

payment. They appear in the form of the employed uprooted from rural areas by a on and in the form of better-educated essives, who may find insufficient outlet rgies under traditional and authoritarian for whom socialism and possibly com- a high attraction.

very helpful to look backwards and ssign some blame for these consequences of independence. Some would blame a aration in the colonial period; or too n modern technology and too little care ctors; or a weak desire to gain favour ions by acceding to their demands. It is ough to say that historically these were ehind in the world, and the moment for al development had come. We were s Greek tragedy of history, obeying one of freedom only to be punished by at a time when Britain has gone far to ocial injustice of our own development hen America is moving on the same e when we have come at last to see that echnology offer their great rewards to ly upon the condition of international- e and social reform—at just that mo- e been helping to establish in the world ore new nations, with full international e authoritarian, possessed by national- intolerant of minorities and with a glar- f social inequality.

itions give a tremendous opening to the epeal. Their claim to base development eople and not on the wealth and power d few is not altogether false, however ethods may be; if the communist t privileged, it does not engage in the ependiture and luxury of many non- gimes. Their acceptance of authoritar- is itself not ungenial to developing e are in a hurry and feel that heroic eeded to match their problems. Com- o comes naturally to societies where o other source of initiative. The loss of ty not seem, in prospect at least, very ples whose life has been hemmed in by s of poor subsistence farming.

### Cloak and dagger era

reaction to communism that we are in r of losing perspective. Every nation rm, civil policy which is liberal and nd also a military policy as an insur- failure. They are bound to conflict at did so dramatically in the U2 incident. ica has carried the main military re- e have been able in Britain to indulge that only the civil policy is needed. icism of the John Foster Dulles era of dent states and of the Allen Dulles dagger battle against communism seen operation, both of which have neces- the American image of an anti-colonial f power. The long series of incidents en years in which no one has a clean Budapest, the Bay of Pigs, Ladak, ve this military taint. The danger is to l policy to slip into an ideological war mism as such, a war which is fought es of innocent people—*tantum religio malorum*. The record of western the new states, which has not as yet promoting total social development, ation for this, the most dangerous of

the real dilemma, which arises from nd economic imbalance of the new of the world, there are surely some ection. First, to support those govern- e genuinely attempting a more liberal ore widely-spread development. We

in Britain can scarcely be too thankful that the parlia- ment of Malaysia is based on a genuinely democratic process, and is concerned with total development; and there are other cases where support can be wholehearted. These are the easy choices.

In the more difficult ones, in countries where neither social reform nor the essential elements of political freedom are to be found, there might well be a cooler attitude from the West, which at least avoids the pledges of support which can so inexorably lead to a Vietnam commitment. Surely aid can be given upon terms? The first conclusion is that the terms should not insist upon alignment with the West, with anti-communism, with traditional authority, with free enterprise, with forces of the right. The potential for social revolution in all these countries is far too high to take such a risk.

The second conclusion is more positive, and perhaps less obvious. It is that we should at least try much harder to see that our aid is used to correct, rather than accentuate, the over-centralisation which the early grant of independence and the economic and educational state of new countries made so likely. At first sight this would involve far greater attention to the rural population. This is not only a question of agricultural productivity. It implies an education system matched to the real conditions and prospects of that great majority whose life is bound to lie in rural areas. It implies far greater attention to types of industry and commerce, possibly of small scale, which can grow within a flourishing rural economy. It implies a much more wary approach to the financing of the ambitious and prestigious schemes of heavy

industry, atomic energy, swollen universities and the like upon which such enormous sums of capital have been swallowed up in the last 15 years. South Vietnam itself had huge plans for an iron and steel complex and a luxury university city outside Saigon (the latter untenable when darkness fell for fear of Viet Cong). Such schemes do not merely need capital and techniques, they need a solid foundation in an acceptable social order. It is surely the growth of prosperity, competence and opportunity in the lower and middle levels of the new countries that can create the conditions for a more solid and even democratic political system and which would assuredly reduce the attractions of communism.

It is too late to talk of such policies in Vietnam. The young Americans—and now Australians and New Zealanders—who fight and perhaps die there are at best engaged in a holding operation; for the mass of Vietnamese people, it means atrocious suffering in a quarrel which they do not understand—suffering which neither side has a right to inflict on them.

Certainly, as we watch President Johnson and the American nation take the heavy burden of decision which a hundred years ago would have fallen upon us, it is well to remember that the fundamental American commitment is to the free society. Yet the moment this commitment is narrowed to the fight against communism it becomes a dangerous and even damnable half-truth. The last enemy of freedom is not communism but power used selfishly and poverty unremedied, by whatever government, right or left, anywhere in the world.

# INTEGRATION: THE REALITY

The new policy for immigrants lays great stress on integration. A study in Birmingham shows that housing is a crucial stumbling block

Most of the discussion about immigration which has gone on in Parliament and outside has been concerned with restriction of entry. But the recently announced government policy also has another side. It claims to be a policy for integration of immigrants who are already here. This has not been very seriously discussed no one knows much about it.

In Birmingham, a research team has been studying a multi-racial ward in the so-called twilight zones of the city. The population there is part English, part Irish, part Pakistani and part West Indian. This study may help to show in some detail what the possibilities of integration really are. Certainly it will answer some questions which are crucial to the formulation of any viable proposals for integration.

The first point which has to be made is that any talk about integration which does not concern itself with the housing of immigrants is almost worthless. For the plain fact is that most coloured immigrants are concentrated in old Victorian terrace houses in the secondary ring of the city. These areas become more like ghettos every day.

They are not, as the Chicago school of sociologists used to suggest, "zones of transition" from which immigrants launch themselves into urban life. Nor are they the happy "little Sicilies in Chicago", which Burgess and Park described in *The City*, suggesting a segregated but accommodated community accepted as part of the city. Rather they are zones of stagnation, festering slums in which people of various races stay only because they must. The planning of integration means, if it means anything at all, finding out what compels the immigrants to live where they do and devising ways of helping them to move.

The obvious way of dealing with the problem is that which has been adopted by the Dutch government, which simply allocates 5 per cent of all new houses to immigrants. The immigrant thus starts his new life in reasonable conditions and dispersal and absorption are assumed as goals from the outset. This solution, however, has been rejected by Bowden,

who argues that immigrants may qualify for council houses in the ordinary way.

There is, in fact, no discrimination explicitly based on race or creed in the allocation of houses by our local authorities. But, nonetheless, the system of allocation which does operate means that coloured immigrants don't easily get houses.

A new immigrant to Birmingham, whether he is from Huddersfield or St Kitts, may not go on the housing list until he has lived in the city for five years. No one challenges this policy and those who defend it do so with feeling.

Generally speaking, the man from Huddersfield opts out of this system by getting a private tenancy or a mortgage. But these options are by no means so easily available to the man from St Kitts. Neither private landlords nor building societies are likely to look on him with favour. He must depend, if he intends to stay, on the local authority system. He enters it with a five year handicap.

Nor is this all. Once on the list he must wait for at least a year before a house can even theoretically be allocated and then, to turn theory into reality, must get enough points, some of which are given for length of residence. Thus seven or eight years would be a normal waiting period.

Even then, however, the immigrant may not hope to be translated to the delights of a new council estate. For the authority is a "progressive" one and sends a housing visitor to see the applicant and arrange accommodation suitable to his circumstances. This may mean, and the West Indians of Birmingham claim that it nearly always does mean for them, "a patched house", ie a slum awaiting demolition. There is no appeal to any independent authority after this allocation.

Most of the few West Indians who have been rehoused by the council now live in these "patched houses". But they are only the tiniest minority. The others must find rooms in the lodging houses, where the landlord will ask no questions and show no pre-

## Integration: the reality:

justice, provided his tenant pays the rent. The immigrant in Birmingham, however, cannot look to a large-scale entrepreneur like Raichman to provide him with lodgings. He usually looks to a small-scale man, an immigrant like himself, who, in order to house himself, must also house others.

The lodging house proprietor must buy a certain type of house. This is determined by the circumstances in which his enterprise is financed. Unable to get a mortgage in the ordinary way, because he is a single man or because he does not intend to stay long, he borrows £800-£1,000 from friends and kinsmen and then gets a five or seven year bank loan to cover the difference of £1,000. To pay back these loans he must use his house intensively in order to earn rent. The big old houses therefore command themselves for their rent-earning potential. Moreover, they are too large for family use and having only short periods of their lease to run are not much sought after by anyone else.

Multi-occupation, once it is established, soon spreads. It may not be true, as is sometimes alleged, that it causes prices of neighbouring houses to fall. In our experience it forced prices up, as houses which were not marketable suddenly found a new use. But what was much more important was that the whole area quickly went down in status.

### No sense of responsibility

Whether the inhabitants were immigrants or not, multi-occupation would have certain consequences. The tenants feel no responsibility for the garden, the passages or the house as a whole. The landlord does not care because he has only a short lease and may base his whole enterprise on the assumption of the total loss of the house. Fifteen inhabitants generate three times as much garbage as five, although the Salvage Department does not increase the scale of its services. And high rents leave little surplus for care of their rooms to the tenants.

Socially, too, multi-occupation has clear consequences. Once one assumes that the landlord will have anyone who is willing to pay with no questions asked, the tenants are likely to include not only immigrants but all sorts of social deviants, and most especially prostitutes, whose special virtue lies in the rent they will pay for the intensive use of their rooms.

In strict sociological terms what emerges is not a ghetto. For the immigrants will be of all races. And they will live alongside and above and below the flatsman and jitsam of the host society. But the fact is that the immigrants do, on the whole, live here. They do not belong to Birmingham as a whole. They belong to the marginal world of the twilight zone. The problem of integration is the problem of getting them out of it.

There are, of course, also within this multi-racial community of the twilight zones, social and cultural colonies for each of the ethnic groups. But there are important differences between these, of which three major types represented by the Irish, the West Indian and the Pakistani stand out.

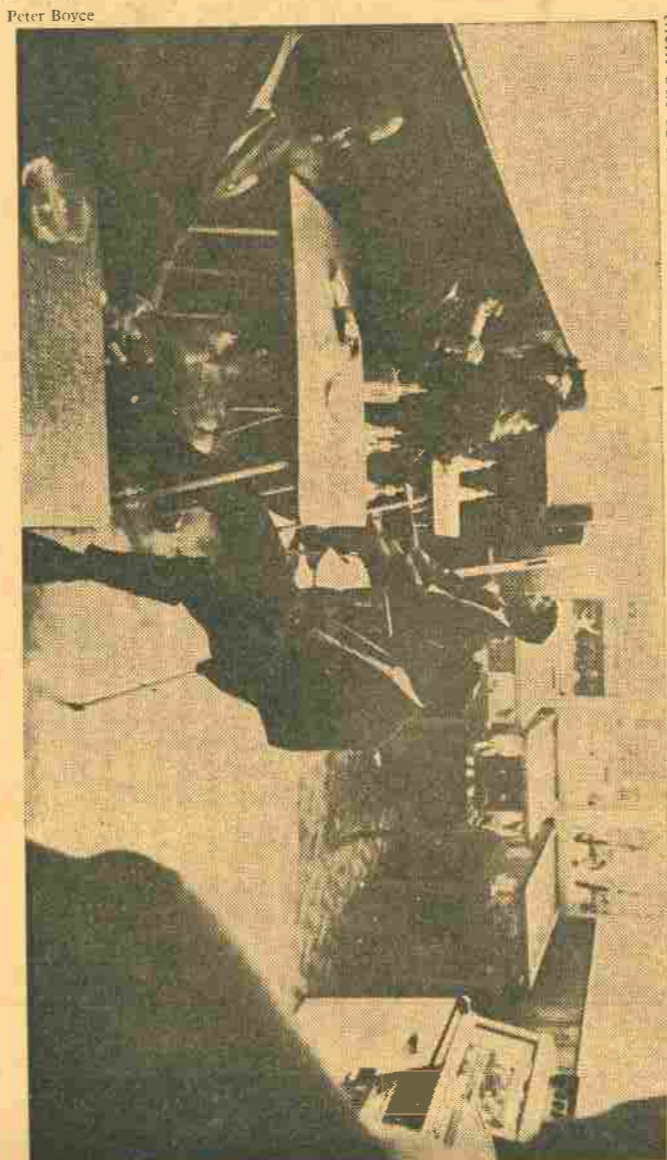
The Irishman is headed for assimilation. When he has served his term in the twilight zone he will find his way eventually to a public or private suburbia. In the meanwhile, he has pubs and cafes to go to where the clientele is Irish and the likelihood is that he will make his attendances at Mass and be spiritually and morally cared for, if he wishes, by a Church which, though its local manifestations are Irish, is an integrated part of English culture.

The West Indian also aspires to assimilation. He has no elaborate system of extended kin, no religion of his own and no highly organised ethnic community. If he is a Christian he may belong to a small Holiness sect, but the majority will join the Methodist, the Seventh Day Adventist or the Anglican church. He lacks the organisational basis for the formation of a colony and such organisations as he may help to form will be in part concerned with fighting discrimination, in part with improving communications with the host society. He has his Saturday night parties and his cricket or football team which retain their Caribbean character. But in the serious part of his life he is deliberately concerned with becoming a fully integrated Englishman.

The Pakistani's immigration is far more transitory, as the sex-ratio of twelve men to one woman shows. Yet his presence is far more evident. Unprovided for in many ways by English society, he builds his own world and protects himself with neighbourly organisations and with property. He provides housing for himself and his kin, and has shops, cafes, films, newspapers and even banking facilities provided by his own countrymen. He may not be a very good Muslim, but he says his prayers regularly and he contributes towards the fund which will provide a big new mosque. He lives within his own community and survives with a minimum of English.

This is the most self-contained of all the colonies. The Pakistanis are, in a technical sense, a pariah group performing essential services for the twilight zone as a whole, but culturally they do not become members of the society in which they live. Only the children and the occasional man who has a lasting sexual liaison with a white girl start making faltering steps towards assimilation.

The Birmingham corporation has appointed a liaison officer whose official terms of reference are to integrate the immigrants. But the task is mechanically conceived. The liaison officer does not work with and through the immigrant organisations trying to understand the subtle differences between the situa-



Peter Boyce

The main immigrant groups in Birmingham are Pakistani, Irish and West Indian. On this page, Pakistanis spend Saturday afternoon listening to the juke box in a cafe. Opposite, top, an Irish woman who lived with her family in one room and became seriously ill until released by the Sparkbrook Association, an organisation that buys empty properties and lets them to people in need. Bottom right, a family of West Indians in the doorway of their home.

tions of the various communities and helps some of them as individuals terms of reference as meaning the normal rights for the immigrants their conformity with English customs he regards the first part of his task pleated and, apart from providing on housing and other difficulties problem as that of discouraging ample, kinds of cooking and late-night are offensive to the English.

It is important to ask in the debate about integration whether liaison office has achieved anything of the immigrants live in the twilight zone council policy is likely to keep them who wish to do so may find their integration against very difficult others were very few indeed who felt that had made much difference one way or another. Nor could it be said that the Birmingham had any other policy which tion. Accepting as inevitable the gone over to multi-occupation, should not be allowed to spread, put through Parliament a local Bill to register lodging houses compels registration where the amenity of disturbed. In other words, multi-occupancy and the immigrants will stay.

In fact in the last few weeks council has shown that it is even development plans rather than accedes for rehousing immigrants. A part of Sparkbrook has been rejected to a member of the public who immigrant families would have had

### Reinforcing

The government's new policy is if anything, reinforce the tendency gation which exist in Birmingham registration of lodging houses will policy and though this could be them, it is certainly more likely to of concentration and segregation. cial aid promised by Harold Wilson immigration is to be used not to a ing programme or redevelopment to pay social workers if they are beyond this there is to be a syn national committees. We cannot, that in some areas there may no committees, and it may be that sor will appoint highly-trained and workers. But this is unlikely unless are truly representative of immigrant guarantee and little likelihood that

The crux of an effective integrating, and since no local authority politically possible to shift its existing housing immigrants, the only way housing would be to give additional Or better still, the government could come skin to new towns corporations comprehensively the twilight zone moment, will not be redeveloped it cils dare not face the responsibility residents. When this has been done to address ourselves to the subaltern, encouraging the transient family life, which is a precondition educating and ensuring opportunity children, and, with the aid of the themselves, helping newcomers to the problems of personal democracy presents.

These latter tasks will be difficult is idle to pretend that much can be so long as the bigger public system discrimination goes unchecked.

of course, also within this multi-racial twilight zone, social and cultural differences between these, of which three are represented by the Irish, the West Indian and the Pakistani.

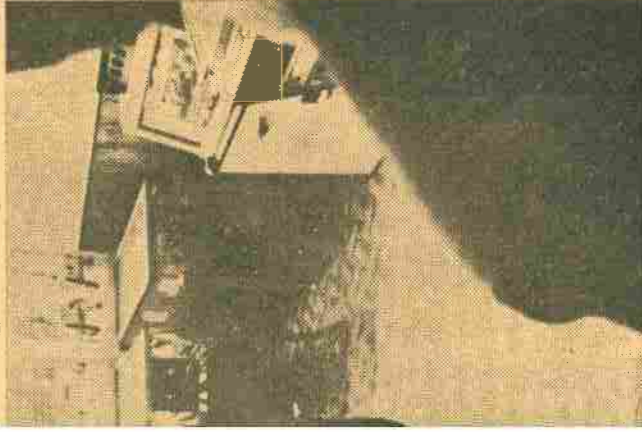
When he is headed for assimilation. In the twilight zone he will find himself in a public or private suburbia. While he has pubs and cafes to go to, he is Irish and the likelihood is that his attendances at Mass and be spiritually cared for, if he wishes, by a Church in its local manifestations are Irish, is part of English culture.

Indian also aspires to assimilation. He is a member of an extended kin, no religion and no highly organised ethnic community. He is a Christian he may belong to a sect, but the majority will join the Church of England or the Anglican. He lacks the organisational basis for a colony and such organisations as exist will be in part concerned with assimilation, in part with improving conditions with the host society. He has his Saturday and his cricket or football team and his character. But in the twilight zone he is deliberately concerned with assimilation.

His immigration is far more transitory, of twelve men to one woman shows, and is far more evident. Unprovided with English society, he builds his own and protects himself with neighbourly and with property. He provides housing and has shops, cafes, films, and even banking facilities provided by the State. He may not be a very good citizen, he says his prayers regularly and he towards the fund which will provide a minimum of English.

Most self-contained of all the colonies, they are, in a technical sense, a parish of essential services for the twilight zone, but culturally they do not become the society in which they live. Only the occasional man who has a lasting relationship with a white girl start making faltering steps towards assimilation.

The corporation has appointed a liaison officer whose task is to work through the immigrant organisations trying to bridge the differences between the situa-



tions of the various communities. Rather, he sees and helps some of them as individuals. He interprets his terms of reference as meaning that he must secure normal rights for the immigrants and then ensure their conformity with English customs. But, strangely, he regards the first part of his task as virtually completed and, apart from providing day-to-day advice on housing and other difficulties, sees his major problem as that of discouraging practices (for example, kinds of cooking and late-night parties) which are offensive to the English.

It is important to ask in the light of the present debate about integration whether the Birmingham liaison office has achieved anything at all. The mass of the immigrants live in the twilight zones and council policy is likely to keep them there. Those who wish to do so may find their own way towards integration against very difficult obstacles. But there were very few indeed who felt that the liaison office had made much difference one way or another.

Nor could it be said that the Birmingham corporation had any other policy which would aid integration. Accepting as inevitable that some areas had gone over to multi-occupation, it decided that it should not be allowed to spread. To this end it has put through Parliament a local Bill giving it the right to register lodging houses compulsorily and to refuse registration where the amenity of an area might be disturbed. In other words, multi-occupation will not spread and the immigrants will stay where they are.

In fact in the last few weeks the Birmingham council has shown that it is even willing to hold up development plans rather than accept its responsibilities for rehousing immigrants. A plan to redevelop part of Sparkbrook has been rejected because, according to a member of the public works committee "600 immigrant families would have had to be rehoused".

### Reinforcing segregation

The government's new policy as announced will, if anything, reinforce the tendencies towards segregation which exist in Birmingham. The compulsory registration of lodging houses will become national policy and though this could be applied to disperse them, it is certainly more likely to be used as a means of concentration and segregation. The special financial aid promised by Harold Wilson for areas of high immigration is to be used not to accelerate the housing programme or redevelop the twilight zones, but to pay social workers if they are appointed. And beyond this there is to be a system of local and national committees. We cannot, of course, be sure that in some areas there may not be very effective committees, and it may be that some local authorities will appoint highly-trained and sensitive social workers. But this is unlikely unless the committees are truly representative of immigrants and there is no guarantee and little likelihood that they will be.

The crux of an effective integration policy is housing, and since no local authority is likely to find it politically possible to shift its existing resources to rehousing immigrants, the only way to secure their rehousing would be to give additional earmarked aid. Or better still, the government could set up corporations akin to new towns corporations to redevelop comprehensively the twilight zones which, at the moment, will not be redeveloped because local councils dare not face the responsibility of rehousing their residents. When this has been done it will be possible to address ourselves to the subtler aspects of integration, encouraging the transients to settle down to family life, which is a precondition of integration, educating and ensuring opportunities for immigrant children, and, with the aid of the immigrant leaders themselves, helping newcomers to face and surmount the problems of personal demoralisation which the city presents.

These latter tasks will be difficult enough. But it is so long to pretend that much can be done about them so long as the bigger public system of segregation and discrimination goes unchecked.

