# SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

# RACE RELATIONS AND IMMIGRATION

Session 1976-7

## THE WEST INDIAN COMMUNITY

## Volume 1

# REPORT

WITH MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS AND APPENDICES TO THE REPORT

Ordered by The House of Commons to be printed
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#### Tuesday 14 January 1975

Ordered, That there shall be a Select Committee to review policies, but not individual cases, in relation to—

- (a) the operation of the Race Relations Act 1968 with particular reference to the work of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission; and
- (b) the admission into the United Kingdom of Commonwealth citizens and foreign nationals for settlement.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to appoint persons with expert knowledge for the purpose of particular inquiries, either to supply information which is not readily available or to elucidate matters of complexity within the Committee's Order of Reference.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records; to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House; to adjourn from place to place; and to report from time to time the Minutes of the Evidence taken before them and Memoranda submitted to them.

Ordered, That Four be the Quorum of the Committee.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to appoint Sub-Committees and to refer to such Sub-Committees any of the matters referred to the Committee.

Ordered, That every such Sub-Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records; to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House; to adjourn from place to place; and to report to the Committee from time to time

Ordered, That the Committee have power to report from time to time the Minutes of the Evidence taken before such Sub-Committees and Memoranda submitted to them.

Ordered, That Three be the Quorum of every such Sub-Committee.

Ordered, That these Orders be Standing Orders of the House until the end of this Parliament.

#### Tuesday 14 January 1975

Ordered, That Mr Sydney Bidwell, Mrs Lynda Chalker, Mr Norman Fowler Mr Hal Miller, Mr Eric Moonman, Mr Dudley Smith, Mr Anthony Steen, Mr Tom Torney, Mr Frederick Willey and Mr William Wilson be members of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration.

Ordered, That the members of the Select Committee on Race Relations and immigration nominated this day shall continue to be members of the Committee for the remainder of this Parliament.

Ordered, That this Order be a Standing Order of the House.

#### Tuesday 4 February 1975

Ordered, That, notwithstanding the Order of the House of 14 January relating to nomination of Members of the Select Committee on Race Relations and

Immigration, Mrs Lynda Chalker be discharged from the Committee and Mr Alfred Hall-Davis be added to the Committee for the remainder of this Parliament.

Ordered, That this Order be a Standing Order of the House.

#### Tuesday 25 February 1975

Ordered, That, notwithstanding the Order of the House of 14 January relating to nomination of members of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Mr Norman Fowler be discharged from the Committee and Mr David Lane be added to the Committee for the remainder of this Parliament.

Ordered, That this Order be a Standing Order of the House.

#### Friday 12 November 1976

Ordered, That Mr Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Clerk of the Crown to make out a New Writ for the electing of a Member to serve in this present Parliament for the Borough Constituency of Cambridge, in the room of David William Stennis Stuart Lane, esquire, who since his election for the said Borough Constituency hath accepted the Office of Steward or Bailiff of Her Majesty's Three Chiltern Hundreds of Stoke, Desborough and Burnham, in the County of Buckingham.

#### Tuesday 7 December 1976

*Ordered*, That the Standing Order of 14 January 1975 relating to the nomination of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration be amended by adding Sir William Elliott.

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# REPORT

The Select Committee appointed to review policies, but not individual cases, in relation to—

- (a) the operation of the Race Relations Act 1968 with particular reference to the work of the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission, and
- (b) the admission into the United Kingdom of Commonwealth citizens and foreign nationals for settlement,

have made progress in the matter to them referred and have agreed to the following Report:—

#### THE WEST INDIAN COMMUNITY

#### INTRODUCTION

- 1. The Select Committee informed the House in their Second Special Report<sup>1</sup>, that their next inquiry would be into the West Indian community. They proposed 'to review the problems, including migration to and from the West Indies, arising from their settlement in the United Kingdom and the progress made.' The Committee were engaged in this inquiry throughout the 1975-76 Session.
- 2. The Committee met in public on 23 occasions. Oral evidence was given at Westminster by the Leicester United Caribbean Association, the West Indian Organisations Co-ordinating Committee, the West Indian Standing Conference, the Post Conference Constituent Committee, the Jamaican High Commission, the Eastern Caribbean Commission, the Caribbean Teachers Association, the Metropolitan Police, Westindian Concern Limited, the National Council for Civil Liberties, the Guyana High Commission, the Department of Employment with the Employment Service Agency, the Training Services Agency and the Manpower Services Commission, the Runnymede Trust, West Indian World, the British Council of Churches, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Independent Broadcasting Authority, the Association of Chief Police Officers, the Department of Education and Science, the National Association of Probation Officers, the Guild of British Newspaper Editors, the Community Relations Commission, the Home Office, the Croydon Council for Community Relations and by several individual witnesses. In addition, written memoranda were submitted by many of the witnesses and by other interested bodies and individuals.2 The Committee readily acknowledge the assistance they have had throughout their inquiry from their specialist assistant, Mr Leslie Scafe.
- 3. The Committee, however, did not receive all their oral evidence at the House of Commons. They visited three areas of London—Lambeth, Brent and Haringey—and the city of Sheffield. Moreover, these visits were not confined to the taking of oral evidence, but gave the Committee a welcome opportunity of speaking informally to members of the West Indian community and of attending several social centres and schools and a branch of the Hammersmith and West London College, which conducts a special course for young West Indians.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> HC 526, 1974-75.

<sup>2</sup> See pp lxxix-lxxxii for lists of witnesses, memoranda and appendices to the minutes of evidence, HC 180-II and III.

- 4. The Committee also visited the West Indies. They went first to Jamaica and then divided into two Sub-Committees which between them visited Barbados and St Lucia and Trinidad and Guyana. A note on these visits is printed as an Appendix<sup>1</sup> but the Committee here record their great appreciation of the assistance afforded by the governments of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Barbados and St Lucia and by the High Commissions, whose excellent arrangements enabled the Committee and Sub-Committees to take full advantage of their brief visit to the Caribbean.
- 5. The Committee's main objective in taking evidence during their inquiry was to give the West Indian community an opportunity of presenting their views to Parliament, and the Committee believe that the Volumes of Evidence should be of considerable assistance to all those concerned with the problems and welfare of the Community. At the same time, the Committee have taken evidence from some of the Departments and others concerned, although they would not claim to have given them a full opportunity for reply to all the issues raised.
- 6. The Committee, nevertheless, proceed to make a number of recommendations. In doing so, they feel it necessary to emphasise that, whereas the Committee can pursue any inquiry which falls within the terms of reference and make such recommendations arising out of that inquiry as they think fit, the Committee have no powers to secure their implementation. Since 1968, the Committee have produced six major reports, each making important recommendations. Some of them have been accepted but both the Race Relations Board and the Community Relations Commission, together with the associations and societies working for the improvement of race relations, have repeatedly complained of the general lack of response by Governments and local authorities to the Committee's previous recommendations.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the present inquiry, the Committee have received disturbing evidence of the demoralisation of the West Indian community caused by the disappointment and discouragement resulting from the disregard of the Committee's recommendations. Indeed some of the witnesses even questioned the value of continuing to give evidence to the Committee. The work of the Committee has had a considerable impact on the climate of public opinion and in promoting informal discussion but the West Indian community have made it clear that they are looking for, and need, more than a sympathetic understanding of their problems and difficulties: they expect, and are entitled to expect, positive and effective action.

#### THE COMMUNITY

7. There is no precise figure for the size of the West Indian community in Britain. However, an estimate of the size of the population of West Indian origin, derived from the 1971 Census Country of Birth Tables<sup>3</sup>, has been prepared by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

HMSO 1974. There are no later figures available.

Appendix 1 to this Report, p xlvii. And see, The Response to the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, Community Relations Commission, 1974.

Estimate of the	size of the	population o	f West Indian
origin re.	sident in Gi	reat Britain ii	$i 1971^{1}$

	Male '000s	Female '000s	Total '000s
Individual born New Commonwealth America, <sup>2</sup> all parents' birth places except both parents born British Isles	149	149	298
Individual born UK, both parents born New Commonwealth America	81	81	163
Individual born UK, one parent born New Commonwealth America, one elsewhere or not stated	30	30	60
Individual born UK, both parents' birth places not stated (estimated to be of West Indian origin.)	11	11	22
TOTAL <sup>3</sup>	272	271	543

This estimated figure of 543,000 represents just over 1 per cent. of the total population of Great Britain, which in 1971 numbered 53,874,0004. This proportion does not appear to have materially altered.

	I	ive births by birthplace of mother <sup>5</sup> Number (000s)			r <sup>5</sup> Percentage of all live births			I	
HEAD.		1971	1972	1973	1974	1971	1972	1973	1974
United Kingdom		689 · 7	640	596.9	564.2	88 · 1	88.2	88.3	88.2
West Indies		12.5	10 ·	8 9.1	8 · 1	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.3

8. The West Indian community, however, is not spread evenly throughout the country, but is concentrated mainly in the South East and the West Midlands conurbation.

#### The percentage of people born in the West Indies resident in:4

Greater London		 	 55.5
Outer Metropolitan Area		 	 6.3
Outer South East Area		 	 2.8
West Midlands Conurbation		 	 12.8
West Yorkshire Conurbation		 	 3.4
SE Lancashire Conurbation		 	 3.5
Scotland		 	 0.7
Other Great Britain	• •	 	 $15 \cdot 2$

Evidence p 565.

This includes Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, Guyana, other Commonwealth territories in the Caribbean, Belize (formerly British Honduras) and the Falkland Islands.
 Because of rounding, the sums of the constituent items and the totals do not always agree.

Census of Population Reports, 1971.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> OPCS monitor (FMI 77/1).

9. The spread of West Indians throughout the Greater London area is also uneven: over 75 per cent live in the ten London boroughs of Brent, Lambeth, Hackney, Haringey. Wandsworth, Lewisham, Southwark, Hammersmith, Newham and Islington.

Number of persons born in					
New Commonwealth America resident in Greater Lon	don:1				

		All countries of birth All persons (A)	New Commonwealth America All persons (B)	B as a percentage of A
GLC Brent LB Lambeth LB Hackney LB Haringey LB Wandsworth LB Lewisham LB Southwark LB Hammersmith LB Newham LB Islington LB	::	7,452,345 280,655 307,515 220,280 240,080 302,260 268,475 262,140 187,195 237,390 201,875	168,695 18,320 18,320 14,325 13,170 12,505 10,260 8,545 8,485 7,605 7,250	2·2 6·5 6·0 6·5 5·5 4·1 3·8 3·3 4·5 3·2 3·6

The percentages for the younger age groups are higher. For instance, the proportion of adolescents of New Commonwealth ethnic origin, most of whom are of West Indian origin, in the GLC area is 12 per cent., and in the inner-city area the figure rises to 18 per cent<sup>2</sup>.

- 10. The largest concentration of West Indians outside the Greater London Area is in Birmingham, with Manchester, Wolverhampton and Nottingham having the next largest communities. Relatively few West Indians have settled in the West country, East Anglia or the North, or in Scotland or Wales.
- 11. Thus, although there has been a fairly wide-spread dispersal of West Indian families within the United Kingdom, the majority have settled in relatively few areas, usually run-down urban districts, thereby creating both a greater impact than their small overall proportion of the population would suggest and creating identifiable West Indian neighbourhoods with special problems.
- 12. In their last Report, the Committee recommended that 'to facilitate the funding of local race relations activities, a statutory obligation should be placed on local authorities to promote equal rights and, paying attention to the new structure of local government, with its division of responsibilities between counties and districts, the funding should be on a county basis either through county precepts or agreed sharing between the districts or indeed through both.'3
- 13. The Race Relations Act 1976 has now placed a general statutory duty on local authorities to ensure that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination and to promote equality of opportunity and good relations between different racial groups.<sup>4</sup> The Committee welcome this provision but, because of the geographical concentration of ethnic groups, including the West Indian communities, believe that it calls not only for more deliberate government support but also funding on the lines recommended by the Committee.

Evidence p 530.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Census 1971. County Report: Greater London.

The Organisation of Race Relations Administration, Session 1974-75, HC 448.-I, p xv.
 Race Relations Act 1976, chapter 74, section 71.

A 4

14. A noticeable characteristic of the West Indian population, as of other immigrant communities, is its youth. A much larger proportion of persons of West Indian origin are under 25 years old than in the population as a whole or even in other immigrant groups. Remarkably, over half the West Indian community are less than 15 years of age: more than twice the figure for the total population.

The percentage as	e structure for se	elected age g	groups, 1971 <sup>1</sup>
	Area of Orig	igin	

	New Commonwealth America	India	Pakistan	Total Population			
0—14	51	36	34	24			
15—24	11	18	20	15			
25—44 45+	}38	}46	}46	24 37			

- 15. Consequently the West Indian community is becoming equally divided between the immigrants themselves and those of West Indian origin born in the United Kingdom. Over 90 per cent of the adults came to Britain during the last 20 years.<sup>2</sup> Coming from the British Commonwealth, they were assumed to be responsive to our conditions and way of life and little was done to facilitate or encourage their assimilation. There was practically no recognition of their language difficulties. Creole is the common language in the West Indies but no effort was made to promote language classes. In general, although most of the immigrants, accustomed to a rural economy, came unprepared, no special training was provided to help West Indians adapt themselves to entirely new conditions of work and no effective steps were taken to explain a system of social and employment services and public administration, of which they had neither experience nor knowledge.
- 16. Some witnesses complained that the Committee's reference to the West Indian community is misleading because the community is not homogeneous and West Indians are drawn from diverse communities widely separated in the Caribbean. Having visited the West Indies, the Committee, in fact, are aware that there are marked dissimilarities. The majority of the immigrants were Jamaicans but, to some degree, the local West Indian communities in the United Kingdom reflect these differences. Of much greater significance is the fact that the indigenous population in the United Kingdom is woefully ignorant of the conditions, traditions, and patterns of life of the peoples in the West Indies and this has retarded their acceptance of West Indians living here.
- 17. This lack of knowledge of conditions in the West Indies undoubtedly has aggravated the exceptional difficulties which immigrants have met in adapting themselves to a basically different way of family life in the United Kingdom. In

<sup>2</sup> The Facts of Racial Disadvantage: A National Survey by D J Smith, PEP Broadsheet No 560 February 1976.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Census 1971: The Coloured Population of Great Britain, by G B Gillian Lomas. Runnymede Trust publication, 1973.

the West Indies, not only is there greater reliance on the influence and authority exercised directly through the family but the common extended family structure frequently places responsibility not on parents but on grandparents or other relatives. Immigrant West Indian families have had to adapt themselves to a traumatic change in their way of life.

- 18. Very often, when West Indian parents emigrated to Britain, they left behind one or more children and it may be many years before they find it possible to send for their dependent children. These children then face the problem of adjusting to a different family life and to more liberal family attitudes, to parents who have become strangers to them or perhaps to a step-parent, to unknown brothers and sisters, and half brothers and sisters born in the United Kingdom and to different and less disciplined educational practices, and often they will be missing the affection of whomever had taken care of them, often for several years, in the West
- 19. Many of those of West Indian origin born in the United Kingdom, who will soon be a majority of the community, have also suffered an unsettled upbringing. with both parents often at work and unadapted to, and unable to take full advantage of, the new social environment, and without grandparents or other relatives to care for them. Moreover, unlike the children of white immigrants, black children of West Indian origin remain unavoidably identifiable and are regarded as immigrants even when they have been born here.
- 20. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is an abnormally high level of alienation among young blacks from the institutions of British society. As the Bishop of Liverpool wrote in his introduction to the British Council of Churches' report, 'This generation of British-born black people faces in many ways the greatest experience of alienation of any generation anywhere. Their parents have a nostalgic dream of the West Indies; they cannot have that. Nor can their parents share the British school experience which they have had. In their eyes, white-run society offers only one place for them, and that is at the bottom of the heap.'1 On leaving school, black youths, often confronted by discrimination, educationally ill equipped and in fierce competition with whites<sup>2</sup>, feel insecure and find that being black in British society is a real handicap<sup>3</sup>.
- 21. As the majority of West Indians live in run-down and twilight urban areas, they share the deprivation of those living in these conditions, and the housing conditions of West Indians are still substantially worse than those of the rest of the population, particularly with respect to over-crowding and lack of basic amenities. Density of occupation is substantially higher. 34 per cent of West Indian households are living at a density of 2 or more persons per bedroom compared with only 11 per cent of white households. Moreover, the disparity is general. A recent inquiry has shown, for instance, 'that West Indian households whose heads were professional or managerial people, had lower amenities to those in white households whose heads were semi-skilled or unskilled workers.'4
- 22. Nevertheless, over the last 15 years the housing situation of West Indians appears to have improved. In particular, the proportions in the various forms of tenure now resemble those for the population as a whole and their

The New Black Presence in Britain: A Christian Scrutiny. British Council of Churches, April 1976. <sup>2</sup> Evidence pp 454-5.

<sup>4</sup> Evidence p 277. See also The Facts of Racial Disadvantage op cit.

dependence on privately rented furnished accommodation has been considerably reduced. 50 per cent of West Indian households are in owner-occupier accommodation: the same percentage as for the white population. This has been achieved in a relatively short period and in spite of the fact that West Indians tend to be earning less and to have larger families to support.

- 23. In addition to the standard of housing of West Indians being 'dramatically lower'<sup>2</sup> than the standard of housing of the rest of the population, their housing tends also to be concentrated in areas where there is a net shortage of job opportunities. Moreover, a preliminary investigation of the dynamics of labour markets in Inner London has revealed a rapid decline in manufacturing industry. This has particular significance for West Indians since a much higher proportion of them are employed in that industry than is the case for the male working population as a whole.<sup>3</sup>
- 24. The 1971 Census recorded that 51 per cent of males and 35 per cent of females of West Indian origin who were economically active were employed in manufacturing industry. This percentage was considerably higher than that for all economically active persons; 38 per cent for males and 25 per cent for females.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, there was a low representation of both men and women of West Indian birth in distribution, insurance/banking and public administration and of men in agriculture and mining.
- 25. The socio-economic classification of workers, which takes account not only of the occupations performed but also of the employment status of the people concerned, shows that apart from the high proportion of women employed in the

Socio-Economic Distribution of Economically Active Males and Females<sup>5</sup>

Specified Socio-Economic	Country of Birth					
Groups	Male	es	Fem	nales		
2 1	West Indies %	All Countries %	West Indies %	All Countries %		
1-4 (inc)-Employers, Managers and Professional Workers	2.8	16.5	0.8	5.5		
5-7 (inc)-Intermediate and Junior Non- Manual Workers and Personal Service Workers	8 · 2	18.5	45.8	60.9		
8-Foremen and Supervisors, Manual	1.0	3.5	0.2	0.6		
9-Skilled Manual Workers	39.5	30.1	7.3	6.0		
10-Semi-skilled Manual Workers	23.6	12.8	28.0	12.5		
11-Unskilled Manual Workers	15.8	7.7	7.4	7.3		
12-16(inc)-Farmers, Agriculture Workers, Armed Forces	2.6	9·1	0.6	3.1		
17-Indefinite	6.5	1.7	10.0	4.1		

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence, p 277. See also The Facts of Racial Disadvantage op cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Q 449.

<sup>3</sup> Evidence p 93.

<sup>4</sup> Evidence p 245.

<sup>5</sup> Evidence p 251.

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health service, workers of West Indian origin are much more likely than other workers to be employed in manual jobs—particularly unskilled or semi-skilled.

- 26. A survey published in February last year confirms that the job levels of men in the immigrant ethnic groups are substantially lower than those of white men. Only 8 per cent of West Indian men are doing non-manual jobs compared with 40 per cent of white men. Further, with the exception of non-skilled manual workers2, the earnings of men in the ethnic groups are lower than those of white men at the same job levels. As they have, on average, more dependents to every working adult, lower than average earnings have to be used to support a larger than average number of dependants.
- 27. It is often suggested that the West Indians could do more to help themselves. but the disadvantages which the West Indian community as a whole suffers limit the contribution which the community itself up till now has been able to make towards helping, for example, the young Blacks. West Indians generally are not able to provide facilities for themselves because their community is poor and made up mainly of working class people and, unlike the Blacks in the United States, largely lacking the professional and business men who could provide the necessary expertise and funds.
- 28. This Report is concerned with the problems and handicaps of the West Indian community and the complaints made on its behalf. These, however, must be considered in perspective. The Committee share the view of the Runnymede Trust that the situation of West Indians is 'not either unique or quite as desperate as the more gloomy commentators would have one believe; ..... that despite its geographical concentration in certain parts of the country, within the areas in which it is found, it is reasonably well dispersed; that despite the fact that it is predominately a manual working class population it is a very highly skilled population relatively speaking . . . . . .; and that there have been quite encouraging changes over the last ten to fifteen years which offer some reason for hope.'3
- 29. Nevertheless, the improvements have been insufficient to offset the harmful effect of continuing racial discrimination. The Runnymede Trust maintained that 'discrimination based on colour still continues at frightening levels, particularly at work'4 and the Political and Economic Planning inquiry1 demonstrated that, in employment and housing, there is still substantial discrimination against West Indians. A good deal of evidence was given to the Committee expressing a deep feeling of injustice and rejection arising from discrimination.
- 30. The persistence of racial discrimination has had two consequences which have led to a sharp deterioration in race relations. On the one hand, it has encouraged an upsurge of crude racialism and the growth of organised racist groups. On the other, it has provoked the activity of those West Indian extremists who feel so deeply resentful and hostile that they foresee only a future of conflict. While the outburst of racialism has caused the counter-reaction of the political parties, trade unions and the churches, unfortunately racist activities have both given credence to West Indian extremist views and strengthened the support they receive from some of those officially employed in improving race relations. Committee regret that some, both black and white, of those committed to work for

The Facts of Racial Disadvantage op cit.

Who, in fact, have to do more shift work than whites to make comparable earnings. Q 680.

<sup>4</sup> Evidence, p 278.

the harmonious reconciliation of the ethnic groups and the host population should share the hostile hopelessness felt by a minority of the West Indian Community, especially when present circumstances call for a real and positive effort from their leaders.

31. Such an effort, however, demands an equally real and positive response from the Government and the local authorities. Parliament has enacted a new Race Relations Act reinforcing and strengthening race relations legislation; but legislation itself is not enough. It must be accompanied by effective and resolute administrative action. As the Committee concluded in their last Report, 'what is needed, above everything else, is a clear and demonstrable Government commitment to equal rights'. It is the purpose of this Report to encourage the Government to confirm that commitment.

#### THE PROBLEMS

- 1. Immigration
- 32. The evidence given to the Committee shows that immigration remains a major controversial issue. Many of the West Indian witnesses complained about the effect of the immigration controls. Indeed, one witness alleged that they were creating chaos.<sup>2</sup> In the main, the criticism was about the administration rather than about the rules themselves. Several witnesses complained of the attitude of the entry certificate officers, saying that it was obstructive, even racially prejudiced.
- 33. For several years, overall there has been no immigration from the West Indies. On balance, there has been a small outflow to the West Indies and not an inflow into the United Kingdom. Whilst, between 1971 and 1973, 9,000 West Indians settled as immigrants in the United Kingdom, during the same period 14,000 persons of West Indian origin left the United Kingdom to live elsewhere: a negative balance of 5,000<sup>3</sup>.
- 34. However, as a result of the increased travel between the West Indies and the United Kingdom there has been a substantial increase in the numbers of West Indians arriving in the United Kingdom. In fact, the numbers have doubled over the past ten years. The Home Office informed the Committee that, of the 67,200 people who arrived from the West Indies in 1975, 33,900 were persons returning from temporary absence abroad, United Kingdom residents who had spent a holiday or a temporary stay in the West Indies: 25,600 were ordinary visitors including businessmen (out of a total of half a million Commonwealth citizens admitted as visitors).<sup>4</sup> The great majority of visitors from the West Indies held entry certificates and the Home Office did not think that 'with West Indians deliberate evasion and overstay is a major problem's. In addition to United Kingdom residents returning and visitors, a miscellaneous category, including diplomats, officials and passengers in transit, accounted for a further 4,200 arrivals.<sup>6</sup>
- 35. Of the 3,500 arrivals remaining, after those categories have been excluded, 1710 were students.<sup>6</sup> Relatively small numbers of West Indians apply for entry

<sup>1</sup> The Organisation of Race Relations Administration, p xxiii op cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Q 295.

Population Trends No 1, Population Statistics Division, OPCS and see Q 694.

<sup>Evidence, p 556 and 562.
Q 1382. See also Q 1392.</sup> 

<sup>6</sup> Evidence, p 562.

<sup>397687</sup> 

as students and there does not appear to the Committee to be any general ground for complaint about their entry into the United Kingdom.

- 36. Thus, of the 67,200 arrivals from the West Indies, only 1,700 were immigrants admitted for settlement in the United Kingdom. In addition, 2,000 West Indians, initially admitted temporarily, were accepted for settlement by the removal of the time limit.1 Thus the present scale of West Indian immigration is small and insignificant.
- 37. It was not the scale of West Indian immigration, however, which provoked criticism. West Indian witnesses did not challenge the need for strict immigration control or that effective control is essential to good race relations. were concentrated on the admission of dependants, mainly children, and in particular were focussed on the operation of the Immigration Rules<sup>2</sup> governing the admission of children to join a single parent.
- 38. In fact, a high proportion of West Indians admitted for settlement, 65 per cent, are children under 183 and many of them join a single parent settled in the United Kingdom. The Rules, however, do not allow children joining a single parent unless that parent has had sole responsibility for the child's upbringing or there are family or other considerations which make exclusion undesirable.
- 39. West Indian witnesses, supported by the National Council for Civil Liberties,4 maintained that the Rules are unfair because they fail to recognise the entirely different status of marriage and the special character of the extended family in the West Indies. The NCCL further maintained that the Rules fail to acknowledge the rights of the mother of an illegitimate child. Both maintained that, in any case, the Rules have been harshly interpreted.
- 40. There is, of course, a statutory right of appeal but the criticism of the interpretation of the Rules is based on appellate decisions and there is a long back-log of cases<sup>5</sup> often resulting in a year or eighteen months delay; a period of indecision and uncertainty harmful to parent and child alike.
- 41. The Home Office does not appear to be insensitive to these criticisms of the sole responsibility rule. A Home Office witness told the Committee: 'This is the one area in the application of the immigration law where there is heartburning in the West Indian community and it is a problem for us. I am not sure, if one were starting again with the drafting of the rules, whether one would draft in terms of sole responsibility'6 and the Committee were assured that, under a concession publicly announced by the Home Secretary in 1975, in practice children under 11 are 'fairly freely permitted to join a single parent settled in this country'.
- 42. The Committee believe that the Home Office is right in encouraging a parent to apply for the admission of the child at as early an age as possible. They are well aware of the difficulties of teenage children adapting themselves to a new educational system and environment. Indeed, the Jamaican High Commissioner, while he joined in the criticism of the sole responsibility rule, suggested that he

Evidence, p 563.

Statement of Immigration Rules for Control on Entry of Commonwealth citizens, 1973, HC 79.

Evidence, p 557.

Evidence, pp 213-4. Q 1436.

O 1385.

Evidence p 557. See also Appendix 23 to the Minutes of Evidence.

would accept 'a clear distinction laid down stating that no child over the age of thirteen is going to be allowed in as a dependant'.1

- 43. The Committee believe that the action taken by the Home Office is inadequate. The numbers involved are small and diminishing. Overall there is a net outflow from the United Kingdom of persons of West Indian origin. In these circumstances, they believe that the interests of the family should have priority and that 'the heart-burning in the West Indian community' should not be disregarded. The Committee, therefore, recommend that the sole responsibility rule be amended to provide that, where the accommodation and welfare of the child can be shown to be satisfactory, a West Indian child under 12 years of age should be allowed to join a single parent in the United Kingdom, if that parent so wishes, unless the child is with the other parent in a settled home and that other parent wishes to retain the child's custody. The Committee do not suggest that the older children should be denied entry for settlement in the United Kingdom but they strongly believe that the amendment they propose should be limited to those below secondary school age. In the case of the older children the character and the interests of the child should be major considerations.
- 44. The Committee have noted the criticism made of the Entry Certificate Officers. They do not, however, accept this criticism. During their visit to the West Indies, members of the Committee made a special point of attending upon the Officers and discussing their work with them. The Committee's impression is that the Officers discharged their responsibilities with diligence, sympathy and understanding. Some Officers felt the application of the sole responsibility rule irksome and, the Committee are sure, would welcome its amendment, especially as it would allow consideration being paid to the advice of the welfare authorities. With regard to visitors to the United Kingdom, there was some conflict in the information given to members of the Committee but the Committee felt that general Home Office advice and guidance sustained a suspicious caution unjustified by sufficient evidence of deliberate evasion by West Indian visitors. Accordingly, the Committee recommend that, regarding visitors, greater discretion be afforded to Entry Certificate Officers in the West Indies in the discharge of their responsibilities.
- 45. The Committee were told by Home Office witnesses that they were not sure whether there are any West Indian immigration officers, although there is 'a fair sprinkling of coloured ones'<sup>2</sup>. The White Paper on Racial Discrimination<sup>3</sup> refers to the widespread, if mistaken, criticism of successive Governments 'for being racially discriminating in their immigration control policies'. As far as the West Indian community is concerned that criticism may be exacerbated by the absence of West Indians in the administration of those policies, particularly if there are officers from the other ethnic communities. Consequently, the Committee recommend that deliberate efforts should be made to recruit a number of appropriately qualified persons of West Indian origin as immigration officers.

#### 2. Child Care

46. The fact that often the mother is working accentuates the double disadvantage of many West Indian families in living in deprived neighbourhoods and being immigrant.<sup>4</sup> Compared with women generally, a higher proportion of West Indian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Q 414.

Q 1384.

<sup>3</sup> Racial Discrimination, Cmnd 6234, September 1975.

<sup>4</sup> See also Appendix 4 to this Report, p lxi.

women, especially in the areas of West Indian concentration and among those aged 25–44 years, are in employment, most of them full time. The proportion is greater where they are likely to have demanding family responsibilities.

			Percentage of women working <sup>1</sup>					
			West Indians				S	All women
Women of all ages						74		43
Women a	ged:							
16-24						57		55
25-34						73		44
35-44						83		58
45-54						77		63

- 47. The youngest children are most adversely affected. A large number of West Indian infants spend their time with untrained and unskilled child-minders. The Caribbean Teachers Association<sup>2</sup> maintained that the inadequate and ineffective provision for the under-fives resulted in West Indian children going to primary school already disadvantaged and the Department of Education and Science<sup>3</sup> told the Committee that 'many educationalists believe that underachievement among West Indian children at school has often its roots in their experience before the age of five'.
- 48. In their Report on Housing, 4 published in 1971, the Committee recommended that 'vigorous action towards the provision and encouragement of pre-school activities' should be taken by the local authorities involved. This was again recommended by the Committee in their Report on Education,<sup>5</sup> published in 1973, when the Committee asked the Government, when considering the cost, to take into account the implications for race relations. In their Observations in reply,6 the Government stated that, in dealing with applications for Urban Programme Grants, the attention of the local authorities and others had been drawn to the importance attached to provision of pre-school facilities and amenities and accepted that nursery education is particularly valuable as a means of reducing the educational and social disadvantages suffered by children from homes which are culturally and economically deprived.
- 49. Much has been achieved. The Committee accept the claim by the DES that, in nursery education, 'because priority in the expansion has been given to disadvantaged areas, provision in the cities where most West Indians live is generally better than in other parts of the country'.3 Experimental nursery centres providing both care and education and giving all-day coverage, if necessary, have been established. A substantial part, almost half, of the grants under Urban Aid have been for projects relating to child care and the Committee are aware of several examples of the excellent work of local authorities and self-help groups.
- 50. None the less, the provision made is far from adequate and the Community Relations Commission questioned whether it is of a kind to suit West Indian working

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Facts of Racial Disadvantage, op cit. <sup>2</sup> Evidence p 166 and see Q 488.

<sup>Evidence p 169 and see Q 488.
Evidence p 469.
Housing, Session 1970–71, HC 508-I, page 61.
Education, Session 1972–73, HC 405-I, page 35.
Race Relations and Housing, Cmnd 6232, 1975, page 23, and Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants, Cmnd 5720, 1974, page 10.</sup> 

- mothers'.1 West Indian witnesses themselves complained that social workers did not properly understand the problems of West Indian families. To overcome this, more West Indians should be employed in the social services. 'Because I am black', a West Indian community worker at Brent told the Committee, 'they get confidence in me so that they can say whatever is really bothering them deep down inside'.2 Moreover, some West Indian women continue to be ignorant of the services and benefits that are available.
- 51. Concern was also expressed to the Committee, especially during their visit to Brent, that there appears to be a growing number of West Indian children in residential care, with the majority of those staying for a long time living 'in an exclusively While fully appreciating the problems, such as overcrowding, the white setting'.3 Committee believe that the first objective should be to relieve the stress and strain in families and that residential care should always be a last resort and that greater efforts should be made to place West Indian children with foster parents.
- 52. The Community Relations Commission recommended to the Committee that arrangements should be made by local authorities for child-minders to take the children to nurseries and playgroups; that a larger number of small neighbourhood nursery centres combining the functions of day nurseries and nursery schools be established; and that there should be an extension of the opening hours of nursery schools.4
- 53. The Committee accept the proposals as desirable and necessary and are confident that they will be borne in mind by the Government and the local authorities. Much more remains to be done, not only for the West Indian community but for all those deprived and suffering disadvantage. As, however, they recorded in their previous Report, the Committee also accept that severe restraint on public expenditure, in present circumstances, is unavoidable. This demands a realistic and selective choice of priorities. The Committee, therefore, recommend that the Government and the local authorities should recognise more deliberately the value of the training and employment of West Indians in the social services and, in particular, they should encourage their employment as child-minders and in residential care: that they should actively encourage West Indians to be foster parents: and that they should provide both more extensive training for child-minders and, when it is necessary, more effective training for welfare officers who deal with West Indian families.

#### 3. Education

54. Throughout this inquiry, it was clear to the Committee that the West Indian community is disturbed by the under-achievement of West Indian children at school. Both the West Indian Standing Conference and the Post Conference Constituent Committee expressed their deep concern. The WISC indeed, felt the West Indian children were getting 'a pretty raw deal' and that they to 'a large extent are failing in the education system'. 5 During their visits, the Committee heard similar views expressed on behalf of the local communities. The Caribbean Teachers Association was afraid that economies in public expenditure would aggravate an already acute situation.6 Significantly, police and probation officer witnesses also stressed the importance of education.7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence p 524.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Q 337.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Evidence p 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Evidence p 528.

<sup>5</sup> O 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Evidence p 166. <sup>7</sup> QQ 1091, 1096, 1250.

- 55. The Department of Education and Science agreed that the evidence available 'seems to indicate that on average West Indian pupils are performing below the level of their indigenous contemporaries' and admitted that 'the phenomenon of low average attainment will not disappear with the virtual ending of immigration from the Caribbean'. The Community Relations Commission expressed the view that such evidence as there is, suggests that 'the situation of West Indian children in schools is, if anything, getting worse, not only in terms of cognitive skills, but also in social adjustment'.2
- 56. The Committee, while appreciating the successful work of those responsible. cannot be satisfied with the Department's claim that 'the Inspectorate have identified schools which have done well in achieving an atmosphere of mutual respect and harmony between the races despite the social pressures of an unpromising neighbourhood; schools where West Indian pupils are achieving well in academic subjects, and schools where corporate life has been enlivened by the contribution which Caribbean culture can make', 1 because the question at once arises why what has been achieved exceptionally has not been achieved generally.
- 57. The Committee consider that the relative under-achievement of West Indian children seriously affects their future employment prospects and is a matter of major importance both in educational terms and in the context of race relations. They regard the assumption of its continuance as unacceptable. There has been some valuable research, but it has not been comprehensive enough nor has it been evaluated and acted upon. The Committee recommend that, as a matter of urgency, the Government institute a high level and independent inquiry into the causes of the underachievement of children of West Indian origin in maintained schools and the remedial action required.
- 58. In so recommending, the Committee are not unappreciative of the action already taken by the Department. Responsive to the recommendations of the Committee's earlier Report on Education, the Department has established special units on Educational Disadvantage and Assessment of Performance and has set up the Centre for Advice and Information on Educational Disadvantage. mittee acknowledge that these are significant and valuable developments. theless they are convinced that a separate and independent inquiry on the lines they have recommended is needed. Moreover it will inevitably extend beyond education. Any such inquiry will greatly benefit from the assistance and advice of the Units and the Centre.
- 59. In their previous Report on Education, the Committee called attention to the disproportion of West Indian children in schools for the educationally sub-normal in Greater London.<sup>3</sup> In their Reply the Government mentioned a Circular letter to Chief Education Officers and added 'if the Government have reason to think that the disproportion referred to by the Select Committee is continuing, they will consider asking the local education authorities concerned to report on progress with their plans'.4
- 60. The West Indian community continues to be seriously disturbed by the high proportion of West Indian children in ESN schools and their worries are not confined to London. A witness from the West Indian Standing Conference did not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence p 468.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evidence p 522. <sup>3</sup> HC 405-I, p 41. <sup>4</sup> Cmnd 5720, p 12.

exaggerate when he told the Committee that this was 'one of the very bitter areas. which the West Indian Community is still very bitter about'. Sending a child to an ESN school is a matter of educational judgement determined in the interests of the child, but the Committee believe that every effort should be made to convince the parents that it is necessary and beneficial. They further believe that most important is the need to diagnose the cause of so many West Indian children being in ESN schools. This reinforces the Committee's recommendation on the underachievement of West Indian children.

- 61. The Department told the Committee that 'two years have now elapsed since the Circular letter about ESN children and the Department has decided it would be timely to review progress'.2 A meeting with Chief Education Officers from areas with sizeable immigrant populations was held in January 19763 at which indications were given that 'there was tending to be a decrease in the number of West Indian children entering the ESN special schools, particularly at the lower end' and that 'in one or two areas at least the authorities have now decided to make no attempt to place a child in an ESN school if the parents raise the slightest objection.'
- 62. The West Indian community will welcome the decrease in the numbers of their children in ESN schools. However, this is no more than an impression: albeit a 'quite clear impression' for, as the Department's witness explained, 'this . . . is not something we can give you numbers for'.3 In their Report on Education, the Committee concluded that the statistics then collected by the Department yielded very little information of educational value. This was accepted by the Government and the collection was discontinued.<sup>4</sup> But the argument that the statistics were not satisfactory is not an argument that there should be no statistics. The Committee recommend that statistics of children of West Indian origin attending ESN schools be obtained, published and carefully monitored.
- 63. The Committee note the action that a few education authorities have taken about parental consent.<sup>3</sup> Whilst they themselves might not go as far as the authorities, the Committee recommend that the Department of Education and Science should issue a further Circular letter to Chief Education Officers informing them of recent practices and experiences, advising them of the importance of remedial action in the ordinary schools, re-emphasising the need for sympathetic consultation with parents, and of inviting discussion also with the representatives of the local West Indian communities.
- 64. Several of the issues raised by West Indian witnesses were the subject of the Committee's previous inquiry on Education and, in the Committee's opinion, show that some of the recommendations made in their Report demand continuing atten-Many witnesses referred to linguistic difficulties as contributing to the underachievement of West Indian children. While it is ironical that, as the Community Relations Commission told the Committee, 'by the time Creole had been identified as an educational issue, the majority of West Indian children were no longer speaking it in schools',5 recently a good deal of research has been carried out and action taken.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evidence p 470. The Department, in evidence to the Committee in March 1975 said, with reference to the Circular letter, 'we shall be following it up within a matter of . . . a few months from now'. HC 448-II, Q 324. 3 Q 1190.

<sup>4</sup> Cmnd 5720, p 2. <sup>5</sup> Evidence p 525.

The Schools Council Project on Teaching English to West Indian children has proved to be generally helpful and according to the Department: 'Some local education authorities are now able to offer West Indian children special help with language through the use of peripatetic teachers or language centres.' Moreover, West Indian children, in particular, will benefit from the increasing attention being paid to the teaching of English.

- 65. Present evidence indicates that West Indian children at the age of seven are already behind indigenous children in reading standards.<sup>2</sup> This is a crucial stage in their education. The Committee fully realise that lack of reading ability at this age is not solely a West Indian problem but, in the context of this Report, the Committee recommend that special measures should be taken to improve the teaching of literacy and numeracy in primary schools where there are large numbers of West Indian children.
- 66. Another crucial stage in West Indian children's education occurs after the first year or two at secondary school. Then, as a witness said to the Committee, frequently 'the good relationship which takes place in the primary school for some reason breaks down'3 and there is abundant evidence of the insecurity and alienation displayed by many West Indian teenagers at school. The Committee do not believe that the causes are wholly educational. Nevertheless, the influence upon children of their teachers is of obvious importance. The Committee recommend that, in initial teacher training and in service training and in any reappraisal of the curriculum, special attention should be given to the difficulties of West Indian children during their induction period in secondary schools.
- 67. That there ought to be more teachers of West Indian origin is not disputed. The Department thought that many local education authorities 'would like to employ more West Indian teachers in their multi-racial schools if these were available'4 and told the Committee that they were 'very anxious indeed to see more coloured teachers coming through the teacher training system'.<sup>5</sup> The West Indian Community made it clear that the scarcity of black teachers is one of their main grievances. The Caribbean Teachers Association added, in the case of West Indian teachers, they were 'not sure that promotion is proportionate, in terms of number, experience and service'.6
- 68. The Department claimed that many Colleges of Education are admitting black students and that 'there are certainly indications that the number is rising' although 'it is probably not rising fast enough'. But there are no figures available to quantify or confirm the impression. A DES witness conceded that he thought that 'there are points of sensitivity within the system where . . . counting would be helpful. those is the entry to teacher training'.8
- 69. Similarly there are no figures about the number of teachers of West Indian origin. From their visits, the Committee gained the impression there are very few even in schools with large numbers of West Indian children. The Caribbean

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence p 469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evidence p 528.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Q 115. <sup>4</sup> Evidence p 470.

<sup>5</sup> Q 1179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Evidence p 166.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> QQ 1180-81. <sup>8</sup> Q 1183.

Teachers Association had been able to trace 383 and estimated that there could not be more than about 800 overall: that is about 0.15 per cent of the total number of teachers—which the Committee must regard as wholly inadequate.

- 70. In their last Report, the Committee reported that they were disturbed by the Department's failure to keep relevant records and statistics, for example, their ignorance of the numbers of black students in the Colleges of Education.<sup>2</sup> They now recommend that the Department of Education and Science should compile and monitor relevant statistics relating to those students training to be teachers, and teachers in grant-aided establishments, who are of West Indian origin.
- 71. The Department of Education and Science consider that any increase in the supply of black teachers is bound to be 'a slow process because it depends on raising the standards which West Indians attain in school'.<sup>3</sup> The Committee fully accept that there are real difficulties in speeding-up the process, especially in view of the cuts being made in the teacher training programme. Nevertheless they cannot accept the present situation as tolerable and believe that exceptional steps must be taken to increase the number of black teachers. They discussed with witnesses the feasibility of a crash teacher training programme for West Indians, but they are not in a position to make specific proposals. The Committee, therefore, recommend that the Department of Education and Science should forthwith consider ways and means of increasing the number of teachers of West Indian origin in maintained schools.
- 72. The Caribbean Teachers Association and several West Indian witnesses pressed for the greater involvement of West Indians at all levels in the educational The Department welcomed the recent formation of the Association and the Committee expect that the Association will not only be a forum for discussion and co-operation but will facilitate the appropriate representation of West Indian The Committee also expect that the local education authorities, in taking note of this Report, will encourage the employment of West Indians in the education service and their co-operation as members of Education Committees and as school managers and governors.
- 73. In their Report on Education, the Committee recommended that consideration should be given to the establishment of a central fund to which local education authorities could apply for resources to meet the special needs of immigrant children and adults.<sup>4</sup> In their Observations, the Government replied that they were reluctant Their policy is to channel special assistance through Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 and the Urban Programme.<sup>5</sup> The Community Relations Commission informed the Committee that a group of Chief Education Officers had re-stated the case for a special fund and had expressed the view that current expenditure cuts made the need for such a fund urgent.<sup>6</sup> The Committee recommend that the establishment of a central fund to meet the special educational needs of West Indian children and adults, and other ethnic groups, should be re-considered and, in any event, steps be taken to ensure that full use be made of special assistance through Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 and the Urban Programme to ensure that the more vulnerable sectors are not unduly affected by the economy measures.

<sup>1</sup> Q 475.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> HC 448-I, p xxi.

<sup>Fridence p 470.
HC 405-I, pp 53-55.
Cmnd 5270, pp 13-14.
Evidence p 527.</sup> 

#### 4. Housing

74. This Report has already called attention to the handicap the West Indian Community suffers from poor housing conditions, especially overcrowding. It has also referred to the encouraging growth of owner-occupation which is now comparable to that among the indigenous population. West Indians in employment tend to be doing manual jobs. In evidence, the Political and Economic Planning witness said their research demonstrated that 'if you compare the level of owneroccupation within those who are doing non-skilled jobs or within those who are doing skilled jobs, you will find there is an enormous difference. West Indians are far more likely to be owner-occupiers within those socio-economic groups than white people within those groups are. This is really quite a remarkable finding, particularly in view of the fact that the earnings of these people are low, even compared with people at the same job levels as themselves'. The Committee agree. that it emphasises the importance of improvement grants and local authority mortgage schemes. Moreover, 'there has also been a substantial movement of West Indians into council housing over the past five years ... though the overall level of penetration is still comparatively low'.2

75. Housing did not figure largely in the representations made to the Committee by West Indian witnesses. This was probably because the main disadvantages arising from housing are geographical and are shared by West Indians with all those living in the area. The Committee published a Report on Housing in 1971<sup>3</sup> but the Government's Observations<sup>4</sup> in reply were not published until September 1975. shortly before the Committee began their present inquiry. In their Report, the Committee's first recommendation was that 'the Department of the Environment should, as a matter of urgency, start discussions with local authority representatives specifically on the keeping of records and statistics in relation to housing, with a view to formulating, after consultation with responsible immigrant organisations, an acceptable, fully comprehensive, workable system, with proper safeguards for confidentiality', 5 This followed the recommendations of the Cullingworth Report which had been published in 1969.6 In their Observations, the Government stated that it 'considers that local authorities should collect relevant information about the housing of coloured people, as part of a wider information system about the housing situation and special housing needs of their areas. The Department of the Environment proposes to hold consultations with the local authority associations and other organisations before issuing guidance'. A consultation document has now been issued by the Department on records and information relating to the housing of members of ethnic groups.<sup>8</sup> While acknowledging that there have been difficulties in reconciling conflicting opinions, the Committee regret the delay in the implementation of their recommendation. However, they welcome the Government's decision and the action taken. In this Report, the Committee make no recommendation about housing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Facts of Racial Disadvantage, op cit, p 184. <sup>3</sup> HC 508-I.

<sup>4</sup> Cmnd 6232.

<sup>5</sup> HC 508-I, p 13. 6 Council Housing: Purposes, Procedures and Priorities, HMSO, 1969.

<sup>7</sup> Cmnd 6232, p 11. 8 Appendix 25 to the Minutes of Evidence.

#### 5. Employment

- 76. The recent Political and Economic Planning survey<sup>1</sup> demonstrates that, although over the past seven years, since their previous survey, racial discrimination has become much less accepted, apparent and obvious for all to see, and has decreased, there is still widespread discrimination against West Indians in employment. This is not only in recruitment but also, although the evidence cannot be so conclusive, in promotion. Moreover, the ethnic groups, especially the young West Indians, have been more vulnerable to unemployment than the population generally.
- 77. In their White Paper on Racial Discrimination,<sup>2</sup> the Government concluded that legislation was the essential pre-condition for an effective policy to promote equality of opportunity. The Race Relations Act 1976 is now on the statute book and the West Indian community should benefit from its implementation.
- 78. But the strengthening of race relations legislation itself is not enough. Government also said in their White Paper: 'Legislation . . . is not, and can never be, a sufficient condition for effective progress towards equality of opportunity. A wide range of administrative and voluntary measures are needed to give practical effect to the objectives of the law.'3
- 79. 'We wish that the Government and local authorities had acted on this message with greater alacrity and determination in the past when neither we nor the Select Committee, to judge by its reports, could detect any signs that these principles had had much effect on the policies pursued by Government departments in this field' the Race Relations Board commented in their last Report.4
- 80. Without being as condemnatory as the Board, the Committee share their sense of frustration. As the Committee concluded in their last Report,<sup>5</sup> 'Race discrimination and race prejudice are still widespread. The fact that much of the discrimination is covert, negligent, or unintentional does not make this less harmful, and it is aggravated by growing lack of confidence among the ethnic communities. especially the young—the second generation non-immigrant population. sequently there is a risk of the communities becoming permanently alienated'. allay this lack of confidence the new legislation must be accompanied by a more constructive lead than Governments have shown in the past. This is especially so in the field of employment.

#### 6. The Young Blacks

81. Significantly, the first Report of the Committee, published in 1969, was on 'The Problems of Coloured School Leavers'.6 The problems of West Indian school leavers and young people featured prominently in the evidence given to the Committee during their present inquiry. This Report refers to them as the young blacks because this is how they were commonly referred to in evidence and because many were born in the United Kingdom, that is they are British born citizens who feel they have every right to be so recognised and have no wish to be designated West Indian. Indeed, the young blacks mark the emerging division in the adult West Indian community between the immigrant and the indigenous black: between the old

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Facts of Racial Disadvantage, op cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cmnd 6234.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, p 6.

<sup>4</sup> Report of the Race Relations Board, January 1975-June 1976, HC 3, p 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> HC 448-I, p xxiii. <sup>6</sup> HC 413-I, Session 1968-69.

generation with its West Indian background and tradition and the new generation brought up and educated in the United Kingdom. As the Committee said in their first Report, the treatment of the children born in this country is a test case in race relations. 'If we fail to give the coloured school-leavers of the future full, fair and equal opportunities on entering adult life we are unlikely to succeed in any other sector of race relations'.1

- 82. Many of the problems of young blacks are shared by them with the younger generation as a whole, especially with young people living in deprived urban areas. To some degree, therefore, young blacks will benefit from any improvements in the youth and employment services and in further education. Again, the Urban Programme is clearly important. In their Observations in reply to the Committee's last Report, the Government stated that it 'intends to keep the Programme under review, so that it may be adapted to keep in touch with the development of social policies generally and in particular its relevance to the special needs of the racial minorities'.<sup>2</sup> This review should have special regard to the needs of young blacks, which the Committee consider are greater than in the case of any other racial minority.
- 83. The Committee are aware of many successful schemes benefiting young blacks which have been supported through the Urban Aid Programme. Homelessness is probably a more acute problem for young blacks than for other groups. Committee received evidence about nine hostels for young blacks and the Harambee and Melting Pot projects in Islington and Lambeth.<sup>3</sup> The Home Office has been encouraged to offer additional aid for these schemes. The Committee suggest that their progress should be monitored in the hope that the results will be a helpful guide to other authorities. This applies equally to the supplementary schools, workshops, counselling and advisory services and youth centres which are also being funded.
- 84. The Committee are greatly impressed by the Self-Help Scheme<sup>4</sup> initiated in 1974 and aimed primarily but not exclusively for the benefit of young West Indians who are homeless or unemployed and who, through their alienation from white society, are beyond the reach of the normal social services. Monies are diverted from other programmes. In 1975–76 they amounted to £174,000 and £250,000<sup>5</sup> is committed for 1976–77. The Committee consider that every encouragement should be given to this scheme and whenever possible the aid should be given in conjunction with charitable or other foundations or voluntary organisations.
- 85. The Committee have suggested that the continuing reviews of the Urban Programme should give special attention to the needs of young blacks and that the progress on the projects funded should be monitored to provide guidance. feel, however, that more than this is required. The projects are too haphazard and ad hoc. What is lacking—not exclusively but emphatically in the case of young blacks-is any attempt to evaluate the special racial dimension to urban deprivation, its causes and effect, and the remedial effort required to mitigate it. Race Relations Act 1976 now places on local authorities a statutory duty to 'eliminate unlawful racial discrimination' and to 'promote equality of opportunity and good relations'6. The Committee, therefore, recommend that the Government

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> HC 413-I, p 6. <sup>2</sup> Cmnd 6602, p 17. <sup>3</sup> Appendix 24 to the Minutes of Evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Self-Help Report, CRC publication, October 1976.
5 The precise figure is £250,439.

<sup>6</sup> Race Relations Act 1976, section 71.

should analyse the effectiveness of the measures that have been funded to combat racial disadvantage and issue guidance to the local authorities in the discharge of the statutory duty which Parliament has placed upon them.

- 86. In formulating this guidance there is a need for the greater involvement of the West Indian and other ethnic communities. In their last Report the Committee recommended that 'to encourage a sense of participation by the ethnic communities themselves, the Home Office should set up an Advisory Committee including members from the various ethnic communities'. In the Observations in reply the Government explained that the Urban Programme assists projects covering a wide range of social need, and has not been restricted to the special needs of particular groups such as racial minorities. Although the Home Office is always ready to receive advice from the many bodies interested, including the Community Relations Commission, it did not consider it would be appropriate to establish a formal Advisory Council.<sup>2</sup> The Committee are not dogmatic on the form that the advice should take but they recommend that, in formulating guidance to the local authorities on the discharge of their statutory duty, the Government should consult with the West Indian and the other ethnic communities and should require the local authorities to consult similarly with their own communities. The need for consultation applies equally to the new Commission. In their last Report, the Committee also recommended that 'to encourage these [local ethnic] communities to be more self-reliant, the active participation of these communities should be sought both in the formulation and implementation of these projects. In doing this, the Commission should concentrate upon, and give priority to, the needs of young persons, particularly West Indians'3 and, as the Government replied, 'the new Commission will no doubt take account of the Select Committee's views'.4
- 87. In present circumstances, the Committee realise that it would be unrealistic to recommend any substantial increase in expenditure. However, they consider that the Self-Help Scheme should be given priority and they recommend that, within the total amount provided for all programmes, the funds for the Self-Help Scheme should be increased and that the Scheme should not be treated as short-term.
- 88. Employment problems are the most serious of the problems confronting young blacks. It is on leaving school that many face the consequences of educational under-achievement. It is on seeking a job that they frequently face rejection seemingly simply because they are black.<sup>5</sup> And these problems are made much worse by large-scale unemployment. In general, unemployment rises disproportionately faster among young people and many young blacks live in areas where unemployment is most acute. Not surprisingly in the opinion of the Bedfordshire Chief Constable 'the greatest worry for the future is the question of unemployment among black youths'.6
- 89. Some young blacks even fail to take advantage of the services that are available. 'One general problem', the Department of Employment told the Committee, 'is the evidence of the reluctance by some of these young West Indians who would most benefit from them to make use of the statutory services provided by the Man-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> HC 448-I, p xx. <sup>2</sup> Cmnd 6603, p 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> HC 448-I, p xvii. <sup>4</sup> Cmnd 6603, p 13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Evidence p 462 <sup>6</sup> Evidence p 427.

<sup>397687</sup> 

power Services Commission and its agencies and the careers service'. The Department has taken trouble to try to find the causes of this reluctance and the Committee took evidence from one of the two detached employment officers working, on an experimental basis, with local community relations councils in the London area.2 The Department considered that 'although important, the problem affects only relatively small numbers and there is no evidence available to suggest that the statutory services are not widely used by West Indians'.1 The detached employment officer, however, said that his project had dealt with just over 200 young male West Indians, of whom 83 per cent were unemployed and, 'about 60 per cent of the unemployed were not registered unemployed or claiming unemployment or social security benefit—and this despite the fact that 60 per cent of the unregistered had been out of work for between 2 and 12 months' 3

- 90. The Department recognises that there may be a need for more intensive and appropriate counselling and, in the guidance issued to local education authorities, calls attention to the availability of funds under Section 11 of the Local Government Careers guidance in schools, and through the Careers Service, seems to the Committee, to call for special attention.
- 91. In their Report on Employment,<sup>5</sup> published in 1974, the Committee expressed concern about the effect of the age restrictions in Training Opportunities Scheme courses and recommended that the Secretary of State should ensure that the eligibility rules for pre-training and TOPS courses are adjusted to make more facilities available for the 16 to 19 year-olds.
- 92. The Government has not vet presented its Observations in reply to the Report, but meanwhile the Committee are encouraged to note that the Scheme has been rapidly expanded and that 'the proportion of persons from all New Commonwealth countries pursuing TOPS courses has risen from 3.5 per cent in 1973 to 4.5 per cent in 1975, with the greatest increase among West Indians'.6
- 93. The Department provided the Committee with an analysis of TOPS applications to illustrate the relative position of West Indians. The Committee were impressed to note that in the case of trainees of West Indian origin (1) their completion rate was slightly above average and significantly better than for trainees from other minority racial groups, (2) they were more successful in finding work in their training occupation than trainees from other minority groups, though less successful than the average of all trainees, and (3) once accepted for training, their rate of withdrawal was lower than that for all trainees.4
- 94. On the other hand, the Committee were disturbed, but not surprised, to be informed that the rejection rate for trainees of West Indian origin was considerably higher than the average for all trainees and above that for members of other ethnic This, in part at least, must be due to the fact that young blacks, although they are otherwise suitable, not infrequently lack the level of education required. The preparatory courses in basic literacy and numeracy should help in overcoming this difficulty and the Committee were told that there has been a high take up of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence p 242.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evidence pp 461-467 and pp 483-491.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Evidence p 462.

<sup>Evidence p 402.
Evidence p 243.
HC 312-I, Session 1974, p xx.
Evidence p 243 and see Q 629.</sup> 

preparatory courses by West Indians.1 This is true also of the Occupational Selection Courses. Much more needs to be done, however, to provide remedial 'second chance' courses at Colleges of Further Education.<sup>2</sup>

- 95. Since the Committee's Report on Employment, the provision for the 16 to 19 year-olds has been greatly expanded. Some young blacks must have benefitted from the Community Industry Scheme, the Job Creation Programme, and other assistance to the young unemployed, but this assistance has only been provided Several of the schemes bring social benefits to their neighbourhoods, such as the project being run by the Coventry Committee for Community Relations in which young blacks are employed in renovating their own youth club.<sup>3</sup> The Committee believe that greater efforts should be made to make those schemes more widely known and their example followed.
- 96. The Race Relations Employment Advisory Service is fully aware that racial discrimination in employment persists. Indeed, the Department told the Committee that 'there is considerable disappointment about the progress that has been made generally to secure the acceptance of equal opportunity policies throughout employment'.4 The young blacks are more affected than any other group and, consequently, they have also more to gain from the strengthening of race relations legislation by the 1976 Act. The Department of Employment has a big role to play in ensuring that these expectations are not frustrated and that this opportunity to expedite progress is taken, but the success of the Department will depend very largely on the employment policies pursued in both the public and private sectors.

#### 7. Relations with the Police

- 97. Throughout their inquiry, the Committee heard complaints about the conduct of the police but, although the criticism was voiced generally by spokesmen of the West Indian community, it was confined largely to relations between the police and the young blacks. Equally, the evidence from police witnesses in reply was mainly concerned with the young West Indians. As a witness from the Metropolitan Police said, the police 'do not see the existence of a sizeable West Indian community as a problem in itself: far from it. The contribution made by the vast majority is a constructive one'. Moreover, the complaints are occasioned not by young blacks as a whole: the Committee accept the view of the West Indian Standing Conference that 'the evidence which is at present before us on this question concerns only a small section of the young West Indians'6: the Metropolitan Police for their purposes put the figure as probably considerably less than 4 per cent<sup>7</sup> of the black population.
- 98. In the context of the complaints and the reaction of the police, the question of West Indian crime rates has been a controversial issue. In their Report on Police/ Immigrant Relations, published in 1972, the Committee concluded that 'of all the police forces from whom we took evidence not one had found that crime committed

Evidence p 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It is not the case that the majority of West Indian young people turn their back on the statutory system of education as soon as they can. Recent surveys suggest on the contrary that their rate of staying on at school after the school leaving age is reached and their rate of participation in further education compare well with that of indigenous young people in comparable circumstances.' Memorandum by the Department of Education and Science, Evidence p 468.

<sup>3</sup> Q 632.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Q 664. <sup>5</sup> Q 491.

<sup>6</sup> Q 1056. A recent survey has shown that a large number of blacks interviewed had no real hard feelings against the police; a majority of the youth interviewed found the police helpful; and a big proportion of blacks used the police stations for information, complaints etc. 'As They See It' by Lionel Morrison. Community Relations Commission, June 1976. 7 Evidence p 180, and see Q 498.

by coloured people was proportionately greater than that by the rest of the population. Indeed, in many places it was somewhat less. Both the Police Federation, which represents all policemen up to and including inspector, and the Metropolitan Police confirmed this'1 and the Committee further concluded that 'the West Indian crime rate is much the same as that of the indigenous population'. 2 In response to the Committee's first recommendation the Government noted with interest the evidence that crime rates in the immigrant community are no higher than, and in some cases significantly lower than, those for the indigenous community and undertook to draw it to the attention of chief officers of police.<sup>3</sup>

- 99. The Metropolitan Police provided the Committee with statistics and expressed their opinion that, so far as West Indians in London are concerned, this no longer holds good. 'An examination of Metropolitan Police Statistics relating to persons arrested for indictable crime during 1975 reveals that of the 103,252 people arrested 12,640 (ie 12 per cent) were classified as being apparently of West Indian or African origin. Comparing this figure with the estimated black population—4.3 per cent a disproportionate involvement is indicated. In fact, the involvement of black people in the arrest figures is disproportionate in respect of every main category of crime.'4 Figures provided by a study of the Brixton sub-division<sup>5</sup> were also presented to the Committee.
- 100. The Community Relations Commission found the presentation and methodology of the data presented by the Metropolitan Police unsatisfactory and supported their criticisms with a commentary by Professor Morris of the University of London.6 In rebuttal, the Metropolitan Police submitted additional written evidence.<sup>7</sup>
- 101. The main charge of the Community Relations Commission, however, was that 'the most important weakness in the data presented by the Police is that they do not take into account the geographical and age distribution of the black community'.8 It appears to the Committee that a more meaningful comparison in crime rates would have been within and between urban areas of social stress, as it is in such areas that so many West Indians are concentrated. No evidence, in fact, was given to the Committee to contradict the view expressed by the Metropolitan Police in the Committee's previous inquiry that 'even in so-called "problem" areas, such as Notting Hill, the number of coloured persons arrested, stopped in the street or brought to a police station is proportional to the size of the coloured community to the indigenous population in the area'.9 Indeed, the Metropolitan Police in the present inquiry, when stating that West Indians were disproportionately involved in many forms of crime, added 'But in view of their heavy concentration in areas of urban stress, which are themselves high crime areas, and in view of the disproportionate numbers of young people in the West Indian population, this pattern is not surprising'.10
- 102. The Committee have often complained of a lack of statistical information and they have no quarrel with the Metropolitan Police in their endeavour to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> HC 471-I, Session 1971-72, p 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid p 71.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Police/Immigrant Relations in England and Wales, Cmnd 5438, 1973, p 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Evidence p 180 and see Q 522. <sup>5</sup> Evidence p 180.

<sup>6</sup> Evidence pp 529–30 and 548–54. 7 Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence.

 <sup>8</sup> Evidence p 530.
 9 HC 471-II, p 44. <sup>10</sup> Evidence p 182.

assist them in their inquiry. Equally the Committee welcome the explanatory comments of the Community Relations Commission emphasising the difficulty of interpreting the statistics given by the Metropolitan Police.

103. The Committee asked the Home Office to comment on the differences that have arisen over the proper interpretation of the figures. They have done so and their comments are included as an Appendix to this Report<sup>1</sup>. The Home Office consider that:

'Neither arrest figures, nor any other single set of figures (however accurate) could of themselves provide evidence about the relative involvement of members of particular ethnic groups in crime. In other words such figures cannot, of themselves, show whether West Indians, or members of any other particular group, are less or more likely to commit crime than members of other groups. More criminal offences are committed by men than by women and more by young people than older people. Unless therefore the age and sex pattern within one group were similar to that within another group comparison would not be between like and like. The Home Office knows of no reliable up to date statistics of the age and sex distribution of minority groups within London, or parts of London. Nor does it know of any reliable up to date figures showing the geographical distribution of particular groups in London. The Home Office does not therefore feel that the evidence presented to the Committee, or any other material now available, provides a basis from which conclusions can safely be drawn about the relative involvement in crime of particular groups within the community in London.

'6. Moreover, as the Metropolitan Police themselves pointed out in their evidence to the Committee, poverty, unemployment and housing conditions may have an effect on the likelihood of a particular individual committing crime and being arrested. Unless allowance could be made for these factors which it cannot, on the information now available—the comparison between one group and another again might not be comparing like with like."

The Committee, therefore, consider that there is no evidence available to justify any firm conclusions about the relative involvement of West Indians in crime.

104. The additional Police evidence disclosed that 'some six months ago the Metropolitan Police gave facilities to members of the Home Office Research Unit to undertake a detailed investigation into the question of West Indian crime rates in the Metropolis'.<sup>2</sup> The Home Office state that 'the Unit is currently engaged on a study which, when completed, will provide some information about the crime behaviour of particular groups as reflected in the arrest figures. Like all research in this area it has its limitations'.1 The Committee consider that the study should be conducted as expeditiously as possible and recommend that the findings of the Home Office Research Unit be submitted by the Home Secretary to the Metropolitan Police and the Commission for Racial Equality and they be invited to report to him jointly.

105. Giving evidence for the Association of Chief Police Officers, the Bedfordshire Chief Constable did not think there was any difference in behavioural pattern between the young black communities and the young white ones but qualified this by adding that it was very difficult to know how to monitor and measure this.<sup>3</sup>

Appendix 3, p lviii.
 Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence, para 12.

<sup>3</sup> Q 1116.

problem appears to be a general one and, indeed, when the Committee visited the West Indies, they found that the police had difficulties with groups of young people similar to those experienced by the police throughout the United Kingdom.

106. That racial prejudice is displayed by some members of the police forces and that West Indians, especially young blacks, are frequently subject to police harassment are allegations widely made, not only by West Indians. harassment seems to be established. As a Community Relations Commission witness said in evidence, the Race Relations Act recognises that there is racial discrimination 'and it is reasonable to assume that the police, being part of this society, must have some of that feeling of discrimination among them'.1 The National Association of Probation Officers, who conceded that there was evidence of discrimination within the probation service, felt that there was justification for believing that there is some police discrimination.<sup>2</sup> To establish that some discrimination exists, however, does not define its extent. On the one hand, as the Metropolitan Police argued, police training and their awareness of the problem should mitigate prejudice in the police forces,3 but against this it was maintained that the steps taken have not been sufficiently effective. On the other hand, it has been argued that the widespread allegations of prejudice themselves establish that prejudice is substantial but against this it was maintained that many complaints are retaliatory or biased against the police. The Committee can only accept the conclusion of Political and Economic Planning that 'the extent of discrimination by the police is not established but since it can hardly be supposed that they do not share the host society's prejudices, it is difficult to believe that these do not influence the police in their duties.'4

107. The Committee consider that much more important than measuring the extent of racial prejudices among members of the police forces is the recognition of the antagonism and growing hostility between the police and sections of the West Indian community. The Metropolitan Police accepted 'unequivocally, the view that the relationships between young West Indians and police currently constitute a flashpoint for which police have a special responsibility'. 5 In endorsing this view, the Community Relations Commission added that 'the relationships...have broken down to such a degree that mutual distrust, suspicion and antagonism lead to the formation of battle lines so that sometimes trivial incidents quickly escalate into open hostilities' 6

108. In considering such a situation, it should be emphasised that to a great extent the police have to deal with the consequences of circumstances over which they have no control and for which they have no responsibility. What they can do is limited. As a Metropolitan Police witness told the Committee, 'even with a great increase in police officers, which would certainly help to contain crime statistically, it would not solve the underlying problems, which are society's problems, and it is in the areas of urban deprivation that those problems are at their starkest'.7 In fact, there has not been a great increase in police officers. On the contrary, their resources are insufficient and very much over-stretched8 and this Report is mainly concerned with areas where deprivation is most acute.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Q 1364. <sup>2</sup> Q 1264–68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence, para 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Evidence p 337. See also The Extent of Racial Discrimination, PEP, April 1967. <sup>5</sup> Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence, para 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Evidence p 532. <sup>7</sup> Q 530.

<sup>8</sup> Q 526.

- 109. The dangers of subjecting the police to undue strain should equally be emphasised and the Committee record their full support for the statements made by the Metropolitan Police that: 'Whilst the enforcement of the law does not occupy the majority of police time, it is our raison d'etre. A duty we ignore at our peril. A duty which British police officers carry out in the humane and civilised tradition, recognised and respected throughout the world. It is a duty undertaken by officers sometimes in the face of considerable danger and often with the odds against them, but because British society is generally so law-abiding and peaceful, risk is an acceptable part of duty. How long that will remain true in the face of rising violence, increasingly directed towards police, becomes more uncertain. If our traditional style of policing by consent is to be maintained the need is for a continued strengthening of public confidence. Public disorder is not the basis for good community relations.' It is because the Committee believe that a strengthening of public confidence is essential that they make their several recommendations.
- 110. In the opinion of the Metropolitan Police, 'independent research designed to ascertain exactly how the West Indian community regards police could be of immense value, not least in adding definition to an imprecise subject'. For the Association of Chief Police Officers, the Bedfordshire Chief Constable said, 'on the question of allegations of prejudice by the police, there is a lack of reliable research'; however, he thought that 'it would concentrate too much attention on the problem and possibly exaggerate the situation in the minds of the coloured population'.3
- 111. While agreeing that there is a need for further research, the Committee do not consider research in itself is adequate and they recommend that the Home Secretary should invite the Commission for Racial Equality to set up a working party, on which representatives of both the Police and the West Indian Community should be members to examine the continuing unsatisfactory relations between the Police and the West Indian communities and to make recommendations for practical steps to secure their improvement. The working party should consult the Home Office Advisory Committee on Race Relations Research about any research which they consider would assist them in their inquiry.
- 112. In spite of the deterioration of relations between sections of the West Indian Community and the police, the Committee acknowledge, as the Government did in their reply to the Committee's earlier Report, that 'great efforts are being made both by the police and by the immigrant communities to improve mutual understanding'. The Committee are concerned that, in the case of the West Indian Community, this understanding has been the subject of considerable stress and strain and has suffered a set back.
- 113. Even in their own interest, the police must make every effort to promote a better understanding. As the Bedfordshire Chief Constable said, 'to be effective you must have the full support of the people in your area'. The importance of race relations to police training, therefore, demands constant attention. Whether by liaison officers or other means, and whatever the obstacles, there must be continuous and sustained efforts to keep open lines of communication with local West Indian communities. Moreover, the police must always be on their guard against the bad

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence, para 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence, para 22. <sup>3</sup> Evidence p 427.

<sup>4</sup> Cmnd 5438, p 5.

<sup>5</sup> Q 1124.

<sup>397687</sup> 

effect of even a single discriminatory act and it should always be realised that, to those most likely to be affected, it is the policeman on the beat who matters most.<sup>1</sup>

114. Equally, to promote better understanding serves the interest of the West Indian communities. No community can avoid the disquiet and unsettlement brought by confrontation and the West Indian communities cannot risk weakening the protection against racial prejudice, which the police afford them at a time when there are ominous signs of a growth of organised racist forces. Liaison is a two-way traffic and, whatever their disappointments, the West Indian communities should be more constructive. They are concerned and worried but they should persist in seeking to make the best use of the arrangements made and, where necessary, to take an initiative and work for their improvement. A major grievance has been the treatment of individual complaints but the implementation of the new legislation providing an independent element in complaints procedures should help.

115. In the Committee's view, the police, where it is practical, should consider transforming their community liaison, and their relations with community relations councils, to a more direct contact with neighbourhoods, in other words with not only even the West Indian and other immigrant communities but with all the people living where the West Indians happen to be living. The Committee are not overlooking the fact that racial discrimination provides a special dimension but they consider that many grievances should be seen not so much as race matters but as neighbourhood matters. Moreover, by recognising the multi-racial character of the neighbourhood, the Committee believe that, by not being isolated, the position of the West Indians themselves would be strengthened both in resources and by their association with their neighbours. This needs a close co-operation with the local authorities. Where, for instance, there is a neighbourhood advice centre this perhaps might be made the operative centre of police liaison. This, however, could only be done effectively with responsive participation of West Indians reinforced by the employment of West Indians on administration. The dilemma the West Indian communities face is that they are repeatedly told they are British, indeed soon the majority will have been born here, and that they should integrate with their local communities but at the same time they are handicapped, on occasions humiliated, by continuing race discrimination. The Committee are encouraged by their impression that within the neighbourhoods where West Indians are concentrated there is now much less evidence of racial prejudice than there was a few years ago. is for this reason they suggest that police liaison should be developed on a neighbourhood rather than an ethnic basis. Nevertheless, the West Indian communities will not have confidence in any such development unless they themselves are clearly seen to be participating.

116. Little progress has been made in recruiting West Indians to the police forces. The Committee were told that, in the Metropolitan Police, there are 29 officers of West Indian or African origin,<sup>2</sup> in the Bedfordshire Constabulary there is 'a West Indian young woman'<sup>3</sup> and during their evidence the Committee learnt of a handful or less West Indians employed in various police forces. The Metropolitan Police was making special efforts by a recruiting campaign but they said that they had 'not recruited a coloured applicant yet from this campaign'.<sup>4</sup> Despite a gradual increase

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Appendix 2 to this Report for additional evidence by the Home Office on Police Community relations p lvi.
<sup>2</sup> Evidence p 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evidence p 186. <sup>3</sup> Evidence p 426.

<sup>4</sup> Q 504.

in recent years, the Metropolitan Police considered that the numbers of coloured police officers 'remain disappointingly and unrepresentatively low'. As they told the Committee, 'we feel that it is essential that we have more coloured police officers because we the police represent a multi-racial society, and as a Force we have always considered that we reflect the society that we serve'.2

- 117. In their earlier Report on Police/Immigrant Relations, the Committee recommended that 'the Home Office should study again the recruitment of coloured police officers to see what encouragement could be given'.3 The Government readily accepted this recommendation but obviously the results are disappointing and more effective action must be taken.
- 118. In their Reply, the Government referred to the pre-training courses which the Department of Employment arranges for people intending to undergo subsequent training for the public service, including the police.<sup>5</sup> The Committee did not pursue the matter but it may well be that the police could act in closer association with the Department, and coloured applicants who fail to meet the educational requirements but otherwise seem likely to make good policemen could be accepted provisionally and special steps taken regarding pre-training courses.
- 119. When the suggestion was made in evidence that the possibility of the secondment of police from the West Indies should be considered, a Metropolitan Police witness accepted this as 'an attractive idea' but believed it was beset by many diffi-At present, some members of the Metropolitan Police go to the West Indies on bursaries.<sup>6</sup> This should contribute to improved relations but an exchange of police officers would be much more effective. The Post Conference Constituent Committee suggested that police from the West Indies attending training courses in this country, after their training, should be invited to do a two or three months attachment at local police stations.7
- 120. Undoubtedly, the Government and the chief officers of police would welcome an increase in the numbers of West Indian police officers. They have evidently made conscientious efforts to obtain such an increase but there may be novel and untried methods that might be taken. This is outside the compass of the Committee. They can only recommend that the Home Office should study again in consultation with the Standing Advisory Council the recruitment of police officers of West Indian origin and issue practical guidance to secure its improvement.

#### THE PUBLIC SERVICE

121. The Committee believe that in race relations the Government and the public authorities must give a clear, unambiguous lead. They have made recommendations to encourage the employment of more people of West Indian origin in the social and welfare services and as teachers and police officers. The issue was also raised when the Committee took evidence from the National Association of Probation Officers, the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and Government Departments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence p 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Q 510.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> HC 471-I, p 94. <sup>4</sup> Cmnd 5438, p 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ibid, p 12. <sup>6</sup> QQ 505-6.

<sup>7</sup> Q 231.

- 122. Careful and continuous monitoring is essential. 'In the opinion of the Committee monitoring is a most important element in the implementation of race relations policy and we believe that the almost complete failure to provide any monitoring system greatly contributes to the present lack of confidence. position of the Government both directly as the largest single employer and indirectly through Government contracts and the influence of its Departments is of crucial importance,'1 This was the opinion of the Committee expressed in its last Report. It remains the opinion of the Committee. Indeed, they believe that the importance of monitoring is enhanced by the new legislation.
- 123. The Committee in their previous Report made several recommendations. In their Observations in reply,<sup>2</sup> the Government reported that the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations is engaged in a study of equal employment opportunities and practices in the Civil Service with special reference to racial discrimination; that the Government intends that an undertaking to comply with the provisions of the Race Relations Act 1976 and a condition about providing information about employment policies should be standard provisions in Government contracts; that in Education, the joint work of the Educational Disadvantage Unit and the Assessment of Performance Unit will in time equip the Department and the local authorities with appropriate ways of monitoring where this is necessary; and that, in Housing, consideration is being given to a consultation paper for issue to local authority associations, representatives of racial minorities and others about the keeping of records by local housing authorities.
- 124. There is no issue of principle between the Government and the Committee. 'The Government agrees that a vital ingredient of an equal opportunities policy is a regular and effective system of monitoring'.3 The Committee readily recognise that there are real difficulties to be overcome, and that progress is being made, but, nevertheless, they believe the present situation demands more decisive action. demonstrable evidence is needed that public administration is both conversant with the needs of black people and open to West Indians. The Committee therefore recommend that, when the Government has received and considered the Report of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, it will make a statement on the action the Government proposes to take, and apart from this and in association with the Standing Advisory Council and the Commission for Racial Equality, it will keep under continuous review the provision of a co-ordinating and effective scheme of monitoring and evaluation.
- 125. What is true of recruitment to public administration is equally true of representative participation on public authorities. Here again there has been improvement. As the Runnymede Trust said 'although the progress . . . has not been very substantial there nonetheless has been some sign of incorporation into British Society through the presence of black JPs, occasional black councillors, of black aldermen, school managers and governors and other people at relatively important positions in society'.4 In the course of their inquiry, the Committee met, or heard about, several West Indians who were Councillors, Justices of the Peace, or holding other public offices. During their visits, they found there were two West Indian Councillors at both Lambeth<sup>5</sup> and Brent<sup>6</sup> and they understood there was one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> HC 448-I, p xx. <sup>2</sup> Cmnd 6603, pp 18–20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ibid, p 18. <sup>4</sup> Q 680.

<sup>5</sup> Q 137. 6 Q 271.

at Haringey but none at Sheffield. The Committee were impressed by the work of these councillors and believe that their success has done a great deal to integrate, and give confidence to, the local West Indian communities. Democracy works by majority but it is not just a question of numbers. Even a single voice at the point of decision can itself be decisive. The election of councillors, however, depends on the electorate and, even in areas of concentration, the West Indians are minorities and elsewhere constitute a small minority. Where representation is by nomination, for instance, primary school managers and secondary school governors and in the National Health Service, this should be fully recognised by the authorities.1

- 126. The Committee have fully accepted the views of both the West Indian Standing Conference that 'through the whole strata of the democratic organisation in Great Britain, we should be able to see persons in positions of authority'2 and the Post Conference Constituent Committee that 'if there is to be a really multi-racial society it should permeate the entire structure'. But this will only be achieved, and the obstacles overcome, with the positive support and active co-operation of the West Indian Community itself. The Committee believe that every encouragement should be given to other West Indians to follow the example of those who have become councillors or undertaken other public responsibilities or activities.
- 127. The Committee have noticed, however, that among some West Indians there is a tendency to discourage any such participation. The West Indian witnesses from one borough, for instance, referring to association with long established bodies, alleged that 'the "eager" Caribbean person usually receives the derision of their Community while the "do-gooder" from the long-established organisation gets the stock replies the community know they want to hear. The only cause that is really served is the characteristic arrogance and complacence of those organisations'. Although he himself did not feel such derision, the Committee felt it depressing that a Community Relations Officer alleged this was a fact.<sup>4</sup> The Committee themselves received no evidence to substantiate the allegation but, in any case, they believe that a more positive and constructive attitude is required. The job of anyone engaged in community relations work is to protect against racial prejudice any West Indian active in public service and to encourage others to emulate him.
- 128. In their earlier Report, the Committee recommended the Home Office to consider making 'pump-priming' grants to organisations representative of ethnic communities<sup>5</sup> and note that the Home Office is conscious, in the grants it makes to minority group organisations, of the need to foster community organisation and self-reliance.<sup>6</sup> The West Indian Community is more in need than any other ethnic community.

### SELF-HELP

129. In considering the problems of young blacks, this Report has already emphasised the importance of self-help schemes, but their importance extends to the West Indian Community as a whole. Several local communities have developed successful schemes. The Brixton Neighbourhood Community Association, 'a selfhelp organisation, run by the black community', for example, has four centres and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> At Sheffield, the Committee were told that there had never been a West Indian member of the local education committee or indeed any similar committee, QQ 1486-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Q 210. <sup>3</sup> Q 229.

<sup>4</sup> Evidence p 604 and QQ 1549–56. 5 HC 448-I, p xxiii. 6 Cmnd 6603, p 21.

employs 18 full-time and seven part-time community workers.<sup>1</sup> It is now, after having overcome many obstacles, funded jointly through the Urban Aid Programme and the Inner London Education Authority. Others are similarly aided. Some are also supported by charitable organisations, for example, the British Council of Churches 'are involved in a constant programme of supporting the ethnic minorities, in helping them do things they want to do'<sup>2</sup> and have a projects scheme costing £100,000 a year. The Barrow and Cadbury Trust, based in Birmingham, over recent years has substantially extended its commitment to black self-help projects 'as these have come to be the most effective agencies to identify the unconscious racism of British society'<sup>3</sup> and has grant aided the Harambee Housing Association, the Afro-Caribbean Self Help Organisation and All Faiths for One Race.

- 130. The West Indian communities have a special case for being financially supported for two reasons. Firstly, they are basically disadvantaged communities. As the Leicester United Caribbean Association claimed, 'they don't have many businessmen or professional people among them ready to give money'. They are 'made up mainly of working class people'. Secondly, compared with other ethnic minorities, they have not the strength of having their own national tradition and culture. 'Unlike most other migrant groups to Britain, West Indians did not bring with them a distinctly West Indian identity and culture', the Haringey West Indian Leadership Council told the Committee, and added: 'The West Indian immigrant alone, has none of these stabilising institutions and sanctuaries within which to hide and seek solace from a hostile host community'5.
- 131. Nevertheless, Christianity is a more powerful influence with the West Indian Community than it is with the white population. A witness from the Research Unit on Ethnic Relations at Bristol University considered 'the black church a very important institution and the major source of direction, motivation, and purpose' and went on to claim that 'The church is literally a "substitute society" for the older generation of West Indian parents. With the exception of work, all the social and cultural activities that they engage in are organised in or around the church'.6
- 132. This influence, however, is largely confined to the older generation. He considered that the black church had not given the degree of leadership and had not permeated the black community as much as it might have done. Be that as it may, the church had provided West Indian immigrants with 'a sense of belonging and pride in a community'.<sup>7</sup>
- 133. The Committee received evidence of the obstacles which West Indian churches have faced and have not always been able to overcome. The Reading Community Relations Council, maintaining in support that 'West Indian religious leaders believe that the churches should take an active part in bridging the gap between the disadvantaged members of the community and the rest of society', argued that the churches should be financially aided. 'It would be of great help if local authorities would provide some of the initial costs which could then be repaid over a period of time'.8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Q 119. <sup>2</sup> Q 1012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Appendix 15 to the Minutes of Evidence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Evidence p 13. <sup>5</sup> Evidence pp 324–5.

<sup>6</sup> Evidence p 452. 7 Evidence pp 452–3.

<sup>8</sup> Evidence p 320.

- 134. The British Churches admitted their failure to recognise fully and to develop sufficiently the strong link with the immigrant West Indians afforded by their Christian faith. As one young West Indian witness complained to the Committee with some justification, 'I feel the British Churches are much busier looking after black people abroad rather than black people here'.1
- 135. Notwithstanding this disheartening lack of welcome, the British Council of Churches now realise that there is 'a whole new bundle of Christian communities which are not within the ordinary structure of Christianity in this country'; that 'they are flourishing and they are very dynamic'.<sup>2</sup> The Committee received the Council's recent publication 'The New Black Presence in Britain: A Christian Scrutiny' and have every reason to hope that positive and constructive co-operation will develop between the churches and, in their examination of self-help projects, they expect the authorities will not overlook the importance to West Indians of their church activities.
- Aid Programme, supplemented from other sources. The Committee have noted that the Ministerial Committee on Inner City Areas is examining, *inter alia*, the future of Urban Aid.<sup>3</sup> The Committee realise that the problem of urban deprivation demands solutions much more fundamental than the promotion of self-help schemes. Nevertheless, they believe that, especially where urban deprivation is aggravated by racial discrimination, these schemes have a significant, though only a mitigating, part to play. The Committee also recognise, as they have previously done, the present limitations on public expenditure, but again the effect of the economies, especially their effect on local authorities, heightens the importance of self-help schemes which, at relatively little cost, alleviate the impact of these economies.
- 137. Accordingly, the Committee recommend that in the continuing review of the Urban Aid Programme and in the examination of the Inner City Areas special attention be given to the successful use of public funds to promote self-aid schemes and to the possibility of their extension.

### THE MEDIA

- 138. Not surprisingly, the Committee heard complaints about the mass media. Race relations is an emotive subject threatening, and sometimes causing, confrontation and conflict. Consequently the time given on radio and television and the space given in the press leads some to attribute the confrontation and violent incidents, or at least their exacerbation, to the pervading influence of broadcasting and the press. The Committee regard this as unfair to the media. In general, the Committee have no grounds to question the integrity of television producers or journalists. In their opinion, where criticism is fully justified, it is of those isolated occasions when careless or misleading reporting has unnecessarily and seriously damaged race relations.
- 139. The issue is not whether too much time and space is afforded to race relations but whether the presentation is fairly and properly balanced. This makes editorial responsibility of particular and significant importance. The media should always be mindful that race relations is a sensitive subject; that good relations is an accepted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Q 805. <sup>2</sup> Q 1015.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> HC Debates, Vol 923, col 884.

national objective; and that the ethnic minorities, especially the West Indian community, still experience the rebuff of prejudice and discrimination. The evidence from the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Independent Broadcasting Authority and the Guild of British Newspaper Editors demonstrates that at least they are well aware of these considerations.

- 140. On one or two occasions, complaints were made of the reporting of evidence given to the Committee. This occurred, for example, when the Metropolitan Police gave evidence. It was complained that the information given to the Committee about comparative crime rates was reported without the qualifications and explanation which were necessary. In their additional evidence, the Metropolitan Police replied that the 'Police are not responsible for the way in which the press deal with information'. This the Committee accept and, in fact, when the evidence was given, the Metropolitan Police witnesses made reservations in explaining the information they gave. But the responsibility is not solely editorial. The Metropolitan Police were also criticised about information they had provided about the situation in Peckham. In their reply, they conceded, 'we were not happy with some reaction to the press conference at Peckham, but we acknowledge our full responsibility in that respect'. Those who work in the media work under great pressures and often purvey their news and views on a competitive market. In matters of race relations this places a shared responsibility on those who provide them with information.
- 141. Moreover, this does not apply only to the police and other official sources. The Metropolitan Police themselves complained of continual editorial vilification and distorted accounts in a number of ethnic newspapers and periodicals.<sup>4</sup> The Committee recognise that where there has been misleading reporting the bias has not always been one way. The acceptance of responsibility is a burden on all those concerned.
- 142. The BBC has guide lines for covering racial matters in the News. poration held a conference for West Indian organisations in 1965. This conference did not wish to have special programmes for West Indians. 'Their main desire was that the BBC should help secure them an equality of respect and opportunity in Britain, through its representation of West Indians in programmes, and through its employment of them not only behind the scenes, but on the screen and in front of the microphone as well'.5 This was accepted. On television the BBC supports and practises integrated casting and a BBC witness assured the Committee 'we have made conscious progress over the last few years. In entertainment programmes there is in fact less of a problem than in drama programmes, but in drama programmes we are making headway'.6 From time to time there have been black announcers and reporters but 'the difficulty is to find the right person, even after making it known as widely as possible'.7 Local radio appears to afford new opportunities and the Committee were informed that there were 'six stations where West Indians have an opportunity of talking about their problems or reflecting some of their culture, entertainment, music and so on, on the air'. 6 Circumstances have changed a good deal since 1965 and the BBC should consider holding another conference for West Indian organisations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence p 530.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence, para 18. <sup>3</sup> Appendix 21 to the Minutes of Evidence, para 30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Evidence p 182. <sup>5</sup> Evidence p 375.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Q 1031. <sup>7</sup> Q 1033.

- 143. The position of the IBA is similar to that of the BBC. Care is taken to ensure impartiality on the News. The Committee were told that 'nowadays the viewer of ITN News is quite as likely to see a black reporter describing some event of general interest as he is a white reporter describing some race relations "problem" '1. The programme policy is one of integration and general programme mixing rather than segregation on television, 'in the output as a whole, both local and networked, it is the Authority's belief that the life of immigrant communities generally is being more widely and accurately represented than used to be the case'1. In referring to particular programmes, it was pointed out that 'The Fosters' is composed of an all-black cast and 'it is hoped that the viewer looks at the programme without being self-conscious about this fact . . . the viewer is enjoying "The Fosters" perfectly well'. Unlike the BBC, the Authority does not initiate programmes either on radio or television; it is a controlling body. However, it has found the two-tier system a real advantage. Also unlike the BBC, the Authority provides only a single stream service. This is considered a disadvantage in catering for minority interests.
- 144. The Guild of British Newspaper Editors, which represents the provincial press, also gave evidence to the Committee and later submitted a supplementary written statement which was not a formal submission, but was believed likely to find general support among Guild members.<sup>3</sup> This statement concedes that 'a few celebrated and sensational cases' have done 'great harm' and sets out the difficulties found by editors in the conscientious discharge of their responsibilities, and concludes: 'while we would be the last to suggest that the provincial Press of Britain has an unblemished record in its handling of racial issues, we would deny absolutely any suggestion that its errors are due to lack of concern, heartlessness or the more vicious allegations sometimes made against it'. The Committee have no hesitation in accepting their conclusion.
- 145. The evidence given by the Guild reinforced the crucial importance of editorial responsibility and, more often than not, the question is not one of publication but of presentation. This now seems to be generally appreciated. As the Guild's President told the Committee: 'we do see ourselves as being the disseminators of news and comment, but I think that most editors would accept that so far as race relations are concerned, that is not enough, and we must do what we can to improve community relations and to improve integration'.<sup>4</sup> There are very few West Indians employed in the staffs but one of the editors explained his opinion 'that there will be more and more coloured members of editorial staffs over the next few years, but it would be a mistake to try to rush it by artificial means'.<sup>5</sup>
- 146. Recent research gives some grounds for distinguishing the influence of the national and local media. A survey indicates that whereas, in race relations generally, the majority thought race relations were deteriorating and would even get worse, when asked about feelings in their own area only 17 per cent thought they had deteriorated and 62 per cent said they had remained the same.<sup>6</sup> Things may seem to be much the same locally while the media nationally create a different impression, possibly through over-emphasis of isolated incidents. This should certainly be considered by those responsible at national level.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Evidence p 416.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Q 1082.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Appendix 17 to the Minutes of Evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Q 1322.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Q 1319.

Opinion Research Centre (CRC Journal, Vol V, No 1, pp 10-11).

147. The Committee is obliged to those who have assisted them by giving evidence. They appreciate the part played by the media in forming and shaping public attitudes and opinions. For this reason, they emphasise the need for constant vigilance to ensure that presentation is well balanced; for continuing awareness of its effect and impact, and to be on guard against sensationalised and misleading reporting which experience has shown can cause great and lasting harm. At the same time the Committee acknowledge that the media are generally aware of their responsibilities and that the statement they have made of their objectives will be helpful to those involved and concerned.

### CONCLUSIONS

- 148. The Committee have made a number of recommendations. They have done so in the context of the West Indian Community. Some of the recommendations, however, affect other ethnic minorities. For instance, although it is mainly West Indian families who are concerned, any amendment of the Immigration Rules in respect of sole responsibility would also affect others. And some recommendations are likely to affect not only West Indian and ethnic communities but all those living in areas of urban deprivation.
- 149. The Committee's recommendations have been made in response to the representations they received but their number and variety should not be allowed to obscure the main issues. In the opinion of the Committee, these are discrimination, the under-achievement of West Indian children at school, the feeling of alienation among the young blacks, the failure to recruit West Indians in the public service and the paucity of special facilities for local West Indian communities. Overriding them is the problem of environmental deprivation, with all it connotes in terms of housing, employment and social conditions, and which is fundamental and basic to most of the grievances felt by the West Indian communities.
- 150. In the case of the West Indian communities there is a special racial dimension to environmental deprivation but this dimension has many aspects. In their submission to the Committee, the West Indian community in Sheffield, after claiming that all but a gradually diminishing minority have fully reconstructed family life in Britain, at any rate in the physical sense, continued:

'This fact of family reconstruction is itself one indication that there has been progress too in economic terms, in that migration to this country has brought material advancement to a substantial proportion of the first generation immigrants. For these, in general, it has not come easily—perhaps much less easily than had been expected in those early days when, back in the West Indies, fiction heavily embroidered fact about Britain-the legendary "Mother Country", generous in opportunity, in welcome, and in reward. It has come at a price, socially, culturally, and perhaps, even, for some, psychologically. Still, many would concede the significant asset to be found in owning their own homes—even if too many are still languishing in urban twilight areas—and in having acquired the standard, conventional accessories for reasonable domestic Many, too, would not undervalue the benefit of having the safety net of a national health and social security system (to which, as it still is, occasionally, necessary to point out, the black immigrant community's financial contributions have been, proportionately, no less significant than any other's, and on which they have placed no greater demands).

'There is "progress" too, in the sense that the West Indian communities, with some fifteen to twenty years of existence behind them, have advanced an appreciable way from the posture and reactions of "immigrant" communities, towards the more assertive stance of firmly established, settled communities. We may still be unduly slow and unenterprising in mobilising to the greater benefit of ourselves—and, indeed, of the other and younger ethnic minority communities, as well as of the broader society at large—such advantages as we have, materially and morally, as the longest established, most British-oriented of the so-called "New Commonwealth" settlers. But we have, at least, arrived at the point at which we should be able to perceive more clearly, formulate more constructively, and express most positively, our rights and our responsibilities as part of the general British society. We need not cast apologetic glances back over our shoulder in the direction of the "SS Windrush", nor permit ourselves to be seen as fit material for that mass repatriation which Britain's minority of home-grown racial purists are currently peddling. Indian presence in this society has surely justified itself by labour and effort not to mention the logical outcome to an historical colonial connection—and is entitled to measure its level of achievement and project something of its further expectations, as a permanent element in this multi-racial society.

'That being so, no one should be surprised, or pained, if, while not denying the "progress" made, we dwell on the "problems". These are still substantial, at national and at local level, even after the period that has gone by. Some of these have an existence as long as the West Indian communities themselves, and may have changed only in degree; some have developed as the communities have developed.'1

- 151. If this statement is accepted, and it is correct that the West Indian immigrant community, not without a good deal of effort on their part, have established themselves in Britain, then the worries and anxieties of West Indian parents about the lack of achievement of their children at school, their frustration at their apparent exclusion from public office and service, and many of their other grievances can be readily understood. Moreover, as the West Indian communities cease to feel themselves immigrant, the authorities should not be surprised that West Indian communities should become more insistent in their claim for equality of treatment.
- 152. Nevertheless, it is severely disappointing that 'even after the period that has gone by' the problems are expressed introvertly and almost exclusively in terms of the West Indian communities and not the neighbourhoods in which they live. This is largely because the main element of the racial dimension is discrimination. As the witness from the Research Unit on Ethnic Relations concluded 'Discrimination and the anticipation of discrimination have tended to turn West Indian communities back in on themselves'. Discrimination not only aggravates the complaints of West Indians in housing and employment, it has retarded their assimilation. Furthermore, notwithstanding the claims of the Sheffield community, the family as the basic unit of security has been weakened and the generation gap, in fact, is more disruptive among West Indian than among any other families.
- 153. It is unfortunate that the most adversely affected are the young West Indians born in this country. They are divorced from the West Indies, without the comfort

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Appendix 20 to the Minutes of Evidence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See para 150.
<sup>3</sup> Evidence p 456.

of the nostalgic memories their parents have. They have not experienced the necessity for self-reliance and resourcefulness that, to a greater degree or less, all immigrants feel. Nor have they felt the need to adjust themselves to a new way of life. They have been brought up and educated in this country. But on leaving school many feel relatively ill-equipped and most disadvantaged. As they progress through school and as they enter into adult life some at least face a hostile society. They are British born citizens but unlike the second generation of the many immigrant communities who have settled in this country in the past their colour still commonly designates them immigrant.

- 154. The young blacks present a critical challenge to all those working for the improvement of race relations. The alienation of some of the young blacks cannot be ignored and action must be taken before relations deteriorate further and create irreconcilable division. The problems of the young blacks are those of the West Indian community at their point of greatest tension and strain. The Government has responded by strengthening the legislative framework. This should ensure greater equality. But as the Government stated in its White Paper this 'will need to be supplemented by a more comprehensive strategy for dealing with the related and at least equally important problem of disadvantage'.¹ The aim of this Report is to assist the Government towards that objective.
- 155. The Government, however, needs the full co-operation of the West Indian community. The Committee have noted, with some concern, a growing tendency for some West Indians to isolate themselves and to seek the solace of the expression of their grievances rather than their constructive solution; indeed, even to seek rather than to avoid confrontation. The Committee do not suggest that there is no cause for a feeling of frustration and disappointment. They themselves have on occasions complained of a lack of response to their recommendations. Committee are not disputing the claim of the West Indian community to their own identity. They have previously emphasised that they 'do not believe that it is inconsistent with a multi-cultural society that an ethnic community should have a separate articulate collective voice'.2 But confrontation can only damage the West Indian community itself and hostility can only more sharply define its isolation. Basically the establishment of equal rights depends on co-operation. With the continuance of discrimination and disadvantage, to pursue a constructive positive policy and to avoid provocation is not an easy course for the West Indian leadership, but it is essential.
- 156. The Government equally needs the full support of the majority of the British people. The West Indian community is a very small minority and the major responsibility remains with the majority. Parliament, by strengthening legislation, and the Government, by taking new initiatives, can give a lead but they cannot succeed without broadly based popular support. Racial equality depends on the acquiescence of the majority and the solution of the fundamental problems of disadvantage depends on widely supported political action. Indeed, as the impetus for improvement from the West Indian community grows, and as the community becomes mainly British born, a constructive popular response, both in attitudes and action, is imperative.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cmnd 6234, p 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> HC 448-I, p xxiii.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

The Committee's recommendations are to be found in the Report as follows:

Immigration: paragraphs 43, 44, 45.

Child Care: paragraph 53.

Education: paragraphs 57, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70, 71, 73.

The Young Blacks: paragraphs 85, 86, 87.

Relations with the Police: paragraphs 104, 111, 120.

The Public Service: paragraph 124.

Self-Help: paragraph 137.

#### APPENDIX 1

## Visit to the Caribbean, January 1976

### I JAMAICA

Jamaica, third largest of the Caribbean islands, covers 4,400 square miles, with mountains rising to 7,000 feet in the East. Jamaica's population, the largest in the Commonwealth Caribbean is approximately 2 million: about three-quarters are of African origin, the rest being of European, Chinese, Indian, Arab and mixed origin.

Over a quarter of the population reside in Greater Kingston, which is the capital; it has a large natural harbour and is the main administration and commercial centre.

Jamaica is now the world's largest bauxite exporter with bauxite and alumina exports estimated at £212 million in 1974. However, although new industries now contribute more to Jamaica's foreign exchange and export earnings than the old, agriculture—sugar, citrus and bananas—still employs about one-third of the labour force and in 1974 accounted for 17 per cent of total exports. In view of Jamaica's unemployment rate of between 20 per cent and 25 per cent, the employment provided through the traditional agricultural industries is very important.

#### General conditions

The following points emerged from our contacts with Ministers, officials and others.

## **Immigration**

The entry certificate officers are working in temporary accommodation while the new High Commission is being built. The offices are small and cramped.

There is no waiting list for interviews except where sole responsibility for a child seeking admission to the UK is being claimed by the parent already resident there. About 6,000 visitors applications were granted in 1974—an increase of 2,000 over 1972. The peaks of demand occur in the summer and at Christmas. Interestingly, most passport applications for children born in the UK who go to Jamaica as children, are made in Jamaica rather than in Britain.

An agency, which among its other roles provides advice for parents who wish their children to join them in Britain, is the Jamaica Children's Service Society. One difficulty was said to arise from the fact that although applicants are informed of the documents they need and are given an interview date, delays in obtaining the necessary papers may lead to the interview being postponed and some of the documents becoming invalid in the interim. Reference was also made to the difficulties involved in establishing a pattern of support where only one parent is in Britain and sole responsibility for the child is claimed.

As problems sometimes arose from the difficulty which some West Indians found in expressing themselves and being understood, Jamaican organisations such as the Jamaican Children's Service Society and the Child Care and Protection Division of the Ministry of Youth and Community Development could be used to do the initial work of preparation and processing of applicants.

#### Education

The present educational system is being expanded to allow more pupils to be enrolled. This includes an accelerated building programme and a shift system. Secondary education has increased. In 1968–69 some 1,250 15-year-olds were being educated in the 16 old Junior Secondary Schools then in existence. By 1974–75 these enrolments had increased to 15,500 in the 61 new Secondary Schools (replacements for and extensions of the old Junior Secondary Schools). Introduction of the fifth year in these Secondary Schools in 1975–76 also caused a rise in their student population which now numbers 86,000. A further 32,000 pupils are educated in High Schools.

Use of school buildings in the afternoons, evenings and holidays and of the lecture rooms of the University of the West Indies in the long summer vacations has meant that the physical resources are being fully utilised.

Great emphasis is being placed on the acquisition of constructional, agricultural and mechanical skills and on the provision also of more advanced training. This is being provided to some extent through the system of National Service which has as one of its aims,

the transmission of skills and simple education from those who have them to those who have not.

Vocational training centres—this scheme has been given the greatest priority—are being established to provide thousands of places on craft and technical courses for unemployed young people.

The youth and community training centres provide the vocational training for the youngsters in the 16–19 age group, who have left school without qualifications or skills. Many have an academic level of grade 3 or 4 and about 10 per cent of the age group are semiliterate. The course therefore initially concentrates on a remedial programme of education designed to bring the young person to a grade 6 or 7 level within six to nine months. Those already at this level are referred directly to industrial training centres while those below a grade 3 level are referred to the National Literacy Organisation.

After the initial educational programme has been successfully completed, the Centres regard it as their duty to give their trainees marketable skills and the type of training offered is therefore dependent on the needs of the labour market. Training may take a total of 18 to 24 months and for one year thereafter the progress of the trained person is followed up.

About 2,500 young people are at present undergoing training at the youth and community training centres, and it is hoped to expand the scheme. One noticeable feature of the scheme has been that, in the last five years, these training programmes have served a useful purpose in keeping their participants out of conflict with the law.

### Police

The relationship between the police and youths in Jamaica is similar to that in the UK: this has become especially true over the last two years with youths complaining of being 'picked on' by the police. The police in Jamaica are trying to discover the causes of this strained relationship and to remedy it. They believe one reason is that there are too many youngsters with nothing to do. Although in theory education is compulsory, the lack of school facilities means that in practice the law is unenforceable and that many children are just hanging around the towns and countryside.

Since 1970, to combat juvenile delinquency, the Police Public Relations Office has launched a youth club drive. The Jamaica Police Youth Club Association has the objectives of (a) promoting a programme which will improve the relationship between young people and the police; (b) providing means for training the youths in sport, drama, arts and crafts and first aid; (c) developing the mental, physical and spiritual capacities of members so they may grow to full maturity as useful members of Jamaican society; and (d) cooperating wherever possible with all the organisations which are endeavouring to foster the all-round development of youth. The present membership of the 82 clubs is 8,714 with an age range from 7 to 25 years.

In addition to the wide and varied programmes offered at these clubs, the police try to teach the children who are not attending school to read and write, and to encourage them to return to school. They also run a schools programme whereby selected officers in various areas of the island lecture at local schools on the role of the police. The police feel that this programme is very important as it helps to combat parental hostility towards them.

### Visits

We divided into three parties for visits in the Kingston area and in the parishes of St Thomas, St Catherine and Clarendon and Manchester. The programmes included visits to schools, clinics, an industrial training centre and the Cobbla Youth and Community Training Centre which had also been on the itinerary when a Sub-Committee visited Jamaica in 1972. The youth centre is situated in the hills of central Jamaica. There are huts for dormitories and workshops and a large dining/assembly hall. The centre, which was originally for boys only, has now become co-educational, and of the 310 students, 79 are girls. There are nine such centres in Jamaica. They provide a basic education followed by skill training. The courses last for about two years.

Although the various schools we visited differed in type, age range and the facilities offered, we were everywhere impressed by the quiet discipline and general smartness of the children. It was suggested that children returning to Jamaica from the United Kingdom sometimes had difficulty in settling down because of differences in the school systems.

#### II TRINIDAD

Trinidad and Tobago has an area of 1,864 square miles and a population of approx 1·1 million of whom just over 40 per cent are of African descent, 40 per cent are 'East Indians'—descendants of indentured immigrants from South Asia—15 per cent are of mixed race and the remainder are of European or Chinese origin.

Despite inflation of 21 per cent, the economy of the country in 1974 showed a considerable improvement on earlier years, largely due to the increased price of oil which together with natural gas production forms the largest sector of the economy. Another important activity is sugar production. However, the greatest social problem faced by Trinidad is high unemployment. As at June 1974, the workforce was approximately 393,400 and the total unemployed 61,800 or 15·71 per cent; among the 15–19 age group it reached 33·49 per cent.\* The drift from rural to urban areas and the relatively high educational standard reached by the population have aggravated the problem. The increasing urban unemployment with its lower opportunity for casual work and an absence of easy access to local foodstuffs have led to resentment and increasing crime. The problem, we were told, is almost entirely restricted to the younger age groups.

Although there are occupations where demand exceeds supply, existing employment opportunities are sufficient to absorb only a small proportion of those entering the labour market. The birth rate is stabilising but it will be many years before the number of school leavers declines. Whereas in 1946 the population was 563,000, by 1972 it had risen to 1,048,000 with 759,000 under 25. The high unemployment may account for the great enthusiasm for education which we noticed and for the fact that truancy appears to be virtually non-existent.

## **Immigration**

The highest number of entry certificates granted is to visitors—4,053 in 1975. Applications granted to students, returning residents and for the settlement of dependants have remained fairly constant at around 540, 167 and 139 respectively per annum. The number of entry certificates refused has risen significantly from 72 in 1973 to 196 in 1974 and 233 in 1975. This is due to the introduction of comprehensive interviewing.

The ECO based in Trinidad is also responsible for dealing with applications from Grenada which he visits every four to five weeks for three days. During this period he interviews over 100 applicants of which about half are new cases. The refusal rate is high because the present labour and economic situation is such that there is no incentive at all for most applicants to return. Most of the applications made require either extensive research or reference to the Home Office.

### Education

The present education system in Trinidad and Tobago covers primary and secondary school and university. Education is free at primary and secondary levels at all state-owned and financially-assisted denominational schools. There are in addition private teaching establishments which cater for between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of all students. Any newly-erected denominational school buildings are now two-thirds financed by the Government which in return claims the right to fill 80 per cent of the places, the other 20 per cent being reserved for pupils selected by the Principal of each school.

Recent meetings between the Government and educational bodies have resulted in new plans being formulated: these include elimination of the Common Entrance examination, the discontinuance of the double shift system which was introduced about three years ago in areas where shortages of Junior Secondary places existed, the provision of additional school buildings and the extension of existing ones; however, the partnership between the Church and State in the provision of education is to continue.

### Social Welfare

There is a national insurance scheme for all workers over 16 and under 65 which guarantees small payments in cases involving loss of earnings, which range from TT\$7.20 per week† for a person whose earnings are under TT\$16.00 per week on a scale rising to

<sup>\*</sup> These figures were provided by the Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Labour.  $\ddagger £1 = TT\$4.80$  (at 11 December 1975).

TT\$54.00 for a person earning TT\$80.00 per week or over. No unemployment benefit is paid to those who have never worked, including school leavers.

The maximum public assistance payable to a family is TT\$134.00 a month. Basic rates are TT\$27.00 per month for an adult and TT\$22.00 for each child. There is a pension scheme which provides a pension of TT\$60.00 per month where the person's income is TT\$200.00 or under per month. In addition, it is hoped in the not too distant future to set aside units in each low-cost housing development for the old. There are also two homes for the aged totally financed by the State and others which are partly supported by funds raised through local committees.

Social welfare work is carried out by three Administrative and 64 field officers concerned mainly with the investigation of applications for assistance and with the making of reports to local boards of lay people who decide whether the applications should be granted. Grants can also be claimed, in cases of fire or flood damage, towards house repair or for special diets.

## Visit to a Home for Boys

We went to a home for boys which is an instructive centre providing vocational training for boys committed there by the Courts. It caters for about 170 boys ranging in age from 10 to 18.

### Visit to a Children's Home

We also visited a children's home in Tacarigua. We were told that the abandoning of children, particularly boys, was a problem. The home provides care for a large number of children of all ages.

#### III GUYANA

Guyana has an area of 83,000 square miles. Its population of over 700,000 is concentrated in and around Georgetown, the capital, and a narrow fertile coastal belt. Just over 50 per cent of the population is of East Indian descent, with a further 32 per cent of African descent. Guyana's population is very small in relation to available land and it is Government policy to encourage a growth. We spoke to several migrants who had returned to Guyana from Britain to take up farming on land provided free by the Government.

Guyana's economy is primarily agricultural and extractive. The main export industries are rice, sugar and bauxite.

#### Housing

Guyana's housing policy is based on a concept of self-help. We visited one project—the Melanie Damishana—which illustrates the idea of co-operative house building. A site, including houses, shops etc, is built on land co-operatively owned. The public buildings such as shops are built by a combination of paid and self-help labour while the houses are built by their future owners. Services such as electricity and water are connected by paid labour. Self-helpers work together to build a number of houses. None knows until the last house has been completed which he will own. This encourages the self-helpers to ensure that each house is built as well as possible. Self-help building was originally carried on only in the evenings and at weekends but this method proved too slow. Now all self-help workers can take paid leave of absence from their jobs. They are required to work on the site for twelve hours each week day and also at weekends.

The amount of loan made available to would-be purchasers is based on a repayment of 25 per cent of the income of the main wage earner or 20 per cent of the family income. The rate of interest payable on the loan is lower for self-help purchasers. About 70 per cent of all homes are owner-occupied. The Government is also building more rented accommodation for those—particularly the elderly—who cannot afford mortgages. The rents vary from G\$5 to G\$35\* a month.

### Education

We visited two schools in Guyana. One was a Roman Catholic school financed by private fees and a state subsidy. The other was a new multi-lateral school which will eventually have a full complement of students, but which at present takes pupils only in the first four years. More pupils will be entering at the beginning of the next school year.

<sup>\* £1=</sup>G\$5.2193 (at 11 December 1975).

This school is modern and well-designed and offers a wide range of practical courses as well as the usual academic subjects. The school also hopes to run its own farm.

At both schools, we were favourably impressed by the courtesy and good manners of the children and their obvious enthusiasm for learning.

### **Immigration**

We met a number of Guyanese who had recently returned to Guyana from UK primarily in response to the Guyanese Government's agricultural schemes. These expatriates were questioned as to the time they had spent in UK. One had been in UK since 1946. None had any serious criticism to offer as to his or her treatment in UK. Applications for permanent settlement are few and immigration from Guyana now almost entirely consists of visits to UK. Some people apply to go to UK as visitors with the intention of seeking permanent settlement after their arrival in Britain and it is for the entry certificate officers to verify the facts.

#### IV BARBADOS

Barbados is the most easterly and densely populated of the West Indian Islands. It is a flattish island of 166 square miles, being about 21 miles long and 14 miles wide at its greatest point. About 65 per cent of the island is under cultivation, 90 per cent of which is devoted to sugar cane. The established industries are those producing sugar, rum and molasses but natural gas exists and is being exploited. There is an important tourist industry which now rivals sugar as the main foreign exchange earner and source of employment. There is a small industrial sector.

About one third of the population of 251,200 live in and around Bridgetown, the capital, which is situated in the south-west. It is the principal commercial centre and has a deep-water harbour capable of berthing 8 ships. The population density (end 1974) is 1,513 persons per square mile and the annual rate of population increase over the years 1971–74 was between 1·1 per cent and 1·4 per cent. About 90 per cent of the people are of African stock, and the remainder are of European, mixed European/African and Indian descent. There are about 2,000 permanent British residents on the island.

Before independence, in November 1966, Barbados was one of the oldest British colonies, the earliest known British settlement there dating from 1627. After the dissolution, in 1962, of the Federation of the West Indies (of which Barbados was a member) and the subsequent independence of Jamaica and of Trinidad and Tobago, negotiations began for a new Federation to comprise Barbados and the British Islands in the Leewards and Windwards chain. But in 1965 the Barbados Government decided to seek independence alone and on 30 November 1966, Barbados became an independent Sovereign state within the Commonwealth. She adopted a monarchical constitution with HM The Queen as Head of State.

The two main parties are the Democratic Labour Party, which has 18 seats in the House of Representatives, and the Barbados Labour Party, with 6 seats. Barbados has no 'black power' problem. The one or two inevitable militant extremists are regarded mainly as freaks and have no serious following.

Barbados' foreign policy is based on strong support for the United Nations and close association with other countries of the Western Hemisphere. However, together with Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad, Barbados extended diplomatic recognition to Cuba in December 1972. Barbados is a member of the Organisation of American States and of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM).

## General conditions

The following points emerged in the course of discussions with Ministers, officials and others.

## **Immigration**

There still is a steady and constant flow of people emigrating to the United Kingdom from Barbados. We cannot see there being any end to dependant children coming to join their parents in the UK. In 1975 218 entry certificates were granted for settlement of which 161 were for children. During the period 1972–75 a total of 1,212 entry certificates were granted for settlement, 822 of them for children.

There has been a serious problem over the granting of entry certificates for people to visit or holiday in the UK. Visits appear to be the starting point for the evasion of immigration regulations. Many cases have come to light of people once arrived in the UK going to ground or applying for settlement. There is often a two-year gap before the appeal of those refused permission to stay is heard. By this time they are firmly established and may have jobs and be married. The 'marriage of convenience' to a UK citizen is also sometimes used as a method of establishing a right to residential status.

There was anxiety that young children should be allowed to join their parents in the UK but the officials of the Ministry of Health and Welfare stressed that children were discouraged from going if it was thought it would not be to their advantage. It was felt that if a parent was going to send for his or her children it would alleviate many of the present problems if they would do so while the children were still at an early age.

#### Education

There is no compulsory education in Barbados but every child over 5 who wishes to attend school is so placed. There is very little absenteeism and only about 1 per cent of children do not attend school. At the age of 11 there is a common entrance examination and about 3,000 children go on to secondary school. Those who are not successful stay on at primary school until 14 when they take a school leaving certificate.

Education is orientated towards the UK with many children taking not only 'O' and 'A' levels, with an English Examination Board, but also City and Guilds examinations. Preparations are however being made to create a Caribbean Examination Council and a syllabus based on regional requirements.

Education is now free but it was expressed to us that as a result many parents have lost the interest they had in their children's education when they had to pay BDS\$24 toward it.\*

The pupil/teacher relationship was very good. There still is a number of non-trained teachers; 35 students obtain their teaching certificate in Barbados per year, but the main problem in schools is not any lack of teaching staff but a shortage of class space and materials.

Most of the children we met who had returned from the UK, either temporarily or permanently, and who were now attending local schools, seemed to be having difficulty in adapting. They were withdrawn and finding they were not always accepted by the other children. As there are differences between the content of education in Barbados and the UK—a greater emphasis is put on the 3 R's in Barbados—many of these children found themselves behind the standard of their classmates when they first arrived and a certain amount of catching up was required.

Adult illiteracy is between 2–7 per cent, mostly amongst the older generation.

## Employment

The economic problems confronting the Government of Barbados are those typical of the West Indian islands. They arise from such factors as overpopulation and a diminution in emigration outlets. Tourism has grown to be a major prop of the economy; sugar production is at a lower level, 96.9 thousand tons in 1975 worth BDS\$102 million.

Unemployment, although less apparent than in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, is estimated to be about 15 per cent of people of working age. Employment of youth is a particularly difficult area.

The Government is making real efforts to create more employment opportunities as it recognises the unreliability of its profitable but one-crop agricultural sector and of its high-price tourist industry.

An interesting point we found was that even with high unemployment labour was having to be brought in from neighbouring islands to cut the sugar cane as Barbadians felt they would lose face amongst their countrymen if they did this job. However, we were told that many Barbadians emigrate to parts of the USA to do the same job. Barbadians are not generally attracted to agriculture. An important aspect of the current drive to increase food production must therefore involve changing basic attitudes to work on the land. Unless this is achieved, the best plans and intentions are likely to be thwarted.

<sup>\* £1 =</sup> BDS \$4.076 (at 11 December 1975).

### Visits to Schools and Day Nursery

Prior to these visits we were able to go on a tour of most of the island where we were able to see some of its successes and problems at first hand.

We visited two schools, accompanied by the Deputy Chief Education Officer, one the St Leonard's Secondary Girls' School, St Michael, with 1,500 pupils and the other the Pine Primary school with 900 pupils. Our impressions were, on the whole, good. The pupil/teacher relationship is, as elsewhere, one of quiet discipline and the standards of teaching and attainment seemed high. We found the pupils to be polite and very neat in appearance, school uniform still being worn at all schools. Children whose parents wished them to come and join them in the UK would not be, in our view, so handicapped, if they came over while at the primary level of education.

We visited a day nursery, of which there are 15 on the island, where for BDS\$1.25 a week, parents can leave their young children and babies while they are at work. Food is provided and the nurseries are Government subsidised but it is felt that they alleviate any problems that might arise by children being left with child-minders.

## Visit to Community Centre Youth Group

There are about 200 Youth Groups operating on the island of which Trents Village Youth Group is one. The members come from the local community and the adults from there play an important role in the running of the group. It seemed very well organised and the three Houses into which the club members were split were named after three local men who were examples for them to follow. We were told the children might be shy of their visitors but the evening was rounded off by a lively question and answer session between us.

#### V ST LUCIA

St Lucia is a mountainous island of 238 square miles, being about 27 miles long and 14 miles wide at its broadest; it is the second largest of the Windward Islands. Over 35 per cent of the island is under cultivation, bananas, coconuts and cocoa being the main crops; the rearing of livestock has grown in recent years. Tourism is also developing. The population in 1970 was 101,000 with a density of over 460 persons per square mile. The capital and main port is Castries with a population of 45,000. The other chief town and port is Vieux Fort which has a population of 7,000.

St Lucia was a great bone of contention between the British and the French throughout the 17th and 18th centuries—French influence predominating until the island was finally ceded to the British in 1814 by the Treaty of Paris. The island has magnificent scenery, the most spectacular peaks being the Gros Piton (2,619 feet) and the Petit Piton (2,461 feet) which are twin volcanic, forest-clad cones rising sheer out of the seas near the town of Soufrière on the Leeward coast. A few miles away on an ancient crater are hot, sulphurous springs. The mountains are intersected by numerous short rivers. In places these rivers debouch into broad fertile and well cultivated valleys.

St Lucia has been an Associated State since 1967. The United Workers' Party has been in power since 1964, and it now holds 10 seats, with 7 seats being held by the St Lucia Labour Party. In the Speech from the Throne on 18 December, 1975, the Governor indicated as the Government's policy an intention to proceed to independence as soon as possible and to that end a Constitutional Commission would be set up to make recommendations which would be debated in the House of Assembly. The Opposition would be invited to co-operate in the establishment and work of the Commission. The Commission has not yet been appointed and the Opposition has taken up a position which may be summarised as 'no independence without a General Election'. No formal approach to HMG by the St Lucia Government has however been made and the matter remains one of internal debate.

#### General conditions

The following points emerged in the course of discussions with Ministers, officials and others.

#### **Immigration**

There is still a large number of dependant children being sent for by parents in the UK. Entry certificates granted for settlement from the Associated States in 1975 totalled 359

of which 302 were for children. In the period 1972–75 the figures were 1,788 of which 1,538 were for children.

The Government is aware of the problems the UK is facing at the moment with high unemployment but having high unemployment in St Lucia it is quite happy for St Lucians to apply to come to the UK. Where parents are already in the UK they would like to see children join the parent or parents at the earliest opportunity.

Again the problem of certificates being granted for short visits to the UK and some people once there applying for settlement cropped up. It was suggested that perhaps some screening or check could be made in the UK to ensure people did not outstay their approved period of time.

We were told that the young unemployed would be more inclined to overstay their period in the UK than others.

#### Education

Education is compulsory in statute only. Eighty to eighty-five per cent of children between 5 and 15 are enrolled in schools. Education is free but parents have to pay for books and some materials.

There are three types of schools: the Infants school for 5–7 year olds; the all age school for 5–15 year olds and the Primary school for ages 8–15. The Government is spending a greater proportion of its revenue on education and welfare and has set up an Educational Priorities Committee which is meeting at present to make representations on what course education on the island should follow in the future.

There is a building programme for Junior secondary schools to cater for 7–11 year olds. Overcrowding in schools is a problem. 'O' and 'A' level courses are followed in the Senior Secondary schools where there is great pressure for places. Some students then move on to University.

With regard to children who have returned from the UK there was no significant information but with greater emphasis on the 3 R's in West Indian schools we were told returned children were not always up to the local standard. This is especially true at primary level.

### Employment and Economic climate

Over 80 per cent of St Lucia's exports consist of bananas (almost entirely to Britain) and the island is the leading producer in the Windwards. The problem of maintaining its market in Britain and of looking for possible new markets for bananas is one of the main concerns of the St Lucia Government. Although the need to diversify agriculture is acknowledged, little has been achieved in this direction. The Government is, however, strenuously pursuing the expansion of the tourist industry. There is some manufacturing industry, mainly geared to the processing of local products, but cigarettes and mineral waters are also produced.

St Lucia is the most developed of the Associated States but the serious drought in 1975 has greatly reduced crop yields. Tourism has slumped because of the general world recession and with high unemployment, and unemployment among the young bringing its own problems, the overall economic picture is gloomy.

British Aid amounting to about £1·2 million in 1975–76 is being received, most of which will be spent on infrastructure work, especially the East Coast Road project. Aid funds have also been used for the emergency banana programme, the introduction of new breeds of livestock, the development of forestry and two plant propagation centres. The Commonwealth Development Corporation have undertaken hotel development and studies are being made into the prospects for an oil refinery and for the exploitation of geothermal energy at a volcanic site on the West Coast.

### Visits to Schools

Accompanied by the Acting Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education we visited two schools, the Castries Comprehensive School, which is something of a show piece being only recently opened in April 1974, and the Corinth Junior Secondary School.

The pupil/teacher relationship was, as in all the other schools we had visited in the West Indies, good. Yet again we were told that returned children from the UK took time to readjust and were at a slightly lower academic standard.

The Castries Comprehensive school was partly fee paying and all children had to pay EC\$10\* caution money which was to go towards damage caused to the school over the year.

Evening classes are held for students at the comprehensive school, and the Seventh Day Adventist School operates a shift system. Many children had some distance to travel to school and where possible buses were provided. Class-room space was a problem at Corinth Junior with 13 teachers to 226 pupils.

# Visit to Sulphur Springs

Before we departed from Hewannora Airport, after an all too short visit to St Lucia, we drove from Castries via the West Coast Road to Soufrière where we stopped to inspect the sulphur springs at which drilling, financed by British Aid, for geothermal steam for cheap electricity is going on.

#### FAMILY LIFE IN THE WEST INDIES

A high proportion of people in Britain seem to be unaware of the structure of family life in the West Indies—a structure the consequence of which can not only lead to problems for the West Indian coming to settle in this country but also to misunderstandings by the indigenous population.

The West Indian family life is characterised by a very high illegitimacy rate, and the instability of many unions. Common law marriage, conjugal instability and formal marriage late in life as a mark of middle-class status are still very common. Among the poorer classes it is common to marry late, generally when the woman is past childbearing age and when there is enough economic security to undertake the obligations of a legal union. Marriage is not related to the rearing of children within the family and the home. Young girls have early sexual experience and remain at home after the birth of the first child, which is often left in the care of mother and sisters. Before she leaves home to set up a more or less stable union a girl is likely to have borne one or two children. By the time they reach the age of 30 most women are living in stable unions, common law marriages, although the partners are not bound by any civil or religious sanctions. It is from these unions that marriage leads. Although a man will support the children of earlier unions while he is still living with their mother, few men seem to contribute to their care once the union is broken. With so much instability it follows that the man's authority passes to the women and the role of the mother and grandmother is by far the strongest in the West Indian family system. Women from an early age are used to managing their own lives and to leaving their children in the care of others. Very often in the early years of the West Indian migration to the UK it was these women who came on their own to earn money for the support of their children left behind in grandmother's care. Many then send for their children to join them in this country and in the case of some of the older girls coming to join their mothers they too have left children behind in the West Indies to be sent for later.

<sup>\* £1=</sup>EC\$4.80 (at 11 December 1975).

#### APPENDIX 2

### Supplementary Memorandum by the Home Office

#### POLICE COMMUNITY RELATIONS

- 1. In recent years in recognition of the special problems that can arise in an increasingly multi-racial society, the Home Office has encouraged chief officers of police in areas where there are substantial coloured communities to devote special attention to the need to foster and strengthen relations of mutual respect, understanding and confidence between the police and the coloured community, so as to help reduce friction and generate acceptance and support of the common aim of the police and all members of the public that law and order should be preserved as the basic framework of society.
- 2. Much has been done by police forces in the field of community liaison. The general principle is to appoint a senior officer, and in some forces a team of varying ranks both at headquarters and on Divisions, to be specialists. Their remit covers a number of aspects of relationships with the public, and can include crime prevention, schools liaison, juvenile liaison and public relations, as well as race relations work. Most forces with major communities of ethnic minorities have appointed community liaison officers and some have fully structured departments. In these areas the race relations aspect of the work tends to dominate, while in areas where there are no large settlements of ethnic minorities the emphasis tends to be on juveniles and other aspects of community work. In the former case, where a force opts for appointing senior officers only at headquarters, the emphasis is on contacts with ethnic minority leaders and a general advisory role. Where a supportive divisional structure is established, a series of ranks is involved, and valuable work is done by community liaison constables.
- 3. The approach to this specialist work is to deal with it as a new dimension of traditional police work. Operational officers frequently play a community relations role, but their time is necessarily limited. Community relations officers (called community liaison officers in some forces), being free from operational duties can devote a considerable amount of time to making and maintaining contacts with ethnic minority leaders, so that when issues arise there is already an understanding between them. The work often also entails serving on the local community relations council (senior policemen have even been chairmen and executive committee members of these), fostering multi-racial youth clubs, giving talks to and holding discussions with ethnic minority groups and school groups, arranging visits to police stations and advising both colleagues and ethnic minority leaders on matters where conflict could arise. In some forces officers hold "surgeries for problems in ethnic minority areas, in some attempts are made to implement a ' on Arrest" scheme in order to reduce suspicion and complaints in specific cases. officers have become proficient in Asian languages, which is an invaluable aid to contacts. The state of relationships varies from area to area, of course, but experience shows that it is possible, by bringing to this work sensitivity, an open approach and a determination to keep the channels of communication working, to achieve results.
- 4. Over the last few years training provisions have been considerably expanded. Since 1973 when the new 10-week initial course for probationer constables was introduced at the Police Training Centres, there has been an element of community relations training in it, and also in the 2-week continuation course for which they come back after 18 months on the beat. Higher police training provided at the Police College also includes a study of community relations.
- 5. Local training in the subject has been developed for all ranks, starting with cadets (for an account of the Metropolitan Police training, see paragraphs 31–39 of their evidence to the Committee). Where the force is large enough for race and community relations training to be arranged internally, a number of forces have instituted regular courses or sessions for all ranks up to Inspector. In other cases one force in a region mounts courses for itself and other forces there. The training at the Centres is of necessity purely introductory, so the local level is of crucial importance, for it is here that the subject takes on reality and the local situation can be fully explored.
- 6. Several specialist courses have come into being at national level over the years. The first of these to do so was the week's course which has been held annually for the last eleven years by the University of Manchester (in close co-operation with the Home

Office) at Holly Royde College. It is designed for senior operational officers with no special community relations responsibilities but stationed in areas of ethnic minority settlement. This year it is designed with senior officers at command level in view, such as heads of Divisions and sub-Divisions of provincial forces and Metropolitan sub-Divisional Commanders. While the overall aim of the course will still be to explore relations between the police and the community, with special reference to the ethnic minorities, the specific problems of race will be set in the wider context of the police community role generally so as to achieve a perspective which will bring into focus the common elements in the police community relations field as a whole. Attention will also be paid to the responsibilities of senior command in the area of relationships between the police and ethnic minority members at beat level.

- 7. Recently plans have been put in hand for a national four-week induction course for newly-appointed community liaison officers. It is to be run by the Derbyshire Constabulary on the basis of a programme devised under the aegis of the Home Office in consultation with a small advisory group of experienced police community liaison officers from several forces. The course has been prepared in consultation with the Association of Chief Police Officers and has the support and endorsement of its Training Committee and also of the Police Training Council.
- 8. The intention is to equip newly appointed Community Liaison Officers for their specialist function, which, though an intrinsic part of police work, represents a new dimension of it. A range of knowledge and expertise is required which may not previously have been called for in a particular officer's experience. He or she will need an awareness of and sensitivity to the implications of ethnic diversity within a community, an ability to examine and come to terms with his or her own attitudes, a sound knowledge of the cultural backgrounds of the ethnic minorities concerned and above all an ability to make easy and friendly contacts with all these groups and individuals so that a real understanding can develop. Experience has shown that officers who have developed these skills are making a most important contribution in their forces, in being able to advise colleagues, often to forestall potential trouble and generally to invest the basic law enforcement task of the police with an additional strength deriving from a knowledge of communities which in the past may often have been something of an unknown quantity to the police. From time to time conferences of police community relations officers have been held to provide an added opportunity for the exchange of information and ideas within the police service.
- 9. These are some of the ways in which efforts are being made to tackle and if possible alleviate at their source the areas of potential friction between the police and the public which they serve. This is a field of human endeavour which cannot be expected to throw up easy answers. But chief officers are mindful of the importance of constant and continuing endeavour in this highly sensitive area and of the great value of the success that can be achieved in gradually breaking down mistrust even in areas of long-standing traditional tension between police and the community.

#### APPENDIX 3

## Supplementary Memorandum by the Home Office

### WEST INDIAN INVOLVEMENT IN CRIME

- 1. The Home Office has been asked to comment on certain of the statistics included in other evidence to the Committee and on the differences that have arisen over the proper interpretation of such figures as have been presented about West Indian involvement in crime. The Home Office criminal statistics do not include information about the birth-place of offenders, still less about their race or colour. There are no comprehensive central criminal statistics which would make it possible to apportion degrees of responsibility for crime between ethnic groups. It follows that the Home Office cannot provide the Committee with any fresh or better information on the general question of West Indian involvement in crime. What follows deals with the situation in London.
- 2. The Metropolitan Police Force has found it helpful for its own operational purposes to maintain records on the basis of certain broad and readily identifiable ethnic groupings. These are not precise categories—partly because the classification is inevitably subjective—nor could they be made precise. But they can nevertheless serve as working guides to the situation. The Metropolitan Police evidence referred to such a classification which included Africans as well as West Indians (but not Asians) in one category. The Metropolitan Police have used this classification for arrests, and for descriptions by victims of their alleged assailants.
- 3. The Home Office understand that the arrest figures given in the Metropolitan Police evidence include only those arrests for indictable crime which were followed up by a charge, a summons or an official caution. The arrests are therefore related to a recorded crime in the crime figures. Even so, there are many factors which can affect the relationship between the number of arrests on the one hand and the number of reported offences or the number of subsequent convictions on the other. For example, clear-up rates differ significantly between different offence groups and not all those charged before the courts are found guilty.
- 4. These factors could vary as between one ethnic group and another although the Home Office has no evidence that they do, or do not, so vary. It nevertheless seems reasonable to suppose that there is a broad, though not necessarily a precise, correspondence between the Metropolitan Police arrest figures for members of particular ethnic groups for particular types of offence and the actual involvement of members of such groups in the commission of those offences.
- 5. Some of the evidence given to the Committee has discussed the question of the relative involvement of West Indians in crime. Neither arrest figures, nor any other single set of figures (however accurate) could of themselves provide evidence about the relative involvement of members of particular ethnic groups in crime. In other words such figures cannot, of themselves, show whether West Indians, or members of any other particular group, are less or more likely to commit crime than members of other groups. More criminal offences are committed by men than by women and more by young people than older people. Unless therefore the age and sex pattern within one group were similar to that within another group comparison would not be between like and like. The Home Office knows of no realiable up to date statistics of the age and sex distribution of minority groups within London, or parts of London. Nor does it know of any reliable up to date figures showing the geographical distribution of particular groups in London. The Home Office does not therefore feel that the evidence presented to the Committee, or any other material now available, provides a basis from which conclusions can safely be drawn about the relative involvement in crime of particular groups within the community in London.
- 6. Moreover, as the Metropolitan Police themselves pointed out in their evidence to the Committee, poverty, unemployment and housing conditions may have an effect on the likelihood of a particular individual committing crime and being arrested. Unless allowance could be made for these factors—which it cannot, on the information now available—the comparison between one group and another again might not be comparing like with like.

7. The Committee may like to know that the Home Office Research Unit is currently engaged on a study which, when completed, will provide some information about the crime behaviour of particular groups as reflected in the arrest figures. Like all research in this area it has its limitations. It will be concerned with crime rates over an area and not individual crime involvement. It will, however, take account of age structure, unemployment rates and some measures of social deprivation that might affect relative crime rate. The result should be available within 12 months.

## Mugging

- 8. There is no legal definition of "mugging" and recent public debate has been confused by the absence of any commonly accepted basis of the term or recognised delimitation of the different offences which it is supposed to embrace. Attached to this note are copies of two Parliamentary Answers given to Questions about "mugging" which may help to clarify the position.
- 9. The Metropolitan Police memorandum of evidence submitted to the Committee in March did not refer to "muggings" as such. The details given in paragraph 23 related to robberies and violent thefts. The Home Office understand that this category includes all offences which fall within Home Office Classification 34 (Robberies) and part of Home Office Classification 39 (Thefts from the person) as used in the criminal statistics. The degree of violence involved in these latter offences will of course vary. It could be no more than the victim being aware of the offence as it occurs, eg when he feels a hand in his pocket taking his wallet.
- 10. Since "mugging" is a term with no formal or agreed meaning no useful purpose would, in the Home Office view, be served by further arguments about which offences should be classed as "muggings". It nevertheless appears true that in some parts of London there has been an increase in the sporadic incidence of a particular kind of street crime—the violent setting upon of passers-by by young criminals, often in groups, to snatch away their money or valuables. It is the duty of the police to be aware of the changing situation in different parts of London, and to respond to it as part of their general task of keeping the peace and apprehending those who break the law. The Home Secretary trusts that arguments about the interpretation of statistics, such as have been referred to in this note, will not alter the general recognition of the importance of the task of the police and the need for all citizens to give their support in the prevention and detection of crime.

Written Answer, 19 October 1976, HC Debates, cols 368-9

## MUGGING

Mr Forman asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many incidents of mugging have been reported to the Metropolitan Police in the last three years; and how many prosecutions and convictions have followed.

Mr John: There is no specific offence of "mugging", a term which has no legal definition.

The following tables give details of the number of offences of robbery, since it is into this category that incidents described as "muggings" will fall.

Offences of Robbery recorded as known to the Metropolitan Police

1973		•••	• • • •	• • • •	• • • •		• • •	• • • •	
	• • •	•••		• • •	• • •	• • •	• • • •		3,151
1975								 	 4.452

Persons proceeded against for offences of robbery and those found guilty—Metropolitan

Police District

							No. of persons	
							1974	1975
Proceeded against							1,007	1,376
Found guilty	• • • •		•••	• • • •	•••	• • • •	649	761
Figures for 1973 are no	ot read	ilv avai	lable.					

The Metropolitan Police keep a separate record of offences which approximate to what is commonly understood by the term "mugging": that is, offences of robbery of personal property which follow a sudden attack in the open where there is no previous association between the victim and the assailant. The figures for such offences recorded as known to the Metropolitan Police are: 1,224, 1,454 and 1,977 for 1973, 1974 and 1975 respectively.

Oral Answer, 28 October 1976, HL Debates, cols 619-24

### "MUGGING": POLICE MEASURES

Lord AUCKLAND: My Lords, I beg leave to ask the Question which stands in my name on the Order Paper.

### The Question was as follows:

To ask Her Majesty's Government what was the number of convictions for mugging offences in the United Kingdom during the period 1970–75; whether they are satisfied that the police forces are adequately equipped to achieve more positive results in addition to the excellent work which they have already done; and what plans they have in mind to put these measures into effect.

The MINISTER of STATE, HOME OFFICE (Lord Harris of Greenwich): My Lords, with the leave of the House, I will circulate in the *Official Report* a Table showing the number of persons found guilty of robbery or assault with intent to rob over the period requested in England and Wales. "Mugging" is a term which has no legal definition. The offences of robbery or assault with intent to rob include robberies of personal property following sudden attack in the open, and they include other types of robbery as well. Also some of the offences classed in the criminal statistics as "theft from the person of another" may involve some degree of violence. The Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis has informed my right honourable friend of the special attention, including high priority in manning, that he has been giving to policing in the areas of London where this is a special problem, and I have no doubt that other chief officers of police are doing likewise.

## Following is the Table referred to:

### PERSONS FOUND GUILTY OF ROBBERY OR OF ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO ROB

									N	o. of persons
1970			•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	2,612
1971	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••		•••	2,999
1972	•••	•••	•••	•••	• • • •	•••	•••	• • • •	•••	3,415
1973	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	3,159
1974	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	•••	2,767
1975	• • •	• • •	• • •	•••	•••	• • •	•••	• • •	•••	3,458

## APPENDIX 4

# Memorandum by Mr Anthony Steen, MP

### SOME ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ON CHILDREN AND EDUCATION

Child Care

The pressures on immigrant groups to improve their material standards are one of the major factors for their immigration to Britain. The West Indian immigrant frequently has the added pressure of supporting dependant children left back home in the West Indies. This pressure falls frequently on the unsupported mother. At home in the West Indies the maternal grandmother would have taken over the mothering role but in Britain the mother, bereft of her extended family, is compelled to search for a child minder or for nursery facilities. Nor has it been possible for us as the host community to provide the kind of care which would help compensate for the loss of mothering which the child experiences as a result of being farmed out. Furthermore, the mother does not usually fully understand the importance of the quality of her children's experience whilst away from her. Instead the length of time the child can be minded is the crucial factor.

The critical importance of the early years to the subsequent emotional and intellectual stability and development of the child is still not fully appreciated—and even less by the West Indian. It is now well established that a warm caring consistent and stimulating mother-child bond is crucial to the later emotional and intellectual development of that child. One of the most visible signs of the lack of adjustment and the failure to recognise the importance of the mother/child relationship can be seen by the number of West Indian parents who leave their young children alone with no toys. This has repercussions on child development as toys provide an opportunity for children to experiment and act out their fantasies.

The pressure on the West Indian mother to seek paid work will remain while success here depends primarily on her earning sufficient money to look after herself and her dependants as well. When one is short of material belongings it is understandable that material standards are put before emotional needs. This country has an obligation which it is failing to meet—it needs to change attitudes. This will not be done by the mother handing down knowledge to the child but it can be done by the schools. Courses for both boys and girls on child development and relationships in high immigrant areas should be established and this should be standard practice in child welfare clinics pre and post pregnancy. Secondly the social service provisions fail to provide nursery facilities designed especially to make up the lack of mothering. This could be done—they would be set up as small family groups and would remain together throughout the pre school period.

The pressure from the immigrant communities for their children to be collected from home in the morning by local authority coach and taken to the nursery provision fails to take account of the crucial time that mother and child gain from interaction on their way to the nursery. If the children are taken, cared for during the day and brought back from the nursery at night then all parental responsibility has been removed. The parent child relationship will inevitably come unstuck in later years.

Some West Indian families have adapted very quickly to the different ways of life but those involved in less skilled work still reflect the lifestyle of the West Indies. The West Indian cultural pattern fails to perceive the benefits which accrue from playing and talking with children. In the WI this to some extent is overcome by the freedom the child has to explore his open air environment. In a flat or overcrowded tenement in a declining city centre he is even more restricted. Play groups are little used though every encouragement should be given to the immigrant community to set up their own and to get their mothers to run them.

#### Child Minders and Foster Parents

With the knowledge that many immigrants were placing their children with quite unsatisfactory child minders for as much as 12 hours a day, the local authorities have tried to keep tracks on the minders, visit them and help them to understand the importance of mental stimulation for the pre school child. Inspection, toy libraries and general education of the minder is essential.

The paucity of foster parents coming forward to foster the many West Indian children in care reflects the cultural expectation that looking after your child is something you have to do not something you do by choice. It is seen as low status—high status is achieved by going out to work for money.

## Pre School Activity

Again the pressure to earn makes pre school play groups functioning for half a day or nursery classes for half a day non-starters for the mother who needs a provision for her whole working day which may involve several jobs not just one. Again it is only through education about the need of the child for his mother for optimum development that the situation might change. The deep distress caused to West Indian families when they find their child under performing might well be alleviated by better mothering.

#### Education

The impressive thing about schools in the West Indies is the uniform high standard of discipline coupled with emphasis on the 3 R's. This provides a solid educational base which has much to recommend it, as well as setting limits on acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Further this form of education fits in well with the strict discipline normally practised at home.

Statistics show that in our school system the West Indian group as a whole have attainment below other immigrant groups and of the host culture, at the secondary school transfer stage (Alan Little 1974). West Indian pressure groups are now very aware of the low standard of attainment of their secondary age children and feel that there is not nearly enough emphasis on the basic learning skills in the school. Further they are critical of the somewhat liberal and apparently permissive mood of the classroom situation. In part this under attainment can be seen to be directly related to the environmental poverty, both emotional and intellectual of their early years, it can also be related to lack of training in the basic subjects. It is important that the imbalance should change because it is only through the enhanced standards of the immigrant groups that equal job opportunities will be available and the much needed black teachers, social workers and policemen who would be able to ease integration, will be found.

Thus education authorities with an immigrant population should be encouraged to concentrate on basic subjects first so that all immigrant school leavers are literate and numerate. Encouragement through finance and support should be given to the self help groups who in desperation have set up remedial classes of their own, after school hours, to help with educating their children.

Many WI children find the disparity in home and school discipline intolerable. The result is the acting out and aggressive behaviour from West Indian children which frequently leads to suspension and expulsion.

## ESN Schools and Other Special Schools

There is strong pressure from the West Indian schools not to send their children to ESN schools. This is preventing increasing numbers of psychologists from recommending children to ESN schools, even when they know that such a child would clearly benefit from the provision of such schools. If the child is white the psychologist would have no hesitation in recommending the child for an ESN place nor would he expect the recommendation to be challenged. West Indian parents are increasingly encouraged to challenge the recommendation and they try to prevent all special school placements. This is counter productive for the special schools are better equipped for those children who have learning difficulties. West Indian parents need to understand that if their child is backward he needs special help.

# Teachers and Social Workers

My impression is that teachers bend over backwards not to show any racial or cultural prejudices. This is especially true in areas of high immigration. If this were not so they would not choose to work there. Teachers have to cope with hostility and aggession and in this context, bodies set up to promote racial understanding should be careful that their officers do not make matters worse by not understanding the problems which white teachers have to face.

More efforts should be made to recruit black teachers, especially in schools with a high level of immigrant children. Trained social workers of the same culture and colour as the immigrants resident in an area would also be valuable. However, it must be pointed out that West Indian teachers and social workers do benefit from a clearly defined brief and tend to get confused if the limits of their job are not clearly defined and the authority structure is not spelt out.

Some of the best youth leaders happen to be West Indian but community work, by its very nebulous philosophy, can lead to misunderstandings where the West Indian sees his role as stirring up the community.

3 March 1977

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

(Session 1974-75)

# THURSDAY 24 JULY 1975

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Dudley Smith Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Draft Special Report (Subject of Inquiry) proposed by the Chairman, brought up and read the first and second time.

Resolved, That the Report be the Second Special Report of the Committee to the House.

Ordered, That the Chairman do make the Report to the House.

[Adjourned till Thursday 30 October at Four o'clock.

(Session 1975-76)

## THURSDAY 30 OCTOBER 1975

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday 27 November at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 27 NOVEMBER 1975

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Ordered, That Mr Leslie Scafe of the Community Relations Commission be appointed to assist the Committee in their inquiry into the West Indian Community.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 4 DECEMBER 1975

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Dudley Smith Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committe deliberated.

Mr Earle Robinson, Secretary, Miss Linda Herbert and Mr Ray Ferdinand of the Leicester United Caribbean Association were examined.

Mr R Neverson, Chairman, and Mr B Edwards, Secretary, of the West Indian Organisations Co-ordinating Committee were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at half-past Two o'clock, at the Social Action Centre, Lambeth.

# The Committee met at the Social Action Centre, Lambeth

## THURSDAY 11 DECEMBER 1975

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith

The Committee deliberated.

Ordered, That a Sub-Committee, to be designated Sub-Committee A, be appointed to visit Trinidad and Guyana. Sub-Committee A nominated of Mr Frederick Willey, Mr David Lane, Mr Hal Miller, Mr Eric Moonman and Mr William Wilson.

Ordered, That Mr Frederick Willey be Chairman of Sub-Committee A.

Ordered, That a Sub-Committee, to be designated Sub-Committee B, be appointed to visit Barbados and St Lucia. Sub-Committee B nominated of Mr Dudley Smith, Mr Sydney Bidwell, Mr A G F Hall-Davis, Mr Anthony Steen and Mr Tom Torney.

Ordered, That Mr Dudley Smith be Chairman of Sub-Committee B.

Mr Courtney Laws, Mrs B Manning, and Mr J Hunte of the Brixton Neighbourhood Community Association, and Mr R Webb of the Melting Pot were examined.

Mr D Thomas, Mr H Morrison, Mr Kingsley Smith, and Mr Moore of the Black Workers' Meeting, Councillor Narayan, and Mr G Greaves of the Council for Community Relations in Lambeth were examined. Mr Courtney Laws was further examined.

Pastor A Headlam of the Temple of Truth was examined. Mr Courtney Laws was further examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at half-past Four o'clock

## **THURSDAY 18 DECEMBER 1975**

# Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen

The Committee deliberated.

Mr W I Trant and Mr W Best of the West Indian Standing Conference were examined. Mr J A Hunte of the West Indian Standing Conference was further examined.

Mr P A C Sealy and Mr C J Mungo of the Post Conference Constituent Committee were examined.

[Adjourned till Monday 12 January 1976 at Four o'clock.

## MONDAY 12 JANUARY 1976

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday 5 February at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 5 FEBRUARY 1976

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday 12 February at quarter past Two o'clock at the Learie Constantine Community Centre, Brent.

# The Committee met at the Learie Constantine Community Centre, Brent

# THURSDAY 12 FEBRUARY 1976

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr David Lane Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr William Wilson

Mr H Lashley, Mr R Cruikshank, Mr L Scafe Jr of the Brent Community Relations Council were examined. Mr P A C Sealy, Principal Community Relations Officer of the Brent Community Relations Council was further examined.

Mr G Elliston, Chairman of the Brent Campaign Against Racial Discrimination was examined.

Mr V Tudor, Mr C Headley, Mr D. Smith, Ms G Edmonds, Ms M Cowen and Mr Auka Makuku were examined.

Mr S Johnson, Councillor S Long, Mr T. Leander, Mr C Duncan, Mr G Warner, Ms J Burke and Mr Walters, spokesmen for the West Indian Community in Brent, were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 19 FEBRUARY 1976

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Hal Miller Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

HE Dr Arthur Wint, CD, MBE, Jamaican High Commissioner, and Mrs J J A Wynter, Minister-Counsellor of the Jamaican High Commission were examined.

Mr R A C Shillingford of the Eastern Caribbean Commission was examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

## **THURSDAY 26 FEBRUARY 1976**

## Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney

The Committee deliberated.

Mr David Smith of Political and Economic Planning was examined.

Mr Jeff Crawford, Mr Trevor Carter and Mr Louis Chase of the Caribbean Teachers Association were examined. Mr Horace Lashley of the Caribbean Teachers Association was further examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday 11 March at Four o'clock.

### THURSDAY 11 MARCH 1976

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday 25 March at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 25 MARCH 1976

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Commander Peter Marshall of the Community Relations Branch, Metropolitan Police, was examined.

Mr Ashton Gibson, Director-General, Mr Vivian Weather, Mr Delroy Stewart and Mr Clifford Francis of Westindian Concern Ltd were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 1 APRIL 1976

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Tom Torney

The Committee deliberated.

Miss Patricia Hewitt, General Secretary, Mr C Richards, Councillor on UKIAS and Mr L Grant of the National Council for Civil Liberties were examined.

Mr L Samuels, Deputy High Commissioner and Mrs M C Miles, Second Secretary (Information), of the Guyana High Commission were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 8 APRIL 1976

# Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr William Wilson

Mr D J Sullivan, Assistant Secretary and Mr H L Bird, Principal of the Department of Employment, Mr W R B Robinson, Deputy Chief Executive of the Employment Service Agency, Mr J R Shipway, Assistant Secretary, of the Training Services Agency and Mr M Hanson, Principal, of the Manpower Services Commission were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday 29 April at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 29 APRIL 1976

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday 13 May at Four o'clock.

#### THURSDAY 13 MAY 1976

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller

Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen

The Committee deliberated.

Mr Tom Rees, Director, Miss Usha Prashar and Mrs Kiran Campbell-Platt of the Runnymede Trust were examined.

Mr Arif Ali, Editor, Mr Russell Pierre, Managing Editor, Mr Anthony Douglas and Mr John Hughes of West Indian World were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

### THURSDAY 20 MAY 1976

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

Miss Rene Okuefuna, Mr Herman Bramothe, Miss Julie Gayle, Mr Leon Wilson, Miss Sandra Stewart and Mr Clive Anderson were examined.

Mr Roger Jemmott, Chairman, Mrs Phyllis White, Mr Astaire Estwick, Mr Vince White and Miss S Titus of the Apollo Youth Club, Reading were examined.

[Adjourned till Wednesday next at Two o'clock at the West Green Community Centre, Haringey.

# The Committee met at the West Green Community Centre, Haringey

# WEDNESDAY 26 MAY 1976

# Members present:

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr Dudley Smith

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr Smith was called to the Chair.

Mr Alexander, Mr Martin, Mr Anderson, Mr Mitchell, Mr Wedderburn, Mr Bart, Mr Greaves, Mr Ford, and Mr Mendonca of the West Indian Leadership Council were examined. Mr Mungo of the West Indian Leadership Council was further examined. Mr Hartill was examined.

Certain young people were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday 10 June at Four o'clock.

### THURSDAY 10 JUNE 1976

# Members present:

## Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Rev E Kendall, Director of CRRU, Rev J Davies, Chaplain, Keele University, Editor of BCC Working Party Report, Rev R Nind, Vicar of St Matthew's Brixton, Mr D Moore, Secretary of St Matthew's Brixton PCC and Miss G Cashmore, Education Secretary, CRRU, of the British Council of Churches were examined.

The Hon K H L Lamb, Director, Public Affairs, Mr Robin Scott, Controller, Development, Television and Mr Michael Barton, General Manager, Local Radio, of the British Broadcasting Corporation were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

### THURSDAY 17 JUNE 1976

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney BidwellMr Dudley SmithMr A G F Hall-DavisMr Anthony SteenMr Hal MillerMr Tom TorneyMr David LaneMr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Draft Special Report (Subject of Inquiry) proposed by the Chairman, brought up and read the first and second time.

Resolved, That the Report be the First Special Report of the Committee to the House.

Ordered, That the Chairman do make the Report to the House.

Mr L Dyke and Mr D Dryden, of the West Indian Standing Conference, were examined.

Mr W I Trant and Mr J Hunte, of the West Indian Standing Conference were further examined.

Mr B C Sendall, Deputy Director General (Programme Services), Mr J Thompson, Director of Radio, Mr N Clarke and Mr A D Stoller, of the Independent Broadcasting Authority were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 24 JUNE 1976

## Members present:

## Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell
Mr A G F Hall-Davis
Mr David Lane
Mr William Wilson
Mr Hal Miller

Mr A Armstrong, QPM, Chief Constable of the Bedfordshire Constabulary, on behalf of the Association of Chief Police Officers, was examined.

Miss J Barrow, Chairman of the Post Conference Constituent Committee, was examined.

Mr Mungo of the Post Conference Constituent Committee was further examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday 8 July at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 8 JULY 1976

# Members present:

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane

Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman Mr William Wilson

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr Bidwell was called to the Chair.

Mr Delroy M Louden, Social Science Research Council, Research Unit on Ethnic Relations, University of Bristol was examined.

Mr Patrick Duffy, Detached Employment Officer, of the Hammersmith Council for Community Relations was examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

### THURSDAY 15 JULY 1976

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr David Lane Mr Dudley Smith

Mr G F Cockerill, Under Secretary, Mr P S Litton, Assistant Secretary, Mr H E S Marks, Mr E J Bolton, and Mr T I Ambrose, HMI, of the Department of Education and Science were examined.

Mr P Duffy, Detached Employment Officer, of the Hammersmith Council for Community Relations was further examined.

Mr W Trew was examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock

## THURSDAY 22 JULY 1976

## Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Dudley Smith Mr William Wilson

Mr David Lane

Mr D S Bell, General Secretary, Mr M Bruggen, Chairman and Mrs G Thornton nairman of the Professional Committee, of the National Association of Probation

Chairman of the Professional Committee, of the National Association of Probation Officers, were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 29 JULY 1976

# Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Fric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

In the absence of the Chairman, Mr Smith was called to the Chair.

Mr Tom Cooke, President, Editor, St Regis Newspapers, Bolton, Mr Keith Whetstone, Vice-President, Editor, Coventry Evening Telegraph, Mr Arnold Hadwin, Editor, Telegraph and Argus, Bradford, and Mr Leon Hickman, Editor, Stratford Express, London, of the Guild of British Newspaper Editors, were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday 14 October at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 14 OCTOBER 1976

# Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr Hal Miller Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Mr Mark Bonham Carter, Chairman, Mr P Tucker and Dr A Little of the Community Relations Commission were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

### THURSDAY 21 OCTOBER 1976

## Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Hal Miller Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Mr P J Woodfield, CB, CBE, Deputy Under Secretary, Mr A J E Brennan, Assistant Under Secretary, Immigration and Nationality Department, Mr G P Renton, Assistant Secretary I (i) Division, Mr G J Wasserman, Assistant Secretary, Head of Urban Deprivation Unit and Miss Nadine Peppard, Assistant Secretary, Race Relations Adviser, of the Home Office were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at quarter past Two o'clock at the West Indian United Social Club, Sheffield.

# The Committee met at the West Indian United Social Club, Sheffield

# **THURSDAY 28 OCTOBER 1976**

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Hal Miller Mr Dudley Smith Mr William Wilson

Mr Travis Johnson, a Community Relations Officer, Mr Mike Atkins, Mr Basil Griffith, Secretary, Mr Joslyn Allen of the West Indian Community Association, Mr Val Caine, Mr Des Smith, Mr Calvin Clarke, Youth Workers, The Hub, Mr Delroy Bennet, Second Generation Alliance, Mrs Maud Anderson, Health Visitor, Mr C F Gutsell, Deputy Chief Constable, and Mr Brian Moseley, Chief Inspector of the South Yorkshire Police Force, were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday 11 November at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 11 NOVEMBER 1976

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr David Lane Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

Mr James Cummings, Community Relations Officer, Mrs Joyce Daniels, Mr John Pile-Gray, Mr George Howard and Mr Philip Taylor, of Croydon Council for Community Relations, and Mr John Franklin, Community Relations Officer for Southwark, were examined.

[Adjourned till Thursday 16 December at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 16 DECEMBER 1976

### Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Sir William Elliott Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday 13 January 1977 at Four o'clock.

# THURSDAY 13 JANUARY 1977

# Members present:

## Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Sir William Elliott Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Hal Miller

Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Five o'clock.

### THURSDAY 20 JANUARY 1977

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Sir William Elliott Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Hal Miller Mr Eric Moonman

Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 27 JANUARY 1977

## Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Sir William Elliott Mr Hal Miller

Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned until Thursday next at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 3 FEBRUARY 1977

Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Sir William Elliott Mr Eric Moonman Mr Dudley Smith

Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

### THURSDAY 10 FEBRUARY 1977

# Members present:

# Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Hal Miller Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen Mr Tom Torney Mr William Wilson

The Committee deliberated.

[Adjourned till Thursday next at Four o'clock.

## THURSDAY 17 FEBRUARY 1977

# Members present:

Mr Frederick Willey in the Chair

Mr Sydney Bidwell Sir William Elliott Mr A G F Hall-Davis Mr Dudley Smith Mr Anthony Steen

Draft Report, proposed by the Chairman, brought up and read.

Ordered, That the proposed Report be read a second time, paragraph by paragraph.

Paragraphs 1 to 6 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 7 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 8 to 12 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 13 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 14 to 17 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 18 to 20 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 21 to 26 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 27 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 28 and 29 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 30 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 31 to 34 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 35 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 36 to 42 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 43 to 45 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 46 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 47 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 48 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 49 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 50 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 51 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 52 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 53 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 54 to 60, read and agreed to.

Paragraph 61 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 62 to 64 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 65 and 66 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 67 and 68 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 69 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 70 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 71 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 72 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 73, read amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 74 to 76 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 77 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 78 to 94 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 95 and 96 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 97 to 101 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 102 and 103 read and disagreed to.

Three new paragraphs brought up, read the first and second time, and inserted

Paragraph 104 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 105 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 106 to 109 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 110 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 111 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 112 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 113 to 118 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 119 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 120 to 123 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 124 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 125 to 129 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 130 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 131 to 134 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 135 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 136 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 137 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 138 to 140 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 141 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraphs 142 to 147 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 148 to 153 read, amended, and agreed to.

Paragraph 154 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 155 read, amended, and agreed to.

Ordered, That four Papers be appended to the Report.

*Resolved*, That the Report, as amended, be the First Report of the Committee to the House.

Ordered, That the Chairman do make the Report to the House.

Ordered, That the Minutes of the Evidence, together with Appendices, be reported to the House.

Ordered, That the provisions of Standing Order No 85 (Select Committees (Reports)) be applied to the Report.

[Adjourned until Thursday next at Four o'clock.

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