes. This is true also of those who have been through primary school in Britain. There have been examples of boys taking up what they thought were apprenticeships to find that they were just cheap labour. Encouraged by their teachers, some coloured boys stay on at school after 15. While this obviously helps their general development, a few have found that staying on means that they miss the apprenticeship boat. Employers who might have taken them on at 15 or 16 do not want them aged 16 or 17 with no exams to show for the extra year. This is because of the strict age-wage agreements that cover apprenticeships.

Immigrant parents tend to be keen on their children's education. One headmaster commented: "They have a touching faith in the British educational system. They think GCE will just drop into their kids' laps." In at least two secondary modern schools in Croydon, the majority of children in the top non-exam form were coloured. Girls especially gain a lot from the extra year, which gives them twelve months' more maturity to call on when they are, for example, interviewed for jobs "dealing," as the phrase is, "with the public."

### A hardening colour bar?

Brixton, Sunday morning: the boy on the left is one of the luckier youngsters.

This is now his home environment:

he is a coloured Englishman, not just "an immigrant." Here he is with his brother (centre) who is in the army, and a friend from back home





## A hardening colour bar?

After secretarial work, nursing is the popular job choice for girls. In a school that provides a pre-nursing course, only those who are not academically up to it, are very independent, or can't stand the sight of blood, opt for anything else. This is an instance of the school encouraging girls at an early stage to direct their energies where they won't be frustrated. (Presumably it is possible to do the same for boys.) On the whole, though some schools have careers masters, the teachers' role is to teach, not advise in a detailed way about jobs; and the youth employment officer doesn't turn up until a term or two before the children leave.

David Winnick, MP for Croydon South, who

# 2: THE JOBS

The pattern already established by the first generation is important. We mustn't be too quick to see this as all bad.

Sheila Patterson

"So much talk about colour bars and racial discrimination in Britain—a Polish ex-major now working as a fitter said to me the other day—"Do they really think that white immigrant workers in this country get any better treatment?"

Amid the recent escalation of concern over the "colour problem" in British industry, it has been easy to overlook the fact that first generation immigrants in large groups almost always come up against formal or customary barriers, at work as elsewhere. Industry is full of barriers—alien-bars, stranger-bars, culture-bars, class-bars, craft-bars, all sorts. Try, for instance, to impose a few Roman Catholics on a Protestant-only firm in Belfast or to get a carpenter accepted by London's dockers. And I know of several left-wing closed-shop tool-rooms in South London, where no Pole or Hungarian has ever been accepted, even though they are craft members of the union. Indeed, these examples indicate ideological barriers that are more rigid and of longer standing than most alien- and stranger-bars.

Take the following passage from the recent Memorandum of Evidence presented by the Campaign against Racial Discrimination (CARD) to the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and Employers' Associations. One could substitute "ethnic" or "members of ethnic or religious minorities" (or indeed "women") for "racial" and "coloured" throughout and back it up with adequate evidence:

"Racial discrimination is habitually practised by managements in every aspect of employment, not only in the private sector but also in certain public bodies. Some employers refuse to engage coloured people for any work. Others refuse to employ coloured people in particular work. Similarly, in all industries it is exceptional for coloured workers to be promoted according to merit. There is widespread discrimination in the actual conditions of work of coloured people: some establishments maintain racially segregated facilities for their employees; others engage ethnic work groups to do menial or unattractive work, sometimes undercutting trade union rates; others do not give the same opportunities for industrial training to coloured as to white workers; others operate rigid quotas and many employers maintain informal quotas."

It must be accepted as a hard fact of contemporary life in most western industrial societies that outsiders and immigrants do not usually start level, that they face insular suspicions and various forms of discrimination, that they have to be better than other candidates for up-grading and promotion. All this is quite apart from any formal discrimination against aliens as such. This state of affairs has generally been recognised and accepted by all parties, including most immigrants themselves. And since the barriers against Britain's European immigrants have proved neither rigid nor impassable, there has been little demand from them or their British sponsors for anti-discrimination legislation. Instead, they have relied,

brought a motion on the adjournment about discrimination in employment, says he knows of no cases in his constituency. A local paper has never received any complaints from coloured school leavers. The silence is understandable. Discrimination is subtle; and no one wants to make a fool of himself or to run the risk of having confirmed by an independent body what he may have grown to believe—that he is inferior. Most of the coloured school leavers, or kids recently out of school, that I met last week, aren't asking for the moon. This is an easy problem to ignore. It is too easy to say there is no problem and that, therefore, nothing need be done about it.

effectively enough, upon proving themselves individually and, where necessary, using the more traditional voluntary procedures existing within industry. (Ironically enough, extension of the present Race Relations Act to employment and housing could benefit not only coloured but white ethnic groups, an aspect which is usually overlooked.)

Why then the present campaign for legislation and other national initiatives to prevent discrimination and promote fair employment practices and opportunities for coloured workers? Do they or their situation really differ much from that of other immigrant workers? Are they subjected to forms of discrimination that are different in kind as well as in magnitude?

Perhaps the real point is the fact that "colour" and "race" have become world issues. Thus what might otherwise be an internal problem of absorbing a minority of visible newcomers from a variety of different, underprivileged, rural areas—and Britain has after all done this once before with 15,000 or so ex-slaves in 19th century London—becomes embroiled with and bedevilled by a worldwide debate. If enough people see the situation in these simple black-and-white terms, the comparison may prove self-filling, unless the processes of absorption are speeded by radical and positive measures.

Before discussing possible solutions, however, one should look briefly at the nature and extent of discrimination in industry.

The evidence is patchy and estimates vary. To some extent this is due to the fact that the available material has been collected from two very different angles: one approach is from inside the work situation, at various levels; the other is from the viewpoint of the immigrants. The former approach may be more comprehensive and more objective, but there is a tendency to stress the successful situations and the degree of integration attained. Judging by the form of its inquiry, the forthcoming pep report, sponsored by the Race Relations Board and the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, may well fall on this side of the fence. The other kind of evidence, such as that now being meticulously assembled by CARD and the Society of Labour Lawyers, inevitably focuses on the experiences of a vocal minority of immigrants, the ones who did not get in or who got away, for whatever reason. These experiences are often presented as the tip of an iceberg of submerged racial discrimination, but other investigators may think that the hidden mass below is of much more complex composition.

This conclusion was reached by R. B. Davison, on the basis of 216 replies from Jamaican immigrants, only five of whom complained of colour discrimination. In his latest book, *Black British*, he wrote: "Racial frictions in British industry are minimal, and such tensions as do arise occur in no greater or lesser degree than they would among heterogeneous groups of workers anywhere."

I myself would support this co-basis of two fieldwork studies carried out in Croydon during the last decade and Croydon during the last decade. Considerable discrimination in adult life that could be labelled simply of the ILO convention regarding employment (1958) or of my own South Africa. In most cases the real men, unions and fellow-workers were conditioned by a colour including: suspicion of an untried received notions connecting dark low status and low potential; the coloured workers conformed to the that many who claimed skills failed qualifications; language and cultural difficulties; and at times a colour-consciousness among the immigrants. Nevertheless, in Brixton, and still I found that over the years the hardening but becoming more per Utitarian considerations were previviendi was being established. Firm to take coloured workers had begun

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s patchy and estimates vary. To some extent, due to the fact that the available data is collected from two very different approaches: one from outside the work force and the other is from the views of immigrants. The former approach may be more objective, but there are many reasons why the latter approach may stress the successful situations and ignore the problems. Judging by the results of the forthcoming report, sponsored by the Relations Board and the National Commission on Immigration, may well be of the fence. The other kind of approach, as that now being meticulously pursued by the Society of Labour Law, focuses on the experiences of a vocal group of immigrants, the ones who did not get in, for whatever reason. These experiences are presented as the tip of an iceberg of discrimination, but other investigations suggest that the hidden mass below is of a much more complex composition.

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I myself would support this conclusion, on the basis of two fieldwork studies carried out in Brixton and Croydon during the last decade. I found considerable discrimination in adult employment, but little that could be labelled simply "racial," in terms of the ILO convention regarding discrimination in employment (1958) or of my own experience in South Africa. In most cases the reactions of management, unions and fellow-workers to coloured workers were conditioned by a complex of factors, including: suspicion of an untried labour source; received notions connecting dark pigmentation with low status and low potential; the fact that many coloured workers conformed to the stereotypes and that many who claimed skills failed to meet the craft qualifications; language and cultural differences and difficulties; and at times a chip-on-the-shoulder colour-consciousness among the immigrants.

Nevertheless, in Brixton, and still more in Croydon, I found that over the years the barriers were not hardening but becoming more permeable and elastic. Utilitarian considerations were prevailing and a modus vivendi was being established. Firms that had refused to take coloured workers had begun to do so.

Moreover, firms that had threatened prior redundancy for coloured workers in the event of a recession had in fact stuck to "last in—first out." Coloured workers with needed skills or good local references were finding the appropriate jobs without much trouble. Informal quotas (between 3 and 10 per cent in most of south London) were being relaxed as immigrant workers became less footloose, joined the unions and generally conformed to the "culture" of a particular work-place or industry.

In Croydon, a progressive, expanding, labour-hungry area, the industrial climate was more favourable and I found some West Indian shop stewards and a handful of charge-hands. There was also a fair sprinkling of coloured white-collar workers and some technicians. Even here, however, with the emphasis on skills and suitability rather than colour, the West Indians were not being integrated as fast or completely as the Poles and Anglo-Indians who had preceded them. At that time there were few West

Indian school-leavers but a 1966 inquiry showed what Anne Lapping confirms for 1967—that a number of private employment agencies were refusing to accept them as clients or were finding it difficult to place them in the many new offices established in Croydon over the last few years.

This was the position in a favourable industrial climate. For many Indians and Pakistanis, the situation is very different, and rather less hopeful for the younger and second generations. For a variety of reasons, including traditional industrial links and language barriers, many Asians have gone to work in textile, diecasting and other industries in the north and Midlands, where the organisation of work lends itself to an ethnic gang system, with English-speaking "straw-bosses" or go-betweens. In consequence, whole departments, usually those concerned with the hardest, least-skilled, lowest-paid processes, have become virtually segregated in a two-tier labour hierarchy. Apart from other economic and social consequences (illustrated in the labour disputes at Courtauld in Preston and Woolfs' rubber factory in Southall), such units are likely to be self-perpetuating. Their members will be more rigidly typed than the West Indians dispersed through a light engineering plant, and West Indian children are even less likely to be considered for the plum jobs, apprenticeships and traineeships.

In Britain today the life chances of the second generation, whether local or immigrant, are to a considerable extent influenced by the attainments of their parents.

Although the industrial barriers have creaked back for some coloured immigrants, the process has not gone far or fast enough. The next decade will see a crucial race between the hardening of stereotypes about colour and lack of skills and the actual movement of first- and second-generation immigrants out of the worst-paid, least attractive jobs into all sections of industry and skill levels.

The danger of such stereotyping is intensified by the fact that most of the coloured school-leavers who are coming into the labour market at present are not true second-generation immigrants. They have only

## A hardening colour bar?

*With work he did reasonably well.*

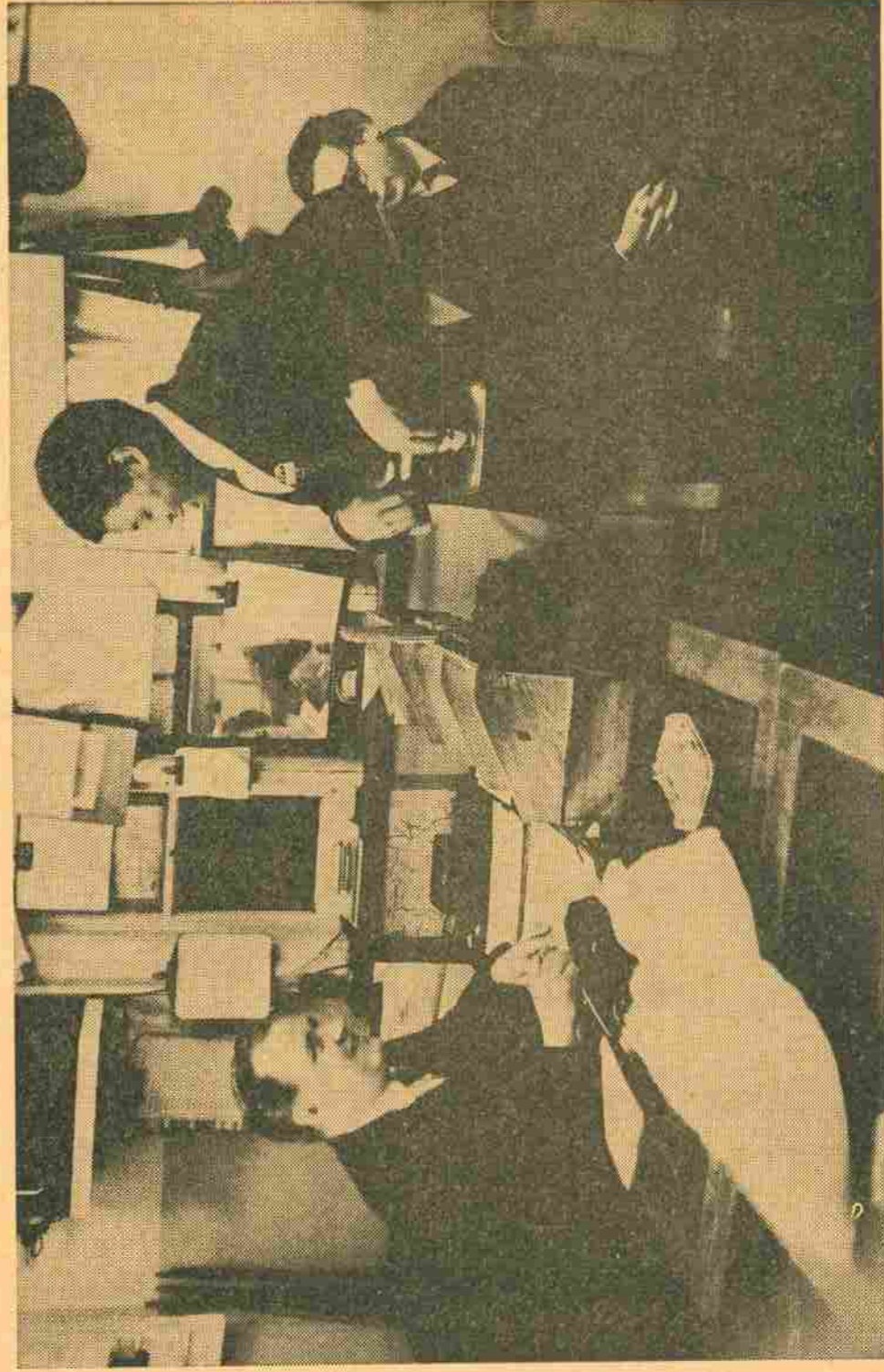
*He wanted to be an electrician.*

*Nothing doing.*

*After trying several places he got a job in the post office.*

*He has a good relationship with his boss.*

*The public services have a better record sometimes than private*





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# 3: THE SCHOOL

One hope of cure—or prevention—lies with the schools. But the schools we now have don't do the right job of moulding attitudes.

**Eric Butterworth**  
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There are now an estimated 200,000 children born in this country of immigrant parents. In January the Plowden report on primary schools quoted the 1966 figures for four large immigrant groups of school-children. These were: 57,000 West Indians, 24,000 Indians, 7,800 Pakistani and 13,200 Cypriots. Since the information came only from schools with ten or more immigrant children, this is an underestimate. Since 1966 there has been a substantial increase and this will continue. More schoolchildren are arriving from their countries of origin, and the birth rate to parents, both or one of whom is an immigrant, is much higher than for the general population.

In the Plowden report an "immigrant child" was defined as a child from abroad whose parents had migrated to Britain, or else born in this country of parents who arrived after 1955. More and more will be leaving school soon. Will they get work commensurate with their qualifications? Are their abilities being exploited to the full in their education? The schooling they get is very important as a way of possibly softening the colour-bar attitude. At least one can make sure that this second generation has the best training it can get; and the right kind of class work should help both immigrants and hosts to understand one another.

The fathers of most immigrant children are manual workers and so their children share, first of all, the

been in Britain for a few years, have not had a full schooling here and may not even speak English well. By reinforcing existing stereotypes about coloured workers they could make it increasingly difficult for the true second generation to convince employers that they are up to local standards for skilled and white-collar jobs. The situation will be rendered even more difficult by the fact that second-generation boys and girls will have greater expectations than their parents, and less tolerance of barriers.

The material available about the employment patterns and opportunities of coloured school-leavers is uneven and inconclusive. There is a fairly general consensus of opinion that it takes longer and is more difficult to place them in employment than in the case of white school-leavers. In heavily settled, "deprived" areas white youngsters were in mid-1966 said to be nearly five times more likely to get skilled jobs, and in one such London area, one third of the available jobs listed at a youth employment office were barred to coloured youngsters. Particular difficulties have also been reported in the case of banks, insurance companies and the retail trade. On the other hand, these avenues are not entirely closed and increasing progress has been made in putting suitably qualified West Indian and Asian girls in white-collar jobs in such longer-settled areas of London as Brixton and Willesden. Moreover, certain big stores and caterers in central London have successfully applied a thin-end-of-the-wedge policy by putting selected coloured youngsters on to face-to-face work.

On the worse side are reports from Liverpool of third-generation coloured teenagers being automatically selected for semi-skilled or unskilled work. And CARD's experiment with matched white and coloured grammar-school leavers in the late summer of 1966 showed a marked difference in reception when they applied for the same jobs advertised by banks, insurance companies and similar establishments.

Some rather different findings were reported in 1966 from Birmingham, where Westhill College of Education conducted its second inquiry into the situation of coloured and white teenagers in areas of heavy immigrant settlement, under the heading "Operation Integration Two." This received little publicity at the time but its conclusions are of con-

siderable interest. Their sample totalled 381, of whom 55 were West Indian, 47 Asian and 281 Birmingham-born whites. Nearly all the coloured respondents were first-generation immigrants, but notwithstanding this their work experience seemed good, and more stable than that of the local teenagers. They were less likely to have grammar or technical school education and less likely to be engaged in "skilled manual" or "non-manual skilled" work, disparities that might be attributable to their recent arrival. On the other hand, though few immigrants were apprenticed, the proportion was not very different from that among local boys. The report commented:

"Many of the difficulties of coloured immigrants in Birmingham appear to be general to their social class rather than their colour. The figures suggest that they are suffering some of the 'relative deprivations' of the urban working-class youngster in the older neighbourhood. (Though it must be admitted that in some respects, say educational opportunity, they appear to be the 'underprivileged among the underprivileged') . . . If there are few going on to full-time further education, few being apprenticed to trades, few going into the professions, a minority taking up the many options of further education, few using the public library—on all these counts, it can be shown that these are characteristic of a neighbourhood rather than a people of dark skin. May it not be that part of what we thought was colour discrimination was simply an aspect of the structure of social privilege? Practically, this may mean that we see integration as part of a whole problem of social reform and community reconstruction."

This strikes at the heart of the matter. It is not enough to act against job discrimination and to promote fair employment within industry, whether by voluntary or legislative means or both, against an overall background of educational, vocational and other deprivation. The most that such action can achieve for coloured teenagers is equality of under-privilege, or special privileges that will make them a target for bitterness. What is needed is an all-out national programme of reclamation and reemployment to deal with the twilight areas as a whole, to give all their inhabitants, irrespective of colour, equal opportunities, and to integrate them fully.

One hope of cure—or prevention—lies with the schools. But the schools we now have don't do the right job of moulding attitudes.

school disadvantages of the working class. Several studies have shown by now that there is social selection as well as academic selection at work in schools. This works to the advantage of moderately able middle class children who receive strong emotional support from their parents. Various factors combine to produce a relative lack of educational success. Besides the ability of the child, they include the environment of the school, its values, and the home background. The second generation of immigrants suffers the disadvantages of its class and environmental positions, besides other difficulties.

All immigrant children arriving from their countries or origin suffer from "cultural shock" and may take a long time to settle down to work in what is, especially for Indian and Pakistani children, a completely strange environment. The majority of children from these countries cannot speak English, and a large number are of secondary school age. Nearly two thirds are boys, since girls need to be protected from boys of a different religious and cultural background.

The education of these children depends on learning English as soon as possible, but—as a study I have carried out in Leeds confirms—the assessment of their abilities is often carried out at a superficial level, sometimes by teachers with little knowledge of the factors involved. There are thus numbers

hidden in ordinary classes who require more attention. Paradoxically, where the child crash courses to learn English, the children's native languages in all the situations, and often in communication, other in the classroom. The table above shows three main immigrant groups in the 1965, broken into ability to speak English by the schools.

Schools, in fact, tend to underestimate the problem of some West Indian children's deficiencies (because the English home had a different structure) on their progress. Teachers may not be grammatical mistakes fall into recognition. The teaching of English as a second language only recently got under way in Britain, a backlog which has to be dealt with for younger children are not so acute. The child gets the more severe they are. A third of the second generation in Britain is in the infants' schools. Large proportion of West Indian children whom must have been born here, in whom problems of the school-leavers will numerically, in the 1970s than they table below shows the increase in percentages in the Leeds schools between 1965 and 1966. The number of Pakistani children who they went up by nearly 90 per cent in 1965, in numbers the increase in group is most significant:

|              |       |       |
|--------------|-------|-------|
|              | 1963  | 1965  |
| Pakistani    | 144   | 273   |
| West African | 44    | 82    |
| West Indian  | 776   | 1,174 |
| Indian       | 334   | 444   |
| all          | 1,298 | 1,973 |

Some immigrant parents, who are aware of the ideology that children should be brought up as soon as possible, bring children to school just before they are due to leave school, particularly when boys come to join the army. Usually Indians and Pakistanis, in joining house: some of them may be after the domestic arrangements.

The school environment raises questions of quality of this second generation. Far more immigrant children attend than is true of the school population. Some old schools have devoted substantial resources to creating a supportive and constructive atmosphere. An aura of hopelessness hangs round others, and these have little to boast about in the way of success—so long the sole touchstones of achievement. Nearly 60 per cent of the primary schools in England and slightly under 25 per cent of secondary schools, were built before 1902. Most of these schools, at the level of amenity. The School Board in 1962 (withheld until 1965) reported that 1962 (withheld until 1965) reported of bringing all maintained schools up to a standard of bringing all maintained schools up and raising the school leaving age to 15. The total cost of this programme is £1.368 million. Often the worst schools are attended by immigrant children. On Leeds's schools with over 10 per cent of pupils born in the 19th century, 60 per cent in the city as a whole. This is a general situation everywhere (two thirds of the population of Leeds have some immigrants, though in the school population is only a quarter). In the school population which exists but the concentration which exists in the school population is only a quarter. A lot of schools in Britain's inner cities have a high concentration of immigrants, and some of these schools have a high concentration of large numbers of other immigrant groups, including Irish and east Europeans. It is true that many of these children go to modern secondary schools, but by that time their educational destinies are often already decided for good.



... Their sample totalled 381, of whom 147 were Asian and 234 were white. In all, 77 per cent of the respondents were immigrants, but notwithstanding this the sample was well balanced in terms of experience, social class, and more stable local teenagers. They were less likely to be engaged in "skilled manual" or "non-work" activities, and more likely to be recent arrivals. On the other hand, 60 per cent of the respondents were immigrants, a proportion very different from that among local teenagers.

... difficulties of coloured immigrants appear to be general to their social class and their colour. The figures suggest that some of the 'relative deprivation' working-class youngsters in the sample (Though it must be admitted that the sample is not representative) are the 'underprivileged among the immigrants'. If there are few going on to secondary education, few being apprenticed to a profession, a minority of options of further education, few libraries—on all these counts, it can be said that the 'underprivileged' are a people of dark skin. May it not be that we thought was colour discrimination? Practically, this may mean that we are part of a whole problem of social inequality reconstruction."

... the heart of the matter. It is not against job discrimination and to promotion within industry, whether by relative means or both, against an end of educational, vocational and social inequalities. The most that such action can do is to ensure that teenagers are equal in opportunity and that they have the same advantages that will make them a success. What is needed is an all-out programme of reclamation and redeployment of the twilight areas as a whole, to ensure that, irrespective of colour, equal opportunities are available to all to integrate them fully.

### the schools we now have

... of the working class. Several studies have shown that there is social selection at work in schools, and that the advantage of moderately able children who receive strong emotional support from their parents is lost in the absence of educational success. Various factors combine to create a situation where the majority of the children, they include the values, and the home environment of immigrants, the advantages of its class and environment are lost.

... children arriving from their countries to settle down to work in what is, in many ways, a new environment. The majority of children from the Indian subcontinent and Pakistan cannot speak English, and many are of secondary school age. Nearly 10 per cent of the children need to be protected from religious and cultural back-

... these children depends on learning as possible, but—as a study in Leeds confirms—the assessment is often carried on at a superficial level by teachers with little knowledge involved. There are thus numbers

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... hidden in ordinary classes who require special treatment. Paradoxically, where the children are given crash courses to learn English, the children still speak their native languages in all the informal school situations, and often in communicating with each other in the classroom. The table alongside shows the three main immigrant groups in the Leeds schools which replied to a questionnaire I sent out in July 1965, broken into ability to speak English as assessed by the schools.

... Schools, in fact, tend to underestimate the language problem of some West Indian children whose linguistic deficiencies (because the English they learnt at home had a different structure) prevent or inhibit their progress. Teachers may not be aware that their grammatical mistakes fall into recognisable patterns. The teaching of English as a second language has only recently got under way in Britain, and there is a backlog which has to be dealt with. The problems for younger children are not so acute, but the older child gets the more severe they become. Probably a third of the second generation attending schools in Britain is in the infant schools, and there is a large proportion of West Indian children, many of whom must have been born here, in this group. The problems of the school-leavers will be far greater, numerically, in the 1970s than they are today. The table below shows the increase in numbers and percentages in the Leeds schools between 1963 and 1965. The number of Pakistani children was still small, but they went up by nearly 90 per cent in under two years. In numbers the increase in the West Indian group is most significant:

|              | 1963  | 1965  | increase<br>in numbers | %<br>increase |
|--------------|-------|-------|------------------------|---------------|
| Pakistani    | 144   | 273   | 129                    | 89.6          |
| West African | 44    | 82    | 38                     | 86.4          |
| West Indian  | 776   | 1,174 | 398                    | 51.3          |
| Indian       | 334   | 444   | 110                    | 32.0          |
| all          | 1,298 | 1,973 | 675                    | 52.1          |

... Some immigrant parents, who adhere to the old ideology that children should be set to profitable work as soon as possible, bring children to Britain just before they are due to leave school. This applies particularly when boys come to join their fathers, usually Indians and Pakistanis, in an all male lodging house; some of them may be expected to look after the domestic arrangements.

... The school environment raises questions about the quality of this second generation's education. Far more immigrant children attend older schools than is true of the school population as a whole. Some old schools have devoted staffs and congenial, constructive atmospheres. An aura of defeat and hopelessness hangs round others, for most of them have little to boast about in the way of academic successes—so long the sole touchstone.

... Nearly 60 per cent of the primary schools in England, and slightly under 25 per cent of secondary schools, were built before 1902. Many have a poor level of amenity. The School Building Survey of 1962 (withheld until 1965) reported that the cost of bringing all maintained schools up to standard, and raising the school leaving age to 16, would be £1,368 million. Often the worst schools are those attended by immigrant children. Over two thirds of Leeds schools with over 10 per cent of immigrants were built in the 19th century, compared with 40 per cent in the city as a whole. There is some dispersion everywhere (two thirds of all schools in Leeds have some immigrants, though the proportion in the school population is only about 3 per cent) but the concentration which exists is considerable. A lot of schools in Britain's immigrant areas have over a third immigrants, and some over a half. Some of the schools with most coloured children have large numbers of other immigrant groups, such as the Irish and east Europeans. It is true that more immigrant children go to modern secondary schools. But by that time their educational destinies are virtually decided for good.

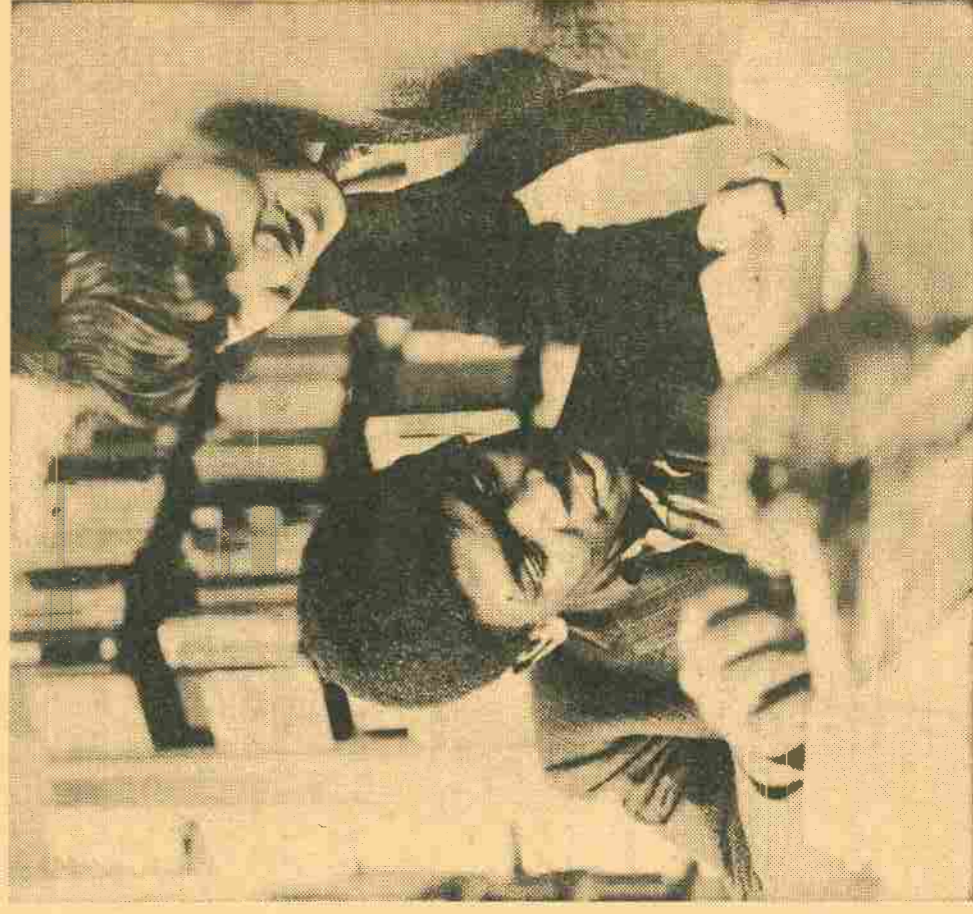
| school                | age   | Pakistani |        | Indian |        | West Indian |        |
|-----------------------|-------|-----------|--------|--------|--------|-------------|--------|
|                       |       | male      | female | male   | female | male        | female |
| grammar and technical | 11-18 | 4         | —      | —      | —      | —           | —      |
| other secondary       | 11-17 | 31        | 12     | 2      | 7      | 5           | 5      |
| junior                | 7-11  | 32        | 20     | 28     | 10     | 62          | 40     |
| infants               | 5-7   | 40        | 16     | 28     | 9      | 44          | 16     |
| special               | all   | 1         | —      | 2      | —      | 3           | —      |

ES=English-speaking; NES=non-English-speaking

... Most of the pre-1902 schools in Britain are cramped and built for numbers under a couple of hundred. There is little room for diversity and experiment. If numbers in the school rise, there is often no room for the erection of temporary classrooms. In some areas with many immigrants the population as a whole is falling. Relatively large numbers of the inhabitants will be elderly people, and others will be transients, often with more than their fair share of social problems. Partly because of this, and partly because immigrants belong to larger families (another factor associated with low academic performance), the proportion of immigrant children in schools in these areas will be far higher than that of immigrants in the total population. One solution—put forward, to a mixed response, by the government—is to disperse children to schools with few immigrant children or without any. This is not a satisfactory policy. The government's suggestion of dispersing immigrant children where they form more than a third of the school, is too crude: if, in such a school, for example, the immigrants come from different countries, no single group need necessarily be dominant. Dispersal also underlines the children's insecurity and inhibits contacts with local children.

... It is likely as it is that immigrant children move about from school to school far more often than children do generally. This results partly from pressures on accommodation, and the determination of some parents to try and find a better environment for their families. Mobility of staff also characterises their schools. The problems to be faced by the teacher (and race complicates them) make many opt

Day release: he was taken on as a post office messenger: he wants to be a courier clerk. He studies English, maths and other subjects at the local college





## A hardening colour bar?

For an easier setting at the earliest opportunity. The average teacher will have no particular expertise in dealing with the general problems he or she faces in culturally deprived areas, and certainly no knowledge of the culture of immigrant children.

### Headmaster's role

Where staffs are more stable, it is either because there are older teachers who do not wish to move, some of whom may be too inflexible for the new kind of job they have to do, or because of a real sense of commitment and vocation by members of a staff. But this is not common enough. Headmasters could play a more active role here. It would also help if teachers got more support from textbooks (there is hardly anything new) and classroom visual aids. Refresher courses and the inclusion of information about immigrants into college of education teaching can also play a part.

Many aspects of immigrant children's schooling are being investigated currently, including relationships between immigrants and other children, and homes and schools. But perhaps the most vital relationship—that between teacher and pupil—is forgotten. Teachers are not necessarily without prejudice. Some teachers, though only a small minority, are very hostile towards immigrant children, and there is little doubt that this affects the children's attainment. These teachers see a stereotype rather than individual human beings. They may seek a scapegoat because of the pressure upon them. These attitudes may come, to some extent, from the backgrounds of the teachers. Most teachers are upper working class or lower middle class in origin. At these social levels conformity, "good" behaviour and status anxieties (linked in some American studies with heightened prejudice) prevail. Unless they have made a special effort to educate themselves, teachers are likely to be just as misinformed about immigrants as any member of the general public.

### Limited horizons

Alongside teachers' attitudes there are their sometimes limited horizons. One headmaster of a secondary modern school, with some extremely bright young Indian children whose IQs were said to be well above grammar-school entry, was trying to get them into apprenticeships. He was well intentioned, but the idea of transfer to a grammar school and non-manual work were outside his experience. (This shortcoming doesn't just affect immigrant children.) One of the added hazards is the streaming system. In many schools this begins at the age of seven. Unless immigrant children are adjusting very well to the new situation, both culturally and educationally, they are unlikely to reach the higher streams. Once in a lower stream, it is difficult to get out. Performance tends to be geared to the expectations of the particular class. Some Indian and Pakistani children, who may be outstanding at mathematics, may remain in lower streams because their English is not so good. Their talents may not get the best opportunity

to develop. This is often through the best of motives on the part of the staff; but where the immigrant child meets the teacher who, by some sixth sense, "knows" the good and the bad intuitively, he has no chance: the stereotype triumphs! West Indian children are often thought duller for reasons which have far more to do with their social conditioning and the pattern of upbringing than with innate qualities.

Home can, of course, make for further difficulties. Life in a one-room situation prevents study. Parents may not be clear what goes on at school, since quite a number are illiterate. Their educational tradition, if they are from one of the largest immigrant groups, will be geared to learning by rote, the three Rs, and an authoritarian teaching technique. These parents may feel their children play too much. If there is this kind of doubt about the purpose of the educational system, children will find it hard to settle down. There may be unreality of expectations about the opportunities available for children. One Pakistani father of a boy of 13 in a secondary-modern stream expected him to become a doctor. Many parents hope their children will do well at school, but the majority will be disappointed. This is not always because of over-high expectations: our schools, as I have been saying, leave a lot to be desired; and the task is urgent.

### Special help

Local education authorities can be too preoccupied with new schools and the prestige that goes with them. They should spare a thought for those schools with limited lives where several more generations will be educated. Some authorities (Bradford is one) are setting good examples, but the doubt remains. Can the whole operation, of the magnitude indicated by the School Building Survey, be left to the local authorities which may have limited funds? As with the environment of these areas is not a national policy, and national finance, the only way? The Plowden report suggested special help—but will it come? Educational issues are linked to others. If immigrants are given the opportunity to move out to better areas, as many of them wish, then their children will attend better schools. This, too, requires assistance for those who have to pay far more for the loan of money. Movements to council housing could also be encouraged.

In the schools there could be better staffing ratios, the recruitment, at higher salaries, of those who wish to work in these areas, and the use of welfare assistants. The latter could act to improve the adjustment of children in school and also as channels of communication between school and parents. All this is not "extra" provision, it is provision to compensate in part for the colossal inequalities which exist. There is no substitute for positive policies, and time is short. Otherwise we may have to resign ourselves to the perpetuation of a coloured proletariat, educationally and socially underprivileged. Not only would this be a shocking waste of talent but a negation of some of the most important values of our society.

through the courts," with all that that it that legislation would render "criminal inclination of the mind, an unprovable i

If the problem were merely that of newly arrived immigrants, or coping with cultural conflict, teaching English quickly English," and providing proper information and special welfare facilities, anti-discrimination would probably be unnecessary. Proposed legislation were designed to impose normal criminal sanctions of fines and imprisonment in the ordinary courts, with the normal process of prosecution and defence, the case would be very strong. But this isn't the

The primary object of anti-discrimination in employment, as in housing and immigration (the subject of this special issue SOCIETY) equal opportunities in the future fellow citizens. We now know, as surely as the structure can be made about the evolution of standing coloured minorities, for instance pool and Cardiff, gives no cause for experience of the United States and Canada when all the necessary qualifications have for their history, is a warning; and Canada in any sense a slave society. The evidence of cultures already encountered by British coloured school-leavers is very great though the public expression of racial not socially acceptable, and may indeed racial prejudice as a "private" state of private expression, are so widespread as to It is mistaken to assume that such pressure not in the future seek expression in action against racial minorities.

### Voluntary

The case for positive action of some kind out. There are indications that the TUC, if now recognises the strength of the evidence both would prefer "voluntary action" as a route to legislation; it seems likely that the resistance to all interference with "the processes of collective bargaining and negotiation would be a profound error of judgment in case for anti-discrimination legislation by prices and incomes legislation. Frank the Transport and General Workers' Union oppose the latter; but Cousins has said it "would not stand in the way" of the latter constitutes a direct threat to the leaders on both sides of industry, whereas does not.

Once again, American and Canadian shows that once the legislation has been often the employers and trade union leadership most enthusiastic about cooperating in ment. The same would be true here.

Voluntary action, in the form of a T discrimination appeals board, or tribunal of the mooted "wrongful dismissal" tribe wholly inadequate, for a number of TUC has a membership of only 8,500,000 working population of 24 million, and people belong to no union at all; decisions on a large scale at the point of hire decisions are frequently left solely to so that there would be no union interest discriminatory decisions; and there can be for confidence that there would be no discrimination by local agreement between and the unions.

There is a further reason for wanting and an independent public body to enforce task is not to change the existing majority racial prejudice, as a state of mind—that not happen: it is to ensure that even if persists it will not result in the emergence of discrimination, of conventions of exclu-

# 4: THE LAW

## our legal correspondent

There are arguments against extending the law (though the Race Relations Board doesn't accept them). But if it is extended this is how to do it.

Many great public debates are ill informed, but the current debate about anti-discrimination legislation bids fair to be the worst informed of all. It started last December, with the introduction of private members' bills in both the Commons and the Lords to extend the 1965 Race Relations Act to housing, employment and credit facilities; it has since been continued, on the employment side, in the talks between the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry about a no-discrimination clause in government contracts, the submission of evidence of racial discrimination to the Royal Commission on Trade Unions and

Employers' Associations, the reports of the National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's recent London conference for employers' and trade union representatives on racial equality in employment.

The debate has been ill informed in two respects. First, there has been an undue concentration on the immediate problems of integrating immigrant racial minorities, with little appreciation of the more important long-term questions of racial equality as such; secondly, it has been widely assumed that the introduction of legislation would mean "dragging people



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### a Race Relations Board

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through the courts," with all that that involves, and that legislation would render "criminal" a passing inclination of the mind, an unprovable intention.

If the problem were merely that of integrating newly arrived immigrants, or coping with immediate cultural conflict, teaching English quickly to the "non-English," and providing proper information services and special welfare facilities, anti-discrimination legislation would probably be unnecessary. And if the proposed legislation were designed to introduce the normal criminal sanctions of fines and imprisonment in the ordinary courts, with the normal formalised process of prosecution and defence, the case against it would be very strong. But this isn't the aim.

The primary object of anti-discrimination legislation in employment, as in housing and credit facilities, would be to assure the children of coloured immigrants (the subject of this special issue of NEW SOCIETY) equal opportunities in the future with their fellow citizens. We now know, as surely as any prediction can be made about the evolution of the social structure, that without positive action such equality will not be achieved. Our own experience of long-standing coloured minorities, for instance in Liverpool and Cardiff, gives no cause for optimism. The experience of the United States and Canada, even when all the necessary qualifications have been made for their history, is a warning: and Canada was not in any sense a slave society. The evidence of the difficulties already encountered by British-educated coloured school-leavers is very great. And although the public expression of racial prejudice is not socially acceptable, and may indeed be criminal, racial prejudice as a "private" state of mind, and its private expression, are so widespread as to be normal. It is mistaken to assume that such prejudice will not in the future seek expression in acts of discrimination against racial minorities.

### Voluntary action?

The case for positive action of some kind is made out. There are indications that the TUC, if not the CBI, now recognises the strength of the evidence, but that both would prefer "voluntary action" as an alternative to legislation: it seems likely that the same joint resistance to all interference with "the normal processes of collective bargaining and negotiating" will emerge as with the prices and incomes policy. It would be a profound error of judgment to equate the case for anti-discrimination legislation with that for prices and incomes legislation: Frank Cousins and the Transport and General Workers' Union bitterly oppose the latter; but Cousins has said that his union "would not stand in the way" of the former. The latter constitutes a direct threat to the power of leaders on both sides of industry, whereas the former does not.

Once again, American and Canadian experience shows that once the legislation has been passed, it is often the employers and trade union leaders who are most enthusiastic about cooperating in its enforcement. The same would be true here.

Voluntary action, in the form of a TUC-CBI racial discrimination appeals board, or tribunals on the lines of the mooted "wrongful dismissal" tribunals, would be wholly inadequate, for a number of reasons: the TUC has a membership of only 8,500,000 out of a working population of 24 million, and 14 million people belong to no union at all; discrimination occurs on a large scale at the point of hire, and hiring decisions are frequently left solely to management, so that there would be no union interest in taking up discriminatory decisions; and there can be no ground for confidence that there would be no collusive discrimination by local agreement between management and the unions.

There is a further reason for wanting legislation and an independent public body to enforce it. The task is not to change the existing majority patterns of racial prejudice, as a state of mind—that may or may not happen: it is to ensure that even if prejudice persists it will not result in the emergence of patterns of discrimination, of conventions of exclusion on the

grounds of race and colour. Every formative influence should, so far as possible, be enlisted: religion, education in schools and parental influence—and one of the greatest formative influences in this society is the law.

### A lawful society

The force of the law in British society lies primarily in a willingness on the part of its members to obey the law, not in a fear of sanctions: the very declaration of conduct as "unlawful" has an effect, for most people are prepared to conform with the law without being forced to do so, and the declaration immediately strengthens the hand of those who are in moral agreement with it. Law is the only social institution with such immediate and widespread effect, and it is the right instrument for tackling racial discrimination.

The right kind of law, that is. It is clear, both as a matter of principle and on the evidence of American and Canadian experience, that enforcement in the criminal courts would be inappropriate. It is significant that in 1965 the Labour government proposed criminal sanctions for racial discrimination in places of public resort but later withdrew in favour of a new institution, the Race Relations Board, investigating, hearing evidence, discussing, conciliating and turning only as a last resort to a court order—a *civil* injunction in the county court. That was a right decision and the same type of procedure should be adopted for the investigation of discrimination in employment.

A statutory prohibition must be comprehensive. The private members' bills already drafted cover, in the case of management, "the employment or non-employment, training, or promotion of, or fixing the terms of employment of, any person"; and in the case of unions, admission to membership and discrimination against members "whether by way of suspension or expulsion from membership or otherwise." A person is said to "discriminate" against another person "if he refuses or neglects on the grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origins, to afford him like treatment in the like manner and on the like terms to that afforded to any other person," which is substantially the same as that in the present act governing places of public resort. Discrimination by employment agencies must also be prohibited; and exceptions should be made for domestic employment and the "Chinese restaurant" situation.

### The moral effect

Enforcement should be by way of complaint to a local agency of the Race Relations Board ("local conciliation committees" under the present act); as at present, the committee would investigate privately, consulting the union where possible, inviting both sides to explain what happened and establishing whether it was an isolated incident or a regular pattern of conduct. North American experience has shown that most complaints can be conciliated in this way and at this stage: there are very few employers or trade unionists who are prepared to practise discrimination when they know they are under scrutiny, and both sides are much more likely to stop discriminating if they know that others will be gradually prodded, by a public body, into stopping it too.

This is the secret of anti-discrimination legislation: the declaration of "unlawfulness" has a general, educative, moral effect, and its specific consequences are in most cases a private investigation followed by a conciliation agreement, the terms of which may or may not, according to the agreement, be made public. It is only rarely that it is necessary to arrange a public hearing of a complaint at all, and the use of the ultimate sanction of the court injunction is rarer still.

What is involved is not so much a new form of law as a new form of law enforcement: administrative in nature, flexible in its sanctions and sufficiently delicate in its methods of inquiry and conciliation to be able to encompass a complex and destructive social evil.

## A hardening colour bar?

