

HOUSE OF COMMONS

Fifth Report from the

**HOME AFFAIRS  
COMMITTEE**

Session 1980-81

**RACIAL DISADVANTAGE**

**Volume I**

**Report with Minutes of Proceedings**

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The Home Affairs Committee is appointed under S.O. No. 86A to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the Home Office and associated public bodies, and similar matters within the responsibilities of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

The Committee consists of eleven Members, of whom the quorum is three. Unless the House otherwise orders, all Members nominated to the Committee continue to be members of it for the remainder of the Parliament.

The Committee has power:

- (a) 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:
- (b) to appoint persons with technical knowledge either to supply information which is not readily available or to elucidate matters of complexity within the Committee's order of reference.

The Committee has power to appoint one sub-committee and to report from time to time the minutes of evidence taken before it. The sub-committee has power to send for persons, papers and records, to sit notwithstanding any adjournment of the House, and to adjourn from place to place. It has a quorum of three.

The following were members of the Committee during the present inquiry:

Sir Graham Page (Chairman)

Mr Arthur Davidson (discharged 30.1.81.)	Dr Edmund Marshall (added 23.1.81.)
Mr Alf Dubs (added 30.1.81.)	
Mr George Gardiner	Jo Richardson
Mr John Hunt	Mr William Waldegrave
Mr Robert Kilroy-Silk	Mr John Wheeler
Mrs Jill Knight	Mr Phillip Whitehead (discharged 23.1.81.)
Mr Alex Lyon	

The following were members of the Sub-Committee on Race Relations and Immigration during the present inquiry:

Mr John Wheeler (Chairman)

Mr George Gardiner	Mr Alex Lyon
Mr John Hunt	Jo Richardson

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# FIFTH REPORT

## RACIAL DISADVANTAGE

*The Home Affairs Committee have agreed to the following Report:*

### I INTRODUCTION

1. In the course of receiving evidence on race relations and the "sus" law, it became obvious to the Sub-Committee that the fraught relationship between the police and young blacks had its deeper origins in a complex fabric of social and economic disadvantage whose existence was generally acknowledged, and remedies for which were widely canvassed to little apparent effect. In our Second Report of last Session we therefore announced that the Sub-Committee intended to undertake an examination of racial disadvantage as their next inquiry.<sup>1</sup> This Report is the result of that examination. Because the subject is a complex one, and because of the rapidly changing nature of racial disadvantage, it is not intended to be the last or definitive word. The Sub-Committee will continue to review Government activities in respect of racial disadvantage as part of our general remit to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the Home Office. What we here offer the House is an indication of the nature and extent of racial disadvantage, and some remedies for it capable of implementation in the short and medium term.

2. The inquiry was undertaken against a background of concern at the state of race relations in the United Kingdom. The scale of racial harassment, as documented by the Commission for Racial Equality and others, and the polarisation of feelings over the New Cross fire had recently caused anxiety, as did the disturbances in Bristol and Brixton which occurred in the course of the inquiry. Evidence was heard by the Sub-Committee between May 1980 and March 1981, so that the disturbances in the late summer of 1981, exemplified by Toxteth and Southall, occurred after the completion of evidence and the Sub-Committee's completion of a Report in June 1981. There is understandable frustration in the black community that at a time when the first generation of almost entirely British-born blacks are leaving schools to look for work, unemployment is at record levels nationally and affects the ethnic minorities disproportionately. Some black Britons have yet to find a sense of identity within British society. We are convinced however that responsible and responsive reactions rather than panic measures can ensure that over the next decades black and brown Britons become in every respect full and equal citizens. But whatever the future may hold there are at present dangers which will grow more serious through inaction. The dangers concern above all those young Asians and West Indians for the most part born in this country caught in the clash between the sometimes grim realities of their situation and their own and their parents' expectations. Far too many Asian and West Indian youngsters are unemployed, unskilled, unqualified and disenchanting and it is above all to this problem that Parliament and the nation must address themselves.

3. The Sub-Committee held twenty sessions of public oral evidence, including day-long visits to Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester and Leicester. They concentrated in oral evidence on examining first those central Government departments

<sup>1</sup> HC 559 (1979-80), para 46.



and other bodies most closely concerned with racial disadvantage to discover both their awareness of racial disadvantage and the extent to which it had affected their formulation and administration of policy, and secondly on hearing from employers and trades unions their opinions and experiences of the employment issues involved. They also took oral evidence from the UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce and the Director of the National Centre for Industrial Language Training, and concluded their inquiry by hearing evidence from Timothy Raison MP, Minister of State at the Home Office.<sup>1</sup>

4. In addition to formal evidence, the Sub-Committee paid an informal visit to Brixton and held an informal meeting with members of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Ethnic Minority Children chaired by Mr Anthony Rampton, OBE. In January 1981 they visited the United States and Jamaica; a brief account of this visit is printed as Appendix 22.

5. The Sub-Committee invited detailed written evidence on the employment policies and practices of major retailers and nationalised industries, on teacher training, and on the use made by certain local authorities of grants under section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966.<sup>2</sup> We are grateful to all those who assisted the Sub-Committee by providing evidence and to all those who made possible their domestic and foreign visits.

6. In addition to seeking evidence in the traditional way, the Sub-Committee broke new ground by commissioning research from an outside body into a subject of particular interest to them on which there was a dearth of relevant material available. The SSRC Research Unit on Ethnic Relations at the University of Aston were commissioned to produce a Report on business activity among West Indians in Britain, on obstacles to expansion of such activity and on ways in which it could be encouraged. The Report has been published,<sup>3</sup> and was of much assistance in the preparation of this Report.

7. The Sub-Committee were fortunate to have had David Smith, Senior Fellow of the Policy Studies Institute and author of the definitive PEP study on Racial Disadvantage, as their specialist adviser for this inquiry. They have profited greatly from his insights and wide expertise.

8. There is already available a large body of research material on matters connected with racial disadvantage, and there have also been a number of inquiries, parliamentary and non-parliamentary, into aspects of the subject. It is not our intention to add unnecessarily to this mass of information, and the Sub-Committee were deliberately selective in the choice of matters pursued in both written and oral evidence. Despite all this available information, however, it is impossible to discover the simple factual truth about some of the most significant and apparently straightforward matters. We must at the outset express

<sup>1</sup> The oral evidence, together with relevant memoranda, was originally printed in daily parts as HC 610 i-xiv (1979-80) and HC 15 i-vii (1980-81), and is republished as Vols II and III with this Report (HC 424-II, III).

<sup>2</sup> Some of the memoranda submitted in evidence in response to these invitations, together with further written evidence received, are printed as Appendices to this Report in a separate Volume (HC424-IV). A list of the written evidence reported to the House but not printed appears as an Annex on page cvi. This evidence may be inspected by Members in the Library of the House and by others by arrangement with the House of Lords Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> West Indians in Business in Britain, HC 15-iv (1980-81).



our regret that the opportunity was not taken to insert an ethnic question of some sort into the recent Census, which would have provided an exceedingly useful base figure against which to measure the true significance of existing racial disadvantage statistics both nationally and locally. As matters stand we know neither the total ethnic minority population nor their true rate of unemployment, because there are no figures for the ethnic minority workforce and also because available figures do not identify as ethnic minorities those unemployed both of whose parents were born in the United Kingdom. Inspired guesswork and extrapolation from old and often unreliable national figures is reflected on a local scale, often accompanied with controversy and exaggeration. If it were not for the figures which happen to be available from the National Dwelling and Housing Survey, local authorities would have no way of estimating the numbers of their ethnic minority citizens, and no base figure against which to judge, for example, the extent to which such citizens need and use services provided.

9. If there were not a disturbing pattern of racial disadvantage, these factual lacunae would perhaps matter only to academics. But it is self-defeating to admit on the one hand the existence of a national pattern of racial disadvantage and to try however haltingly to shape policies and practices to come to terms with that condition, and on the other hand to deny oneself the necessary tools to measure its scale and its spread. There is more information available about age and gender at almost every level of aggregation than about race. **We therefore recommend that the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys prepare an ethnic question for inclusion in a 1986 sample Census, so as to gain the experience necessary for the inclusion of such a question in the 1991 Census.**

10. A further obstacle encountered in the course of this inquiry was a general and growing scepticism amongst those concerned at the genesis of yet another Select Committee Report. Witnesses in Liverpool told the Sub-Committee that "reports do not differ materially as the facts do not alter between reports . . . more reports without a solution in sight alienate people from people and create bitterness."<sup>1</sup> We agree. The reports of the former Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration<sup>2</sup> have been of great value in the course of the inquiry, although they would not appear to have had the impact they merited on those to whom their recommendations were addressed. The same goes, we believe, for the unpublished report of the Central Policy Review Staff prepared in 1972-3. There can be no reason now not to publish this report. Our Report is in some respects a reiteration of suggestions and recommendations with which those involved in race relations in all areas of Government must be only too familiar. In other respects, however, it is a novelty, in that we are presenting Government with a manageable list of recommendations, whose implementation can easily be scrutinised, and which incorporate an order of priorities which we sense is lacking within Government at present. Unless inquiries such as these are to be an arid public relations exercise, the Government must make good their public commitment to the new Select Committees in general by reacting positively to recommendations tendered in a positive spirit. The Home Secretary told the House that the Home Office would do all they could to help the Committee

<sup>1</sup> Ev p 495.

<sup>2</sup> Hereinafter "the former Select Committee".



in their inquiry, and that the Government would respond to its suggestions.<sup>3</sup> We are therefore optimistic that a positive response will be forthcoming.

11. We have therefore confined ourselves to reporting on those subjects which are both of a first order of priority and are also suitable for action by Government or others. That we mention some subjects only briefly does not denote that they are unimportant in our view, but rather that we do not consider them priorities or that we judge that any recommendations are likely to be ineffective and unenforceable. Our intention is to provide Government and others with a sense of priorities, and a list of things which can be done, some of which are a response to past inaction, and some of which are to avert the effects of future disadvantage.

12. Racial disadvantage is a particular case of relative disadvantage within society. With the exception of racial discrimination, the disadvantages suffered by Britain's ethnic minorities are shared in varying degrees by the rest of the community. Bad housing, unemployment, educational underachievement, a deprived physical environment, social tensions—none of these are the exclusive preserve of ethnic minorities. They are all disadvantages with which Government and people are familiar and which successive Governments have sought in different ways to alleviate. But the ethnic minorities suffer such disadvantages more than the rest of the population, and more than they would if they were white. To the extent that it is discrimination which renders it more difficult for ethnic minorities to overcome the disadvantages by their own efforts or through the impact of remedial programmes, only a vigorous enforcement of the law and a change in public attitudes will help. But we believe that there are other factors past and present which have produced the present complex of racial disadvantage, and that these factors will continue to exert a negative influence unless something is done. It is with the adequacy of Governmental response to these factors behind disadvantage with which we are primarily concerned.

13. Migration does not just mean a change of residence. It means a change of habits, outlook and values. This change is made more difficult if the migrant does not understand the language of his new country, and is illiterate even in his own tongue. If, added to that, he also has to cope with the change from a rural environment to an inner city slum, his problems are manifest. If his wife, by the religious customs of her former home, is used to isolation from other men and their families, her problems are intensified. The great majority of migrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh and even India were in this position. Those who came from Jamaica, as 70 per cent of West Indians did, faced a similar transition although their educational background was better. There were many individual exceptions to this picture but overall it is true of all but the East African Asians. No Government has sufficiently thought through the difficulties of adjustment facing these new citizens, still less produced adequate policies to deal with them.

14. There is no inherent disadvantage in being black or brown. That cannot be stated too often or too loudly. The factors other than discrimination which cause disadvantage arise primarily from the newness to British society of many ethnic minority groups, and from their linguistic and cultural difference to the

<sup>3</sup> HC Deb (1979–80) vol 983, c 971, 981; vol 995, c 408w.



rest of the population. Other groups have had similar experiences in other societies, and previous ethnic minorities have in the past had similar experiences in British society. The transition which a number of West Indian and Asian immigrants have had to make from a rural to an urban society has no doubt increased the strains which migration imposes in any event. Many Asians speak languages shared by few other citizens, and it has only tardily been recognised that many West Indians speak dialects of English which are some way removed from standard English. Additionally, many Asians have religious beliefs which have major implications for their economic and social existence and which can hinder their integration into existing employment and educational patterns. But in none of these cases does disadvantage arise from the fact of being black or of being a Moslem; white English-speaking Protestants might find many similar disadvantages were they to settle in West Indian or Asian countries.

15. There is a wide variety of ethnic minority groups in Britain differing from one another very markedly. People of Chinese and Cypriot origin may share some experiences, but the differences are more striking than the similarities. Nor is there a uniform pattern of disadvantage that applies to all ethnic minorities equally. Although we are aware that a number of relatively small ethnic minority groups suffer racial disadvantage, and in evidence to the Sub-Committee reference was made to groups as diverse as Ukrainians and Somalis, we make no apology for concentrating on the two broadly-defined groups who greatly outnumber the other minorities: those of Caribbean origin, whom we refer to as West Indians, and those originating from the Indian subcontinent, whom we refer to as Asians. These groupings are very wide ones, and we use them in the full realisation that there are large and important differences in past and maybe present experience between West Indians from rural areas in the smaller islands and those from Kingston, Jamaica, and between Asians from Bangladesh, those from Gujarat and those from East Africa. We also recognise the importance of religious and linguistic diversities among Asians.

16. This report inevitably concentrates on the disadvantages of ethnic minorities; it would be most unfortunate if this were to obscure their achievements and successes. Like the rest of the population, the ethnic minorities are a very diverse group, to be found in many different circumstances and walks of life. Different religions and cultures are mostly a source of strength rather than weakness. Most young blacks are employed and many achieve well at school and beyond. Although the ethnic minorities do tend to be at a disadvantage in various ways, it would be a sad irony if inquiring into the nature and extent of these disadvantages were to lead to the stereotyping of the ethnic minority presence in this country as a problem.

17. Perhaps the most obvious component of racial disadvantage is geographical. Asians and West Indians are distributed very unevenly across Britain, and in quite a different way from the rest of the population. There are general similarities in the distribution of Asians and West Indians, though the areas of concentration of the two groups do not always coincide. The minority groups are concentrated in certain regions: 45 per cent of Asians and West Indians are in the South East, 25 per cent in the West Midlands; the remainder are mostly in the East Midlands, the North West, Yorkshire and Humberside. Within these regions, the minorities are strongly concentrated in the conurbations and within



the conurbations the focal points of the areas of settlement tend to be inner cities where housing has been poor and the social and physical environment depressing.

18. Asians and West Indians are relatively numerous towards the middle of some of the conurbations (London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds/Bradford) because this is where most jobs were available in the 1950s and early 1960s, at the height of the migration. To that extent, the geographical component of disadvantage arises from their relatively recent arrival in this country. Within such areas, they tend to be living in stretches of decaying private housing or high density public housing within a poor social and physical environment, for a complex of reasons, but principally because housing opportunities for early migrants were very highly restricted and later migrants went to live near members of their own ethnic group. In the crucial first decade after 1955, council housing was almost completely closed to Asian and West Indian migrants, even though they were often in desperate housing need, because of residential qualifications and other features of allocation systems. Much privately rented accommodation, especially in more desirable areas, was also excluded because of racial discrimination. Asians and West Indians were therefore forced to rent privately within a highly restricted part of the market, or, at a later stage, to buy an old property in a centre of immigrant settlement and often rent some of the rooms to more recent migrants to help repay the loan. Later migrants tended very strongly to settle in the same areas because the best of their very restricted housing opportunities lay there and because they could, in a variety of ways, live a much fuller life close to members of their ethnic group than in isolation.

19. Migrants were thus attracted to the areas where job opportunities existed, and within such areas, confined to a small and undesirable sector of the housing market. While the pattern of job opportunities has changed radically since 1965 and housing opportunities open to Asians and West Indians have expanded substantially, the geographical pattern of settlement has remained much the same, and new arrivals have tended to swell the numbers in or near the focal points that were established 20 or 30 years ago. While many West Indian families have now gained access to council housing, evidence suggests that the council housing they occupy is of poorer quality and that Asian owner-occupied housing may still be relatively bad. The present generation of young Asians and West Indians therefore inherit the physical and social disadvantages of the areas where their parents settled: the lack of parks and play space, the old and decaying private housing, the high density public housing, the high level of crime, the relatively unsuccessful schools, and the unwillingness of employers to employ people from certain areas. These they inherit not only because of continuing discrimination, but even more as the legacy of a historical process in which discrimination played an important part, along with a lack of specific provision by central and local government and hence the untrammelled workings of the housing and labour markets. These second or third generations are not themselves newcomers in any sense, but have inherited the disadvantages associated with migration to a complex society with its own settled economic and social patterns.

20. A second important component of racial disadvantage is educational. The original migrants brought with them a wide range of educational backgrounds. A survey carried out in 1974, when few Asian and West Indian adults had been educated within the British system, showed that among West Indians the average



educational level was lower than among whites; there were few highly educated West Indians, but also few with little or no education at all. Among Asians, on the other hand, there was a relatively large and predominantly male group who had degree-level qualifications or above, but also a large group—proportionately much larger than among West Indians or whites—who had very little education indeed and many of whom were probably illiterate.

21. What evidence there is shows that Asian and West Indian children encounter some major difficulties in their progress through the British educational system, which are not shared by white children in the same schools. Most obviously, a proportion of Asian children spoke and still speak little or no English on entering schools in Britain. West Indian children may also suffer at school because of linguistic problems which were and are less clearly identified and dealt with. These language difficulties do not simply amount to a lack of specific knowledge or skills, but are also connected with deep-seated personal conflicts that are hard to resolve. Both Asian and West Indian children may be troubled by having a double identity: the person who speaks standard or regional English with white children as against the one who speaks a West Indian patois or an Asian language with family or friends. Associated with this shifting and insecure personal identity is a conflict between the outlooks, habits and behaviour expected by the family, by authority at school and by white and minority peer groups. In the case of Asians, the strongest conflicts are about the family, for example over the traditional practice of arranged marriages. Among West Indians the sources of conflict are less obvious but the upshot possibly more damaging. The strict, authoritarian attitude of many West Indian parents contrasts with the relatively lax discipline at school. This may lead children to reject their parents, particularly if they also come to see them as “Uncle Toms” who have compromised too much to try to get on in a largely white society. As well as rejecting their parents, such West Indian children may adopt an attitude of hostility to all authority and cultivate a special patois, and more broadly a way of life, that is designedly incomprehensible to most white people. The growth of Rastafarianism is the most obvious symptom of this.

22. One of the consequences of these language differences combined with cultural conflict is that young West Indians (but not Asians) tend to progress more slowly at school than whites. All the evidence suggests that West Indians as well as Asians set a high value on educational achievement, so that any relative failure is likely to be keenly felt. Indeed, both Asian and West Indian young people are mostly the children of people who made a radical move to a distant country partly, as they saw it, to give their children better opportunities than they had had themselves. These young people therefore carry the burden of their parents’ high aspirations for them, while often meeting with severe difficulties in trying to realise them.

23. Among the older generation of Asians a lack of English has been a very common and a very serious disadvantage. In 1974 about 40 per cent of Asian adults could speak English only slightly or not at all; among those aged 45 or more, 55 per cent of the men and 82 per cent of the women had little or no English. The non English-speakers were much more likely than those who could speak English reasonably well to suffer every other kind of disadvantage. A low level of language skills also subsists among some younger Asians; a recent survey of 254 redundant Lancashire mill workers showed that 45 per cent of



those under 26 had very low written skills in English and 39 per cent very low oral communication skills.<sup>1</sup>

24. In 1974 both Asians and West Indians tended to be working at substantially lower occupational levels than whites. This difference was partly, but by no means wholly, explained by a difference in educational level and command of English.

25. In the early 1960s, when immigration was at its peak, the level of unemployment was perhaps four times as high among the ethnic minorities as among whites, but by the late 1960s the migrants had settled into the labour market, and the rate of unemployment was probably similar among Asians, West Indians and whites. Analysis of changes since then shows that the ethnic minorities are more vulnerable than whites to rising unemployment. At most times when it has been measured or estimated over the 1970s, the rate of unemployment has been found to be higher among the ethnic minorities overall than among whites. In the present period of very high unemployment they are particularly badly hit, partly though not entirely because a high proportion of Asians and West Indians are young people who are especially vulnerable.

26. The broad outline of racial disadvantage is therefore fairly clearly established. What has as yet been insufficiently clarified is which disadvantages are the result of discrimination and which arise from other factors, and the extent to which and the means by which they can be remedied. Confusion on these questions had led to a cycle of ineffective remedies and subsequent disillusionment. Racial discrimination can be tackled by adequate law enforcement, public education and leadership from Government and other opinion formers. But the problems of disadvantage need an allocation of resources in addition to those provided under mainline programmes. If tackled quickly and urgently, these resources should be required only for a limited period until the problems of transition are overcome. If adequate measures are deferred too long, the cycle of deprivation will be very hard to break.

27. As we have stated above, discrimination is only one factor in racial disadvantage, and possibly not the prime factor. It remains the case however that if ethnic minorities were not the victims of direct and indirect discrimination in many areas of life, their disadvantages as outlined above would be massively reduced, and eventual equality of opportunity could be that much more quickly attained. In 1974 extensive experiments showed that racial discrimination against Asians and West Indians when applying for jobs continued at high levels seven years after the second Race Relations Act had made it unlawful. The results indicated that nearly half of Asian and West Indian men applying for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs faced discrimination. Similar research recently undertaken in Lewisham and Nottingham has shown the extent of discrimination still facing ethnic minority job-seekers.

28. This places a heavy burden on the legislation intended to eliminate discrimination, on the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) who are charged with the implementation of the legislation, and on all those who are in a position to ensure that discrimination is eliminated in their sphere of power or influence.

<sup>1</sup> Ev p 931.



We have not here considered the effectiveness of present legislation and remedies thereunder; the Sub-Committee are at present engaged in an examination of the operation and effectiveness of the CRE. But we are convinced of the need for sensible measures to counter discrimination at every level, and the general commitment given by bodies of every description must be followed by action.

29. Bigotry cannot be eradicated by legislation, but it can be made as impotent and irrelevant as it deserves to be. An enormous amount of good could be done by providing the sort of political and legal atmosphere in which discrimination is plainly seen to be a thing of the past. Vigorous enforcement of the laws against discrimination would thus have a high symbolic value. Justice must be done and seen to be done in individual cases and by pressing ahead with strategic investigations into key sectors such as employment and the provision of services a climate of greater confidence could be created. This Report's concentration on disadvantage should not be interpreted as detracting from our forthright condemnation of discrimination in any form.

30. Some of the disadvantages associated with newness are already diminishing and may disappear in time. Today's ethnic minorities are guaranteed by law, however ineffectively it may operate in practice, equal access to employment opportunities, to housing and to other public services. The job market is in theory as open or closed to them as to others. Particular difficulties experienced by newcomers in dealing with the complexities of bodies such as the National Health Service, the Department of Health and Social Security or commercial institutions should also be overcome with time. Other such disadvantages may however continue unless specifically remedied. The practice of recruitment by word of mouth or of recruiting relatives of existing employees perpetuates existing employment patterns, for example, and may make it virtually impossible for members of ethnic minorities to obtain certain types of jobs.

31. The original social strains imposed by the adaptation of culture and religion to the host society's values also diminish with time. Cultural patterns which originally arose from different objective circumstances will eventually adapt to new conditions and intolerance or insensitivity which they may have aroused can also be expected to diminish. Employers can, for example, be expected to adapt work schedules to non-Christian holidays and to allow female employees the dress which their religion demands. Conflict between generations over arranged marriages or the standards of juvenile behaviour should also gradually pose less of a problem. Social and economic problems engendered by the division of families will presumably not recur now that the vast majority of Britain's ethnic minority population show no intention of returning to their or their parents' countries of origin. But it should not be assumed that ethnic minorities will in time become indistinguishable socially and economically from the population as a whole, nor is it necessarily desirable that they should be. Social phenomena such as the extended family among Asians and the high rate of one-parent families among West Indians may well persist. Additionally, the process of further social adaptation may itself cause fresh strains.

32. Language remains the source of disadvantage which could be most readily affected by Government action, and the one where the absence of any co-ordinated policy is most keenly felt. At the time of original immigration, it was assumed that, while the first generation would suffer some language disadvantage,



subsequent generations would have little or no problem. This assumption is still widespread and to an extent has been justified. But evidence shows that a high proportion of Asian children are still entering primary school, although born and raised in this country, with little or no English, and it was suggested to the Sub-Committee that some of those who had been through the British educational system emerged still seriously disadvantaged by their low level of English. This is appalling. Although recent tribunal decisions have declared language tests for unskilled jobs to be discriminatory, many employers use written application forms as the first stage of a selection process, and not unnaturally prefer an applicant who can read and write English to one who cannot. Whether or not such a preference is discriminatory is for tribunals to decide. But it is self-evident that nobody can hope to succeed in an English-speaking environment if they do not speak the language.

33. Language and communication problems emerge in every area of public policy from pre-primary education to the care of the elderly. Yet there is no Government programme and no overall Government responsibility for conquering this far from insuperable disadvantage. The Manpower Services Commission fund some language training of those at work through Industrial Language Training Units and through TOPS courses. The Department of Education and Science oversee LEA arrangements for teaching children. A network of local voluntary bodies have grown up trying valiantly to meet local expressions of need. Nor has there ever been a thorough and far-reaching examination of the teaching of English as a second language to those settled here, both adults and children. **We recommend that the Government establish such an inquiry, to report on the steps which could be taken to ensure that all those settled here with low oral and written English language skills have adequate access to language training.**

34. Some elements of racial disadvantage will vanish faster than others. Some can be remedied within the general context of Government policy and others are not the sort of problems with which authority in any form should or can properly concern itself. In some cases any action now would be too late, and past inaction has increased the difficulty of action now. It can indeed reasonably be asked whether Government need do anything at all to combat these disadvantages. Some previous immigrant communities have overcome similar disadvantages without conscious Government intervention. Measures to combat racial disadvantage may be counter-productive if they foster resentment in other sections of the community, or if they perpetuate the very differences which can produce disadvantage. Government has no business to dictate the ideal family structure or ideal modes of behaviour or dress. But it does have to ensure that it serves all the people even handedly, as in the provision of education and social support, and that reasonable allowance is made for religious convictions. Service provision must be attuned to special needs. The role of Government cannot therefore be restricted to the collection and dissemination of information and good practice based on a sympathetic view of racial disadvantage. Government must provide the direction so that the symptoms of racial disadvantage can be assuaged and its causes combated at source by a range of bodies and individuals.



## II GOVERNMENT

### CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

#### (i) *Home Office*

35. Our task as a Committee is to examine the expenditure, administration and policy of the Home Office, and it was because of assumptions about the leading part played by the Home Office within Whitehall in dealing with racial disadvantage that this inquiry was undertaken. The Home Office has in the past been the department with central responsibility for race relations, and has accepted that it had "to be in a position to form an overall view of the race relations situation and to ensure that the departments with specific responsibilities are developing their own policies on a co-ordinated basis".<sup>1</sup> The Home Office written evidence to the Sub-Committee of June 1980 described II Division of the Home Office as "broadly concerned with the co-ordination and assessment of the government's policies for combating racial disadvantage", including "inter-departmental liaison on the implications of government policies generally for race relations".<sup>2</sup> It is therefore not unreasonable to expect that the Home Office should at least attempt to co-ordinate the policies of other Government departments concerned with racial disadvantage, and to ensure that they are made aware of the implications of their policies for racial disadvantage.

36. It is thus disturbing that the Minister of State at the Home Office, Timothy Raison MP, told the Sub-Committee that the Home Office would not call themselves a co-ordinating department,<sup>3</sup> but rather "the department of Government which tries to have an overview of the whole area of race relations policy."<sup>4</sup> He rejected the notion that there should be anybody "in Government in charge of monitoring race relations performance of all the different departments", as being likely to cause more friction than it would resolve, preferring to see the Home Office as exercising a liaison role between departments rather than interference or leadership.<sup>5</sup> We are not content that the Home Office should thus limit itself to the essentially passive role of spectator. There are many policy issues involved in racial disadvantage which cut across departmental boundaries and are thus incapable of resolution by any one department—issues such as care of the under-5s and language training. Additionally, the Home Office control the disbursement of around £50 million a year to local authorities under section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966, all of which is spent on matters outside the Home Office's normal departmental responsibilities. There does not seem to be more than the most perfunctory consultation between the Home Office and the other departments concerned, possibly because of the Home Office's reluctance to perform an active co-ordinating role. If they do not perform such a role, no other department will.

#### (ii) *Cabinet*

37. Mr Raison reminded the Sub-Committee that "under our system of Government the job of co-ordination of departments is done by the Cabinet and

<sup>1</sup> Government Observations on the Report of the Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration on "The Organisation of Race Relations Administration", Cmnd 6603, para 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 165, para 27.

<sup>3</sup> Q2033, 2042.

<sup>4</sup> Q2034.

<sup>5</sup> Q2051-2.



by Cabinet Committees", and suggested that an alternative layer of co-ordination by the Home Office would merely lead to friction.<sup>1</sup> He was however unable to say whether or not such a Cabinet Committee or Sub-Committee existed, because of the convention which hinders disclosure by Ministers or civil servants of the existence, composition or terms of reference of Cabinet committees or the identity of their Chairmen.<sup>2</sup> We note the Government's view expressed in its reply to the Education Committee's First Special Report of last session that such disclosure might jeopardise the principle of collective Ministerial responsibility.<sup>3</sup> But it cannot reasonably be claimed that where a Select Committee are investigating a matter of concern which involves a number of Government departments and for which no one department is willing or able to accept responsibility for the policies of other departments, it would infringe any constitutional principle to provide information as to the existence of machinery for Ministerial co-ordination. We have to add our name to the list of those Committees who have found that the convention preventing the disclosure of such information has obstructed us in the performance of our duty of advising the House. From the evidence which is available, there is no effective co-ordination at Ministerial level for co-ordinating Government policies impinging on racial disadvantage. **If there is a Cabinet Committee or its equivalent it is ineffective; if there is not such a committee, one should be established.**

(iii) *Advisory Council*

38. There is one body at Ministerial level whose task it is to discuss a range of policies connected with racial disadvantage, and whose existence no convention conceals, and that is the Home Secretary's Advisory Council on Race Relations. The Council is composed of a number of Government Ministers and others of similar rank, such as the Chairman of the CRE. The Advisory Council has had little if any impact in its 6 years of existence. It meets only two or three times a year<sup>4</sup> and has no staff of its own or parallel committee of officials.<sup>5</sup> Witnesses from departments whose Ministers attend the Council were unable to provide examples of significant results arising from discussions therein.<sup>6</sup> The subjects which are discussed are indeed those which demand the co-ordinated Government response which is at present lacking, but it would be unrealistic to expect much positive outcome from such a body. In July 1978, for example, the Council decided to commission studies of four topics—the problems of communication, ethnic record-keeping, training and ethnic minority staff recruitment. Little seems to have come of these proposed studies; those on recruitment and training did not find favour with the local authority associations, and that on record-keeping was in effect overtaken by the decision on the ethnic question in the 1981 Census.<sup>7</sup> We hope that the review of the Council's shape and function announced by the Minister<sup>8</sup> will be fruitful, but remain sceptical of the value of a high-powered talking-shop deprived of effective power. Its existence does however serve to underline the need for formal consultation between departments on racial disadvantage issues which affect all of them.

<sup>1</sup> Q2042.

<sup>2</sup> Q2043–5.

<sup>3</sup> Government Reply to the First Special Report from the Education, Science and Arts Committee (1979–80), Cmnd 7982.

<sup>4</sup> Q233.

<sup>5</sup> Q439–41.

<sup>6</sup> eg Q587.

<sup>7</sup> App 1, p 4, para 2.

<sup>8</sup> Q2036.



(iv) *Official co-ordination*

39. This formal consultation might be expected to exist in some form at official level, but we understand that this is not the case. There is a regular flow of information between officials, and informal consultations between, for example, the Home Office and Department of Education and Science officials over doubtful section 11 claims.<sup>1</sup> But there is apparently no inter-departmental Committee at official level<sup>2</sup> and thus no established mechanism for the definition of priorities or formulation of policies. In the absence of such mechanisms, and in the vacuum caused by the Home Office's reluctance to be seen to be interfering, ethnic minority concerns go by default. This is particularly the case where the department concerned is not in a position to appreciate the possible effects of its policies on ethnic minorities. In too many cases it is only after decisions have been taken that departments are alerted, for example by the CRE, to the implications for ethnic minorities of their policies.

40. A traditional inter-departmental Committee of officials, each briefed to defend their own department, would be of little value. We envisage rather a regular meeting of officials from the Division in each department which co-ordinates the response to racial disadvantage to discuss the sort of issues which are at present discussed in the Advisory Council. Such a Committee should be chaired by the Home Office, who should take on the responsibility for initiation of discussions on policy matters and for oversight of policy implementation. Vigorous Home Office leadership and a break with inhibitions about interference with other departments would be necessary for such a Committee to be effective. This is scarcely a revolutionary suggestion. Not only are such Committees already in existence in other fields, but some local authorities have created race relations units to ensure that the policies of their various functional departments are responsive to particular ethnic minority needs. It may be that the Government will prefer a Committee along different lines to that proposed here. But in any event **some provision must be made at official level for inter-departmental co-ordination of Government policies for combating racial disadvantage.**

(v) *I Division*

41. The administrative arrangements within the Home Office, as described in their memorandum of June 1980, for carrying out the Department's race relations responsibilities seemed barely adequate for the size of the task.<sup>3</sup> At that time, the two Divisions concerned, I1 and I2, were composed of 14 and 10 staff respectively, including two Assistant Secretaries and five Principals; the responsibilities of I1 Division included the care of refugees and those of I2 Division the supervision of sex discrimination provisions. Since that time, the two Divisions have been amalgamated, with the overall loss of nine posts, including one Assistant Secretary and two Principals.<sup>4</sup> One of the Principal posts was apparently concerned with the inner city programme which has been the responsibility of the Department of the Environment since 1976, so that the loss of this post is understandable. But the suggestion that a staff of 15 can adequately perform the co-ordinating function required of them is ludicrous. The Minister expressed his confidence that this reduction would not adversely affect the

<sup>1</sup> Q539.

<sup>2</sup> Q231, 344, 590.

<sup>3</sup> Q261-8: Ev, p 165, paras 26-29.

<sup>4</sup> App 1, p 5, para 3.



Department's role in relation to other Government departments or their ability to maintain contacts around the country.<sup>1</sup> At a time of retrenchment we can understand the Department's difficulties, but having seen the number of staff employed around the country in combating racial disadvantage, in particular those supported by section 11 funding, we are confident that retention of staff engaged in central race relations work would be as good a use of public money as most. **We therefore regret the disproportionately heavy cut in the staff of I Division of the Home Office.**

(vi) *Other departments*

42. The other Government departments whose responsibilities involve them with issues of racial disadvantage vary widely in their awareness of the subject and in its significance in policy formation. Only the Department of Employment and the Manpower Services Commission seem fully aware of the problems, and have officials whose major, if not sole, concern is to see that the particular employment disadvantages of ethnic minorities do not go by default in policy formation<sup>2</sup>. The Department of Education and Science have an Educational Disadvantage Unit of 14 staff which serves as a focal point within the Department for the consideration of all matters related to educational disadvantage; there are in addition arrangements for a specialised concern for multi-ethnic education within HM Inspectorate.<sup>3</sup> We are not convinced that the Unit has in the past achieved much beyond "informal discussion and talk" with the Inspectorate and within the Department.<sup>4</sup> Its only positive achievement referred to in evidence was the establishment of the Rampton Committee, which was of course the result of a recommendation made in 1977 by the former Select Committee. A Unit concerned exclusively with multi-racial education rather than with the whole range of educational disadvantage arising from social deprivation would be better placed to advise the Secretary of State on questions such as mother tongue teaching or the language problems of West Indian children. Most local education authorities have recognised that multi-racial education presents a sufficiently separate problem to require the services of a specific adviser or advisers, and so have HM Inspectorate. **We therefore recommend that the Department of Education and Science review their administrative arrangements with a view to setting up a Unit concerned solely with multi-racial education.**

43. The Department of the Environment have no staff exclusively concerned with racial disadvantage, and in 1976 the Government told the former Select Committee that "a specialised race relations unit would not be appropriate".<sup>5</sup> The present arrangements, whereby H2 Division in the Housing Directorate covers a wide range of social aspects of housing policy including racial disadvantage, do not suffice to ensure that the particular concerns of ethnic minorities are articulated in policy formulation and administration throughout the Department. The Department are responsible not only for housing, where both national and local policies impinge closely on the particular needs of ethnic minorities, but also for the Urban Programme. Ethnic minorities are concentrated in urban areas and are therefore disproportionately affected by Government's urban policies. We have the impression that the urban policy divisions of the Department

<sup>1</sup> Q2037-8.

<sup>2</sup> See paras 204-11 below.

<sup>3</sup> Ev p 238-9, 256, Annex F.

<sup>4</sup> Q572.

<sup>5</sup> Cmnd 6603, p 9.



may have a somewhat profounder appreciation of racial disadvantage than their colleagues in housing divisions, and that it would be of advantage were this awareness to be spread more widely through such a large department. **We therefore recommend that the Department of the Environment create a specialised racial disadvantage unit.**

44. The Department of Health and Social Security apparently have neither Minister nor staff with a particular responsibility for combating racial disadvantage. In 1976 the Government told the former Select Committee that staff engaged solely on race relations work "would not have the breadth of knowledge and experience to be able to deal adequately with the exceptionally broad range of issues arising", but that the Department had "made arrangements for the co-ordination of Departmental interests on race relations".<sup>1</sup> This "co-ordination" apparently involves a Local Authority Social Services Division acting as the "main channel of liaison with other Departments".<sup>2</sup> The Under Secretary in charge of this Division responded to the suggestion that a central point might give the whole Department an overall view by saying that "this is not the way our work is organised at the present time".<sup>3</sup> Only now are the Department considering formal liaison with the CRE.<sup>4</sup> There is little or no evidence that the Department are aware of the implications for their areas of responsibility of the wide range of racial disadvantage. Local authority social services departments and local health authorities are perforce aware of such matters and have taken a variety of administrative steps towards dealing with them. The Department have not, and would not appear to have taken the lead in advising the authorities on good policy and practice. We do not accept that it would be impossible for a racial disadvantage unit to make a useful input into the Department. **We therefore recommend that the Department of Health and Social Security create a specialised racial disadvantage unit.**

(vii) *Civil Service training*

45. We recognise that a danger in the creation of such special units as we have recommended above is that they will be cut off from the general work of the department, although we note that this has not happened in the Department of Employment. The appointment of such staff cannot replace a general awareness among administrators of racial disadvantage. The Civil Service Department thought it "arguable whether formal training is necessarily the best way of meeting needs in this area",<sup>5</sup> and the sole example of such training given was a 1977 Civil Service College Senior Seminar on the implications of race relations legislation. What is needed, as they truly observed, is that "those who are involved in advising on and implementation of policies which could have an effect on ethnic minority groups are aware of this dimension of their work".<sup>5</sup> **We recommend that the Civil Service College review the content of its training programmes for administrators to ensure that it does in fact produce such an outcome.**

<sup>1</sup> Cmnd 6603, p 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Q336.

<sup>3</sup> Q437.

<sup>4</sup> Q380-1.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 342, para 28.



(viii) *Research*

46. There is no lack of research sponsored by central Government into issues of significance to ethnic minorities. In the course of this inquiry the results of this research have often proved of interest and value. The Department of Health and Social Security provided details of six particular projects which they estimated "should produce material of use to those involved in social work and social work training,"<sup>1</sup> costing approximately £173,000. The Department of Education and Science fund research projects from a "small and oversubscribed budget" intended to assist policy decisions at all levels and to stimulate discussion,<sup>2</sup> and in addition support bodies such as the Schools Council and the National Association for Multiracial Education which themselves undertake research.<sup>3</sup> The directly sponsored research projects have an estimated cost over several years of £685,000,<sup>4</sup> some of it reimbursed from EC funds. The Department of Employment have sponsored research such as the recent PSI report into "Unemployment and Racial Minorities" and the Department of the Environment fund research into a variety of housing and other issues.<sup>5</sup> The Home Office not only has the Home Office Research Unit, whose recent report on ethnic minorities was kindly made available to the Sub-Committee by the Minister in advance of publication, but also has a budget for race relations research for 1981-2 of £81,000.<sup>6</sup> The CRE have internal research facilities and also fund outside research under section 45 of the Race Relations Act 1976 to the tune of around £71,000 in 1979.<sup>7</sup> The SSRC support a Research Unit on Ethnic Relations at the University of Aston.

47. It is of course quite proper that public funds should be used to fund research into issues of importance for public policy. Much of the research so funded is useful and fills an information gap.<sup>8</sup> When the research does not lead to policy adjustments, it is not necessarily the research which is at fault. But we are not satisfied that this research is effectively co-ordinated so as to ensure that it is directed to potential policy outcomes. In April 1974 the Advisory Committee on Race Relations Research emphasised in their Report to the Home Secretary the need to promote cumulative and sustained research of a "policy relevant" kind, and suggested that the Home Office should create institutional arrangements accordingly.<sup>9</sup> "The dispersion of responsibilities for research and policy in race relations" rendered it particularly important in the Committee's view that the responsibility for relating research and policy should be clearly defined.<sup>10</sup> We agree with this view and see no evidence that such institutional arrangements have in fact been made. It is evident that some central direction is called for, to see to it that research is indeed policy relevant, so that the creation of a research project can no longer be used as a convenient means of avoiding policy formulation. **We therefore recommend that the Home Office establish a body to be charged with such general oversight responsibilities.**

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 187, para 7; App 2, p 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 237, paras 8-10.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 238, paras 16-17.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 248-50.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 278, para 23.

<sup>6</sup> Supply Estimates, Class IX, Vote 7, Subhead D2 (HC 190-IX).

<sup>7</sup> Annual Report of CRE 1979 (HC 633), App 6.

<sup>8</sup> Q633.

<sup>9</sup> Race Relations Research, 1975 (HMSO), para 90.

<sup>10</sup> ditto, para 94.



## FINANCE

(i) *Section 11*

48. The only Government finance earmarked directly and exclusively for combating racial disadvantage is that available to local authorities under section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966. Under this section, local authorities can be reimbursed by the Home Office for "special provision in the exercise of any of their functions in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs differ from those of the community . . .". Grant is at present paid at 75 per cent of eligible expenditure, and the initiative in claiming grant lies entirely with the local authority. Under the statute, only expenditure in respect of the employment of staff can be reimbursed. In the financial year 1980-81, the Government paid to local authorities an estimated £50 million, over 85 per cent of which went towards the salaries of teachers and other education staff, either those in specialist language teaching or teaching in schools with a significant "Commonwealth immigrant" presence. The money is not at present cash-limited, although the 25 per cent local authority contribution is so in effect. Section 11 is intended to be a promotional grant, implying that it is intended to encourage local authorities to do what they might otherwise not do. The Government is at present reviewing the operation of section 11 but decisions have been delayed because of the implications of the new system of rate support grant. The previous Government had conducted a similar review, but the Local Government Grants (Ethnic Groups) Bill which resulted from it fell on the dissolution of Parliament in April 1979.

49. There is no single aspect of section 11 payments which has escaped criticism. The absence of inter-departmental co-ordination of policies designed to combat racial disadvantage which we have referred to above applies with particular force to section 11 procedures. Consultation takes place only on the formal question as to whether a local authority's proposed expenditure qualifies under the Act, and the Department of Health and Social Security told the Sub-Committee that "there is no need for inter-departmental machinery to determine priorities in a competitive sense".<sup>1</sup> Many local authorities find it onerous to have to provide 25 per cent of the money out of their own resources. The limitations on the use of the grants, both statutory and those imposed by the Home Office, are galling to local authorities and to those intended to benefit thereby. To those at local level, concerned with the range of problems posed by racial disadvantage, it is puzzling and at times infuriating to see large sums of money being spent with so little positive result.<sup>2</sup> We too must be concerned that an annual expenditure of £50 million, the only major financial commitment of Government dedicated exclusively to overcoming racial disadvantage, should be well spent.

50. Before considering section 11 in detail, it should be emphasised that the money is intended to repay local authorities for something extra which they have to do. The statute does not define what that extra is, which is left to local authorities to decide. Home Office guidance apparently goes no further than suggesting that as a general rule staff in posts claimed for should spend at least half of their time in dealing with "Commonwealth immigrants". Nobody from central Government attempts to persuade local authorities to undertake new

<sup>1</sup> App 1, p 11, para 1.

<sup>2</sup> eg App 19, p 140-3.



programmes and to reclaim the money spent. The Department of Education and Science, for example, would only encourage local education authorities very tentatively to apply for grants, because the local authority would have to find 25 per cent of the expenditure which arose and because of their normal relationship with local authorities "in which so much stems from them and where their own priorities are seen as very important."<sup>1</sup> The known availability of section 11 is therefore expected to have its own encouraging effect. Nor does the language of the statute itself suggest that it is intended that the money should be used to attack at source the disadvantages suffered by "Commonwealth immigrants", but rather that the extra strain on resources presumably imposed by these disadvantages should be partially reimbursed.

51. It has therefore been suggested that section 11 could usefully be integrated into the new grant related expenditure system of assessing rate support grant. This is an extremely complicated system; we sympathise with Mr Raison who described it as "one of the most complicated problems in the world".<sup>2</sup> As we understand it, the amount of grant paid to local authorities will be weighted by reference to a number of mathematical formulae in respect of each service provided. These formulae are to be based not only on the number of people for whom services are provided or the number of "units" of service which have to be provided, but are also intended to "reflect the different costs which authorities inevitably face because of their different circumstances."<sup>3</sup> The "multipliers" (C1 and C2) used for assessing grant related expenditure for primary and secondary education will, for example, take account of the presence of ethnic minority pupils, and those authorities with substantial numbers of such pupils will receive proportionately more grant than those without. It is of course far from clear how this would work in practice, and Mr Raison told the Sub-Committee that he was waiting to see the outcome of this system before making decisions on the future of section 11.<sup>4</sup>

52. We do not accept that programmes designed to meet the special needs of ethnic minorities can or should be funded through a formula-based block grant, and we envisage a continuing and vital role for the sort of specific grant represented by section 11. Not only does the new system not have any "ethnic weighting" in respect of services such as nursery and further education where there is a disproportionate ethnic minority need, but if the money were buried in the block grant we could not be confident that it would be spent by local authorities specifically even on those services for which there was such weighting.<sup>5</sup> The Association of Metropolitan Authorities, the Association of County Councils and the larger district councils all regard section 11 as an exception to their general opposition to specific grants.<sup>6</sup> Lancashire County Council, for example, although regarding the system of specific grants as "an intrusion into local discretion," acknowledged that "this particular grant seeks to satisfy an uneven incidence of need throughout the country."<sup>7</sup> **We recommend that section 11 be retained as the major vehicle of central Government financial support for local authority programmes designed to combat racial disadvantage.**

<sup>1</sup> Q576-9.

<sup>2</sup> Q2074.

<sup>3</sup> Grant Related Expenditure (DOE), December 1980, para 8.

<sup>4</sup> Q2074.

<sup>5</sup> Q2075.

<sup>6</sup> Q972-4.

<sup>7</sup> App 18, p 105.



53. One part of section 11 expenditure which could usefully be absorbed into rate support grant is the system of "formula" payments for extra staffing costs in respect of certain services. The present system under which payment is made when certain expenditure attributable to the presence of Commonwealth immigrants exceeds a norm seems at times ridiculous. Lancashire was granted £778 in 1979/80 in respect of 1.16 of a child in a Preston day nursery because there were 28 immigrant children so cared for rather than the "calculated norm" of 26.84;<sup>1</sup> Leeds were able to recover on the costs of 11 such "extra" children in 1978/79.<sup>2</sup> Other councils claim for "extra" visits by environmental health officers to houses in multiple occupation and for disproportionate numbers of children in care.<sup>3</sup> Lancashire admitted that it was doubtful whether this system generated a real increase in services.<sup>4</sup> The new rate support grant system should pick up the merely numerical extra demands made on these services. Section 11 is widely claimed on specified nursery assistant posts, for example, and also on housing officers, and there is no reason why it should not continue to be so claimed where it is in respect of specified posts. But formula payments represent a very small and little understood<sup>5</sup> part of section 11 expenditure and one that is not really defensible. **We therefore recommend that they be phased out.**

54. If section 11 is to be maintained, it must be radically reformed. Three particularly controversial aspects of its present operation can only be changed by legislation, which the Minister has made clear cannot at present be anticipated.<sup>6</sup> These three aspects are the exclusion of non-Commonwealth immigrants, of voluntary bodies, and of non-salary costs from the ambit of section 11 grants. The restriction to the Commonwealth, which may have seemed a reasonable provision when the Act was passed 15 years ago, excludes not only post-1972 immigrants from Pakistan and their children, but also the considerable number of Vietnamese and other refugees for whom local authorities have had to make special provision. It is absurd to suggest that a non-Commonwealth child or adult experiences problems of cultural and linguistic disadvantage different in type to those of a Commonwealth child or adult. The distinction is in practice otiose in terms of section 11, since local authorities cannot in general distinguish between Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth citizens for whom services are provided, and would not wish to do so even were it possible. The limitation effectively excludes only identifiable non-Commonwealth communities such as Vietnamese and Greeks. While we have considered the restriction of eligibility for grant to local authorities and do not suggest any change thereto, we are less happy about the restriction of grant to salaries. There is no logical reason to suppose that special provision for special needs should not and does not involve other costs. While we understand the Home Office's reluctance to fund the sort of expensive capital projects for which Urban Aid is available, relatively small payments for educational materials or office costs are also excluded. **We therefore recommend that legislation be introduced as soon as is convenient to amend the Local Government Act 1966 so as to remove the restriction to "Commonwealth" immigrants and to give the Home Office discretion to meet non-salary costs.**

<sup>1</sup> App 18, p 107, para 23 (b).

<sup>2</sup> App 18, p 103.

<sup>3</sup> eg App 18, p 129 (Brent), p 130 (Sandwell).

<sup>4</sup> App 18, p 108, para 5.5.

<sup>5</sup> Q2087.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 165, para 24: p 940, para 3.



55. The Home Office are able to decide without legislation who constitutes for the purposes of section 11 an "immigrant" and what constitutes "substantial numbers."<sup>1</sup> The present ruling on "immigrant" restricts the term to those ordinarily resident in the United Kingdom for fewer than 10 years, reflecting the original purpose of the grant. Not only is this restriction founded on a misconception of the lasting effects of racial disadvantage which, as can be seen in Liverpool, can last for decades rather than years, but it is also ineffective in practice. Following the abandonment by the Department of Education and Science of the requirement on schools to keep detailed figures of the ethnic background of pupils under Form 7(i), there is no unified practice on the gathering of such information, and no reliable way in which either the Home Office or the District Auditor can estimate the length of residence in this country of pupils at schools with section 11 posts. The Chief Inspector of Audit has apparently recently drawn attention to this.<sup>2</sup> Leeds, for example, base their estimates on attempts to update the old records and emphasise that "children born in this country but whose families have been resident for more than 10 years can still have particular problems where families have adhered to their own language and customs."<sup>3</sup> Sandwell admit their inability even to indicate the proportion of immigrant pupils in schools with section 11 funding.<sup>4</sup> Brent found that the 10-year rule was extremely difficult to operate in practice and that collecting the necessary information was "actually counter-productive in terms of good race relations."<sup>5</sup> Nor is it solely in education that the 10-year rule is inoperable in practice and misconceived in principle; the same applies to housing and social services. **The 10-year rule should be abandoned.**

56. The same is broadly true of the "substantial numbers" ruling that, in respect of education claims, authorities with two per cent of Commonwealth immigrant pupils on school rolls should be eligible. Areas with small concentrations of such pupils therefore do not qualify. The Minister saw some possibility of defining an area smaller than a local education authority for the purposes of this ruling, which would assist cities such as Liverpool<sup>6</sup> and also some county education authorities. Such use of statistical criteria is never wholly satisfactory, and the two per cent rule is no better than most. It is in practice as difficult to enforce as the present statutory restriction to Commonwealth immigrants, because reliable figures are simply not to hand. It is also misconceived. It may be that a rural shire authority has one small town with a number of ethnic minority pupils, but nowhere near two per cent of the roll of even one school. Their particular needs must nonetheless be catered for. It should be left to the Home Office's discretion to decide the validity of each claim. **We therefore recommend the abandonment of the current two per cent rule.**

57. Section 11 grant is currently paid at a rate of 75 per cent of eligible expenditure, a figure fixed by the Home Office with the consent of the Treasury. We have considered the arguments advanced that the rate should be increased, and also the Minister's fears that such an increase would inevitably lead to "a very difficult financial situation".<sup>7</sup> In the present financial climate, a particular advan-

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 940, paras 4-10.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 941, para 10.

<sup>3</sup> App 18, p 104, para 2.1: p 105, para 4.3.

<sup>4</sup> App 18, p 130, para 3.

<sup>5</sup> App 18, p 121, para 5.5.

<sup>6</sup> Q2073: Ev, p 500-1, 512, 516.

<sup>7</sup> Q2077.



tage of section 11 is that it is not cash-limited, and it is to be feared than an alteration of the rate might lead to the imposition of a cash limit. We do not therefore recommend any change in the rate of grant.

58. The Home Office should be obliged to scrutinise the use made of the money. There is no point in retaining a specific grant in preference to a general one if no attempt is made to estimate its particular effectiveness. There is at present no scrutiny beyond a purely financial audit, although HM Inspectorate do at least have an opportunity to judge the outcome of the expenditure in their visits to schools.<sup>1</sup> Such scrutiny need not be expensive, and could replace some of the time at present consumed in mathematical controversy with local authorities.<sup>2</sup> **We recommend that the Home Office select a few local authorities each year for a stringent examination of the effectiveness of the ways in which the money is spent.**

59. For such scrutiny to be possible, there must be some understanding of what section 11 posts are intended to achieve. Evidence from the Department of Education and Science for example described the educational posts funded as for "specialist teachers of English or of remedial skills for primary and secondary school children"<sup>3</sup>. Were this so, it could easily be confirmed and their contribution evaluated. The same is true in areas both where section 11 funds are at present used and where we would hope that they would be in future. The little evidence available suggests however that there is no general understanding of the purposes of section 11, and little by way of accepted good practice.

60. In the absence of extensive information on how section 11 worked in practice, the Sub-Committee sought information from a representative sample of four claimant authorities (Leeds, Lancashire, Brent, Sandwell) to add to the evidence received from three claimant authorities visited by the Sub-Committee (Avon, Manchester and Leicester).<sup>4</sup> From this evidence we have been able to draw certain conclusions: more profound scrutiny as proposed above would no doubt produce more detailed findings. The evidence available shows not only that most section 11 money (85 per cent nationally) is spent on education, but also that the majority of teaching posts so funded are non-specialist. The specialist language teachers employed are by and large concentrated at language centres, and rarely account for more than one in three of all section 11 teaching posts. The remaining posts, while their occupants may quite possibly have received initial or in-service training in the problems associated with linguistic and cultural differences, are simply additions to the general staffing complement of schools with significant numbers of ethnic minority pupils.

61. Avon provides one useful example. In November 1979, Avon submitted to the Home Office a claim for section 11 funding of a substantial proportion of the additions, known inelegantly as "plusages", made over past years to the basic staffing allocations of schools with ethnic minority pupils. After receiving Avon's undertaking that they "would not seek to make a general improvement in the basic staffing allocation of all schools by means of section 11", the Home

<sup>1</sup> Q541-4.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. App 18, p 122-8.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 238, para 14.

<sup>4</sup> These memoranda are printed as Appendix 18; additional information on the cities visited is printed together with other evidence received there.



Office accepted Avon's claim that 90 per cent of these plusages were attributable to "the element of need arising from the presence of Commonwealth immigrant children" and agreed to fund 96.75 posts.<sup>1</sup> None were "new" or specialist. A Multi-Cultural Education Centre staffed by 53.5 teaching posts funded by section 11 already existed, running a language centre and allocating staff to schools to help teachers and pupils with their "specialist" skills in multi-cultural education.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, there were already 31.8 teaching posts funded, in eighteen primary and three secondary schools. The authority could not specify the tasks performed by either the original or the new "plusage" teachers.<sup>3</sup> We do not criticise Avon for obtaining this funding, nor the Home Office for agreeing to it in good faith. But we are not surprised that, when an additional £1 million of Government funding intended to help local authorities to combat racial disadvantage is used in this way, many in Bristol and elsewhere wonder whether we are getting value for money. Lowering the teacher-pupil ratio must be beneficial for all pupils, but section 11 should not have become a mechanism for this simple end. We are doubtful of the value of pumping in section 11 money unless a council has the ability and the will to spend the money in a way that is going to be directly beneficial to ethnic minority needs.

62. The way in which section 11 money is used for education in Avon is broadly reflected in those other authorities from whom the Sub-Committee received evidence. Lancashire saw the creation "of smaller teaching groups in the schools than would otherwise be possible" as a major purpose of section 11 funds, and distributed their 170.5 posts between 41 at five language centres and 129.5 at schools with a high percentage of "immigrant" pupils.<sup>4</sup> In Sandwell section 11 effectively permits an addition to the teaching quota.<sup>5</sup> Leeds found it "difficult to describe precisely" the work done; section 11 funds did "permit more work in small groups".<sup>6</sup> Brent were not able to indicate the schools at which section 11 posts existed, and observed that their section 11 claim was "based on the proportion of immigrant pupils in the Borough as a whole rather than in particular schools", despite the absence of ethnic statistics which we would have thought essential for discovering this proportion.<sup>7</sup> Leicestershire, which has 208.4 "general" posts compared to 12 at language centres, was opposed on principle to specifying which posts in schools were section 11-aided.<sup>8</sup> Manchester regarded the extra posts as allowing not only "smaller classes and groups for more individual attention to basic language skills" but also a wide range of other activities, although their January 1981 letter to head teachers warned that the Home Office were seeking a narrower definition.<sup>9</sup>

63. The other significant finding from evidence received is that very few councils claim significant sums for services other than education. Of those who gave evidence to the Sub-Committee only Brent claimed substantial sums for housing and social services staff, on the basis that the presence of ethnic minorities led to a substantially heavier caseload for generalist social workers in addition to specially employed staff; for 1980/81 they are claiming for 58 social services

<sup>1</sup> App. 18, p 99-101.

<sup>2</sup> Q109ff: Ev, p 49-70.

<sup>3</sup> App. 18, p 102.

<sup>4</sup> App 18, p 110-12.

<sup>5</sup> App 18, p 133-4.

<sup>6</sup> App 18, p 104, para 22.

<sup>7</sup> App 18, p 120, para 3.1.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 1042-3.

<sup>9</sup> App 18, p 118-9.



and 61 housing posts.<sup>1</sup> Leicestershire County Council are submitting a claim on similar lines for social workers, seeing the greatest call in terms of West Indian children but admitting that Asians probably have "a lesser call proportionate to the numbers within the community".<sup>2</sup> Lancashire have three specialist social workers in Blackburn and Preston.<sup>3</sup> It is arguable whether local authorities can reasonably claim for "extra" service unless they have a clear idea of the scale of demand which would exist were the "Commonwealth immigrants" whites at the same age and socio-economic level. It would also be wrong for section 11 to become a fund for all services provided to ethnic minorities; where local authorities are providing ethnic minorities with essentially the same services as they would be providing anyway, there is no need for section 11. But the concentration of section 11 money on primary and secondary school teaching posts is unfortunate and we are disappointed at the failure of local authorities to use section 11 to boost their other services. However central education may be, there is immense scope for developments in other areas. If experienced local authorities have discovered that the presence of some ethnic minority groups has led to a need for additional specialised and general posts, in the Youth Service or in care of the elderly, for example, it is more than likely that the same need exists in other similar areas. **We therefore recommend that local authorities examine all the services they provide with a view to identifying areas where section 11 funding would improve services already provided or help create new posts of value to ethnic minorities. It is indeed arguable that section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 already imposes a statutory duty on local authorities to provide for the extra needs of minority communities.**

64. In addition to the changes we have recommended in the parent legislation and in the guidance issued by the Home Office, the current system of local authority application is in urgent need of overhaul. The present system is unduly bureaucratic without being commensurately effective or just. We make no complaint about the way in which the system is administered, which is a concomitant of the system itself. We accept that the claim must come from local authorities, but **we recommend that the bald figures at present forwarded to the Home Office each year should henceforth be accompanied by a coherent and long-term statement of intent as to how the authority envisages the funds claimed will help meet the needs of ethnic minorities, and also with an indication of how the authority intends to judge for itself the outcome of such expenditure, in the context of its overall responsibilities under section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976.**<sup>4</sup> This statement should be supported by statistical evidence. In the absence of national statistical data, the Home Office rely of necessity on the local authority's willingness to collect statistics, and section 11 gives the Home Office a strong justification for recommending at least minimal monitoring. A revised application procedure will place the onus more heavily on a claimant authority to provide reliable figures to back up their claim. While we would not wish the Home Office to make the provision of specified statistics a condition of grant, local authorities should be made aware in advance that the Home Office could only allow claims on the basis of evidence submitted, and that the absence of basic statistics would seriously diminish the likelihood of claims being accepted. The statement should also show the authority's plans for using section 11 funds over the whole range

<sup>1</sup> App 18, p 122-3, 125.

<sup>2</sup> Q2336ff.

<sup>3</sup> App 18, p 106, para 2.2.

<sup>4</sup> App 1, p 4.



of their services rather than exclusively in education. The Home Office would of course retain discretionary grant giving powers, which may have to be used more freely than in the past. **We are confident that a revised and strengthened section 11 can be of the greatest use in combating racial disadvantage, and we urge the Minister not to spend too long waiting to see the effects of the new rate support grant system before deciding to reform section 11 along these lines.**

(ii) *Urban Programme*

65. Section 11 represents the major source of funds for combating racial disadvantage, but by no means the only one. The other central element of funding is the Urban Programme administered by the Department of the Environment.<sup>1</sup> Because of the concentration of ethnic minorities in a relatively small number of Britain's urban areas, Urban Programme funds are particularly important for those communities. 38 per cent of the ethnic minority population live in partnership and programme authorities (compared to 20 per cent of the total population),<sup>2</sup> and when those living in towns funded under the traditional Urban Programme or within districts designated under the Inner Urban Areas Act are added, the figure rises to the extent that the Department think that "the coverage of the urban programme as a whole is such that we would not expect very significant pockets of ethnic minorities not to have some access unless they were in deep rural areas".<sup>3</sup> The administrative arrangements for the Urban Programme go some way towards recognising this fact. The "presence of a significant ethnic minority population" was used by the last Government as a criterion for determining which towns should have the partnership or programme authority status which attracts the lion's share of Urban Programme money, and since 1974 the circulars inviting bids from local authorities under the traditional Urban Programme specifically invite local authorities to take account of ethnic minority needs when submitting applications.

66. Urban Programme projects cannot of course be neatly divided into those which are of benefit to ethnic minorities and those which are not. In the case of nursery provision, for example, ethnic minority children and parents should benefit proportionately to their need. Where a city decides, as Liverpool has done<sup>4</sup>, to concentrate funds on advance factories and the physical environment, it should in theory benefit all the citizens of Liverpool equally. There are however projects which are either overtly directed at ethnic minorities, such as community centres, language projects or hostels, or which are likely to be of special value to them, such as training workshops. Appendix 5 gives an indication of the number and type of the second category of such schemes, and shows the variety of needs being met.<sup>5</sup> The Department of Health and Social Security estimate, for example, that around 15 per cent of money in partnership and programme authorities, and up to a third of that in the traditional Programme is spent on personal social services.<sup>6</sup> The Department of Education and Science provided an indication of the scale of educational projects supported under the Urban Programme.<sup>7</sup> These lists also underline the vital role of the voluntary sector

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 275-77.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 276, para 14.

<sup>3</sup> Q687.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 465, para 12; p 512, para 5(b).

<sup>5</sup> App 5, p 28-36; App 9, p 55 (Nottingham).

<sup>6</sup> App 2, p 12.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 254-5.



and the extent to which it is assisted under the Urban Programme. It evidently seeks to fill in the many gaps in provision of services for ethnic minorities, in respect of day nursery facilities and language training in particular, and we are relieved that such an attempt is at least being made.

67. The Urban Programme is different from section 11 in several respects. In the first case, funds can be and are made available to voluntary bodies. Around 35 per cent of the costs of the 276 projects approved under Circular 18 (1979–80) were on projects to be run by the voluntary sector;<sup>1</sup> and overall the Department estimate that the voluntary sector receives around 10 per cent of Urban Programme money.<sup>2</sup> They noted that there was some evidence to suggest that there was an increasing reluctance to consider and sponsor voluntary sector proposals on the part of local authorities, because they have to find 25 per cent of the cost of those which are successful in attracting grant. This would be most unfortunate. **The Urban Programme is the major source of finance for voluntary sector schemes designed to combat racial disadvantage, and we envisage it as remaining so.**

68. Urban Programme funds are also, unlike section 11, available for capital as well as current expenditure.<sup>3</sup> This evidently fills a gap in provision, and ethnic minority communities have benefited thereby in the form of a number of community centres and suchlike. But the corollary of this concentration on capital expenditure seems to be that renewal beyond five years of funding has become difficult if not impossible, and local authorities are then presumably expected to make up the remaining 75 per cent.<sup>4</sup> This has the unfortunate effect of killing off projects at a time when they might be bearing fruit, and also of discouraging local authorities from giving initial support to a project which they fear may land entirely in their lap after five years.<sup>5</sup> There is not necessarily a virtue in novelty; nurseries and hostels are no less useful for having weathered five years, and the unwillingness of a local authority to take over such a project does not necessarily betoken that it is of no value. **We recommend a greater flexibility in the Department of the Environment's attitude to long-term funding of projects, especially since section 11 could not be deployed to take over funding of voluntary sector non-capital expenditure, even if amended in line with our recommendations**

69. The system of local authorities submitting bids to the DOE on the basis of their own and the voluntary sector's applications is probably the best way in the circumstances of encouraging a "comprehensive and rolling programme of activities and projects in local areas which are designed to assist in reducing disadvantage".<sup>6</sup> But it does place the onus firmly on local authorities to ensure that the interests of all the local community are adequately represented in the process of drawing up the priority list of applications. In the two partnership authorities visited by the Sub-Committee, Liverpool and Manchester, there was some disenchantment with the results of applications for projects of benefit to the ethnic minority communities. In Liverpool, where Urban Programme money

<sup>1</sup> DOE Review of the Traditional Urban Programme (1980).

<sup>2</sup> Q648.

<sup>3</sup> Q685.

<sup>4</sup> eg Ev, p 512 (Liverpool).

<sup>5</sup> eg Review of Traditional Urban Programme; Ev, p 313; App 12, p 60.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 311, para 11(a).



has supported a number of projects of benefit to the black community,<sup>1</sup> the CRC were anxious that a significant proportion of the funds should "actually reach the black communities".<sup>2</sup> The Area Profile Group saw the only significant contribution of the Inner City Partnership to black employment problems as the funding of an employment agency,<sup>3</sup> and the 1979 Partnership document made no reference to the special needs of Liverpool's ethnic minorities.<sup>4</sup> The Sub-Committee were told by the Afro-Asian-Caribbean Standing Committee on Merseyside that "there is no means of involving local communities in the plan for the restoration of the urban areas."<sup>5</sup> In Manchester, where a number of projects receive Urban Programme money, one black witness felt that there were "a number of white groups who have our interests at heart... but when we ourselves reply on how we felt it could benefit us directly, we do not seem to get funding".<sup>6</sup> This feeling was echoed by evidence from a number of black organisations.<sup>7</sup>

70. In Bristol, where most of the schemes under the "traditional" programme approved for 1980-81 were of an industrial/commercial kind,<sup>8</sup> but which include four specific schemes for St Paul's,<sup>9</sup> the local CRE were disappointed that a number of schemes had been rejected by both local councils and suggested that "the traditional Urban Programme should be reorientated to meet the equal opportunity needs of areas such as Bristol".<sup>10</sup> Leicester's 1980/81 allocation was the largest received by a programme authority, and now includes a package of ethnic minority youth projects hastily assembled in response to a clash between young West Indians and the police. The Department of the Environment told the Sub-Committee that, while ethnic minorities had derived considerable benefit from previous programmes in Leicester, "seldom were projects intended specifically for ethnic minority groups."<sup>11</sup>

71. Some local authorities do make efforts to involve the local ethnic minority community in the business of applications under the Urban Programme.<sup>12</sup> Of the nine local authorities surveyed in the Department's review of the traditional Urban Programme, however, only one involved the voluntary sector in the selection and ranking of projects.<sup>13</sup> **We recommend that the Department of the Environment suggest to all local authorities receiving Urban Programme money that they review their arrangements for the selection of projects forwarded to the Department with a view to providing for greater ethnic minority community input, and that the new Urban Development Corporations be similarly reminded of their responsibilities to the ethnic minorities.**

72. The Urban Programme does not directly duplicate section 11 funding. Nevertheless, there are circumstances in which a local authority could be eligible for grant under either programme, and it is not clear why, for example, area

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 476-7: p 604, para XII, 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 512, para 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 544, para III, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 579, para VII, 11: p 621, para 5.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 497.

<sup>6</sup> Q1292.

<sup>7</sup> App 19, p 138.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 43, paras 21-23.

<sup>9</sup> Ev, p 91-93.

<sup>10</sup> Ev, p 158.

<sup>11</sup> Ev, p 1008, para 6.

<sup>12</sup> eg Q969 (Nottingham).

<sup>13</sup> DOE Review of the Traditional Urban Programme (1980), para 3.12.



health authorities should go to the Department of the Environment rather than to the Department of Health and Social Security or the Home Office for funding of interpreters at hospitals,<sup>1</sup> or why a particular training workshop should be funded by the Department of the Environment rather than the Manpower Services Commission.<sup>2</sup> The Department of the Environment sometimes seem to fund imaginative schemes which other departments shy at, and the system remains in essence a lottery. There is no sign of the comprehensive approach foreshadowed in the 1975 White Paper on Racial Discrimination. The attempt to weight some elements of rate support grant with an ethnic factor will make matters more rather than less confused. If our recommendations for a broader and more comprehensive section 11 were adopted, there would of course be implications for the overall allocation of public expenditure. Section 11 might in some instances absorb the non-capital recurrent costs of Urban Programme schemes in areas such as language training and nursery education where the local authority had adopted the projects concerned. But there will still be many projects, and in particular voluntary sector projects and those involving considerable capital expenditure, for which the Urban Programme will remain the most suitable source of funds. Such diversity of funding is not in itself a disadvantage, although it means that if the Home Office were in fact to produce a co-ordinated programme based on defined priorities, it would be that much more difficult to enforce. The diversity of funding does however underline the need for inter-departmental co-ordination.

### (iii) *Social Fund*

73. The European Community has only a very limited impact on racial disadvantage, being primarily concerned with the needs of migrant labour rather than of those who have settled permanently within the Community. The European Social Fund does however, under its migrant workers subhead, provide a small amount of money each year in respect of language training for those who are not British citizens. Except for two grants for pilot projects to the Runnymede Trust and to the BBC, the money is effectively a form of reimbursement to the Home Office for section 11 or to the Manpower Services Commission for its industrial language training.<sup>3</sup> In 1981-82 the Home Office estimate that they will receive £1 million from the European Social Fund to this end.<sup>4</sup> It is of course welcome that the Social Fund should help to pay for industrial language training, and in the case of 1980 payments in respect of Vietnamese refugees it provides a definite addition to existing provision. We note however that the funds available from the European Community for pilot projects and research in connection with mother tongue teaching, while less extensive, are reaching their target rather more directly.<sup>5</sup> **We therefore recommend that the Home Office explore the possibility of channelling Social Fund money into new projects for overcoming racial disadvantage,** rather than using it solely as a means of slightly diminishing their own non-cash-limited section 11 expenditure. The skill-linked language training courses referred to in para 207 below assist two Social Fund priority groups, young people and textile workers, and so should find particular favour in Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Q684.

<sup>2</sup> Q647.

<sup>3</sup> App. 1, p. 5-9.

<sup>4</sup> Supply Estimates, 1981-82, Class IX, Vote 10 (HC190-IX).

<sup>5</sup> App. 1, p. 10.



## LOCAL AUTHORITIES

(i) *Local authority associations*

74. Local authorities receive guidance and advice from such a number of bodies and individuals that they could be forgiven for a certain weary deafness to entreaty. They have however created their own three associations, to act as their representatives to central Government and others, and to some extent as their professional advisers. "The associations . . . exist to assist the local authorities and they do not necessarily take a stance on everything which is the responsibility of the individual authority," according to an official of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (AMA).<sup>1</sup> The Associations do nonetheless have the potential of being an invaluable source of advice to, and of acting as an information exchange centre for, local authorities on good practice in the increasing complexity of the tasks imposed upon them. Their record in terms of discussions or decisions on racial disadvantage issues is a dim one. The AMA have a formal position in favour of ethnic monitoring of housing,<sup>2</sup> but the fact was not known to the Chairman of their Housing Committee.<sup>3</sup> They have not given formal consideration to the question of equal employment opportunities, feeling themselves not to be in a strong position to advise their members,<sup>4</sup> although Manchester City Personnel Committee apparently would find it helpful were the AMA to form a view on just this issue.<sup>5</sup> The Association of County Councils recognised *inter alia* the vital part of nursery education in overcoming racial disadvantage.<sup>6</sup> They emphasised that councils were wary of adopting a posture which appeared to discriminate in favour of ethnic minorities.<sup>7</sup> The Association of District Councils (ADC) echoed these anxieties but nonetheless commented on immigration policy and the prospects for the creation of ghettos.<sup>8</sup> They are neutral on the keeping of ethnic records and do not seem to have made much use of the information on housing provided by member authorities.<sup>9</sup>

75. It is not our intention to criticise the associations for their policies or the absence thereof. In the case of the ADC, some member councils have already done so.<sup>10</sup> We do however regret that organisations so especially well placed to alert local authorities to the emerging complexities of policies designed to combat racial disadvantage and to provide and circulate information thereon should not see it as their role to do so. Experience suggests that informed advice from experienced fellow professionals is likely to be more favourably received and more effective than similar promptings from the Department of the Environment or the CRE. Their members have a wealth of information, as was shown in their written evidence to the Sub-Committee, not only on the generalities and realities of policy questions, but also on the relevant financial arrangements. We would like to see local authorities with particularly valuable experiences making the fruits of their experience available through the associations to other authorities. Leicester for example could make more widely known their experiment with a council race relations unit, and Nottingham could pass on the results

<sup>1</sup> Q934.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 397, para 41.

<sup>3</sup> Q943.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 398-9.

<sup>5</sup> Q1423-4.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 400, para 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 399, para 3.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 405, paras 5-9.

<sup>9</sup> Ev, p 406, paras 11-23.

<sup>10</sup> App 9, p 51ff (Nottingham); App 13, p 61ff (Thamesdown).



of their monitoring of housing policies. **We recommend that the associations should henceforth regard it as part of their function to disseminate good practice on a range of issues connected with race relations and racial disadvantage, and suggest that the question of ethnic monitoring of services should be the first item on their agendas.**

(ii) *Local authorities, ethnic minorities and CRCs*

76. Local authorities are of course as answerable to their public as is central Government, and it should theoretically be possible for any group with particular demands or expectations to express these through normal democratic channels, that is, through local councillors. The number of citizens from ethnic minorities who achieve election to local councils is still disturbingly small. A major reason is that there are few areas of the country where ethnic minorities are so concentrated as to form the majority of even a local electorate. From their visit to the United States the Sub-Committee were able to see the close connection between the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and the contemporary black political scene, and the way in which economic advancement had often followed the winning of political power. This was particularly the case in cities such as Atlanta and New Orleans. In the United Kingdom there are not only no similar concentrations, but also not the same tradition of ethnic minority involvement in politics. There are however a number of ethnic minority mainstream politicians emerging in local government, and much depends on them. For it is by successful participation in the political system rather than through separation or special representation that the political future of Britain's ethnic minorities must lie. Where ethnic minority councillors are elected, their task will of course be to represent the whole community and not exclusively their ethnic minority constituents, and in the same sense all local councillors must remember that they must represent their ethnic minority constituents *pari passu* with their other constituents. It would however be a welcome sign of progress were there an increase in ethnic minority involvement in local politics.

77. In the absence of any direct ethnic minority representation on most local councils, there is a particularly strong obligation on councils to set up means of communication and consultation with ethnic minority groups, and to ensure that existing structures do not directly or indirectly discriminate against ethnic minorities. We do not imagine that this is easy, in view of the fragmentation of these communities and the multiplicity of special interests and often inflated claims to representation advanced by various organisations. Such communication and consultation is however perfectly possible; some councils have joint committees with local ethnic minority representatives, others have specialised sub-committees of their functional committees with minority group representation. Each council will develop its own *modus vivendi*, but none can afford to neglect the interests and concerns of its ethnic minority citizens any more than of other groups without direct representation. No doubt many local councillors with ethnic minority constituents are active in forwarding their interests, and in an ideal world no special arrangements would be necessary. But in practice the ethnic minorities may have some reason to sense that, as a black Moss Side resident told the Sub-Committee at an informal meeting, "no local councillor will put his head on the chopping-block for us." As long as the complicated fabric of racial disadvantage survives, so does a local authority's obligation to ensure that they are receiving the information they need on the situation in their locality.



Section 71 of the Race Relations Act, which lays a positive duty on local authorities to "make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need (a) to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, and (b) to promote equality of opportunity, and good relations between persons of different racial groups", is a dead letter; by more regular and more formalised consultation with local ethnic minority groups, at least a start on its implementation could be made. **We therefore recommend that local authorities review their arrangements for consultation with ethnic minorities.**

78. Many local authorities regard their local Community Relations Council (CRC) as the obvious body to consult on matters of racial disadvantage, not least because it is usually funded in part from local authority funds. Some authorities are therefore quick to blame the local CRC for failing to alert them to some possible grievance or cause for concern, and equally quick to assume that CRCs can articulate a united ethnic minority "viewpoint". No doubt some CRCs are better able to fulfil this role than others; in some cases councils naturally use the power of the purse to ensure that the CRCs deliver the goods. But it would be wrong of local authorities to continue to regard CRCs as the sole "spokesman" body of the ethnic minority community. Articulation of ethnic minority concerns is only one part of their function; if they are manoeuvred into a position of constant advocacy or special pleading, their general duty to promote good race relations may suffer. We are also disturbed at the tendency for some local authorities to build up the CRC as an alternative structure for carrying out what should be local authority functions. This attitude, and in some cases the willingness of CRCs to adopt a somewhat inflated role, may well be perpetuating the relative political powerlessness of ethnic minorities. The CRE Director of Community Affairs and Liaison saw the "real clout" of CRCs as lying in "their skills and cunning in playing the local political game . . .".<sup>1</sup> While they may have adopted this role successfully in some cities, they may also thereby be stifling the development of political skills among the ethnic minority community itself. However representative CRCs may claim to be, their status is in essence no different from that of other local voluntary organisations, and they can never have the effectiveness or credibility of direct political demands from the community. **We therefore encourage local authorities to make every effort to make as much direct contact as possible with their ethnic minority citizens, and to rid themselves of the notion that the local CRC is or should be their sole spokesman.**

79. The CRCs are at the moment in a very difficult position, and from the evidence received we feel that there is a need for a fundamental reappraisal of their role. They have the potential to play a constructive role in race relations, through alerting employers to the difficulties faced by ethnic minorities in finding employment, for example, and in ensuring that ethnic minorities are aware of employment and educational opportunities. There may be an inevitable conflict between their role as a watchdog body on local authorities and their task to promote good race relations, which has led to an excessively negative outlook. It may also be that CRCs feel that their critical function must predominate if their receipt of local authority funds is not to undermine their credibility with the ethnic minority community. The Sub-Committee detected a lack of confidence in CRCs on the part of some employers and local authorities. Leicester

<sup>1</sup> Q736.



and Lambeth are examples of two local authorities which are attempting to develop policies covering a wide range of race relations issues through a race relations unit. We would hope to see many local authorities fulfilling by one means or another in a more professional way some of the functions at present undertaken by CRCs. The financial and structural future of CRCs is evidently closely bound up with that of the CRE on whom we will be reporting subsequently. In any event, **CRCs and CROs must recognise that public funding of voluntary bodies bears with it an obligation to perform in a way that is visibly in the public interest.**

(iii) *Monitoring of services*

80. Local authorities provide a mass of services to their communities, and it is through the provision of these services that a local authority can best assist in overcoming racial disadvantage. Most ethnic minority residents naturally make use of local authority services and to some extent depend upon them. But by and large local authorities are not in a position to know the extent either to which ethnic minorities make use of their existing services or to which their legitimate special needs are met within mainline service provision. This is because few authorities maintain ethnic records of their service delivery, primarily because of scepticism as to the value of the data which would be obtained. A common response to questions on such ethnic monitoring is to ask what would be learnt thereby. Witnesses in Manchester for example pointed out that a number of conflicting interpretations could be placed on a high or low take up of social services in the absence of any assessment of need in the ethnic minority groups concerned.<sup>1</sup> Some local authorities also believe that ethnic record keeping would be offensive to the ethnic minorities concerned and so would actually damage race relations, and that it would represent an unnecessary additional expense.

81. In the course of their visits to the four cities referred to in greater detail below, the Sub-Committee were often given the results of partial and unsystematic monitoring undertaken either on an ad hoc basis by the authority or by a CRC or independent research. Without such information, however patchy or incomplete, it would have been next to impossible to explore further the realities of racial disadvantage in those cities. In Bristol and in Leicester, the social services departments were able to provide "snapshots" showing the take-up of certain services at one particular moment.<sup>2</sup> In both Liverpool and Leicester examination of the take-up of services to the elderly had actually led the local authority to initiate policies designed to respond to the demonstrably unmet need for, for example, a meals on wheels service adapted to Moslem dietary requirements. The Director of Social Services in Liverpool, referring to such monitoring, told the Sub-Committee that "if you do collect the numbers, the facts that you have in front of you are so important that you have to find different ways of solving the problems".<sup>3</sup> In Manchester, the local CCR, despite unsatisfactory data, were able to use the information available on the housing position of ethnic minorities to highlight several areas of concern, and in Liverpool interviews with estate caretakers had revealed the concentration of Liverpool blacks in what were apparently the least desirable high-rises.<sup>4</sup> In none of these cases was discrimination revealed, and in some cases the data could be interpreted as suggesting

<sup>1</sup> Q1458, 1451.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 90 (Bristol), p 1052-6 (Leicester).

<sup>3</sup> Q1171.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 763-86 (Manchester); p 558, para V.15 (Liverpool).



that the local authority policies were perfectly satisfactory. In Leicester, for example, monitoring of council lettings apparently showed that ethnic minorities had fared at least as well as the rest of the community.<sup>1</sup> But in every case the local authority concerned learned facts about the effects of their policies which they may have guessed before but could not have known, or which must in some cases have surprised them.

82. It would seem that local authority resistance to such monitoring is partial. The section 11 formula payment system (para 53 above) has encouraged local authorities to count the number of ethnic minority children in local authority nurseries or in care, and the number of environmental health officer visits to houses in multiple occupation attributable to ethnic minority residents, by offering to reimburse the extra expense. Leicestershire were willing to embark on partial monitoring of their social services caseload as a way of backing up an additional section 11 claim for social workers, and Liverpool City Council use the results of the sort of monitoring, which in principle they oppose, to support their case to be included within the scope of section 11.<sup>2</sup> In other cases, local authorities are able to provide figures where they suggest that the situation is not as bad as is sometimes claimed. The Manchester City Planning Department 1977 survey of school-leavers included ethnic group figures which suggested that ethnic minority school-leavers fared only marginally worse than their white counterparts.<sup>3</sup> In a situation where local authorities embark on ethnic monitoring where it is linked to reimbursement from central Government or where it supports a thesis favourable to their endeavours, their reluctance to embark on a consistent policy of monitoring is regrettable.

83. Where there are no ethnic data, there inevitably remains doubt as to the extent to which local authority services reach ethnic minorities. One example is the take-up of improvement grants in Housing Action Areas (HAAs), General Improvement Areas etc. In Bristol, it appeared from the figures that take-up had been slow in one of the HAAs in the St. Paul's area; but Council witnesses could not tell whether this sprang from communication or other problems particularly connected with ethnic minority residents or from some quite unconnected cause.<sup>4</sup> Evidence on Manchester HAAs referred to "a noticeably lower commitment of black residents to improvement which is a function of many factors including a race relations dimension" but the absence of figures meant that the Director of Housing could not estimate the scale of this "dimension".<sup>5</sup> The unwillingness of most housing authorities to undertake monitoring is to some extent the result of persistent Government inertia and vacillation.<sup>6</sup> In 1969 the Cullingworth Report recommended that ethnic records be kept; in 1971 the former Select Committee recommended as a matter of urgency that consultations thereon be undertaken; in 1975 the Government proposed to ask local authorities to collect such information; in 1976 they issued a consultation paper; and in 1978 "consideration was being given" to the comments made in response. The Department now declare that "it is up to the authorities themselves to decide whether and how they ought to keep ethnic records".<sup>7</sup> While we accept that

<sup>1</sup> Q2271; Ev, p 1065, para 4.2.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 1058-60 (Leicestershire); p 478-81 (Liverpool).

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 719-39.

<sup>4</sup> Q59-60; Ev p 114.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 716, 775.

<sup>6</sup> Q1426.

<sup>7</sup> Q691.



this is a fair statement of the case, and has indeed always been so, the inability of the Department to formulate and abide by a policy of any sort on ethnic monitoring of housing can only have confused local authorities and others and thereby have further muddled the waters to no effect.

84. It cannot be over-emphasised that the figures themselves may reveal little, unless measured against other figures. To know how many ethnic minority children in one area use nursery and other pre-school facilities, for example, may be useful but would be more so if the total number of ethnic minority children of nursery age in the area were as easily ascertainable as is the total number of such children and the overall use made of facilities. It would then be possible to judge if there were a disproportionate ethnic minority need for nursery facilities and so the extent to which such need was being met in that and in other comparable areas. Local authorities have a number of sources of information at their disposal which can provide estimates of this sort, but in the last resort only Census figures give a complete and accurate base against which to measure figures of service take-up, and they are widely used by local authorities and central Government. We comment above (para 9) on the Government's decision on the 1981 Census, which was apparently based on opposition to the Haringey test census. While there is no doubt some resistance generally to ethnic monitoring of local authority services, it is likely to diminish if and when its potential beneficial effects are explained. As a witness in Manchester said "black people don't see why this information is necessary on the census; but they could see where it is necessary in order to ensure that they get equal opportunities in employment, in housing, and in other services".<sup>1</sup> A witness in Liverpool told the Sub-Committee that a woman shocked by experimental housing record-keeping would not have been so shocked "if she had been warned before reading the paper it was to help the situation".<sup>2</sup>

85. All local authority services are monitored to a certain extent at present. In housing, for example, figures are generally available on allocations and transfers and on take-up of local authority mortgages or of grants for renovation and repair. Social services departments have overall figures for their nursery places and their services for the elderly. We recognise that the addition to existing information systems of ethnic identification of clients would represent a small expense, but are confident that very little money need be involved, particularly in a situation where many records are computerised. We also accept that the publication of ethnic statistics relating to many local authority services could be needlessly embarrassing if the figures concerned were on a scale such that individuals or particular small areas could be readily identified. The level of aggregation of any published data and the extent of its availability must be clearly established before any monitoring begins. Finally, we recognise that it would be a needless expense for many local authorities to undertake ethnic monitoring, and urge only those local authorities with a significant ethnic minority population to undertake it. While this may not include all those who are, for example, in receipt of section 11 money, it certainly does include those rural counties with educational and social service responsibilities for urban areas with a substantial ethnic minority population. We are convinced that ethnic monitoring of local authority services can be cheap and inoffensive, and would confer

<sup>1</sup> Q1211.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 622.



substantial benefits both on local authorities and on the communities they serve. **We recommend that local authorities with a significant ethnic minority population institute ethnic monitoring of the services which they provide.**

## SERVICES

86. Even in the absence of widespread ethnic monitoring of local authority services, there is enough information available on a local basis to suggest the existence of racial disadvantage in forms some of which are ignored or under-estimated. We deal with education and employment in greater detail below, and here draw attention to four general areas of concern which would repay closer study by central Government and by local authorities.

### (i) *Housing*

87. Over the past ten years there has been a substantial movement of West Indian families into council housing, so that by now similar proportions of West Indians and whites, within each socio-economic group, are council tenants. The proportion of Asians who are in council housing remains much smaller than for other groups, but this may be largely because most Asian families prefer to be owner occupiers even when the quality of the housing they can afford to buy is low. It has been known for some years that the quality of council housing occupied by members of ethnic minority groups is often markedly inferior on a wide range of criteria to that occupied by whites. This was first shown by the PEP survey carried out in 1974, and has later been confirmed by other surveys. A number of inquiries have also shown that Asians and West Indians tend to be allocated poorer properties than whites; the most conclusive demonstration of this comes from a study carried out by the Greater London Council of its own allocation system. This seems to be a continuing cause of substantial disadvantage to Asians and West Indians, and the local authorities from whom the Sub-Committee took evidence showed little awareness of the problem. How far direct and indirect racial discrimination is involved is at present unclear. It seems probable that direct discrimination is no longer an important factor, if it ever was. It is well established that many of the complex criteria used by local authorities to decide allocations and transfers have the effect of placing the minority groups at a disadvantage, but whether this amounts to indirect discrimination depends on whether a court would judge the criteria to be justifiable. The CRE is currently carrying out a formal investigation of Hackney Housing Department, which may help to resolve these issues. In the meantime, **we recommend that local authorities should look critically at their allocation and transfer criteria and procedures to see if there are any aspects of them that have the effect of placing the ethnic minorities at a disadvantage and yet which need not be retained in their present form in order to meet other vital objectives.**

88. For example, most councils exclude all owner occupiers, or all but those in extreme need, from council housing. This works to the disadvantage of certain groups including Asians who are often inadequately housed in owner-occupied accommodation, yet it is a rule which some authorities have abandoned without causing great difficulty. Another difficulty is a lack of larger council accommodation in many areas. Councils are apparently aware of the need to provide housing of a larger than normal size for Asian families, and some have tried to meet this need. **The Department of the Environment should examine its system**



of financing conversions to ensure that there is no financial penalty on councils which discourages them from creating larger housing units. Finally, we echo the suggestion of Cardiff's Housing Manager<sup>1</sup> that housing authorities should take positive steps to ensure that ethnic minorities are aware of available housing facilities.

(ii) *Under-5s*

89. The young and the old are inevitably the most vulnerable members of a community; those from ethnic minorities are no exception. The ethnic minority population is a disproportionately young one, so that they are likely to have a disproportionate need for facilities for the care of under-5s. This additional need arising for demographic reasons, which may in time disappear, is reinforced by a number of other factors. A disproportionate number of West Indian households are single-parent families, leading to a greater need for day care provision, and this is reinforced by the considerably higher proportion of West Indian women who are at work compared to the general population. While Asian women are less likely than the rest of the female population to be employed, economic forces are apparently now proving strong enough to break down this traditional pattern and can be expected to do so increasingly in the future. Additionally, many ethnic minority families are separated from parents or relatives who might otherwise provide support and assistance to working mothers. It is, however, not only the case that there is a particularly heavy demand for under-5 facilities from the ethnic minority community; it is also the case that they would benefit particularly from an expansion of such facilities. Day nurseries, playgroups and mother and toddler groups offer an unrivalled opportunity for overcoming at an early age some of the disadvantages associated with cultural and linguistic differences which at present confront children and their teachers on entry into primary school, in addition to helping familiarise Asian mothers in particular with mothering skills adapted to an "indoor" society. Conversely, lack of proper care and stimulation at an early age may account for slower progress later in formal education.

90. The Department of Health and Social Security recognise the lack of adequate day-care facilities,<sup>2</sup> but beyond commissioning further research would not appear to have developed any policy response. The Department of Education and Science also accept that "the provision of nursery education facilities falls below the desirable level of provision"<sup>3</sup> and the wide variations in the proportions of pupils in maintained nursery education in different authorities certainly suggests that coverage is patchy at best.<sup>4</sup> Evidence of the prevalence of unregistered child-minding, particularly for West Indian under-5s, also suggests the degree of unmet need. An increase in provision need involve few costs; the Subcommittee were able to see in Brixton that parents will pay a substantial sum for day nursery facilities where there is insufficient state provision, and many parents are at present paying for unsuitable child-minding. **We therefore recommend that central Government and local authorities take a joint initiative as a matter of the highest priority to ensure that both local authority and voluntary provision for care of the under-5s comes closer to meeting the demand for it in the ethnic minority community in particular. Local authorities should be encouraged to seek section 11 funding for such provision.**

<sup>1</sup> App 10, p 58.

<sup>2</sup> App 2, p 11.

<sup>3</sup> Q602.

<sup>4</sup> App 4, p 25-7.



(iii) *Elderly*

91. It is only comparatively recently that the growing number of elderly from the ethnic minorities and particularly from the Asian communities has attracted attention as being a potential problem. Some local authorities have not encountered any particular problems,<sup>1</sup> although they are conscious that some may arise over the next decade or so. Most authorities assume that the ethnic minority elderly are cared for within their own community, thus relieving the pressure on their services.<sup>2</sup> While this assumption may well be correct now, local authorities should be alert to the possibility that family patterns may change in years ahead. The voluntary sector is alive to this issue, and a number of sheltered housing, social and recreational projects are growing up. Evidence from Liverpool and Leicester gives specific examples of the sort of need which exists and of the social and economic strains which produce such need.<sup>3</sup> "The strong sense of duty towards them by their children is being weakened by conflicting demands being made upon the younger people and often by geographical distance. They may feel isolated and abandoned and lacking the compensatory relationships which many of the elderly in the host community find in social activities with their peers."<sup>4</sup> While there is controversy in principle as to whether local authorities' response to this and other similar problems should be to support special provision or to integrate their services into their normal delivery pattern, there is in practice no way in which local authorities can regard their responsibility to house, feed and care for ethnic minority elderly as any different from their responsibilities to other elderly citizens. Further research into the particular problems of ethnic minority elderly is being undertaken and **we urge central Government and local authorities to keep this issue under review.**

(iv) *Hostels*

92. Finally, we draw attention to two particular problems deriving from social tensions within elements of the ethnic minority community which, although present to a similar or greater degree in the population as a whole, may demand a slightly different or special response. There are at present a number of voluntary hostels intended primarily for young West Indians who, voluntarily or involuntarily, have left their parental home, often as a result of conflict with their parents.<sup>5</sup> Similar hostels exist primarily for young Asians. Most are provided by voluntary bodies with central or local government financial support, which we regard as the best pattern of provision. The need for these hostels is however likely to be a continuing one, and it is important that public funding should not be cut off after a fixed period of five or ten years. Those funded under the Urban Programme or the CRE's Self-Help Fund run this risk; a continuing commitment of section 11 funds would be more sensible. **We recommend that local authorities explore the possibility of employing the staff of such hostels under section 11.**

93. The strains imposed by adaptation to Western social and economic life on traditional family patterns may also lead to domestic violence. There is of course a network of hostels for battered wives around the country, but we note

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 91 (Avon).

<sup>2</sup> Q1464-5.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 525-32 (Liverpool); p 1010-1015, 1085 (Leicester).

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 1049.

<sup>5</sup> Q655-60, 678-9; App 5, p 39 (DOE).



that in Manchester<sup>1</sup> and Leicester<sup>2</sup> hostels have been established for battered Asian wives who may be reluctant to use other voluntary hostels for dietary, linguistic and other reasons. Such hostels deserve support, and we hope that both the Women's Aid movement and local authorities who fund hostels will give them full support.

#### VISITS TO FOUR CITIES

94. The four visits to Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester and Leicester undertaken by the Sub-Committee as part of this inquiry were intended to furnish detailed information on the extent to which local authorities recognised their crucial role in fighting racial disadvantage in the formulation and operation of policies, and the extent to which the provision of local authority services met the particular needs of ethnic minorities. The information and experiences gained thereby are referred to throughout this Report. But without suggesting that it would have been possible to pass any sort of final judgments on the cities visited and their record in combating racial disadvantage, we call attention below to some particular aspects of the evidence received in each city, and draw some general lessons therefrom.

95. In the course of these visits, evidence was sometimes sought and sometimes provided unsought on the operation of a number of bodies, including the police and health and social security authorities. We discuss these briefly in paras 121–125 below, although we do not regard them as part of the central subject matter of the inquiry. Local authorities, community groups and individuals also provided information on the operation of local authority policies in such areas as planning, environmental health and transport. While recognising that in some circumstances these policies have a particular or disproportionate impact on ethnic minorities, they too are not of central importance, and we do no more than draw the attention of local authorities to the fact that there is no area of their work which is not capable of affecting racial disadvantage.

##### (i) *Bristol*

96. Although the Sub-Committee's visit to Bristol was not intended as an inquiry into either the immediate or underlying causes of the disturbances there on 2 April 1980, those incidents inevitably affected the tone of the evidence. Without in any way condoning the violence, it was apparent that the authorities and the community had engaged in considerable self-examination in the aftermath of 2 April. Because of a mistaken belief that the Sub-Committee visit was a Government tactic to placate local demands for a "public inquiry", a number of bodies and individuals invited to submit formal evidence and to attend an informal discussion refused to do so. Written evidence was however received in advance, and the Sub-Committee were able to spend a full and ultimately rewarding day.

97. It was agreed by all concerned that the most fundamental symptom of racial disadvantage in Bristol, and in the St. Pauls area in particular, was youth unemployment. Councillor Claude Draper, the Leader of the City Council, was convinced that the provision of jobs for the young of St. Pauls would bring

<sup>1</sup> Q1231–3, 1466–8; Ev, p 774.

<sup>2</sup> Q2183–6, 2338–41.



a new atmosphere into the area,<sup>1</sup> and the Council's policy of urban renewal is concentrated on this objective.<sup>2</sup> Youth unemployment affects many young people in Bristol, but those from the ethnic minorities disproportionately severely, and West Indian youth yet more so.<sup>3</sup> Numbers and statistics present the usual problems, owing to uncertainty about the total ethnic minority population and working population, the division between the Careers Service and Employment Services Division of MSC, and the unknown degree of non-registration. MSC knew of 87 16–18 year olds from ethnic minorities unemployed in February 1980, and a further 142 19–24 year olds.<sup>4</sup> The Bristol CRE suggested that an additional “several hundred” were not registered with either of the statutory agencies.<sup>5</sup> While the truth probably lies somewhere between the two extremes, it is the case that the official unemployment figures exclude those on YOP and similar courses, however bleak the participants' ultimate employment prospects. Whatever the true figures, it is not disputed that young blacks in Bristol are disturbingly more likely than their white peers to be unemployed.

98. The causes adduced for this phenomenon were various. Discrimination is clearly one. The decline of Bristol's manufacturing base and its gradual replacement by a sophisticated office and technology economy also works to the detriment of school-leavers without qualifications.<sup>6</sup> The headmasters of three local schools denied that ethnic minority children underachieved at school or were disproportionately likely to leave without qualifications.<sup>7</sup> Others however argued strongly in the opposite sense. An Avon Education official admitted that “a lot of people have lost heart through the schools situation”;<sup>8</sup> Bristol Youth Workshops, who train some of the products of these schools, observed that many of the young people “displayed a potential in the workshop that seems to have been unrealised in school”.<sup>9</sup> Other witnesses criticised the failure of schools to educate West Indian children in particular, and felt that pupils were unfairly placed in non-examination classes. While the headmasters and the Director of Education<sup>10</sup> thought that problems developed after the children had left school, it is clear that there was considerable dissatisfaction with the education service provided.

99. In addition to the many general criticisms and suggestions for change, there was particular concern over the structural arrangements for education in the North Central Area of Bristol where the West Indian Community is concentrated. In the 1960s a decision was taken to avoid St. Pauls becoming a ghetto area and, in the words of the Leader of the City Council, “the secondary lads and lasses were spread around the comprehensive schools”.<sup>11</sup> Part of St. Pauls was left however in the only selective area, served now by one secondary modern (Bishopston) and two grammar schools (Cotham and Fairfield). Bishopston is to close in July 1981, and local children will by and large have to travel to comprehensives elsewhere. Whatever the historical background<sup>12</sup> and the present

<sup>1</sup> Q1.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 108–9.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 124–30.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 128.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 157.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 121–3, 146.

<sup>7</sup> Q116–122.

<sup>8</sup> Q53.

<sup>9</sup> Ev, p 141.

<sup>10</sup> Q131, 39.

<sup>11</sup> Q9.

<sup>12</sup> Q36.



difficulties in drawing satisfactory catchment areas in North Central Bristol, we see strong advantages in maintaining in existence in one form or another a school on a site adjacent to St. Pauls such as Fairfield. We trust that the local education authority are aware that the local community would feel the closure of Fairfield keenly.

100. We have reported above (para 61) on Avon's use of section 11 funds in general terms. If they continued to receive an equivalent amount of grant, it might be better used if concentrated more directly on the educational disadvantage of ethnic minority pupils. We applaud Avon's commitment to the Multi-Cultural Education Centre, although it has evidently not yet established for itself a very clear role. It may be that a change in the management structure in charge of the Centre is necessary, and in particular the appointment of an Adviser charged exclusively with oversight of multi-cultural education. Much of the Centre's work seems to be devoted to teaching indigenous children about Africa.<sup>1</sup> While an admirable teaching activity, it is a relatively wasteful use of section 11 funds, particularly in an authority which for financial reasons was not able to respond to the invitation from the Department of Education and Science to offer a special preparatory course for entry into higher education,<sup>2</sup> but where the lack of ethnic minority, and in particular West Indian, teachers is actively regretted.<sup>3</sup>

101. The two local authorities concerned in Bristol, Avon County Council and Bristol City Council, decided in the aftermath of the disturbances to engage in what the then Leader of the County Council, Sir Gervas Walker, described as "a rather more permanent dialogue".<sup>4</sup> It is of course regrettable that such a dialogue was not already permanent. The local authorities concerned have not, within the resources available, been ungenerous to St Paul's in terms of expenditure on projects and particularly on housing,<sup>5</sup> nor has central government with urban aid and section 11 funds. There are proportionately more nursery places and more social workers than in the county as a whole,<sup>6</sup> and there are plans to improve the social environment.<sup>7</sup> The details of the housing situation of the ethnic minorities in St Pauls can only be a matter for speculation.<sup>8</sup> St Pauls suffers however from the familiar range of problems associated with inner urban areas; these problems include the fact that it has long been an area of high prostitution and crime, and according to police evidence had been long before the area became multi-racial.<sup>9</sup> It is also a very small area, and so one where promising results could be expected from relatively slight expenditure on the sort of training and community projects which might restore hope to the area. The relatively small scale of the problem could well be responsive to intelligent projects funded by urban aid or other sources; we hope that the councils will seek out good projects for support. The sort of action which has already tentatively been initiated by the Councils on jobs could well, if followed through vigorously, provide an important test of what can be achieved in other cities where the problems are on a much larger scale.

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 60-66.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 82.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 58, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Q29.

<sup>5</sup> eg Q10-13: Ev, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p. 90.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p. 106ff; 116-7.

<sup>8</sup> Q56-74; Ev, p 42; cf Ev, p 149-50.

<sup>9</sup> Ev, p. 132; Q181-3.



(ii) *Liverpool*

102. Liverpool's ethnic minority population is estimated at around 40,000 by the Merseyside CRC (eight per cent of the city's population), half of whom are black British of several generations. The criteria for section 11 funding exclude Liverpool as having fewer than two per cent Commonwealth immigrants, and it is not widely perceived as a city with race relations problems. The situation of Liverpool's ethnic minority population is however of particular interest because of the way in which patterns of disadvantage in employment, education and housing, so far from disappearing with the passage of time, have if anything been reinforced over the years, to the extent that Chinese or Asian "newcomers" are in a better position than Liverpool's indigenous blacks. If we cannot combat racial disadvantage in our other cities now, we will soon have a dozen Liverpools but on a far greater scale.

103. In Liverpool, unemployment among the ethnic minorities is the most visible symptom of racial disadvantage, and not least among black Liverpudlians of three or four generations. The Afro-Asian-Caribbean Standing Committee estimated that 60 per cent of the Afro-Caribbean population were unemployed,<sup>1</sup> and the Merseyside CRC thought that 50 per cent of young blacks were without jobs.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of figures for indigenous blacks, the local MSC could not give alternative percentages, but agreed that they did have a particular problem.<sup>3</sup> It was also agreed that this problem was less pressing among the Asian community.<sup>4</sup> The problem of black unemployment is exacerbated by a surprising degree of racial concentration in housing, including public housing, and by a general sense of alienation and disaffection among Liverpudlian blacks.

104. The education of Liverpool's blacks was criticised by the CRC and other witnesses, puzzled that children who had been through the same school system as other Liverpudlians and had no language problem should apparently under-achieve.<sup>5</sup> The Director of Education recognised the need for change to the curriculum<sup>6</sup> and for substantially more in-service training, which the provision of section 11 funds would assist.<sup>7</sup> There are agreed to be very few black teachers in Liverpool<sup>8</sup> and only two black school governors.<sup>9</sup> The Crown Street Language Centre provides an apparently adequate facility for language tuition mainly for Liverpool's Chinese, Sudanese and Somali communities.<sup>10</sup> There is no firm evidence of underachievement by Liverpool's black children,<sup>11</sup> and a 1980 Careers Service Report suggests that blacks may gain equivalent educational qualifications,<sup>12</sup> but it remains widely believed that black children in Liverpool are under-achieving.<sup>13</sup> It is hard to believe that it is solely discrimination on the part of employers or incompetence or reticence on the part of job-seekers which produces such disproportionate youth unemployment. The establishment with the aid of public

<sup>1</sup> Q976.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 518.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 490, para 9.

<sup>4</sup> Q982-3, 1030.

<sup>5</sup> Q995-6, 1018.

<sup>6</sup> Q1095.

<sup>7</sup> Q1074, 1094.

<sup>8</sup> Q1051, 1075-7.

<sup>9</sup> Q999, 1056.

<sup>10</sup> Ev, p 482-5, 549-50.

<sup>11</sup> Ev, p 496.

<sup>12</sup> Ev, p 542, para III, 6.

<sup>13</sup> Ev, p 547, para IV, 2.



and private funds of an employment agency to provide a service particularly for the black inhabitants of Liverpool 8, South Liverpool Personnel, is striking evidence of the separation of Liverpool's blacks from the mainstream economy of the city.<sup>1</sup> The absence of blacks from city centre shops was also particularly remarked upon.<sup>2</sup>

105. The closure in rapid succession of the schools attended by many of Liverpool's black children—Arundel and Paddington—may well have destroyed a possibility of community-based local schools where parents could be more closely involved in their children's education, and where expertise could be built up in ways of overcoming the effects of generations of discrimination and disadvantage.<sup>3</sup> There is a particular responsibility on the local education authority to ensure that Liverpool's black children are properly catered for in any further reorganisation plans, and that full weight is given to the views of ethnic minority parents.

106. Liverpool's ethnic minority community also labour under some other disadvantages relative to the rest of the city's population. They are concentrated in inner-city deprived council flats or decaying private houses with a system of council housing allocation which makes it difficult for those in housing need to move away from areas such as Liverpool 8.<sup>4</sup> The large Chinese community may have particular housing difficulties which are only now beginning to be explored.<sup>5</sup> Liverpool's ethnic minority elderly are apparently scarcely reached at all by the council's social services,<sup>6</sup> and a Moslem meals on wheels scheme has regrettably been shelved. The local authority has since 1974 made a particular effort to improve its provision of social services to the ethnic minority community in general by the recruitment of eleven black social workers, and by the creation of a Fostering Liaison Officer.<sup>7</sup> This Black Social Workers project was the subject of some detailed criticism<sup>8</sup> but we applaud the fact that the local authority were at least willing to recognise that some means had to be found of overcoming problems connected with social services provision to ethnic minorities, and commend this example to other social services authorities.

107. Although Liverpool's black population has been surveyed *ad nauseam*, we make no apology for having added to the amount of published information, and particularly recommend as worthy of further study the Area Profile submitted by the Merseyside Area Profile Group.<sup>9</sup> As the Bishop of Liverpool warned the Sub-Committee however "surveys raise expectations; if nothing is then done, the sense of cynicism about all authority is increased".<sup>10</sup> The previous Select Committee were disappointed that Liverpool could offer no lead to the country; we share their "profound sense of uneasiness".<sup>11</sup> The local council should not be cast as the villains of the piece; we hope that their recent decision to declare themselves an equal opportunity employer is evidence of greater determination

<sup>1</sup> Q1123; Ev, p 493.

<sup>2</sup> eg Ev, p 542.

<sup>3</sup> Q1054; Ev, p 513, para 7 (c), 551, para IV, 17, 553, para IV, 19 (d), 611, 620, 622.

<sup>4</sup> Q1020, 1068-9, 1172ff: Ev, p 480, 555ff.

<sup>5</sup> Q1010-15; Ev, p 502, 532-7.

<sup>6</sup> Q1153-5, 1023: Ev, p 525-32, 563, para VI, 1, 2-3.

<sup>7</sup> Q1151-2, Ev, p 472-3.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 515, p 562-6.

<sup>9</sup> Ev, p 538-609.

<sup>10</sup> Ev, p 621, para 5; see also Q1055.

<sup>11</sup> HC 405-I, (1972-3), para 25.



on their part to break down the barriers of mistrust and should help to change the prevalent feeling that no local politician would stand up for equal opportunity.<sup>1</sup> The Chief Executive accepted that some further liaison arrangement would be valuable.<sup>2</sup>

108. Racial disadvantage in Liverpool is in a sense the most disturbing case of racial disadvantage in the United Kingdom, because there can be no question of cultural problems of newness of language, and it offers a grim warning to all of Britain's cities that racial disadvantage cannot be expected to disappear by natural causes. The Liverpool Black Organisation warned the Sub-Committee, "what you see in Liverpool is a sign of things to come".<sup>3</sup> We echo that warning.

(iii) *Manchester*

109. Ethnic minorities make up approximately 10 per cent of the population of Manchester, consisting of around 14,000 Asians, 11,000 West Indians and 16,000 of mixed or other origin. Manchester has an active CCR and a council who have responded constructively to problems of racial disadvantage. In the wake of a CRE visit in 1979, a working party of council officers was established to "look at various aspects of race relations and service provision for ethnic minorities in Manchester and to develop a strategy for City Council action", and a parallel body including non-council organisations was also set up.<sup>4</sup> While a welcome step, it remains to be seen whether this Ethnic Minorities Working Group will have any positive effect on council policies, which are naturally still matters for the individual committees and officers.

110. The symptoms of racial disadvantage are not very different in Manchester to those in Liverpool and Bristol. There is a young West Indian population concentrated in the inner city suffering from high unemployment and social stress. The local CCR estimated young black unemployment in Moss Side as being 36 per cent, and although MSC witnesses were confident that there was not a lot of difference between the general level of unemployment and that of ethnic minorities, the figures available emphasise the steep climb in unemployment among the young in particular.<sup>5</sup> As in other areas, there are a number of YOP and the other training schemes, but it is doubtful if they suffice to meet the need, and there was scepticism as to the value of participating in those that do exist. Local careers officers had not found that ethnic minority jobless had unrealistically high career expectations,<sup>6</sup> while one witness emphasised the understandable desire of youngsters to "be trained for something . . . better than dad doing the sweeping up".<sup>7</sup> Both the local CCR and the outreach officer had been disappointed at the failure of major retail firms in Manchester to employ ethnic minorities.<sup>8</sup> The Sub-Committee's informal meeting with regional CBI representatives underlined the gap between employers asserting that insufficient ethnic minority applicants presented themselves for jobs and ethnic minority groups doubting the reality of the commitment of such employers to their own equal opportunity policies.

<sup>1</sup> Q998, 1041.

<sup>2</sup> Q1146-8.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 610.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 684, para 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 750, i-viii.

<sup>6</sup> Q1404.

<sup>7</sup> Q1286.

<sup>8</sup> Q1392-9; Ev, p 747.



111. The ethnic minority housing scene also reflected national housing patterns,<sup>1</sup> with poorer Asians concentrated in low quality overcrowded pre-1919 terraced housing and West Indians disproportionately in inner-city deck-access council high-rises.<sup>2</sup> Even without ethnic records,<sup>3</sup> it was evident to all parties that there were problems of a communication gap on such matters as applications for improvement grants or for council housing between the Asian community and the Council. We are not convinced that reliance on one Asian re-housing officer out of 32<sup>4</sup> is adequate to cope with the problems of language and lack of understood knowledge which the Director of Housing himself recognised as the biggest problem posed by the presence of ethnic minorities.<sup>5</sup> **We recommend that the Housing Committee reconsider their refusal to appoint staff for this purpose for which section 11 money could be available.** It is not at present clear how far the exclusion of most owner-occupiers from council housing in practice obstructs access by Asians who desire such housing,<sup>6</sup> nor the extent to which the Council has responded to demand for larger council housing, although the Director of Housing agreed that "we do not have enough four bedroomed accommodation"<sup>7</sup> Both these points should be further explored by the Council.

112. The lack of statistics also hampered any deeper examination of education and social services. It was evident that some schools which had made particular efforts to address themselves to multi-racial education had helped ethnic minority children to achieve, but any firm opinion must await the results of the proposed local monitoring exercise.<sup>8</sup> The Director of Education was aware that it was the clear view of the majority of West Indian parents that their children were under-achieving, but had himself no evidence of the fact and observed that it was not the view of the schools themselves.<sup>9</sup> Where the uptake of social services was known or estimated, the results were potentially significant, in respect of children in care<sup>10</sup> or of services for the elderly.<sup>11</sup> The refusal to keep ethnic records, founded on the absence of a statistical base against which to judge any information which might emerge,<sup>12</sup> means that the provision of social services can in most cases only be reactive, and so that the local authority may be failing to provide services in the right place and of the right sort.

113. Manchester has made a considerable financial commitment to combating racial disadvantage as part of its programme designed to improve its inner city life. As a black community worker told the Sub-Committee "in an area like Moss Side we have probably got more resources than a lot of other inner city areas... we have a job centre; we have a new very palatial adult education centre; we are getting a careers office; we are getting a welfare office; we have child guidance... yet the quality of life for people in the area has not altered one iota".<sup>13</sup> While this may be an unduly pessimistic assessment, it was echoed by others in the black Moss Side community who felt that the considerable

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 784.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 716.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 678, 715.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 717; Q1427, 1432, 1454-5.

<sup>5</sup> Q1428, Q1228; Ev, p 717.

<sup>6</sup> Q1277-8; Ev, p 773.

<sup>7</sup> Q1436.

<sup>8</sup> Q1339.

<sup>9</sup> Q1338.

<sup>10</sup> Q1460.

<sup>11</sup> Q1469-72.

<sup>12</sup> Q1458.

<sup>13</sup> Q1290.



sums of money channelled into such areas, for example by Urban Aid,<sup>1</sup> do not achieve much. Such an assessment suggests that increased funding for community centres and even for low-key skill-training projects, however welcome, may do no more than assuage the symptoms of disadvantage and that an attack on the sources of disadvantage represents the only lasting solution.

(iv) *Leicester*

114. The last of the four formal visits made by the Sub-Committee in the course of their inquiry was to Leicester, a city with a high proportion (around 20 per cent) of ethnic minority inhabitants and with a certain reputation for good race relations. The evidence received confirmed that in general the local authorities concerned would seem to have been responsive to the particular needs of their ethnic minority citizens. The evidence also emphasised however that underneath a calm surface a number of areas of concern existed, which were not always being adequately dealt with. The major concerns revolved around the basic question of the survival of the language, culture and religion of the Asian minority, and particularly of the Moslem and Sikh communities. This is a concern which covers the spectrum of community life from demands for the teaching of the mother tongue and of minority religions as an integral part of the school curriculum, to fears lest elderly Asians isolated by linguistic difference were beyond the reach of mainstream social services. Adult Asians too with little or no English language ability were agreed to be effectively out of touch with the employment and training services of the Manpower Services Commission. The admirable Home Tuition Scheme<sup>2</sup> and the TSD's courses<sup>3</sup> could by no means meet the demands made on them.

115. We have used elsewhere the evidence on mother tongue teaching gathered in Leicester<sup>4</sup> but it would be wrong to understate here the strength of feeling behind demands there for the educational system to be more closely adapted to the linguistic and religious affiliations of ethnic minority pupils.<sup>5</sup> The local education authority has responded to some extent by making school premises available for some of the evening Asian supplementary schools which an estimated 10,000 pupils attend,<sup>6</sup> and also by adapting the religious education curriculum to take account of a multiplicity of faiths.<sup>7</sup> The deputy Director of Education recognised the validity of these demands but is as yet unwilling to go beyond keeping "an open mind".<sup>8</sup> While understanding and indeed welcoming this cautious approach, we feel that some greater efforts to ensure that the secondary school curriculum responds to the presence of ethnic minority pupils would be advisable, for example by encouraging the teaching of Asian languages within the modern languages curriculum.

116. The local education authority have obviously endeavoured to solve most of the significant problems presented. They emphatically denied suggestions that

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 672-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 1024-5, 1110-1.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 1030, 1038-9, 1081-2.

<sup>4</sup> See paras 144-148.

<sup>5</sup> Q2126, 2160.

<sup>6</sup> Q2163, 2179.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 1020-1, 1033-4, 1102-5.

<sup>8</sup> Q2315.



there was a lack of ethnic minority school governors<sup>1</sup> and have made positive efforts to improve home-school liaison, an area which witnesses from the Sikh Education Council and the Leicester United Caribbean Association criticised.<sup>2</sup> Attempts to overcome the considerable problems presented by the entry into primary schools of many children who, although born in this country, speak little or no English may not be sufficient, and there remains a particular problem with the development of English language training at a second stage.<sup>3</sup>

117. One part of the Leicester community would seem to have been largely overlooked until very recently. The Leicester United Caribbean Association (LUCA), who gave evidence to the former Select Committee in 1975, testified to the sense of frustration and alienation felt by Leicester's 6,000-strong West Indian community. It did not appear that much had improved over the six years since their last appearance, and it had apparently taken a potentially explosive incident with the police in July 1980 to stimulate the local authorities into submitting an additional package of schemes primarily directed at the training and recreational needs of young West Indians as part of their 1980-81 Urban Aid application.<sup>4</sup> It is disturbing that the situation had developed thus far before the councils sponsored such projects and we hope that it is not "five years too late" as LUCA fear.<sup>5</sup> The projects proposed include research into non-registration by West Indians with the employment or careers service. Such research and the proposed survey of West Indian pupils' achievement rates which the local education authority were contemplating<sup>6</sup> is welcome and must be followed by remedial action.

118. In both social services and housing the local authorities appear broadly aware of where disadvantage occurs and apparently willing to do something about it. It is a matter for argument whether their response should be viewed as in some way an extra or simply as part of their normal service. If, for example, a number of elderly Leicester Citizens have particular requirements as to the sort of sheltered housing they seek or the way in which the meals on wheels to which they are entitled are cooked, it is surely reasonable to expect the local authority to regard that as part and parcel of their normal task; and similarly with the provision of suitably-sized council housing. It is important to destroy the impression that seeing to it that ethnic minority citizens get their fair share of civic services is in any sense a bonus, or something to be left to the CCR or the ethnic minority communities themselves to arrange.<sup>7</sup>

#### (v) *General*

119. In both Bristol and Leicester, the fact that a predominantly rural shire authority was responsible for providing education, social services and youth services in large cities whose housing and other policies were decided by a non-metropolitan district authority sometimes led to difficulties. The Leader of Leicester City Council stated in the introduction to the City's 1981/4 Inner Area Programme that "co-ordination of effort is particularly difficult to achieve because

<sup>1</sup> Q2211-13, 2317-8.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 1018, 1026-7, Q2208-10, 2219.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 1028.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 1068, paras 5-8, p 1008-9.

<sup>5</sup> Q2234.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 1032, vii.

<sup>7</sup> Q2350-1.



key services are administered by different authorities with differing priorities”<sup>1</sup> and we have noted above that the situation in Bristol was similar. Although this situation is comparatively rare in those cities with substantial ethnic minority populations, it presents particular problems and is the sort of area in which advice from, and the pooling of experiences by, local authority associations would be especially valuable.

120. The other general issue arising from the evidence received in the four cities visited by the Sub-Committee concerns local arrangements for education. In both Bristol and Liverpool, considerable feeling was aroused by the closure of inner-city schools attended by many ethnic minority children. The closures were not of course racially motivated but resulted from falling rolls and from city-wide reorganisation plans. The former Select Committee recommended as long ago as 1973 that dispersal “should now be phased out as soon as possible in those areas where it is still pursued but that where there is a sufficient number of parents who prefer their children to be dispersed arrangements should be made, if practicable, to meet their wishes”.<sup>2</sup> While dispersal may no longer be pursued in principle, it would appear that it still happens in practice. The educational benefits of a local school may be outweighed by other factors, but in general local education authorities should ensure that ethnic minority school-children have the same choice of school as the rest of the school population, and this should ideally include a local school. We note that Leicester has a number of Community Colleges in areas of ethnic minority concentration and draw this example to the attention of those authorities who seem to have doubts about the desirability of predominantly ethnic minority schools.

## OTHER AUTHORITIES

### (i) *Social Security*

121. In addition to local authorities, there are of course a range of other statutory agencies who provide services to ethnic minorities as they do to the rest of the community. They all have a duty to satisfy themselves that they are providing their services to ethnic minority clients and communicating with them as effectively as the rest of their clients. The social security system for example must be operated in such a way that claimants with English language difficulties do not lose thereby. The Department of Health and Social Security find it “difficult to determine whether problems of communication represent a serious obstacle to ethnic minority claimants”<sup>3</sup> and rely either on the language skills of junior staff or on friends or relatives of claimants to overcome difficulties that arise. This policy has attracted some criticism. The Department have translated supplementary benefit information leaflets into Asian languages but have no real idea of the use made of them;<sup>4</sup> neither have they undertaken even pilot studies of the take-up of social security benefits by ethnic minorities.<sup>5</sup> Because of the high dependency ratios of both Asian and West Indian families, and because of disproportionate rates of unemployment, it is particularly important that ethnic minorities should be gaining full and equal access to the social security system, and **we recommend that some research be instituted into the use made by ethnic minorities of the social security system.**

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 1008, para. 9.

<sup>2</sup> HC 405-1 (1972-3), para 43.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 188, para 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 188, para 16: Q366-70.

<sup>5</sup> Q371-7.



*(ii) Health*

122. Health services must be similarly geared both to providing an equal service for ethnic minorities and to overcoming any particular problems. Communication is again a vital issue, and in the absence of a lead from the Department, local health authorities apparently vary in the adequacy of their response. It is particularly important that Asian mothers should receive pre-natal care and advice to help overcome the differential rate of pre-natal and perinatal mortality revealed in the Second Report of last Session from the Social Services Committee.<sup>1</sup> Evidence from Leicestershire Area Health Authority<sup>2</sup> shows an encouraging fall in the perinatal mortality rate for Asian women over the last four years, but it would seem that Asian women are still one and a half times more at risk than non-Asian mothers.

123. We welcome the recent national "Stop Rickets" campaign launched by the Department of Health and Social Security<sup>3</sup> and draw attention to other conditions to which ethnic minorities are disproportionately liable. Tuberculosis notification rates are very much higher for Asians than for non-Asians. Evidence from Leicester showed that 239 of the 266 notifications there in 1978 were of Asian origin, and that young adults rather than the elderly were the most vulnerable.<sup>4</sup> It is not clear whether effective steps are being taken on a local or national scale to deal with this problem. Sickle cell disease is a blood disorder which disproportionately affects those of African and West Indian origin. The Department's evidence states that there is varying practice on the extent of screening for this disease, and that "some hospitals serving high risk communities already provide neonatal screening and it is expected that this practice will spread."<sup>5</sup> While there is no comprehensive screening programme, many hospitals apparently offer screening facilities. The Medical Research Council is supporting research into the condition and the Health Education Council has been asked to produce an information leaflet on sickle cell disease. There is evidently some anxiety and a number of misconceptions on this subject,<sup>6</sup> and **we recommend that such a leaflet be produced and distributed as widely as possible. We also recommend that hospitals in areas with high risk communities should consider providing both neonatal and adult screening facilities.**

*(iii) Police*

124. The relations between ethnic minority communities and the police do not form part of the subject-matter of this inquiry, although a considerable amount of evidence on the subject was received. The former Select Committee made a number of recommendations on this subject, in their 1972 Report on Police/Immigrant Relations<sup>7</sup> and their 1977 Report on the West Indian Community.<sup>8</sup> Some of these recommendations have been implemented, on community liaison and work in schools in particular, and we welcome this. There is a weight of responsibility not only on the police but also on those in the community, and in particular in schools, to foster a spirit of co-operation between young

<sup>1</sup> HC 663-I (1979-80), para 341.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 1089, para 3.

<sup>3</sup> App.3, p 11, para 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 1091, 1093-1100.

<sup>5</sup> App.2, p 14-16.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 567-9.

<sup>7</sup> HC 471-I (1971-2).

<sup>8</sup> HC 180-I (1976-7).



people and the forces of law and order. We look forward with great interest to the results of the inquiry being conducted by Lord Scarman into the disturbances in Brixton and police-community relations. In the light of his report, we may return to further consideration of this issue.

125. The one area on which we comment directly is the disappointing lack of progress in the recruitment of ethnic minorities into police forces, evidence of which was received in the four cities visited by the Sub-Committee.<sup>1</sup> In the three years from 1974-77 the number of ethnic minority police officers in England and Wales rose from 109 to 199,<sup>2</sup> 40 per cent of them in the Metropolitan Police. As of 28 February 1981 there were 297 ethnic minority police officers, representing 0.25 per cent of the total;<sup>3</sup> 114 of these were in the Metropolitan Police. We do not underestimate the reluctance on the part of West Indians in particular to identify with the police service. But the time has come for the Home Office to go beyond giving Chief Officers advice and assistance on publicity measures designed to increase ethnic minority recruitment, and to show the "boldness and imagination" which the Government admitted was needed in 1978.<sup>4</sup> This may mean that otherwise suitable candidates who fail the standard written entrance test should be trained by the police themselves to the requisite standard. Sections 37 and 38 of the Race Relations Act 1976, which allow training bodies to provide training facilities for under-represented ethnic minority groups, were passed for just such a set of circumstances. The Sub-Committee saw in Washington DC how an exercise of political will had converted an almost all-white police force into an effective and racially integrated one. **Where a police force does not adequately draw upon the pool of potential talent, it should take vigorous steps to see that it does so.**

### III EDUCATION

#### INTRODUCTION

126. Disadvantage in education and employment are the two most crucial facets of racial disadvantage. They are closely connected. Without a decent education and the qualifications which such education alone can provide, a school-leaver is unlikely to find the sort of job to which he aspires, or indeed any job. Conversely, pupils who learn from older friends of the degree of difficulty encountered in finding employment may well be discouraged from striving to achieve at school. In other words, there is no point in getting ethnic minority education right if we do not at the same time sort out racial disadvantage in employment, and vice versa. We deal first with education.

127. The educational problems confronting ethnic minority children have been extensively analysed from almost every conceivable angle. The outcome is unimpressive. Ethnic minority children, and in particular West Indian pupils, are still under-achieving at school on a disturbing scale, and are evidently disaffected. Parents with high but not unrealistic aspirations for their children are still vocal in their dissatisfaction, to the extent that many send their children to be educated

<sup>1</sup> eg Ev, p 133 (Bristol—4 officers), p 672 (Manchester—12 officers), p 1005 (Leicester—14 officers).

<sup>2</sup> Cmnd 7186, para 65.

<sup>3</sup> HC Deb (1980-81) vol. 3, c 304w.

<sup>4</sup> Cmnd 7186, para 97.



at voluntarily-supported supplementary schools or even back to their country of origin. Teachers recognize these symptoms and tend to lay responsibility at the door of society and "institutionalised racism". The reasons behind this failure are complex. Much of the research and advice of the last decades has been of little practical value, or at least has not been translated into suggestions capable of implementation. A decentralised system of education leaves each of the thousands of schools concerned having to find the best solutions the hard way. The teaching profession is defensive and fearful of being seen to treat one child differently to another.

128. A major reason for the disappointing lack of outcome of years of study and research is a lack of certainty as to the nature of educational disadvantage specific to ethnic minority children. This confusion of general educational disadvantage with specifically racial disadvantage was typified by the setting up of the Centre for Educational Disadvantage and the Unit in the Department of Education and Science mentioned above (para 42). Many of the disadvantages suffered by ethnic minority children are shared by other children from socially deprived backgrounds. Some ethnic minority children do not suffer these disadvantages, and others achieve well in spite of them. There is indeed a danger of ethnic minority pupils being stereotyped as problems, which can so affect the perceptions of teachers, other pupils and ethnic minority pupils themselves that the prophecy is self-fulfilling. Ethnic minority underachievement is not inherent in ethnic minority pupils, as is demonstrated for example by the reputation for high educational achievement enjoyed by West Indian pupils in the United States. Nor is racism a sufficient explanation. For various reasons, Asian pupils achieve very differently from West Indians, as do girls from both groups perform differently from boys, while all presumably suffer to a similar if unquantifiable degree from racist attitudes.

129. The obvious problem confronting the education of Asian children is one of language together with adjustment in some cases to the cultural shock of transference to school society from homes that may have been relatively enclosed. West Indian children too have to make a difficult transference from a disciplined home life to the relative anarchy of schools, subsequently encountering criticism at home and rejection at school. Unlike Asian children, they have no ready-made culture of their own on which to fall back, and so they may become disaffected or take refuge in whatever sub-culture may be available. It is asking a lot of our education system to deal with personal and group identity problems of this complexity, and of course it cannot do so in isolation. But if it does not respond, all other efforts to overcome racial disadvantage are stillborn. Because school is the one shared experience of all Britons, we have no alternative but to seek there a solution to problems which may arise elsewhere but which are at their most visible in the educational arena.

130. It has long been evident that we have not got ethnic minority education right, despite signs that some ethnic minority pupils are now achieving nearer their potential. The Sub-Committee decided not to take detailed evidence on this subject, both because of the amount of information already available and because the Rampton Committee (see below) was covering the ground fully at the same time as this inquiry. What we present below are our recommendations and conclusions on a number of what we feel are key areas in education. If these are followed we are confident that there would be a gradual improvement



in the achievement of ethnic minority pupils, and equally important greater confidence among pupils, teachers and parents that the British educational system was responding to the challenge of multi-racial education.

131. The Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups was set up under the Chairmanship of Mr Anthony Rampton in March 1979, with a remit to produce an interim Report on the educational needs and attainments of West Indian children by the end of 1980. The Rampton Committee has become over the past two years both a symbol of hope for those concerned with ethnic minority education and a shield behind which the Department and LEAs have sheltered from demands for action or policy pronouncements. The Department told the Sub-Committee that "our main hopes are rested on the Rampton Committee" and agreed that its interim Report would be looked at with some urgency.<sup>1</sup> The interim Report was published in June 1981, having been presented to the Secretary of State in February 1981. An advance copy was made available to the Sub-Committee in May, and in addition they had an informal exchange of views in January 1981 with Mr Rampton and four of his Committee members. Our Report inevitably repeats several of the recommendations made in the interim Rampton report, and we support others therein. The Secretary of State should be aware of the intensity of disappointment that would be felt were his response to the interim Report to be seen to be half-hearted; the reconstituted Committee of Inquiry should be equally conscious of the weight of expectation which lies on their shoulders, as they proceed to the rest of their task.

132. However energetic the Department's response, however, there are important constraints on their ability to give effect to recommendations for change in educational policy and practice. On many issues they can do no more than advise and warn, because a number of important policy decisions are the responsibility of local education authorities, their professional advisers, headmasters, teachers and governors. We recognise this problem, but have the impression that the Department has in the past been more reticent in encouraging good practice in the field of ethnic minority education than in some other areas such as home-school liaison, curriculum reform or corporal punishment. HM Inspectorate provide the Department with a wealth of detailed information, which too often seems to disappear without trace. Unlike the findings of some academic research on ethnic minority education, which may appear to teachers of little or no practical value, the Department alone are in a position to offer authoritative practical guidance. They are best placed, for example, to persuade LEAs and teaching unions of the value of monitoring the achievements of ethnic minority pupils, or to reach an agreed definition of what multi-cultural education actually involves. The recent Schools Council report showed that LEAs are actually eager for such a lead. It would be a wasted opportunity were the Department not to give one.

#### APU SURVEY

133. Before any evaluation can be made of the many remedies suggested for educational underachievement by young West Indians in particular, some large-scale research into its true incidence is essential. There has been a lot of small-scale research which has led to a number of partial and sometimes contradictory

<sup>1</sup> Q635, 616.



results, but as yet nothing on the scale of the sort of surveys of pupils undertaken on a systematic basis by the Department's Assessment of Performance Unit (APU). This omission is the more regrettable because the Unit's terms of reference include the task of seeking "to identify the incidence of under-achievement", and the Unit was itself set up largely in response to the 1974 Government White Paper on "Educational Disadvantage and the Educational Needs of Immigrants".<sup>1</sup> It is also regrettable that the Department failed to gather the various figures which they announced that they would gather in their reply to the former Select Committee's Report in 1977.<sup>2</sup> We therefore welcomed the announcement in December 1980 that following a report from the APU West Indian Study Group consultations were being set in train on the mounting of a national survey of the performance of pupils of Afro-Caribbean origin.<sup>3</sup> Despite the problems outlined in the Study Group's report and in evidence to the Sub-Committee,<sup>4</sup> we are convinced that an authoritative survey of this sort would produce useful results which could be acted on. It is therefore most regrettable that the Department should have been deflected from their proposed course of action by opposition from teacher's unions, local authority associations and some West Indian organisations.<sup>5</sup> A greater determination on the part of the Department might have paid off. There are alternatives to such a survey, such as the use of local surveys based on various education record-keeping systems<sup>6</sup> but, as the interim Rampton Report has confirmed, there is no viable alternative to a national survey. The Department would also perhaps have been better advised to have made the proposed APU survey more obviously a natural part of the Unit's normal task of assessing educational performance. **We recommend that the Study Group be reconvened in order to find some means of producing national figures on the performance of West Indian children.**

## TEACHERS

### (i) *Ethnic minority teachers*

134. There is at least one area of educational policy where the Department exerts, if not control, at least a more direct influence than they do in what happens in individual schools in various local authorities, and that is the supply and training of teachers.<sup>7</sup> All the witnesses before the Sub-Committee agreed that the way in which teachers approached the task of teaching ethnic minority pupils was a vital element in any strategy for reversing under-achievement. If teachers have negative stereotypes of black or brown children, or if they lack understanding of their social and linguistic background, no amount of fiddling about with the curriculum or research into educational psychology will help. Teachers who are themselves from ethnic minorities can be expected to have some sympathy with and understanding of the particular disadvantages of ethnic minority children. Ethnic minority teachers can provide ethnic minority pupils with a role model—that is, with an example of an adult from a similar background who has evidently achieved well and is looked up to. As images of success, they may also help engender among white children a more positive attitude to "blackness". There are at present disproportionately few ethnic minority

<sup>1</sup> Cmnd 5720.

<sup>2</sup> Q631–2.

<sup>3</sup> App 4, p 25; Ev, p 237, paras 11–12.

<sup>4</sup> Q610–13.

<sup>5</sup> HC Deb (1980–81) vol 3, c 469w; Q952.

<sup>6</sup> eg Ev, p 72 (Bristol); Q1338–45; Ev, p 708, para 19 (Manchester).

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 235, para 4.



teachers<sup>1</sup> and an increase in their number is widely agreed to be desirable. Local authorities deplore their inability to recruit ethnic minority teachers; with few vacant posts it is difficult to persuade able school-leavers that teaching is a good career, and equally difficult to find vacancies for teachers who are qualified. We do not propose that black children should all be taught by black teachers, of course, nor that black teachers should teach only black children. But the presence on the staff of multi-racial schools of ethnic minority teachers is worth a mass of lessons in African or Asian history.

135. The only policy response from central Government to this widespread recognition of the need for ethnic minority teachers has been the invitation sent out by the Department on 2 August 1978 to seven local education authorities to establish pilot courses to prepare suitable students for entry to higher education, and in particular for teaching and social work qualifications, by providing them with an opportunity to gain the formal qualifications required.<sup>2</sup> From the interim report on these courses submitted to the Sub-Committee,<sup>3</sup> and from comments by a number of bodies involved, it is clear that these special access courses have not been an unqualified success. Three authorities declined to participate, presumably on financial grounds, and of course the Department have no powers to insist.<sup>4</sup> In the three years since the 1978 letter, only ILEA (twelve in 1980–81) and Manchester (two in 1980–81)<sup>5</sup> have established full-time courses. The courses at Bradford and Leicester have apparently mainly attracted female students re-entering the job market,<sup>6</sup> and indeed the Principal of the Charles Keene College at Leicester denied that the course there was primarily intended for ethnic minority students.<sup>7</sup> The number of Asian students recruited has been disappointing.<sup>8</sup> Evidence from principals and teachers in colleges of further and higher education, and from organisations such as the National Association for Multiracial Education,<sup>9</sup> suggests that the fact that students on these courses are not entitled to mandatory grants is the major obstacle to the mounting of full-time courses and indeed of more courses of all sorts. The Department agreed that it might well be a problem,<sup>10</sup> and in fact only two of the local education authorities involved (ILEA and Manchester) have provided major discretionary grants. It is strange that “significant use has been made of grants under section 11” in meeting staff costs for these courses,<sup>11</sup> but that section 11 money cannot be made available for the students on them. **We recommend that the Department of Education and Science explore with the Home Office the possibility of making section 11 funds available for such students.**

136. Despite financial difficulties, these courses have meant that 291 students began courses in 1980 designed to bring them into higher education, of whom 187 were from ethnic minorities, 116 of them West Indian women.<sup>12</sup> The pass rate of students has varied,<sup>13</sup> but overall in the nine ILEA one-year courses 78

<sup>1</sup> App 20, p 151, para 4.2.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 241, para 31.

<sup>3</sup> App 4, p 19–21.

<sup>4</sup> Q604–6.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 704, para 32–33.

<sup>6</sup> App 4, p 20, para 5.

<sup>7</sup> Q2326–8.

<sup>8</sup> App 4, p 20, table 2.

<sup>9</sup> App 20, p 151, 152, 168, para 3.

<sup>10</sup> Q593–5.

<sup>11</sup> App 4, p 21, para 11(d).

<sup>12</sup> App 4, p 20.

<sup>13</sup> eg App 20, p 169.



per cent of all and 82 per cent of the 78 West Indian students were admitted to higher education.<sup>1</sup> Four of these who had failed to obtain Grade C 'O' level in Maths apparently passed a special equivalent examination, as provided for by Circular 9/78.<sup>2</sup> Flexibility of this sort should be encouraged. It appears that both Coventry and Sandwell may be setting up such courses for 1981-2 and that ILEA will be expanding their Brixton College courses. Although the schemes are at an early stage, **we recommend that the Department should not await the results of the monitoring of these courses, which will not be available before 1983, before encouraging and coaxing further local education authorities towards establishing such courses.**

137. In the course of their visits to four Jamaican schools in January 1981,<sup>3</sup> the Sub-Committee were greatly impressed by the ability and dedication of the teachers. It is to be hoped, not only that the present Caribbean Teacher Exchange scheme is continued in its present form and that the "specially favourable funding" from LEAs and the Department will continue,<sup>4</sup> but also that the scheme will be expanded. It is evidently of great benefit for teachers and pupils in both countries, and of particular value in providing examples for British black pupils of successful West Indian professionals. Given the value of having such teachers in British schools, we also suggest that suitably qualified West Indian or Asian teachers be encouraged to come for settlement in this country, and that the Department should do everything possible to facilitate the gaining of the necessary diploma by ethnic minority teachers already settled in this country without the full recognised qualifications.

#### (ii) *Teacher training*

138. Because of the importance of teacher training in combating educational disadvantage, the Sub-Committee decided to seek written evidence on the subject from a number of interested bodies and individuals. This evidence is printed as Appendix 20, and we are grateful to those who submitted evidence, in particular to Professor Maurice Craft, whose paper was of much assistance. The issues involved have now been kicked around by interested parties for so many years that it is no longer acceptable to wait for the complex administrative structure of teacher training to come to terms in its own good time with the challenge presented by the multi-racial classroom. It is against a background of justified weariness and impatience that we consider how teacher training must now tardily adapt to this challenge.

139. The presence in our schools of a greater number of qualified ethnic minority teachers would in the long run make a small but significant contribution towards overcoming racial disadvantage in education. But for the foreseeable future ethnic minority schoolchildren will continue to be taught by those teachers already in the profession and by those entering it from colleges of education, polytechnics and universities. The content and standard of the training of both these groups of teachers is therefore a matter of concern. Teachers cannot reasonably be blamed for failing ethnic minority children if they have not had access to the sort of initial and in-service training which would enable them to perform

<sup>1</sup> App 4, p 21, para 8.

<sup>2</sup> App 4, p 21, para 11(f).

<sup>3</sup> See App 22.

<sup>4</sup> Q627: Ev, p 242, para 34.



more successfully. Demand for changes in the system and content of teacher training to take account of the presence in our schools of children of different cultures and languages dates back to the early days of West Indian and Asian immigration, and every body concerned with race relations, including the former Select Committee, has called for more and better training. Recent research sponsored by the CRE and the (now defunct) Centre for Educational Disadvantage suggests that the rate of progress has been slow.<sup>1</sup>

140. Before considering the actual and desirable extent to which the training of teachers for multi-cultural education should be an integral part of their training, it must be clearly established what is to be understood by the term "multi-cultural education" in this context. It seems at present to cover two distinct aims, one of which is to make all children aware of the cultural diversity of this country and of the world as a whole, and the other of which is to provide the right teaching for children who themselves have a cultural or linguistic background different to that of the majority culture. They are evidently separate issues, and more heat than light is generated by argument over their inter-connection. It is plainly desirable that all teaching should be as broad-minded as possible and so should reflect the diversity of modern Britain, and we recognise the advantage that would accrue to racial harmony were all children made to realise that Britain is a multi-racial society. Teacher training courses should be permeated by this understanding, and we are disturbed that recent research suggests that it is still regarded as an optional extra at many institutions<sup>2</sup> and that it is mainly those colleges in areas of ethnic minority concentration who take multi-culturalism seriously. To say that multi-cultural education should be a compulsory part of initial teacher training might give an impression that it should be something extra tacked on to each and every course. That would be more visible but less effective. **We recommend rather that every initial teacher training course should be examined by the Council for National Academic Awards or other validating body to ensure that it accurately reflects the society in which those who follow the course will be working.** It is particularly important that post-graduate Certificate of Education courses should be so examined as around half of all new entrants to teaching this year will be PGCE graduates<sup>3</sup> and these year-long courses have at present only minimal and mainly optional multi-cultural content.

141. We are equally concerned that initial teacher training should not skimp on providing more specialised instruction on the skills needed for teaching English as a second language (E2L), for offering second-stage support for E2L learners, for recognising and coping with other language differences, and for understanding social patterns which may be different from accepted norms. From evidence submitted,<sup>4</sup> it is evident that such instruction is at present too often regarded as an option in most institutions, like physical education and music, and suitable for only those teachers who are likely to be seeking posts in multi-racial areas. Nothing could be more misleading. Most young teachers will find themselves teaching in a multi-racial school either on starting their teaching career or within 5 years of their induction.<sup>5</sup> Nor are those who train in the West Country or East Anglia any less likely to be teaching in the West Midlands or ILEA than those who trained at Walsall or Goldsmiths. In a mobile and

<sup>1</sup> App 20, p 158-62, paras 15-27.

<sup>2</sup> App 20, p 159, paras 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> App 20, p 149, para 2.12.2.

<sup>4</sup> App 20, p 144-6, 148, para. 2.5, 159 &c.

<sup>5</sup> App 20, p 154.



contracting profession, there is every reason why teachers trained at Exeter, for example, may obtain their first teaching post in Leicester, and find themselves unprepared for the experience of teaching Asian children. **We therefore applaud the initiative shown by some colleges in areas without multi-racial schools in giving students the opportunity of direct experience of teaching in such schools elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> and recommend that other colleges in similar positions should follow suit.**

142. The Department's estimate that "about half of all initial training institutions appear to be offering relevant compulsory or optional studies of some kind in this field"<sup>2</sup> and the Association of Principals of Colleges' suggestion that "most make some attempt to cover this vital subject"<sup>3</sup> are both unduly optimistic. There has been some progress over the years, and a number of new proposals are said to be in course of validation, although the CNAA thought that "there had not been a marked increase of this kind of provision in recent years". The CNAA are at present discussing whether to offer a more positive encouragement to institutions in this matter.<sup>4</sup> They and other validating bodies have a great responsibility in this respect, and must now show themselves readier than hitherto to play a more positive role. **All teachers should have at least some initial specialised training to enable them to perform effectively in a multi-racial classroom.**

143. Although the notion that induction and in-service training can render the right sort of initial training unnecessary or make up for its defects should be discouraged, in-service training is particularly important because newly trained teachers will form only a small minority of the teaching force until well on into the 1980s.<sup>5</sup> For the next decade, most ethnic minority pupils will therefore be taught by teachers already in the profession, and this trend will be heightened by the decline in the number of vacancies for new entrants to the profession. It is also probable that the need for teachers to receive a degree of specialist training for teaching in multi-cultural schools is more evident to schools, institutions and to the teachers themselves once they have found themselves confronted with problems with which they have not been trained to deal. There is a certain amount of in-service training in multi-cultural education, ranging from very short part-time (and often spare time) courses to in-service or other diplomas, and the Department have commissioned research on present provision.<sup>6</sup> The Department and local colleges have clearly made efforts to make courses available, but from various sources it would appear that teachers are either unwilling or unable to use the opportunities offered, to the extent that a number of courses have had to be cancelled for lack of support.<sup>7</sup>

144. The financial constraints on in-service education dictate that most of the courses are part-time evening affairs, rather than taking place during the school day on the premises, and this obviously discourages teachers. Ideally it would appear that school-based in-service training is generally desirable, and particularly so because teachers, while aware of their own skill deficiencies, may

<sup>1</sup> App 20, p 145, para 8.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 241, para 30.

<sup>3</sup> App 20, p 152.

<sup>4</sup> App 20, p 154.

<sup>5</sup> "Teacher Training: A Discussion Document" (HMI 1981).

<sup>6</sup> Ev p 241, para 32, p 248, Q596-600.

<sup>7</sup> eg App 20, p 146, para 14: p 160, para 24-8; Hertfordshire College of Further Education (not printed).



be sceptical of the value of the instruction at present offered. It is clear that a lack of clarity as to the aim and content of such courses is also a feature in their low uptake. A long weekend of lectures on Chinese civilisation may not seem of great value to teachers in Manchester inner-city schools,<sup>1</sup> and we understand why it is hard to persuade "people who do not have much contact with ethnic minorities to see the relevance of such courses".<sup>2</sup> Professor Craft reminded the Sub-Committee that "educational innovations are slow to take root" and the HM Inspectorate discussion paper on teacher training refers to the in-built tendency to conservatism of the teaching profession.<sup>3</sup> We understand and share the doubts felt by some teachers about some of the offerings which pass for multi-cultural education. It is therefore important both to define the problems which such in-service training is intended to assist teachers to solve, and in turn to develop a programme for the training of those who provide such specialist in-service and initial training.<sup>4</sup>

145. Many committees and other bodies have in the past called for changes in teacher training to take account of multi-cultural educational requirements. The lack of result has produced a certain cynicism as to the value of such repeated efforts. As Professor Craft remarked "the return of an investment of several million pounds expended in large-scale surveys, the compiling of reports, the sitting of major committees and the like, has so far been pathetically small".<sup>5</sup> Some of this inertia may be a result of the number of institutions all of whom must be influenced for change to emerge, but a share of the blame lies fairly and squarely at the door of the Department, who have done little to back up the work of HM Inspectorate, the Schools Council and similar bodies. The time is now ripe for a major initiative, with a number of institutions in the process of developing new courses and in the wake of the recent paper on teacher training. **We recommend that the Department of Education and Science produce as a priority a programme for training those intended to train teachers in multi-cultural education and for ensuring an uptake of in-service training in multi-cultural education commensurate with its importance.** As a Committee of the House of Commons we cannot accept the sort of response which has characterised other similar recommendations in the past, and we declare our intention to monitor implementation of these recommendations in particular.

#### SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

##### (i) *Advisers*

146. The institutional structure of schools is primarily a matter for each local education authority and for each individual school; they are the best judges of how best to ensure that teachers receive adequate administrative and professional support and that there are strong links between schools and parents. But while it would be wrong for the Department to attempt to provide a rigid blueprint of an ideal pattern, the wide variation in institutional arrangements as between different local authorities and the dissatisfaction in some areas with present arrangements suggests that some guidance would be useful. The Department have thus far restricted themselves to surveys of existing provision, such

<sup>1</sup> Ev p 705.

<sup>2</sup> Q1375.

<sup>3</sup> App 20, p 164, para 35; HMI paper, para. 3.

<sup>4</sup> App 20, p 145, para 9-10.

<sup>5</sup> App 20, p 158, para 14.



as the Runnymede Trust survey of "LEA Advisory Approaches in Multi-Cultural Education".<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, valuable to know what sort of Advisers are deployed at what level and with what function in different areas. It is yet more valuable if the Department make it clear that a particular approach is generally regarded as desirable. The practice, in Avon<sup>2</sup> and Leicestershire<sup>3</sup>, of having no Adviser exclusively concerned with multi-cultural education, and indeed in Avon of linking the function of advising on multi-cultural education to that of advising on English and Drama,<sup>4</sup> underestimates the significance of multi-cultural education in these areas. **We therefore recommend that the Department of Education and Science use the results of their research and the experience of HM Inspectorate to define and disseminate desirable practice in respect of local education authority Advisers in multi-cultural education.**

(ii) *Home-school liaison*

147. Many authorities with significant ethnic minority school populations have made particular efforts to step up their home-school liaison arrangements, often using section 11 funds to pay for specially designated home-school liaison officers, and encouraging parental involvement in a number of ways.<sup>5</sup> It is not only language barriers which may discourage ethnic minority parents from making contact with their childrens' teachers; they may not have been made sufficiently aware of the possibility and desirability of such contacts. Details of arrangements made by some schools, for example, in some Leicester primary schools,<sup>6</sup> should be made known to other authorities by the Department.

148. It is equally important that the formal structures associated with a school, and particularly its governing body, should reflect the community it serves. Although some authorities apparently make a particular effort to include parent governors from ethnic minority groups, they were conspicuous by their absence in several of the cities visited by the Sub-Committee.<sup>7</sup> In Manchester, the system whereby there is one governing body for all secondary schools in the city, and one for all primary schools, effectively excludes ethnic minority parents from involvement in the running of schools.<sup>8</sup> This grouping of schools under one governing body was permitted under the Education Act 1944, and is still allowed under the Education Act 1980, although the Secretary of State has powers to break up such groupings. The Taylor Report recommended in June 1977 that "every school should have its own separate governing body",<sup>9</sup> and they also recommended school-based elections of parent-governors.<sup>10</sup> The Secretary of State has taken powers under the 1980 Act to oblige local authorities to set up governing bodies according to a pattern laid down in section 2 of the Act. **We therefore recommend that in deciding on the use of his powers under sections 2 and 3 of the Education Act 1980 he pay particular regard to the extent to which ethnic minority parents are at present represented on school governing bodies. In the meanwhile we emphasise the responsibility of political parties and others**

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 248.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 57, 69, 138, 143, 154.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 1088, 1108.

<sup>4</sup> Q94-6, 104-8.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 700, para 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 1026-7.

<sup>7</sup> Q623-4 (DES), Q123ff (Bristol), Q1056 (Liverpool).

<sup>8</sup> Q1349-61.

<sup>9</sup> "A New Partnership for Our Schools" (DES 1977), para 3.24.

<sup>10</sup> ditto, paras 4.19-23.



with a say in nominating governors under existing systems to see to it that their nominees are truly representative of the community served by the school or schools in question.

#### MOTHER TONGUE TEACHING

149. Of the various issues which arise concerning the details of the education of ethnic minority children within the school system, few are at present generating more argument than that of mother tongue teaching. It is common ground among parents and educators that it is in the best interests of those children who do not speak and read English to learn it as thoroughly as possible. Ability to speak and read English is in practice a necessary prerequisite for full participation in British life, whatever the legal significance of recent tribunal decisions that it should not be made a necessary prerequisite for certain jobs. But there is no such agreement as to the means by which, and the extent to which, children for whom English is a second language should be encouraged to develop their knowledge of their mother tongue or even have lessons in curricular subjects in that tongue. At present, a network of supplementary schools, generally taught on a voluntary basis but sometimes subsidised by local councils,<sup>1</sup> either in local authority school premises or community centres and the like, gives many ethnic minority children the opportunity to deepen their knowledge of their mother tongue and also of the religion and culture of their parents and forbears. Similar schools have been established in the past and still thrive, in particular in the Jewish community. Demands have now arisen, particularly among Asians, that the work done by these schools be integrated into the normal school curriculum.

150. Those who seek local authority support for such mother tongue and culture teaching rely on the obligations placed on the United Kingdom by EC Directive 77/486 on the education of the children of migrant workers. This directive was passed with the children of migrant workers from EC countries in mind and specifically "with a view principally to facilitating their possible reintegration into the Member State of origin".<sup>2</sup> Although the Department suggest that the Council of Ministers "made it known that they would wish to see the provisions of the Directive extended to migrants from non-member states",<sup>3</sup> there can be no suggestion that the United Kingdom is under any legal obligation to provide mother tongue tuition, particularly to those who are neither from Member States nor presumably intending to return to their or their parents' country of origin. Any argument in support of such provision must be on the merits of the case. This does not mean that the case is hopeless; for many years education in some parts of Wales has been carried on wholly or partly in Welsh. It remains a matter of fine judgment as to whether children gain from such teaching. Research and pilot projects, partly funded by the EC, in Bedford and Bradford, and one about to start in ILEA, may yield results, but they are unlikely to be conclusive and, as the Department observe, the debate in this country is still at a very early stage.<sup>4</sup>

151. It is at a considerably more advanced stage in the United States and in other countries, and the Sub-Committee therefore spent a day of their visit

<sup>1</sup> eg Ev, p 699, para 9.

<sup>2</sup> App 4, p 24.

<sup>3</sup> App 4, p 22, para 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ditto, para 5; Ev, p 240, para 26.



to the United States in visiting two New York schools with bilingual programmes.<sup>1</sup> In these programmes, students continue to learn some subjects in their mother tongue, in some cases up to graduation from High School at 18, transferring to English only gradually. The academic results obtained in the two schools visited by the Sub-Committee, where Spanish was the mother tongue used, confirmed the results apparently obtained in similar scholastic programmes in Sweden and the UK;<sup>2</sup> the pupils did considerably better than their English-speaking counterparts. Too much weight should not be put on these results, however, and the Sub-Committee felt concern at the way in which the bilingual and non-bilingual parts of the schools had become virtually separate entities, a concern shared by some Americans. Such bilingual programmes are not at present a serious option in this country, owing to lack of human and physical resources, but some projects are moving in that direction by teaching in Italian and Punjabi in Bedford and, on a small scale, Greek and Bengali in London. It is very tiring for young children to be expected to spend several hours a day in classrooms in addition to their normal work, and it would plainly be desirable to incorporate as far as possible into the normal curriculum of schools some of the religious and cultural elements of what they are taught in supplementary schools. We doubt if enough could or should be so incorporated on a scale which would even begin to satisfy those who at present send their children to these schools. In many cases the motivation behind such schools is in essence religious, and the state of religious education in schools is such that Sikhs or Moslems would be as dissatisfied with state provision as are many Christians. **We are not convinced either that a local education authority is under any obligation to provide mother tongue teaching or that it is necessarily in the general interest that they should do so.** We would be sorry to see ethnic minority pupils in an effectively separate educational system and in the long term it would bode ill for race relations.

152. We do however see considerable advantage in including the mother tongues of ethnic minority pupils in what the Department described as "an otherwise English-dominated curriculum".<sup>3</sup> In schools where a variety of modern and ancient European languages are taught to O and A level, it is not unnatural that some Asian pupils should wish to have the option of taking examinations in their mother tongue. There is indeed no reason why other pupils should not also take examinations in these languages just as they do in other modern languages and there is evidence that this is in fact occurring. The Sub-Committee sought statistics from the Department on the number of pupils sitting and passing exams in Asian languages.<sup>4</sup> 2730 pupils sat for O levels and 264 for A levels in 1979. Chinese accounts for around 60 per cent of these figures. There were no A levels sat in Gujarati or Punjabi and only 758 O levels sat in Gujarati, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu. **We recommend that statistics of exams in Asian languages should be included in the annual statistics of examinations published by the Department.**

153. The figures suggest that schools are as yet only scratching the surface of demand for examinations in Asian languages. In oral evidence the Department confirmed that there was no set policy on the taking of such examinations and that it was up to the pupil to judge the value of an examination success in

<sup>1</sup> App 22, p 175, para 7.

<sup>2</sup> App 4, p 22, para 5.

<sup>3</sup> App 4, p 23, para 11.

<sup>4</sup> These figures have been deposited in the Library (see Annex)



that language,<sup>1</sup> although the fact that many pupils have a first language other than English or Welsh constitutes "a valuable resource for them and for the nation" was recognised in the Government paper on "The School Curriculum".<sup>2</sup> The possibility of sitting and passing mainstream examinations in Asian languages would have the effect of underlining the real cultural value and significance of these languages, and so of overcoming the results of ethnocentrism in the rest of the curriculum. It would appear that some local authorities are unwilling to consider offering Asian languages as examination subjects.<sup>3</sup> **We therefore recommend that the Department actively encourage the incorporation of Asian languages into the modern languages curriculum.** We would not wish this to replace English language teaching, however, and we will be watching the progress of the ILEA project and of mother tongue teaching generally with great interest and some concern.

#### CURRICULUM

154. Curriculum development is a difficult issue to come to grips with because of its diffuse nature. Although we note that the subject is currently under examination by the Education, Science and Arts Committee, we think it right to make at least passing comment, not least because of recent Government Papers on the subject. The January 1980 consultative document "A Framework for the School Curriculum" called for special consideration to be given to the curricular needs of ethnic minorities, but without specifying in any way what these needs were or how special consideration was to be given to them.<sup>4</sup> The March 1981 paper "The School Curriculum" referred to the need for the work of schools to reflect the fact that "our society has become multi-cultural" by encouraging children to develop an understanding and tolerance of cultural and religious diversity.<sup>5</sup> We make no complaint that there was no reference to ethnic minority pupils, since it cannot be over-emphasised that in most respects the needs of ethnic minority pupils are exactly the same as those of all pupils.

155. There is however a special need arising from cultural or linguistic differences which if not catered for can lead to alienation from the training and educative services of schools. A curriculum "suitable for ethnic minorities" will have as many hours of mathematics or modern languages as any other curriculum, but it will be flexible enough to allow for continuing English language support teaching and wide enough to ensure that modern languages should not be restricted to European languages, nor religious education to Christianity, nor history to British history, nor music to Western music, nor literature to British literature. A "black studies" curriculum can become an educational ghetto for black pupils, in the same way as white ethnocentric curricula have excluded those from minority cultures. A broad curriculum is of course equally a sounder one for all pupils, and will render redundant some of the trendy nonsense which passes for a multi-cultural curriculum. We hope that the recent national debate will produce such a curriculum. We are also concerned that some older text-books, in particular at the primary school level, still reflect racial attitudes now discredited, and we expect local authorities to act with suitable vigour to have these withdrawn.

<sup>1</sup> Q629-30.

<sup>2</sup> "The School Curriculum", (HMSO), para 50.6.

<sup>3</sup> eg Ev, p 139, 143 (Bristol).

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 240, para 25.

<sup>5</sup> "The School Curriculum" (HMSO), paras 21, 27, 36: Q625-6.



## DISCIPLINE

156. The Sub-Committee's experience of Jamaican schools showed that a degree of discipline existed in them which had by and large disappeared from British education. The majority of children, most of them from relatively poor homes and with few job expectations, were in uniform, and their standard of behaviour was exemplary. While a secondary school in Spanish Town reported some problems with vandalism, there was no evidence of disruptive behaviour, and the Sub-Committee were deeply impressed by the ability of the children to concentrate and learn in highly unfavourable conditions. The style of the teachers too was reminiscent of an older school of education. We do not suggest that a return to learning by rote, strict discipline and uniforms is any sort of universal panacea for the educational problems of ethnic minority or indeed all pupils. But it should be remembered by teachers and those who train them that many West Indian parents will have had an educational experience different in many ways to that of their children, and that these parents' expectations of the British educational system are high. That they are disappointed may say as much for the level of their expectations as for the education provided, but it still is a cause for concern. West Indian parents not unreasonably expect teachers to "push their children into the English system to make them achieve",<sup>1</sup> and set at least as high a store on their children's basic skills as any other parents. In the debate on the education of ethnic minorities this essential fact should not be overlooked.

## CAREERS

157. Research sponsored by the CRE and preliminary results of recent local studies of school-leavers has born out suggestions by the former Select Committee of the disproportionate dependence of ethnic minority school-leavers on the advice of careers teachers.<sup>2</sup> Their parents do not lack ambition on their children's behalf, but may be in a relatively weak position to arrange for job openings or to judge the best career for their children. A number of witnesses felt strongly that the careers advice given to ethnic minority children tended to steer them into unnecessarily unambitious directions,<sup>3</sup> and that school-leavers with high aspirations were discouraged, while evidence from the careers service and others sometimes suggests that career aspirations of ethnic minority school-leavers are unduly ambitious.<sup>4</sup> Taken together with unproven allegations that ethnic minority children are discouraged from attempting O levels and directed into CSE or non-exam classes, it would seem that ethnic minority parents have serious doubts about one of the most important aspects of a school's task, doubts that are shared by some in the careers and employment services.<sup>5</sup> Many white parents have similar anxieties. The division of effort between careers teachers, the Careers Service and the Employment Services Division is not a happy one, and ethnic minority school-leavers would gain particularly from a strengthening and streamlining of school-to-work procedures. We therefore note with interest that the Secretaries of State have recently called for "better and more systematic careers education and guidance",<sup>6</sup> and hope that this call will be followed by action in strengthening careers education in schools.

<sup>1</sup> Q2218.

<sup>2</sup> eg Aspirations vs Opportunities: Asian and white school leavers in the Midlands (1978). See also Ev, p 240, para 27.

<sup>3</sup> eg Q1223, 2218.

<sup>4</sup> Q1286; Ev, p 712-3. cf Q1404.

<sup>5</sup> Q1386-7.

<sup>6</sup> "The School Curriculum" (HMSO), para 53 (b).



## SCHOOL VISITS

158. We are aware of some local education authorities, including Manchester<sup>1</sup> and Brent, who have supported schemes whereby parties from multi-racial schools visit the Caribbean or the Indian sub-continent for some weeks. These visits are effectively a most valuable form of multi-cultural education. They are of course expensive and are unlikely to be feasible without a measure of local or central Government support. But they represent one means of providing ethnic minority youngsters with a sense of identity with and pride in their background,<sup>2</sup> as well as giving other pupils a positive vision of other cultures. The Sub-Committee learnt in the United States of the frequency with which young Puerto Ricans are able to revisit their original homeland, and heard of the educational value attached to such visits. While "study-visits" of this sort cannot be a substitute for the teaching of a multi-cultural curriculum within the classroom, **we recommend that the Department explore with local authorities and voluntary bodies ways of making such visits possible and worthwhile for participants.**

## FURTHER AND HIGHER EDUCATION

159. There has as yet been little detailed research into the use made by ethnic minorities of further and higher education, but it follows from the incidence of underachievement among ethnic minority pupils that they will be disproportionately dependent on the possibility of using further education (FE) for "topping up" with qualifications. Disproportionate difficulties in finding employment may encourage ethnic minority school-leavers to go into full-time FE. There is also general agreement that ethnic minority students, and Asian students in particular, are particularly keen to obtain post-school formal academic or vocational qualifications, whether or not this in fact is in the best interests of their career development.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this, FE provides a range of language courses and preparatory courses in basic literacy and numeracy for those who would otherwise be excluded from further formal training.<sup>4</sup> It can therefore safely be assumed that ethnic minorities are especially dependent on the availability of FE to overcome language differences and to compensate for underachievement at school.

160. Judging from those cities visited by the Sub-Committee, it is not apparent that many local authorities appreciate the particular importance of FE to ethnic minority students. In Liverpool, a conference held on the effectiveness of the service provided for ethnic minority groups by further and higher education had borne no fruit.<sup>5</sup> In Bristol, it appears that most of the ethnic minority students in higher and further education are overseas students or au pairs<sup>6</sup> and it was claimed that there were no ethnic minority students at the local polytechnic.<sup>7</sup> Evidence from the St Pauls Ward Labour Party expressed disquiet at cuts in the FE budget and fears that "second chance" education was being rendered virtually impossible for young black students by the lack of grants.<sup>8</sup> The Chief Education Officer at Manchester accepted that "the adult education programme

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 701, para 16.

<sup>2</sup> Q2228-31.

<sup>3</sup> Q608.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 242, paras 35-39.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 552, IV, 19 (a).

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 83.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 155, para 19.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 150-1.



could however contain more provision directed at ethnic minorities . . .”<sup>1</sup>. Evidence from Leicester revealed significant attempts being made to meet the demand for language training in particular,<sup>2</sup> but the local voluntary English Teaching Scheme was concerned at “the relatively small number of full-time places available for well-motivated adult second language learners”.<sup>3</sup>

161. One problem which was mentioned in evidence in Leicester is the effect of the three-year residential qualification for admission to FE, which effectively bars those who recently arrived in this country from taking advantage of available facilities.<sup>4</sup> Young people who come to this country to join their parents at 15, for example, may be treated as overseas students for the purpose of tuition fees until they have completed three years’ residence. For such a student who began even a non-advanced classroom-based FE course in 1980, the fees for 1981–82 will be around £1,500. This acts either to encourage such students to remain in secondary education which may be unsuitable or to discourage them altogether from continuing their education. The Deputy Director of Education in Leicestershire reported that the staying on rate into 16 plus education among the city’s ethnic minorities was around three times the national average but that the effect of the residential qualification was to divert students unsuitably to sixth-form colleges.<sup>5</sup> In the case of language and vocational courses this would seem to be particularly counterproductive. Similar difficulties apparently exist in respect of higher education.<sup>6</sup>

162. In their First Report of last Session on overseas student fees, the Education, Science and Arts Committee recommended that further clarification and guidance on the interpretation of the 3-year residence rule should be given by the Department of Education and Science.<sup>7</sup> The Government reply referred to a number of legal decisions, including a definition of “real home” from *Stransky v Stransky*.<sup>8</sup> It is patently obvious that a student who has been accepted for settlement in the United Kingdom has his “real” home here, and there can be little justification for making him wait 3 years to benefit thereby. The qualification is not a statutory one, but one apparently laid down by the Secretary of State so as to extend to colleges and other teaching institutions the immunity from liability under the Race Relations Act 1976 given by section 41 (2) to acts done following conditions imposed by a Minister. **We therefore recommend that the Secretary of State issue fresh guidelines to facilitate access to higher and further education by students who have been accepted for permanent settlement in the United Kingdom on the same terms as those at present enjoyed not only by “home” students but also by those from the European Community.**

163. Further education is effectively the last resort for students who have underachieved in primary and secondary education, and who are enthusiastic for a second chance to top up with non-advanced qualifications either to improve their employment prospects or to qualify for admission to higher education. It is also the main source of language training for those whose English needs

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 702, para 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 1027–30, 1036–8.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 1108.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 1031.

<sup>5</sup> Q2329.

<sup>6</sup> Q1259–62.

<sup>7</sup> HC 552–1 (1979–80).

<sup>8</sup> Cmnd 8011, Annex.



improvement and for those whose previous education has been outside the British system. DES Circular 10/77 emphasised the role of FE in provision for unemployed youngsters, and among other developments in course provision recommended "improved provision for ethnic minority groups". The Government are at present engaged in a thorough review of 16+ educational provision. In doing so it is important that they bear in mind the disproportionate use of FE by ethnic minority students. Local authorities make remarkably little use at present of section 11 in further education, given the central role it plays in the provision of language training. Nobody can imagine that the need for extra provision attributable to the presence of ethnic minority students ends suddenly at 16. **We therefore urge local authorities to examine their current FE provision with a view to ensuring that ethnic minority students' needs are being met, and to seek section 11 funding to fill the gaps which we are confident that they will find.**

#### IV EMPLOYMENT

##### INTRODUCTION

164. Ethnic minorities still tend to have poorer jobs and to earn less than whites, and this is the most important immediate cause that limits their chances in life. Disadvantage in employment leads to many other disadvantages, because in our society the job that someone has determines or influences so many other things. It largely determines the economic circumstances of the individual and the family and hence has a strong influence on the kind of housing and the kind of area they can afford to live in. The jobs of the parents will have an indirect effect on the educational opportunities of the children. The job and the work-place are a focal point for many social relations, so that the kind of job that someone has to a large extent determines whom he gets to know, while those who are out of work often become isolated. Finally, the job is the most important indicator of social standing, and social mobility is largely evaluated in terms of movement to higher job levels.

165. Job levels are of course closely related to educational qualifications, and as we have noted there was a wide diversity of educational attainment among the original migrants. This diversity has continued in the second generation, with West Indians apparently faring worse in education than whites whereas Asians have fared at least as well. Because in general the ethnic minorities tend to be at some disadvantage in terms of their educational qualifications, we would expect them to be at somewhat lower occupational levels than whites. It is also to be expected that the inadequate English of a substantial proportion of Asians would limit their employment opportunities.

166. The differences in occupational level between the ethnic minorities and whites were fairly wide when measured in 1974, and there is little indication of any change since then. Only 8 per cent of West Indian men were in non-manual jobs, compared with 40 per cent of white men. The proportion in non-manual jobs was also very low for Pakistani men (8 per cent), but was rather higher for Indian and African Asian men (20 and 30 per cent respectively). However, the proportion of Asians who had penetrated to the better non-manual jobs of the professional or managerial type was small. Each of the ethnic minority



groups, and especially the Pakistanis, tended to be concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs; in fact, 58 per cent of Pakistani men, compared with 18 per cent of white men, were doing such jobs.<sup>1</sup> Only the high level of shiftwork worked by ethnic minorities prevented their earnings from slipping seriously below those of their white peers.<sup>2</sup>

167. These differences cannot be accounted for by differences in educational background. Taking those with qualifications to degree standard,<sup>3</sup> 79 per cent of the white men surveyed in 1974 were in professional or management positions, compared with only 31 per cent of those from ethnic minorities. Furthermore, 21 per cent of ethnic minority men with degree standard qualifications were doing manual jobs, including 3 per cent who were doing unskilled manual jobs.<sup>4</sup> These and other comparisons show that the ethnic minorities were doing jobs at a lower level than would be expected from their educational and job qualifications, and that Asians and West Indians faced their greatest difficulties in trying to penetrate to the better non-manual jobs. Nor does language deficiency account for these difficulties; most educated Asians have a high standard of English.

168. It would thus appear that the concentration of early migrants in unskilled and semi-skilled low-level jobs has been perpetuated, and that many of the generation born and educated in Britain are getting no better jobs than their parents. Asians and West Indians continue to be at a substantial disadvantage in employment long after their arrival in Britain and their children may also suffer substantial disadvantage in this respect.

169. At most times when it has been measured over the past ten years, the rate of unemployment has been higher among ethnic minorities than among the rest of the population. The 1971 census showed a slightly higher rate among ethnic minority men than among all men, but a much higher rate among ethnic minority women than among all women (9.1 compared with 4.9 per cent). It also showed a strikingly high rate of unemployment among Asians and West Indians aged 15–20, especially West Indians. The Labour Force Survey and the National Dwelling and Housing Survey, both carried out in 1977, confirmed the high rate of ethnic minority unemployment; the latter revealed a rate of 9.6 per cent for the ethnic minority groups compared with 5.2 per cent for the general population.<sup>5</sup> From changes in the number of the registered unemployed over the 1970s, it seems that at times of rising unemployment the ethnic minorities are more vulnerable than whites, and that in the present climate the rate of unemployment is particularly high among the ethnic minorities. This view is supported by information on rates of change. In the twelve months from February 1980 the increase in the number of ethnic minority workers who were registered as unemployed was 82.5 per cent, compared with 66.2 per cent for all workers over a similar period.<sup>6</sup> Figures on a local scale, for example in Manchester, bear out this view.<sup>7</sup> It could be that the ethnic minorities are more vulnerable to unemployment than whites because they are concentrated within age groups,

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 302, 8.2 (b).

<sup>2</sup> ditto, Table 2.

<sup>3</sup> Including Asian higher degrees, excluding Asian first degrees.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 307, Table 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 206, para 15.

<sup>6</sup> HC Deb (1980–81), vol 3, c 231w.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 750 i–viii.



skill levels or areas that are especially vulnerable. However, more detailed analysis of the National Dwelling and Housing Survey shows that for people in a particular town and within a particular age and skill group the difference between the ethnic minorities and whites remains.

170. It is the employment difficulties of young West Indians that give greatest cause for concern. Recently published evidence in the Rampton Report shows that a much smaller proportion of West Indian than of white or Asian children are obtaining CSE, O level or A level qualifications at school. The general thrust of change in the labour market will probably lead to decreasing demand for unqualified workers, and these changes in demand will be felt mainly by young people trying to enter the labour market for the first time. For some time there have been indications that the level of unemployment is particularly high among young West Indians. Recent studies of samples of school-leavers and YOP trainees, for example, show that West Indian school leavers are in some cases significantly better qualified than whites; 71 per cent of the Leeds sample left school with CSEs compared to 45 per cent of whites.<sup>1</sup> They were nonetheless shown by all the studies to be more subject to unemployment. Taken together these developments may cause many young West Indians to reject with some bitterness the way of thinking and way of life both of the mainstream society and of their parents, and to find that this leaves them with nowhere to go.

171. In a variety of ways, therefore, members of ethnic minority groups tend to be in an inferior position in the labour market. To some extent this can be explained by past and present racial discrimination. There is also evidence that members of ethnic minority groups are more likely than whites to be dismissed from their current jobs.<sup>2</sup> Other disadvantages such as lack of English language skills and lack of British qualifications and experience are probably equally important.

## EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

### (i) *Introduction*

172. The recognition of these difficulties confronting ethnic minorities both in finding employment and in gaining access to the more desirable jobs has led to pressure on employers to declare themselves equal opportunity employers, committing themselves thereby to ensuring that direct and indirect discrimination is eradicated at every level within their area of responsibility. In June 1978 the CRE produced two Guides for Employers, one giving advice to employers on the development of an equal opportunity programme and the other giving the CRE's recommendations on monitoring such a policy. In February 1980 the CRE produced a draft Code of Practice which, if approved by Parliament, would be admissible in evidence before Industrial Tribunals dealing with discrimination cases, with a status similar to that of the Highway Code in road traffic cases. The results of this and other promotional activity has been that a number of employers, and particularly large employers, have declared themselves equal opportunity employers; the Department of Employment estimate that around

<sup>1</sup> Information on Ethnic Minorities available from SPD research (May 1980); YOP in local areas (November 1980) (not printed: see Annex)

<sup>2</sup> Unemployment and racial minorities (PSI), 1981, p 72, 155.



250 employers have such policies.<sup>1</sup> **While we do not put a great value on such declarations when not backed up by positive action, we recognise its symbolic value and recommend that all employers consider making such a declaration.**

173. Many employers have held back from declarations either because they feel that it would be an empty gesture or because they fear that a declaration would be taken as implying that they had in the past practised discrimination. While understanding their arguments, we are not persuaded that they are valid. A stronger fear, and one that lies behind employee resistance, is that a declaration and its enforcement is the first step towards the sort of reverse discrimination and imposition of quotas which are practised in the United States. It is vitally important therefore to distinguish between what the CRE called "positive action" in a June 1980 Guidance Paper and what is known as reverse discrimination. The Race Relations Act 1976 permitted the provision of special training facilities for ethnic minorities as a way of enabling such people to catch up with their white peers, but it also specifically outlawed discrimination against whites and the imposition of racial quotas. Very little such positive action has apparently been taken. Positive discrimination at the point of selection for work, that is, choosing an applicant because he is black, is not permissible, as the CRE point out in their Draft Code of Practice, unless the applicant's racial group is a genuine occupational qualification for that job.

174. For those employers who have declared themselves equal opportunity employers, and for those who are contemplating doing so, there are a number of steps which they can take to give effect to their policy. They can examine their means of recruitment and promotion, the availability of training, and the level of qualifications which they require for each job. They can ensure that key staff are trained and aware of the race relations dimension of their work. But most difficulty and controversy has arisen over the suggestion that employers should monitor the ethnic composition of their workforce and of applicants for employment. The argument about monitoring has become the central point of arguments about equal opportunity policies, which are in turn the major policy response to racial disadvantage in employment.

*(ii) Public Sector Employers*

175. The Sub-Committee sought evidence from six major public sector employers, which is printed as Appendix 17. All six employers have made broadly similar public declarations of their commitment to equal opportunity policies. They all make arrangements for publicising this commitment and for ensuring that staff involved in recruitment are aware of it and are to a greater or lesser extent trained to implement it. They provide channels for handling complaints of unfair treatment in such matters as promotion or access to training and have had very few complaints of discrimination. Some have given assurances that they will undertake regular reviews of the whole range of their employment practices. In these respects and on a national standard, they are model equal opportunity employers. Because of this, and because of their size and public visibility, it is all the more important that their policies should be effective and should be seen to be effective. A particular interest therefore attaches to the practices and attitudes of these employers towards ethnic monitoring.

<sup>1</sup> Q472.



176. British Airways already have some statistics on the ethnic origin of applicants for employment and of employees, which have produced some unexpected and potentially significant findings, such as the concentration of Asians in the catering group<sup>1</sup> and low ethnic minority representation among cabin crew.<sup>2</sup> They "agree with the Commission for Racial Equality that the self categorisation of ethnic origin is a necessary prerequisite for fully effective monitoring of any policy", and would welcome "firm and clear guidelines from Government that the form of categorisation proposed by the Commission and its utilisation by the Civil Service and nationalised industries is acceptable". They are understandably concerned as to "the Government's commitment to either the principle or form of monitoring advocated by the Commission".<sup>3</sup>

177. The Post Office are in the process of reviewing their policy on monitoring and hope to begin discussions with their unions "on the setting up of a field trial to establish the costs, the value and the acceptability of monitoring the ethnic origins of our staff".<sup>4</sup> The British Railways Board sees no evidence that its staff seek such monitoring and "sees disadvantage in using ethnic analysis as a basis for assessing the progress of ethnic minority employees".<sup>5</sup> They are however engaged, in collaboration with the Runnymede Trust, in an experimental monitoring exercise at Euston.<sup>6</sup> The Electricity Council spoke of the strong opposition of Electricity Boards to such monitoring and revealed that many Boards had in the past felt that "keeping of ethnic records was itself a discriminatory practice".<sup>7</sup>

178. The British Gas Corporation observed that "a major effort would be needed to overcome potential sensitivities on this issue which might, from some perceptions, be seen as discriminatory and divisive", while recognising that "to develop constructive employment policies, it is of course necessary to have sound management information about our employees".<sup>8</sup> The National Water Council informed the Sub-Committee that some Water Authorities "do keep records of the place of birth and nationality of employees" and noted that "it appears to be unusual for immigrants to apply for manual posts in the Water Industry".<sup>9</sup>

### (iii) *Local authorities*

179. A small but significant number of local authorities with a sizeable ethnic minority population have instituted equal opportunity employment policies which include ethnic monitoring. Of those authorities who gave evidence to the Sub-Committee, only Leicester City Council have a full policy of ethnic monitoring. Of the other five Councils, Leicestershire County Council were able to provide an ethnic "snapshot" of their employees,<sup>10</sup> and others had an idea of the numbers or proportions of their ethnic minority employees in particular departments.

<sup>1</sup> App. 17, p 85, para 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ditto, para 7.

<sup>3</sup> App. 17, p 77, para 2.

<sup>4</sup> App 17, p 86, para 3.

<sup>5</sup> App 17, p 91, para 15: p 94, para 42(d).

<sup>6</sup> App 17, p 96.

<sup>7</sup> App 17, p 72.

<sup>8</sup> App 17, p 76, para 4; p 75, para 1.

<sup>9</sup> App 17, p 98, para 7.

<sup>10</sup> Ev, p 1016.



Avon County Council, for example, know the ethnic composition of their social services employees in certain districts and in respect of certain functions.<sup>1</sup>

180. The experience of Leicester City Council was that the process of monitoring their staff had caused no offence to ethnic minorities, and no serious offence to other employees.<sup>2</sup> The trade unions concerned had cooperated fully. It had cost no more than around £10,000 to set up, described by the Director of Personnel as "a very modest sum indeed",<sup>3</sup> and was viewed as an integral part of their general employment policy. The figures revealed useful information which showed that the proportion of ethnic minority employees had remained unchanged over the four years since monitoring had been instituted, but that the proportion of ethnic minority applications had increased over that period.<sup>4</sup> Fears of reverse discrimination would therefore appear to have proved groundless.

181. Leicestershire County Council's employment snapshot provided valuable information, and was produced in spite of there being over a thousand establishments and decentralised recruitment.<sup>5</sup> Chief Officers evidently do keep an eye on the employment situation in their Departments as required by the County's Equal Opportunity Policy; in evidence to the Sub-Committee, the County Librarian was able to explain the reasons behind the relatively low proportion of ethnic minority employees in the Library Service and the steps taken to increase recruitment.<sup>6</sup> The County Council have not yet found it necessary to set up continuous monitoring, although the Chief Executive agreed to reconsider the idea;<sup>7</sup> so long as they are able to aggregate figures on an occasional basis a formal commitment to continuous ethnic monitoring would be superfluous.

182. Shortly after the Sub-Committee's visit to Liverpool in October 1980, the Council declared itself an equal opportunity employer, a step which we welcome. There has been resistance in sections of Liverpool's black community to ethnic monitoring, but there is evidence to suggest that this is diminishing.<sup>8</sup> There is also deeply rooted hostility in the Merseyside community to record-keeping which could differentiate between Protestant and Catholic.<sup>9</sup> Figures provided by the Liverpool Trades Council suggest that at most 1 per cent of the Council's workforce of around 30,000 are black, in a city where around 10 per cent of the workforce are black.<sup>10</sup> Because of local and historical circumstances, Liverpool is a city where monitoring is plainly unpopular with sections of the community, but also where the ethnic minority community feel that it might reveal what they perceive as deeply ingrained patterns of discrimination.

183. Manchester City Council's Personnel Committee had decided the day before the Sub-Committee's visit that ethnic monitoring of their workforce "was not appropriate" at that time, in view of doubts as to the AMA's position, the attitude of ethnic minorities and the Government's attitude in the light of

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 90.

<sup>2</sup> Q2241, 2246.

<sup>3</sup> Q2243.

<sup>4</sup> Q2249-51: Ev, p 1074.

<sup>5</sup> Q2355.

<sup>6</sup> Q2360-1.

<sup>7</sup> Q2379.

<sup>8</sup> Q986, 1039-40, 1046.

<sup>9</sup> Q1131-2.

<sup>10</sup> Ev, p 616.



their decision on the 1981 Census.<sup>1</sup> The Town Clerk reported in June 1980 that "it would appear . . . that the racial breakdown of the population is in no way mirrored in the workforce",<sup>2</sup> and CCR witnesses agreed.<sup>3</sup> The City's Personnel Manager told the Sub-Committee that he had no idea how many ethnic minority employees there were.<sup>4</sup> CCR witnesses accepted that there was anxiety about monitoring on a national basis, but were confident that it would be acceptable if clearly tied to an equal opportunity policy so that it was obvious that the monitoring was intended for the benefit of the ethnic minority communities.<sup>5</sup>

184. The range of management attitudes to ethnic monitoring of the workforce in the public sector would thus appear to be as wide as in firms of similar size in the private sector, varying from British Airways' and Leicester City Council's commitment to monitoring in some form to the feelings of British Gas and Electricity Boards and Liverpool City Council that it would be a divisive and implicitly discriminatory practice. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the argument about monitoring, this diversity and doubt strongly suggests that this is one area of employment policy where a strong and clear lead from central Government, whether for or against ethnic monitoring, would not only be welcomed but followed by public sector employers.

*(iv) Private sector employers*

185. The Sub-Committee sought evidence on a range of employment issues of concern to ethnic minorities from three particular groups of employers—the clearing banks, the engineering and motor industry and the retail sector. They also sought evidence from the Association of British Chambers of Commerce and had the benefit of an informal discussion with members of the North West CBI in Manchester. The evidence submitted revealed a wide difference of opinion on ethnic monitoring, with some private sector employers being strongly opposed to it and others as strongly committed to it.

186. The six London Clearing Banks are all declared equal opportunity employers with no evidence of past discrimination.<sup>6</sup> They do not monitor either applicants or employees on an ethnic basis, feeling that "the keeping of such records would in itself be discriminatory", although they do so on the basis of sex.<sup>7</sup> They were however able to provide figures for several different departments in different banks which generally supported their contention that "there is a representative proportion of employees moving towards management positions who are members of minority groups".<sup>8</sup> These "spot-check arrangements" had been introduced as a half-way house to a system of full monitoring, and it would seem that several of the clearing banks are very close to introducing such monitoring. Witnesses were anxious about the possibility of staff resistance, and about the implications of recent OECD recommendations on privacy.<sup>9</sup> They did not mention cost implications as being at all significant.

<sup>1</sup> Q1423-4.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 688, para 4.8.

<sup>3</sup> Q1212.

<sup>4</sup> Q1408-9.

<sup>5</sup> Q1209, 1211.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 790.

<sup>7</sup> Q1497-1500.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 792-4.

<sup>9</sup> Q1496.



187. The Engineering Employers' Federation, representing some 6,500 firms employing over 2 million people, recommended to their members in January 1977 in a Guide to the Race Relations Act 1976 that they should carry out "equal opportunity audits" of their employment policies,<sup>1</sup> apparently designed for employers who were either anxious lest a head count would cause resentment or who doubted the need therefor. Only one of the three engineering firms represented before the Sub-Committee had in fact carried out such an audit.<sup>2</sup> The Personnel Manager of GEC Telecommunications, without being able to quantify the costs involved, thought they would be "sizeable".<sup>3</sup> Witnesses from the Motor Agents' Association suggested that there were particular difficulties involved in monitoring where the employer had a number of small and geographically dispersed units, as is normal in the retail motor trade, and feared that there would be harmful effects to harmonious race relations.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Oscar Hahn of GKN, a former Chairman of the West Midlands Conciliation Committee of the Race Relations Board, was sceptical of the value of monitoring and believed that it would be very expensive.<sup>5</sup>

188. Evidence was invited from the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, who were represented by officers of the Wolverhampton Chamber, representing some 750 companies. The latter judged that there was little discrimination in employment in their town: "We as employers employ the people who can best do the job, whatever their origins . . . it is the only way in which we can stay in business".<sup>6</sup> They doubted the value of ethnic monitoring, and drew attention to the offence it was likely to cause. They did not think that a simple head-count would add significantly to administrative costs.<sup>7</sup> A written submission was also received from the Bolton Chamber of Commerce and Industry.<sup>8</sup>

189. The Sub-Committee decided to seek written evidence from large retailers both because of the number of employees in this sector and also because of suggestions in several cities that there were few or no ethnic minority employees visible in city centre shops. Of the 10 large retail groups from whom written evidence was sought,<sup>9</sup> three maintained ethnic records—Marks and Spencer, Sainsbury's and Woolworth. None reported any adverse reaction from employees once the issue had been discussed; one firm had been able to convince them that "our motives were sound and in their best interests". Many of the other firms were able to give apparently informed estimates of the ethnic composition of their workforce usually from visual identification at particular branches. Most were for example aware of the presence of ethnic minority managers and had recruited some ethnic minority management trainees, although few had more than a handful of such managers. Many reported few applications, including one of the companies which advertised energetically and had a monitoring policy. Two firms, both of which monitored, apparently exercise a degree of positive discrimination, in one case by seeking "to ensure that they (the ethnic minorities) are properly represented within our labour force" and in the other by admitting "a slight lowering of standards of recruitment in favour of the black employee".

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 826: Q1563-4.

<sup>2</sup> Q1605-7.

<sup>3</sup> Q1583.

<sup>4</sup> Q1617-8, 1621-5.

<sup>5</sup> Q1717-23.

<sup>6</sup> Q1930.

<sup>7</sup> Q1939.

<sup>8</sup> App 16.

<sup>9</sup> For a list of the firms, see Appendix 21.



One company with over 40,000 employees, 3·0 per cent of whom were from ethnic minorities, had 1·9 per cent in supervisory or senior clerical jobs and 1·1 per cent in management jobs. The Retail Consortium's confidence that, in respect of employment generally and of training for management in particular, there was no ground for concern aptly summarised the prevailing tone. It is perhaps significant to note that the Distributive Industrial Training Board is "currently investigating the areas in which racial and ethnic minorities in the industry appear to be disadvantaged".<sup>1</sup>

190. Ford Motor Company have a long-established policy of monitoring their hourly paid manual labour and have recently introduced monitoring of their salaried staff.<sup>2</sup> Their witnesses confirmed that they had been able to demonstrate to the unions and the workforce the value of such a policy and had experienced no difficulties therewith.<sup>3</sup> Nor had they found any problems over the confidentiality of computerised personnel data, contrary to fears expressed in evidence by some other witnesses.<sup>4</sup> The running costs were estimated as £1,000 a year.<sup>5</sup> Both company and plant managers found the system useful and cheap; it had become an integral part of the normal administrative process of personnel management.<sup>6</sup> This monitoring had revealed the low proportion of non-white employees in skilled grades, which had led the Company to make additional efforts to encourage non-white applicants for apprenticeships, and to consider the implications of the siting of their Apprentice School at Harold Hill in Essex away from their main areas of unskilled and semi-skilled recruitment.<sup>7</sup> Monitoring had enabled Ford management to quantify what would otherwise have been only their impressions and they would "most certainly" recommend monitoring to other companies.<sup>8</sup>

(v) *Trade unions*

191. The attitudes adopted by individual trade unions and by national and local trade union organisations towards the adoption and enforcement of equal opportunity policies are highly influential. In 1974, the former Select Committee criticised the TUC for the "wholly inadequate steps taken to ensure that their members work effectively to eradicate racial discrimination".<sup>9</sup> The TUC responded in 1975 by the adoption of a model Equal Opportunities Clause for inclusion in agreements with employers and we have the impression that the trade union movement is now more conscious of its responsibilities and of the need to ensure that anti-racist declarations of a general character are supported by substantive policies and actions. The Sub-Committee heard, for example, of the commitment of Mr Barnett of the North West TUC to the training of union members and officers,<sup>10</sup> while noting the reservations expressed as to the effectiveness of such efforts,<sup>11</sup> and agreeing with witnesses that much more educational and political work within trade unions is needed.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> App 3, p 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 854-5.

<sup>3</sup> Q1756-8.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 854.

<sup>5</sup> Q1733-6.

<sup>6</sup> Q1742-3.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 854, 856: Q1769ff.

<sup>8</sup> Q1783.

<sup>9</sup> HC 312-I, (1979) para 59.

<sup>10</sup> Q1320-7.

<sup>11</sup> Q1215-7.

<sup>12</sup> eg, Ev, p 545, para III, 13.



192. Most trade unions do not appear to have taken a firm line one way or the other on ethnic monitoring. Mr Hawley of the Transport and General Workers' Union expressed their anxiety that ethnic employment data would be misused,<sup>1</sup> and Mr Cure of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, while less antagonistic to monitoring, voiced similar suspicions.<sup>2</sup> The Banking, Insurance and Finance Union had been unable to make "any firm recommendation in favour of or against ethnic records", in view of the anxieties expressed by their ethnic minority membership.<sup>3</sup> They would seem to have made admirable efforts to promote equal opportunity in employment, by pressing for the adoption of the TUC Model Clause, for example. In common with other trade unions, they recognise both that discrimination exists and that it is essential to monitor the effectiveness of policies intended to remove such discrimination.<sup>4</sup> The TGWU were even ready to suggest that "pilot affirmative action schemes" be established.<sup>5</sup>

193. It is, of course, the proper function of trade unions to reflect the interests and anxieties of their members.<sup>6</sup> The reservations of, for example, IPCS or of NALGO in Leicestershire no doubt reflected these anxieties.<sup>7</sup> But it is also their function to represent the best interests of all their membership, and sometimes it may be necessary to exert leadership rather than to await events.<sup>8</sup> We are not convinced that trade unions are doing all that they could do, with their unquestionable negotiating strength and skill, to bring about the adoption and enforcement of equal opportunity in employment. Mr Barnett of the North West TUC accepted that unions varied in their attitude towards pressing for an equal opportunity clause in negotiations.<sup>9</sup> Employers have received the impression that trades unions are not exerting much significant pressure in this respect.<sup>10</sup> While they have cooperated with those employers who have introduced effective equal opportunity policies, we have no evidence to suggest that they have ever taken the initiative in the introduction of such policies. Were they to use their strength in this way, progress would be rapid. We therefore welcome the increased public commitment of the trade union movement to fighting racial discrimination and disadvantage, and hope to see the TUC and individual union officials exert positive leadership in respect of the introduction of equal opportunity policies.

#### (vi) *Civil Service*

194. The Civil Service is not only the largest employer in the country, but also the most visible. It was because of the importance of Government in fostering equal opportunity in employment through its own example as an employer that the Sub-Committee sought evidence in July 1980 from the Civil Service Department and Civil Service union representatives. The Department has a long-established Equal Opportunity Policy and the Minister of State assured the Sub-Committee in February 1981 of his determination to see that "the established policies of equal opportunity in the Civil Service are applied rigorously and that, where

<sup>1</sup> Q1791: Ev, p 876.

<sup>2</sup> Q1850-2.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 810, para 28.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 803-12, passim (BIFU): Q1826 (TGWU)

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 886.

<sup>6</sup> Q1800-3, 1821-2.

<sup>7</sup> Q380 (IPCS), 2386 (NALGO).

<sup>8</sup> Q1808.

<sup>9</sup> Q1334.

<sup>10</sup> eg Q1425 (Manchester), 1496 (banks), 1709-10 (GKN).



appropriate, they are developed and strengthened".<sup>1</sup> In furtherance of this, he proposes to reconvene the Joint Working Party established to consider the Tavistock Report (see para 195 below) and ask them among other matters to consider the designation of an Equal Opportunity Officer within each department.<sup>2</sup> This is a welcome suggestion, but to be effective will require officers at a sufficiently high grade. There is clearly room for greater awareness in departments of the need to keep recruitment and promotion procedures under review, and to ensure that necessary language and other training opportunities are available. We also welcome the Minister's suggestion that qualifying and aptitude tests be reviewed, and the evidence that departments have plans for further Industrial Language Training Courses.<sup>3</sup>

195. The former Select Committee recommended in July 1975 that the Civil Service Department "should keep necessary records and survey and monitor the recruitment, promotion and establishment policies of the Departments"<sup>4</sup> and the Government reply of September 1976 agreed "that a vital ingredient of an equal opportunities policy is a regular and effective system of monitoring".<sup>5</sup> In 1976 the Civil Service Department commissioned the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations to undertake a study of the effectiveness of the Civil Service's race relations policy, with particular reference to exploring the possibility of "developing a system of monitoring equality of opportunity in the Civil Service."<sup>6</sup> The Report was published in November 1978. It was not a conclusive document, and a Joint Working Party was set up to consider how to follow it up. The Official Side were unwilling to accept proposals for monitoring which would involve a "substantial commitment of resources", the industrial unions were opposed to any monitoring, and the non-industrial unions were opposed to any limited exercise.<sup>7</sup> A way out seemed to be offered by the suggestion made by the non-industrial unions in evidence to the Sub-Committee on 24 July 1980 of a partial census covering the membership of the Civil and Public Servants Association (CPSA) and the Inland Revenue Staff Federation (IRSF).<sup>8</sup> At the time that they gave evidence to the Sub-Committee, the Department's officials had not seen this proposal and so were unable to comment on it.<sup>9</sup>

196. In a memorandum submitted to the Sub-Committee on 26 February 1981<sup>10</sup> the Minister of State at the Civil Service Department told the Sub-Committee that he did not propose to accept the proposal for a partial census. The decision to turn it down was apparently based on three grounds:

- (a) that the financial resources involved could be more usefully deployed elsewhere;
- (b) that there were not available monitoring techniques sufficiently sophisticated for the Civil Service; and
- (c) that staff co-operation might not be forthcoming.

<sup>1</sup> App 6, p 42, para 12.

<sup>2</sup> App 6, p 41, para 8.

<sup>3</sup> ditto, paras 10-11.

<sup>4</sup> HC 448-I (1974-75), para 54.

<sup>5</sup> Cmnd 6603, p 183.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 338, para 8.

<sup>7</sup> ditto, paras 10-12.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 374-5.

<sup>9</sup> Q794-6.

<sup>10</sup> App 6.



197. The suggestion of a partial census covering only the members of two non-industrial Civil Service unions arose as much from the refusal of the industrial unions and the hesitancy of some non-industrial unions to support a full monitoring exercise as from reluctance on the part of the Department. The Interim Report of the Joint Working Party on Monitoring recorded that the industrial unions held the firm view that monitoring "would serve only to provoke racial disharmony in the industrial establishments".<sup>1</sup> Mr W P Blair of the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunication and Plumbing Union told the Sub-Committee that the industrial unions were "convinced that this money could be spent better in other directions", though their minds would not be closed to considering fresh relevant evidence.<sup>2</sup> Mr C Cooper of the Institution of Professional Civil Servants, a non-industrial union, expressed their genuine doubts about monitoring, adding that opinions might change gradually if it could be demonstrated to be of value.<sup>3</sup> Mr J A Graham of the Civil and Public Servants Association, on the other hand, told the Sub-Committee that "we have got the support of our members in going ahead with this policy".<sup>4</sup>

198. The question of resources must be taken seriously. The Civil Service Department have estimated the cost of a full census of non-industrial civil servants as £787,050 at 1979 prices.<sup>5</sup> The cost of a partial monitoring exercise on the lines mentioned in para 195 above has been estimated at £500,000, presumably because it would require a classification of civil servants according to their trade union.<sup>6</sup> We are sceptical of the calculations involved, since the completion of a very simple questionnaire could be done "during the normal ebb and flow of their day-to-day work",<sup>7</sup> and if the simplest system of identification by a supervising officer on an annual report form were adopted, the real costs of gathering the information would be minimal. We recognise that the costs of the necessary consequential analysis and investigation of data produced by such a census would involve a significant commitment of staff and money. But we are aware, as the Department must be, of various different ways of conducting such a census and of using its results. The "less sophisticated" techniques employed by Ford Motor Company could possibly be applied to the Civil Service and we are puzzled by the Minister's assertion that "relatively unsophisticated monitoring programmes" are necessarily "less appropriate in the structured arrangements for recruitment and promotion in the Civil Service".<sup>8</sup>

(vii) *Conclusions*

199. There is evidently a wide diversity of views, among employers, trade unions and employees, on the possible benefits to be gained from monitoring the ethnic origins of employees as a means of advancing equality of opportunity in employment. Those who favour monitoring argue that it provides information from which discrimination can be identified and thereafter eliminated, and that to claim that "counting blacks" is itself discriminatory is a perversion of the argument. Without the statistics which indicate whether discrimination is taking place, grand statements of Equal Opportunity policies are therefore argued to

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 359, para 11.

<sup>2</sup> Q913, 925-6.

<sup>3</sup> Q900.

<sup>4</sup> Q881.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 362, Annex C.

<sup>6</sup> App 6, p 40, para 4.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 360, para 13.

<sup>8</sup> App 6, p 40, para 5.



be of little value. The means used to select applicants for interview; the nature of written tests; the means of advertising vacancies; the system of promotion and training—all these could, it is argued, be examined for racial bias against the background of an undeniable set of facts. The experience of the Ford Motor Company is instructive; without monitoring, its management would not have discovered so quickly the low proportion of ethnic minorities in skilled grades, or perhaps have realised the connection between the small number of ethnic minority apprentices and the location of their Apprenticeship School. The advocates of monitoring also claim that its cost would be modest if ethnic origin were recorded at the same time and in the same manner as employees' other personal details, and that opposition among both white and non-white employees can be overcome by patient persuasion. Those employers who have introduced monitoring say that it has undeniably fulfilled their expectations.

200. Those who oppose monitoring in employment do so for a variety of reasons. First, there is sometimes an objection of principle; recording a man's ethnic origin is in fact recording whether he is coloured, which is felt to run counter to liberal belief that the colour of his skin, or where he came from, would be irrelevant in making appointments, in work or anywhere else. It is argued that we do not monitor class origin, or the possession of a marked regional accent, or religious affiliation, though each of these may be related to conscious or unconscious discriminatory practices in employment. Several witnesses claimed that there was resistance among ethnic minorities to being labelled according to their ethnic origin, and cited this opposition as a main reason for not introducing the practice. There is also a fear among some white employers and employees that if ethnic monitoring were to become common practice, it would only open the door to pressure to increase their proportion of ethnic minority employees, possibly by lowering standards specifically to favour such applicants; one large retailer who has introduced monitoring admits to "a slight lowering of standards of recruitment in favour of the black employee". There is a further fear that once ethnic monitoring became general, sustained pressure to change the law to oblige employers to engage a certain percentage of ethnic minority workers would not be long in coming. A number of employers, particularly in the medium-sized business sector who do not have personnel departments as sophisticated as Fords', also argue that ethnic monitoring would add significantly to their administrative costs at a time when other pressures are forcing them to reduce these costs to a minimum. In some cases the costs of persuading a reluctant workforce to accept the practice would also have to be taken into account.

201. The CRE apparently regard objections to monitoring on grounds of cost as being cynical.<sup>1</sup> This is unduly harsh, although the experience of employers who have in fact undertaken systematic monitoring is that the costs are minimal. In any case it would not be costly to limit the collection of statistics to recording both applications for jobs in relation to those appointed and opportunities for promotion related to those actually promoted. These would help to identify the effects of current policies while a profile of the whole workforce would reflect the employment and promotion practices of the last 40 years. The likely opposition of employees is a most serious objection, but again it would appear from the evidence available to us that this can be allayed by rational explanation where employers and unions have the real will to do so.

<sup>1</sup> Q756-9: App 7, p 45-6.



202. We are therefore persuaded that ethnic monitoring can be a valuable tool in implementing equal opportunity policies. We accept that there is still opposition to it, based partly on fears which we believe to be ill-founded, but which are none the less real for that. The best way to allay such anxieties, and to discover whether or not they are justified, is to encourage monitoring on a limited scale and examine and publicise its results. The costs of monitoring may well make it difficult for smaller firms to undertake it, and in firms without independent personnel departments monitoring could well be an undue administrative and financial burden. For larger firms, however, most of whom will already have personnel record-keeping of some fairly sophisticated sort, and some of whom have computer facilities, ethnic monitoring need represent only a tiny additional expense. **We therefore recommend that larger firms give serious consideration to ethnic monitoring.** The time is not ripe for the imposition of a legal obligation such as exists and apparently functions smoothly in the United States, or for fiscal persuasion, and we hope that employers will prefer to follow the example of efficient and distinguished firms such as Ford and others who have found that ethnic monitoring can be of positive benefit. **Whether or not individual employers decide to introduce ethnic monitoring, we strongly recommend that they and their employees should work out together the best possible means of eradicating direct and indirect discrimination.**

203. The issue of ethnic monitoring is so controversial a component of any strategy for the enforcement of equal opportunity, and the role of Government as an employer is so influential, that the decision of the Government on ethnic monitoring of the Civil Service has become not only an earnest of the Government's response to the Tavistock Report but also a touchstone of their general attitude to monitoring. It is not of course the sole issue, although it is clearly a central one in an organisation where the majority of employees are recruited locally at seven or eight hundred recruitment points. Critical examination of, for example, nationality eligibility rules operating in respect of certain public bodies such as museums<sup>1</sup> can only be hypothetical in the absence of statistics. It is also difficult to imagine how the proposed Equal Opportunity Officer in each department (para 194 above) will be able to function as effectively in the racial as in the sexual equality side of his job, since he will not have statistics on the ethnic composition of the Department's personnel equivalent to those available on their sex.<sup>2</sup> The Minister of State at the Home Office emphasised that the Government did not intend the decision not to proceed with the partial census as a general condemnation of monitoring;<sup>3</sup> but the decision will inevitably be interpreted as such by many observers, in the same way as was the 1980 decision to omit an ethnic question from the 1981 Census. **We therefore recommend that the Minister of State at the Civil Service Department re-examine his decision not to undertake some sort of ethnic monitoring of the Civil Service.**

#### DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER SERVICES COMMISSION

##### (i) *Monitoring*

204. Evidence received both centrally and locally from the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) and the Department of Employment suggests that, of all Government agencies, they are the most aware of racial disadvantage. They seek to monitor ethnic minority unemployment nationally and locally, and in some

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 350-1, 386-9: Q871-7.

<sup>2</sup> Q844: Ev, p 386.

<sup>3</sup> Q2068.



cases to monitor ethnic minority participation in their training and special programmes. In their evidence the MSC bewail "the absence of comprehensive, reliable and up to date statistical information".<sup>1</sup> It is suggested that the MSC could adopt across-the-board ethnic monitoring, and that Careers Officers could do the same. Liverpool City Council informed the Sub-Committee that the Careers Service were anxious that ethnic minorities should have full access to careers opportunities, but the Council will not allow them to count ethnic minority groups registered at the Careers Office.<sup>2</sup> Where figures do exist they can be helpful, showing for example the rate of ethnic minority TOPS completions, and the heavy use made by ethnic minorities of YOP workshop schemes. National figures could show, for example, whether the ethnic minority "shortfall" in participation in work experience on employers premises revealed in Bristol and London is reflected nationwide.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, the Sub-Committee received no evidence that minority communities wished their ethnic origins to be monitored at Jobcentres, and the practice could also foster damaging suspicions among the white unemployed that those from ethnic minorities were being pushed ahead of them to fill notified job vacancies. **We therefore echo the recommendation in the joint MSC/CRE report "Special Programmes Special Needs" that the rate of ethnic minority participation in special programmes be monitored, but do not recommend that the Employment Services Division (ESD) or the Careers Service introduce any coherent form of ethnic monitoring until there are strong indications that this is desired by their clients.**

205. Although recommending monitoring, we are satisfied that the right course in general must be for the Department of Employment and the Manpower Services Commission to provide services to ethnic minorities in the same way as for other clients. In most cases they have the same needs and can be expected to avail themselves of training and employment opportunities in the same way as the population as a whole. Recent research by PSI has shown that the public employment service is fully used by ethnic minorities, and indeed that Government training courses reach young West Indians and Asians at least as successfully as they do young whites. The exceptions to this pattern are above all those Asians with little or no English, and disaffected young people who are unregistered and out of touch with statutory services.

(ii) *Language training*

206. MSC is responsible for providing English language training through Industrial Language Units and through TOPS courses. This provision is patently inadequate. There are various obstacles to the success of the Industrial Language Training programme. It is as yet on a very small scale. The National Centre for Industrial Language Training estimated some years ago that 200,000 workers with language difficulties could benefit from industrial language training; a "realistic target" was set at about 50,000.<sup>4</sup> 28 local authorities now participate in these arrangements, but it would seem that only a few thousand people a year are being reached.<sup>5</sup> It seems to have had little impact on employers.<sup>6</sup> It is difficult in the present economic climate to persuade employers to pay both

<sup>1</sup> eg Ev, p 487, 1076; Q135: Ev, p 124.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 474, 488.

<sup>3</sup> Ev, p 75; Information on ethnic minorities available from SPD Research, para 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 212, para 5.6.

<sup>5</sup> Ev, p 213, para 5.11.

<sup>6</sup> eg Ev, p 855 (Ford), Q1634-5 (Motor Agents)



the fees for the services provided and the cost of day release.<sup>1</sup> The Area Health Authority in Leicester, for example, were unwilling to pay around £600 for training of 10 laundry staff.<sup>2</sup> Even within current financial constraints, such reluctance can only be attributable to an absence of will, and it is unacceptable that a Government-funded programme should thereby fall so far short of its target. **We therefore recommend that the possibility of Government funding to persuade both employers and employees to make further use of Industrial Language Training should be explored.**

207. It is also important that the unemployed with English language deficiencies should be assisted, particularly where this is a factor which prevents such people from finding new employment. Asians with little or no English are at present largely out of reach of Government training and employment services,<sup>3</sup> and are disproportionately likely to be in need of them.<sup>4</sup> We note that the Manchester Unit, for example, is running courses for the unemployed.<sup>5</sup> TOPS preparatory courses and language courses cannot replace LEA provision,<sup>6</sup> but where the latter falls short of need some response must be made. **We recommend that the Training Services Division instigate more skills—linked language training courses for the unemployed along the lines of those begun at Nelson and in West Yorkshire.**<sup>7</sup>

#### (iii) *Jobcentres*

208. While there is evidence to suggest that Jobcentres are of particular value to ethnic minority job-seekers, and that they make more use of them to find employment than the population as a whole, few attempts would seem to have been made to meet the special needs of these clients. Display cards have not been translated into Asian languages, because ESD consider that “multi-lingual displays would be ineffective without a back-up facility to cope with inquiries in the foreign tongue”.<sup>8</sup> Such a facility could presumably be provided if staff speaking the language concerned were available, and ESD regret that “few people from the minority groups apply for jobs within the service outside the London area”.<sup>9</sup> There is however no evidence that they make any positive efforts to recruit such staff.

#### (iv) *Non-registration*

209. It is sometimes suggested that there is a particularly high incidence of non-registration with the Careers or employment services among young ethnic minority unemployed. The extent of this phenomenon is naturally difficult to quantify, and research being undertaken at present at Liverpool University should provide useful evidence. ESD feel that the incidence is “sometimes overstated”<sup>10</sup> and the Sub-Committee received no evidence that young blacks were particularly affected; some evidence indeed suggests the opposite. In Bristol, the Principal Careers Adviser had found that when the names of those supposedly

<sup>1</sup> Q2032, 2404.

<sup>2</sup> Q2406: Ev, p 1081.

<sup>3</sup> Q2410-13; Ev, p 1029, 1037 (b), 1077-8.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 931-2.

<sup>5</sup> Q1313; Ev, p 703.

<sup>6</sup> Ev, p 219.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 491, para 12; p 933-4, para 47.

<sup>8</sup> Ev, p 216, para 6.8-10: Q2397-9.

<sup>9</sup> Ev, p 216, para 6.9.

<sup>10</sup> Ev p 216, para 6.12.



unregistered had been provided, it was found that they were for the most part registered with one or other of the services.<sup>1</sup> The local CRE apparently had no hard evidence to support their assertion that "many" young blacks did not register,<sup>2</sup> any more than did the Leicester United Caribbean Association for claiming that "there is a great majority of young West Indians who do not register".<sup>3</sup> There is however clearly some non-registration, both among young blacks "because of feelings against established organisations" and among Asians for a variety of reasons,<sup>4</sup> and so we welcome the appointment of outreach officers to make contact with these people. In Manchester, for example, the outreach worker is in touch with 80 unregistered young people mainly from Moss Side.<sup>5</sup> We also welcome the imaginative Capital Jobmate scheme which uses radio to reach young people,<sup>6</sup> and hope that both these sorts of initiatives will be repeated throughout the country. Not only does non-registration distort unemployment figures, but more seriously it means that the YOP and other special programmes may not be reaching those who are arguably most in need.

(v) *Race Relations Employment Advisers*

210. The Department's principle special activity in response to racial disadvantage in employment is the deployment around the country of 26 Race Relations Employment Advisers.<sup>7</sup> They perform a valuable service and one that should be immune from any reduction in Civil Service manpower; that Bristol has to be covered from London suggests that they are thin on the ground as it is.<sup>8</sup> It is also surprising that they should be under instructions to concentrate on the private sector to the virtual exclusion of the public sector.<sup>9</sup> We understand the desire to avoid duplication of work being done by the CRE, but are not convinced that that is a good reason for avoiding work with local authorities, other statutory bodies and nationalised industries. **We therefore recommend that the remit of the Service be explicitly extended to include every category of employer.**

(vi) *Special Programmes*

211. The joint CRE/MSD report referred to in para 204 above identified certain strengths and weaknesses of provision currently made by the Special Programme Division in respect of young ethnic minority unemployment. We share the enthusiasm expressed in that report for schemes designed to mix remedial and general education with specific training, as in the Care Assistance Project in Brixton which the Sub-Committee visited and which impressed them with its practicality and sense of purpose. There are a number of such projects, and also of workshops which aim to give young people skills for life.<sup>10</sup> One general criticism of some of these projects is that they lack expertise and discipline,<sup>11</sup> and that young people recognise this and do not take them seriously. It is to be hoped that the new "enabler posts" established in March 1981 to encourage more ethnic minority sponsorship of Special Programme schemes will also lead

<sup>1</sup> Q136.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 157.

<sup>3</sup> Q2236.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 1078, para 14.

<sup>5</sup> Q1385.

<sup>6</sup> Q502-4; Ev, p 211, para 4.8.

<sup>7</sup> Ev, p 207, para 20.

<sup>8</sup> Q154.

<sup>9</sup> Q137-8, 478-88.

<sup>10</sup> eg at Bristol, the Youth Opportunity Centre (Q148)

<sup>11</sup> eg Q1280; Ev, p 701.



to better management of such schemes as well as enabling full ethnic minority participation in the new Community Enterprise Programme. There is by now a fund of good practice on the initiation and management of schemes which must be widely disseminated. The success of Project Full-Employ for example offers a lead not only to administrators of such courses, but also to employers who wish to help overcome youth unemployment. While it is not necessary or generally desirable for Special Programme projects to be tailored for ethnic minorities, it is possible under the Race Relations Act. We understand that only the North Lewisham Project has actually been so designated as a training body under section 37.<sup>1</sup> **We recommend that further use be made of this section.**

#### APPRENTICESHIPS

212. In order to have an equal opportunity of procuring the sort of skilled jobs to which many youngsters aspire, it is essential that ethnic minority school leavers should have equal access to apprenticeships and traineeships. Careers officers, teachers and others have the strong impression that ethnic minority school leavers are particularly interested in the sort of mechanical and electrical engineering jobs which can only be obtained by those who have completed apprenticeships. Recent research sponsored by the CRE, which was made available to the Sub-Committee prior to publication, has however confirmed the thesis that a variety of factors make it disproportionately difficult for these youngsters to obtain apprenticeships. Discrimination is one such factor. Another factor which is unlikely to change is the preference of employers for the relatives of existing employees. Mr Oscar Hahn of GKN told the Sub-Committee of the "enormous pressure in every factory—'Can you take my nephew?' 'Can you take my son?'... and I would say that a great deal of recruitment today is done on the grapevine" and Ford confirmed that they like sons and daughters of employees to apply for apprenticeships.<sup>2</sup>

213. Another factor identified in the CRE research and confirmed in evidence to the Sub-Committee is the age limit for entry to apprenticeships.<sup>3</sup> In most cases, 16 is the upper age limit. Both employers and unions agree and have agreed for some time that greater flexibility on the age of entry would be generally beneficial, to little apparent effect.<sup>4</sup> The general issue lies outside our terms of reference, but it is of particular significance to racial disadvantage. This is because educational underachievement is likely to lead to ethnic minority youngsters staying on at school or in FE after 16 to catch up by gaining formal qualifications and then finding themselves too old for an apprenticeship. This applies particularly to Asians, whose parents may be unaware of the risks of their children seeking further qualifications at the expense of an eventual apprenticeship, and it also applies to those on short-term YOP schemes.<sup>5</sup> It puts a particular responsibility on careers teachers and the Careers Service to explain the position to pupils and parents. It also penalises ethnic minority students who arrive for settlement at 15 or 16 and by the time that they have qualifications are too

<sup>1</sup> New Community, vol VII, No 3, p 252.

<sup>2</sup> Q1724, 1773.

<sup>3</sup> eg App 17, p 73 (Electricity), 93 (Railways); Ev, p 1009, para 2a (Leicester).

<sup>4</sup> eg Q1685-7 (Hahn), Q1770 (Ford), Q1842 (AUEW).

<sup>5</sup> Q1312.



old.<sup>1</sup> A further factor is that some firms have a practice of recruiting from particular schools or areas, thereby unintentionally excluding ethnic minorities. Ford's monitoring policy had shown up this problem and they were attempting to rectify it.<sup>2</sup>

214. Apprenticeships are at present a scarce commodity and we do not suggest that ethnic minorities should be afforded special access. They should however have equal access, and **we recommend that employers examine their system of apprenticeship intake to see whether they have indirectly discriminatory practices. We also recommend that Industrial Training Boards discover whether or not ethnic minority youngsters do in fact get a fair share of apprenticeships, and that they do more by way of positive action under sections 37 and 38 of the 1976 Act.**<sup>3</sup>

#### EXTENDED LEAVE

215. Employees who have dependent relatives in foreign countries are more than likely at some time over a period of years to have to visit these countries for one reason or another. A number of Asians have dependents who are still resident in their country of origin, or have an understandable wish to visit that country for a period longer than that of normal annual leave. While this is a declining problem, it still presents problems for an employer. The recent PSI study showed that 36 per cent of Asian unemployed men in the sample interviewed who had left their previous job voluntarily had gone in order to pay such a visit.<sup>4</sup> Although we appreciate that extended leave may cause severe problems particularly in smaller firms, larger employers should take note of the examples of Ford Motor Company who have introduced an extended leave policy for all their employees<sup>5</sup> and of Leicester City Council who had found that sympathetic consideration given to requests for extended leave had presented no problems.<sup>6</sup> Mr Hawley of the TGWU was confident that most employers would give employees reasonable leave of absence if there was a genuine reason.<sup>7</sup> We hope that he is right, and that employers will realise that it will not only be their ethnic minority employees who would benefit from a sympathetic attitude to extended leave.

#### ETHNIC MINORITY ENTERPRISE

216. It cannot be through equal access to employment opportunities alone that racial disadvantage in employment is overcome. It is equally important that ethnic minority businessmen should be enabled to play a full part in the nation's economy as employers and as self-employed. Not only does self-employment provide an alternative source of income particularly important for those who are disadvantaged or discriminated against in their search for employment, but it also contributes to the regeneration of the urban areas in which the majority of ethnic minorities live. The previous Government stated in their 1977 White Paper that "the minority groups living in inner urban areas need to be given

<sup>1</sup> Ev, p 1030, D (ii).

<sup>2</sup> Q1769-74: Ev, p 856.

<sup>3</sup> App 3, p 18

<sup>4</sup> Unemployment and racial minorities (PSI), p 70-71.

<sup>5</sup> Q1775-7: Ev, p 857.

<sup>6</sup> Q2266-8: Ev, p 1071, para 17.

<sup>7</sup> Q1827.



a full opportunity to play their part in the task of regeneration”<sup>1</sup> and the present Government have strongly emphasised the role of small firms in regeneration in the inner city. It is thus in the interests of the whole community that obstacles to the full participation by members of any minority group in the creation and running of small business should be removed. We do not suggest that self-employment of necessity offers a better prospect of economic advancement for ethnic minority groups than employment, but rather that those ethnic minority entrepreneurs with the desire and the talent to set up businesses should not be unnecessarily obstructed from so doing.

217. Because of an absence of information, the Sub-Committee decided to commission a research paper on the present state of “minority enterprise” from the SSRC Research Unit on Ethnic Relations.<sup>2</sup> They decided that such research should be concentrated on West Indian business activity because it appeared that Asians are in self-employment in proportions broadly similar to that of the population in general. The figures available bear this out, while showing considerable variations as between, for example, those Asians who came to the United Kingdom from East Africa, and those who came from predominantly rural backgrounds in Pakistan or Bangladesh. There are also strong regional differences, and a wide variety of trades involved, from small and only marginally profitable retailing to large-scale manufacturing or wholesaling. There is no firm evidence, however, that Asian entrepreneurs suffer from serious disadvantages different in kind to those faced by all such businessmen. There is evidence that they are disproportionately dependent on bank loans for start-up capital, but not that they have disproportionate difficulty in raising such money. Evidence in Leicester suggested that local Asian businessmen there did not feel that they were disadvantaged, and the problem mentioned of gaining access to a local authority’s selective list of contractors is presumably common to all new firms. As the businessman concerned said “I do not think there is any discrimination as such. It is the system which it is impossible to go through.”<sup>3</sup> A complex economic and political system will evidently work to the disadvantage of newcomers whether or not from ethnic minorities, and evidence from Leicester<sup>4</sup> suggests that planning controls may be particularly difficult to deal with. Local authorities should bear this in mind in drawing up lists of approved contractors, for example, and in the preparation of local plans.

218. The research therefore concentrated on the West Indian business community, and confirmed the general impression that there was little West Indian business activity. This impression was confirmed by evidence to the Sub-Committee in Liverpool and Manchester,<sup>5</sup> as was the realisation within the black community that “black people can and have succeeded in business”.<sup>6</sup> Figures suggest that 3·6 per cent of the West Indian population were self-employed in 1978, mainly on their own account, against a national figure of 10 per cent. Although this figure of 3·6 per cent had risen from a 1971 figure of 2·5 per cent, the real rise is disappointingly small, and suggests that lapse of time alone may not produce greater West Indian business activity. In the absence of a large-scale

<sup>1</sup> Cmnd 6845, para 20.

<sup>2</sup> “West Indians in Business in Britain”, HC 15-iv (1980-81).

<sup>3</sup> Q2130.

<sup>4</sup> Ev, p 1070-2.

<sup>5</sup> Q1035-8 (Liverpool), 1244-50 (Manchester).

<sup>6</sup> Q1292.



natural ethnic market such as some Asian retailers enjoy, and of concentrations of ethnic minority customers, it might be expected that West Indian entrepreneurship would be emerging particularly in trades such as construction, plumbing, taxi-driving, carpentry and motor mechanics in which they are at present disproportionately employed. Research suggests that this is the case, but also that a West Indian ethnic market, in food and hairdressing for example, has in fact been identified.<sup>1</sup> Most of those West Indians presently self-employed are in fact in the construction, repair and services sectors, and from the present employment pattern of West Indians it would appear to be in these sectors that an expansion of business activity might be anticipated. The UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce, the body which seeks to represent the interests of West Indian businessmen, told the Sub-Committee that the majority of their members were in the service sector and in retail distribution, and agreed that there were many people with craft skills who were prevented from starting a business by lack of capital.<sup>2</sup>

219. There is no lack of ambition or desire on the part of West Indian entrepreneurs to set up in business, and no lack of commercial acumen in their perception of where such efforts should be concentrated. Indeed, the West Indian experience of disadvantage and discrimination in employment may act as an additional spur to setting up an independent business.<sup>3</sup> It would therefore appear that there are some special obstacles to the fulfillment of these ambitions. The UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce referred in evidence to some of these presumed obstacles, as did the SSRC research paper and the findings of the CRE research project into ethnic minority business in Hackney which were made available to the Sub-Committee.<sup>4</sup> Some of the problems identified are not different in essence to those which face any intending entrepreneur, although they may be so in scale—lack of suitable premises or labour, for example. Others are really accusations of direct discrimination for which legal remedies are available, or problems of commercial strategy such as the desirability of dependence on an exclusively ethnic market, which must remain matters of judgement.

220. Two problems do however emerge from the evidence received by the Sub-Committee and from their visit to the United States<sup>5</sup> which seem to bear particularly heavily on ethnic minorities. They are the problems of access to commercial capital and of management skills. Both the experience of the UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce and the results of the SSRC research suggested that banks and bank managers varied widely in their attitude towards lending to ethnic minorities. Some managers appear to require an undue amount of collateral for a loan, possibly as a result of stereotyping of West Indian entrepreneurs as a bad risk—a stereotype not supported by the experience of those banks who had made business loans to West Indians. It is also possible that less effort is put into reshaping a loan proposition from a West Indian applicant. The CRE have never investigated a bank's lending policies, and in the circumstances we can see that such an investigation would be very difficult. The suggestions by the Secretary of the UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce that one bank, Barclays, was particularly unhelpful,<sup>6</sup> and by the SSRC research report

<sup>1</sup> HC 15-iv, p 16-17.

<sup>2</sup> Ev, p 904, para 1.2: Q1961-2.

<sup>3</sup> HC 15-iv, p 20, para 4.10.

<sup>4</sup> App 7, p 44.

<sup>5</sup> App 22.

<sup>6</sup> Q1970.



that "one bank emerged with a particularly bad record"<sup>1</sup> remain unproven but disturbing. We are glad to report that Barclays are investigating these suggestions. But it remains a matter of concern that West Indians, without the sort of ethnic bank facilities available for example to some Asians, with relatively little personal capital and thus heavily dependent on commercial capital, should be persuaded that the one major bank which by tradition has had West Indian depositors is positively hostile in its lending attitude.

221. The recently announced scheme of 80 per cent Government guarantees for bank loans of up to £75,000<sup>2</sup> which closely reflects the Small Business Administration (SBA) scheme in the United States, should benefit some ethnic minority businessmen. In that country, around 25 per cent of SBA guaranteed loans are to minority businesses, who also benefit from a range of other programmes, including SBA-licensed Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Companies, which are privately-owned companies specialising in providing equity capital and long-term loans to minority businesses. There are varying opinions on the effectiveness of these and other schemes for channelling public and private funding to minority businesses such as setting aside for such businesses a proportion of certain government contracts. But there is no doubt that minority businesses are likely to find their access to commercial capital restricted for other than strictly commercial reasons, and so that they are entitled to expect generous treatment from any government scheme for facilitating such access. **We therefore recommend that the particular needs of ethnic minority businesses be specifically considered in drawing up the details of and in administering the proposed loan guarantee scheme, and that the degree of ethnic minority participation therein be monitored. We also recommend that banks satisfy themselves that their managers are making decisions on business loans to West Indians on purely commercial criteria.** We do not think that a special agency along the lines of the American Office of Minority Business Enterprise is necessary or desirable, because of our assumption that the mainstream programme can be made sensitive to West Indian entrepreneurs. Should this prove not to be the case, the creation of some sort of special agency would have to be seriously considered.

222. The other particular problem which besets West Indian entrepreneurs is a lack of management skills, a problem common to many disadvantaged communities but particularly evident in communities both relatively new to a society and economically disadvantaged. They will not have the knowledge of the network of commercial and professional contacts so necessary to running a business, which the indigenous community has and which Asian communities have developed; nor are they as likely as others to have management qualifications of a more formal kind. American experience suggests that management advice has been the most important single element in the fostering of minority enterprise. An extension of the existing network of business advisory centres would be of particular assistance to West Indian entrepreneurs, as would an extension of sandwich courses designed for small businessmen run by institutions such as polytechnics and business schools. While there is no need for programmes geared specifically to West Indian enterprise, **we recommend that the Business Education Council consult the UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce with a view to formulating a programme of courses particularly suitable for West Indian businessmen.**

<sup>1</sup> HC 15-iv, p 28, para 4.43.

<sup>2</sup> HC Deb (1980-81), vol 62, c 781.



223. In the United States there is a programme designed to provide small businesses with management advice and assistance from retired business executives who volunteer their services. This programme, known as SCORE (Service Corps of Retired Executives), serves the dual function of providing a challenging and rewarding task for recently retired businessmen and advice for new entrepreneurs from the most experienced and practically-minded source imaginable. We are confident that such a programme could and should be established here, to provide management advice to all small businessmen rather than exclusively to ethnic minorities, although it would be particularly useful for the latter. **We therefore recommend that the Department of Trade should consider setting up such a scheme, working through local Chambers of Commerce.**

224. In the United States the commitment of Chambers to assisting the disadvantaged impressed the Sub-Committee. Harlem has its own Uptown Chamber of Commerce with close links with its sister Chamber in Manhattan, and the New Orleans Chamber has an officer concerned exclusively with minority enterprise. British Chambers appear by and large either complacent or indifferent, although Bolton Chamber's evidence showed some awareness of the problems of ethnic minorities in employment.<sup>1</sup> The involvement of Chambers in a SCORE-type programme could add substance to the longer-term aim, as envisaged at the April 1980 Sunningdale Conference, of increased private sector community involvement.<sup>2</sup>

225. The example of the many successful West Indian businessmen in the United States demonstrates that there are as yet untapped commercial resources in the British West Indian community. The country can ill afford this waste of resources. Our recommendations for providing West Indian entrepreneurs with greater access to capital and to management assistance can only go some way towards solving this problem. In the end much will depend on the West Indian community becoming an integral and thriving part of the economic life of the country.

<sup>1</sup> App 16.

<sup>2</sup> App 5, p 36-8.



### Summary of Recommendations

#### GOVERNMENT

1. An inquiry should be established into the teaching of English as a second language to all those settled in the United Kingdom with low oral and written English language skills (para 33).

#### HOME OFFICE

2. The Home Office should exercise a more vigorous co-ordinating role within Government on matters of racial disadvantage, through a Cabinet Committee and an inter-departmental Committee of officials chaired by the Home Office (paras 37, 40).

3. We regret the disproportionately heavy cut in the staff of I Division (para 41).

4. The Home Office should establish a body to provide general oversight of research into race relations and racial disadvantage (para 47).

5. The Home Office should explore the possibility of channelling European Social Fund money into new projects for overcoming racial disadvantage (para 73).

#### SECTION 11

6. Section 11 should remain the major vehicle of central Government financial support for local authority programmes designed to combat racial disadvantage. Legislation should be introduced as soon as is convenient to remove the present restrictions to Commonwealth immigrants and to salary costs. The 10-year and two per cent rules should be abandoned. Formula payments should be phased out (paras 52–6).

7. We urge the Minister not to spend too long waiting to see the effects of the new rate support grant system before deciding to reform section 11 along the lines we recommend (para 64).

8. The Home Office should establish a system of selective scrutiny of section 11 expenditure (para 58).

9. Section 11 funds should be more widely used for functions other than primary and secondary education; within education it should not be a mechanism solely for improvement of the pupil-teacher ratio (paras 61–63). Local authorities should be obliged to submit a statement setting out their long-term plans when applying for section 11 funding, together with statistical evidence (para 64).

#### DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

10. The Department of Education and Science should produce as a priority a programme for training those intended to train teachers in multi-cultural education and for ensuring a greater uptake of in-service training (para 145).

11. The Department should encourage further local education authorities to establish special access courses and should explore with the Home Office the possibility of making section 11 funds available for students on these courses (paras 135–6).

12. In using his powers under sections 2 and 3 of the Education Act 1980 the Secretary of State should pay particular regard to the extent to which ethnic minority parents are at present represented on school governing bodies (para 148).



13. The Department should actively encourage the incorporation of Asian languages into the modern languages curriculum. Statistics of examinations taken in these languages should be published annually (paras 152–3).

14. The Secretary of State should issue guidelines facilitating access to further and higher education by students accepted for settlement here on the same terms as those enjoyed by home and EC students (para 162).

15. The APU West Indian Study Group should be reconvened in order to find some means of producing national figures on the performance of West Indian children (para 133).

16. The Department should issue guidelines on the use of LEA Advisers in multi-cultural education (para 146).

17. The Department should explore ways of facilitating study visits by school parties to the Caribbean and the Indian sub-continent (para 158).

18. The Department should set up a Unit concerned exclusively with multi-racial education (para 42).

#### DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT AND MANPOWER SERVICES COMMISSION

19. The rate of ethnic minority participation in special programmes should be monitored (para 204).

20. The possibility of Government funding to persuade both employers and employees to make further use of Industrial Language Training should be explored (para 206).

21. The Training Services Division should instigate more skills-linked language training courses for the unemployed (para 207).

22. The remit of the Race Relations Employment Advisory Service should be explicitly extended to include every category of employer (para 210).

23. Further use should be made of section 37 of the Race Relations Act 1976 in providing special training (para 211).

24. Industrial Training Boards should discover whether or not ethnic minority youngsters get a fair share of apprenticeships, and should do more by way of positive action under sections 37 and 38 of the Race Relations Act 1976 (para 214).

#### DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENT

25. The Urban Programme should remain the major source of finance for voluntary sector schemes designed to combat racial disadvantage. The Department of the Environment should be more flexible in their attitude to long-term funding of projects. They should suggest to local authorities that they review their arrangements for the selection of projects, and should remind Urban Development Corporations of their responsibilities to the ethnic minorities (paras 67, 68, 71).

26. The Department should examine its system of financing conversions to ensure that it does not discourage the creation of large housing units (para 88).

27. The Department should create a specialised unit concerned exclusively with racial disadvantage aspects of their responsibilities (para 43).



**DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND SOCIAL SECURITY**

28. The Department of Health and Social Security should institute research into ethnic minority use of the social security system (para 121).

29. The Department should keep the problems of ethnic minority elderly under review (para 91).

30. An explanatory leaflet on sickle cell disease should be produced as soon as possible; hospitals in high risk areas should consider providing neonatal and adult screening facilities (para 123).

31. The Department should create a specialised racial disadvantage unit (para 44).

**DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY**

32. The particular needs of ethnic minority businesses should be specifically considered in the proposed new loan guarantee scheme and ethnic minority participation therein should be monitored (para 221).

**DEPARTMENT OF TRADE**

33. The Department of Trade should consider setting up a management advice scheme working through local Chambers of Commerce, similar to the American SCORE scheme of using retired businessmen to give advice to small businesses (para 223).

**CIVIL SERVICE DEPARTMENT**

34. The Minister of State should re-examine his decision not to undertake some sort of ethnic monitoring of the Civil Service (para 203).

35. The Civil Service College should review the content of its training programmes for administrators to ensure that they are aware of the racial disadvantage dimension of their work (para 45).

**OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS**

36. The OPCS should prepare an ethnic question for inclusion in a 1986 sample census (para 9).

**LOCAL AUTHORITIES**

37. Local authorities should examine all their services to identify areas where section 11 funding would be of value (para 63).

38. Local authorities with a significant ethnic minority population should institute ethnic monitoring of the services which they provide (para 85).

39. Local authorities should take a joint initiative with Government to ensure that provision of facilities for the under-5s comes closer to meeting the demand for it among ethnic minorities in particular and should seek section 11 funding for such provision (para 90).

40. We are not convinced either that a local education authority is under any obligation to provide mother tongue teaching or that it is necessarily in the general interest that they should do so (para 151).

41. Local authorities should examine their further education provision to ensure that ethnic minority students' needs are being met (para 163).



42. Housing authorities should examine their allocation and transfer criteria and procedures and should ensure that ethnic minorities are aware of available housing facilities (paras 87–8). Manchester City Council's Housing Committee should reconsider the appointment of staff with section 11 funding (para 111).

43. Local authorities should explore the possibility of employing hostel staff under section 11 (para 92).

44. Local authorities should review their arrangements for consultation with ethnic minorities and should rid themselves of the notion that CRCs can represent ethnic minorities (paras 77–8).

45. Local authority associations should regard it as part of their function to disseminate good practice on a range of issues connected with race relations and racial disadvantage (para 75).

46. Local authorities should keep the problems of ethnic minority elderly under review (para 91).

#### COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCILS

47. Community Relations Councils and Community Relations Officers must recognise that public funding of voluntary bodies bears with it an obligation to perform in a way that is visibly in the public interest (para 79).

#### TEACHER TRAINING

48. Every initial teacher training course should be examined by its validating body to ensure that it accurately reflects the society in which those who follow the course will be working (para 140).

49. All teachers should have at least some initial specialised training to enable them to perform effectively in a multi-racial classroom (para 142).

50. Teacher training colleges in areas without multi-racial schools should find ways of giving students the opportunity of teaching in such schools elsewhere (para 141).

#### EMPLOYERS

51. All employers should consider declaring themselves equal opportunity employers (para 172).

52. Larger firms should give serious consideration to ethnic monitoring (para 202).

53. Employers and employees should work out together the best possible means of eradicating direct and indirect discrimination (para 202).

54. Employers should examine their system of apprenticeship intake for indirectly discriminatory practices (para 214).

#### POLICE

55. Police forces should take vigorous steps to recruit ethnic minority officers (para 125).



**BANKS**

56. Banks should satisfy themselves that managers are making decisions on business loans to West Indians on purely commercial criteria (para 221).

**BUSINESS EDUCATION**

57. The Business Education Council should, in consultation with the UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce, formulate a programme of courses particularly suitable for West Indian businessmen (para 222).



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**MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS**

Monday, 13 July, 1981

Members present:

Sir Graham Page, in the Chair

Mr Alf Dubs  
Mr George Gardiner  
Mr John Hunt  
Mrs Jill Knight  
Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson  
Dr Edmund Marshall  
Mr William Waldegrave  
Mr John Wheeler

The Committee deliberated.

Report from the Sub-Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (Racial Disadvantage), brought up and read.

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

Paragraph 1 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 2 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 3 to 9 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 10 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 11 and 12 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 13 read as follows:

13. "Migration does not just mean a change of residence. It means a change of habits, outlook and values. This change is made more difficult if the migrant does not understand the language of his new country, and is illiterate even in his own tongue. If, added to that, he also has to cope with the change from a rural environment to an inner city slum, his problems are manifest. If his wife, by the religious customs of her former home, is used to isolation from other men and their families, her problems are intensified. The great majority of migrants from Pakistan, Bangladesh and even India were in this position. Those who came from Jamaica, as 70 per cent of West Indians did, faced a similar transition though their educational background was better. There were many individual exceptions to this picture but overall it is true of all but the East African Asians. No Government has sufficiently thought through the difficulties of adjustment facing these new citizens, still less produced adequate policies to deal with them."

Amendment proposed at the end, to add the words—"Equally, the process of acclimatisation to a different cultural environment and of the achievement of full participation in the affairs of a different nation are bound to be retarded by the strength of the retained allegiance which many immigrants in particular from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan choose to maintain to their original countries. It is not unfair for the older communities of the United Kingdom to expect allegiance to be whole-heartedly transferred to the immigrant's new nation, in



exchange for the proper commitment of the host communities to total acceptance of the newcomers as full and equal citizens of the United Kingdom"—(*Mr William Waldegrave*):—

Question proposed, That the Amendment be made:

—Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraphs 14 to 18 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 19 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 20 to 25 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 26 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 27 to 29 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 30 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 31 to 53 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 54 read as follows:

54. If section 11 is to be maintained, it must be radically reformed. Three particularly controversial aspects of its present operation can only be changed by legislation, which the Minister has made clear cannot be anticipated. These three aspects are the exclusion of non-Commonwealth immigrants, of voluntary bodies, and of non-salary costs from the ambit of section 11 grants. The restriction to the Commonwealth, which may have seemed a reasonable provision when the Act was passed 15 years ago, excludes not only post-1972 immigrants from Pakistan and their children, but also the considerable number of Vietnamese and other refugees for whom local authorities have had to make special provision. It is absurd to suggest that a non-Commonwealth child or adult experiences problems of cultural and linguistic disadvantage different in type to those of a Commonwealth child or adult. The distinction is in practice otiose in terms of section 11, since local authorities cannot in general distinguish between Commonwealth and non-Commonwealth citizens for whom services are provided, and would not wish to do so even were it possible. The limitation effectively excludes only identifiable non-Commonwealth communities such as Vietnamese and Greeks. While we have considered the restriction of eligibility for grant to local authorities and do not suggest any change thereto, we are less happy about the restriction of grant to salaries. There is no logical reason to suppose that special provision for special needs should not and does not involve other costs. While we understand the Home Office's reluctance to fund the sort of expensive capital projects for which Urban Aid is available, relatively small payments for educational materials or office costs are also excluded. **We therefore recommend that legislation be introduced as soon as is convenient to amend the Local Government Act 1966 so as to remove the restriction to "Commonwealth" immigrants and to give the Home Office discretion to meet non-salary costs.**

An Amendment made.

Another Amendment proposed in line 17, to leave out from the word "Greeks" to the word "salaries" in line 19 and insert the words:

"We do not agree with the restriction of eligibility for grant to local authorities as there may be occasions when the local council believes it can best achieve particular objectives through supporting voluntary bodies. We are also not happy about the restriction of the grant to salaries"—(*Mr Alf Dubs*):—



Question proposed, That the Amendment be made:

Amendment, by leave, withdrawn.

Paragraph, as amended, agreed to.

Paragraphs 55 to 57 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 58 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 59 to 62 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 63 read as follows:

63. The other significant finding from evidence received is that very few councils claim significant sums for services other than education. Of those who gave evidence to the Sub-Committee only Brent claimed substantial sums for housing and social services staff, on the basis that the presence of ethnic minorities led to a substantially heavier caseload for generalist social workers in addition to specially employed staff; for 1980-81 they are claiming for 58 social services and 61 housing posts. Leicestershire County Council are submitting a claim on similar lines for social workers, seeing the greatest call in terms of West Indian children but admitting that Asians probably have "a lesser call proportionate to the numbers within the community". Lancashire have three specialist social workers in Blackburn and Preston. It is arguable whether local authorities can reasonably claim for "extra" service unless they have a clear idea of the scale of demand which would exist were the "Commonwealth immigrants" whites at the same age and socio-economic level. It would also be wrong for section 11 to become a fund for all services provided to ethnic minorities; where local authorities are providing ethnic minorities with essentially the same services as they would be providing anyway, there is no need for section 11. But the concentration of section 11 money on primary and secondary school teaching posts is unfortunate and we are disappointed at the failure of local authorities to use section 11 to boost their other services. However central education may be, there is immense scope for developments in other areas. If experienced local authorities have discovered that the presence of some ethnic minority groups has led to a need both for additional specialised and general posts, in the Youth Service or in care of the elderly, for example, it is more than likely that the same need exists in other similar areas. **We therefore recommend that local authorities examine all the services they provide with a view to identifying areas where section 11 funding would improve services already provided or help create new posts of value to ethnic minorities. It is indeed arguable that section 71 of the Race Relations Act 1976 already imposes a statutory duty on local authorities to provide for the extra needs of minority communities.**

Amendment proposed at the end, to add the words: "**It may be necessary to reconsider this section if Councils fail to honour their obligations under it**"—(*Mr Alex Lyon*):—

Question, That the Amendment be made, put and negatived.

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraph 64 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 65 to 75 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 76 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 77 and 78 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 79 read, amended and agreed to.



Paragraphs 80 to 86 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 87 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 88 to 95 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 96 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraph 97 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 98 to 99 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraph 100 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 101 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 102 to 106 read and agreed to.

Paragraphs 107 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraph 108 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 109 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 110 to 130 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 131 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 132 to 154 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 155 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 156 to 170 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 171 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 172 to 191 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 192 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 193 to 196 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 197 read, amended and agreed to.

*Ordered*, That further consideration of the Draft Report, as amended, be adjourned.

[Adjourned till tomorrow at half-past Ten o'clock.]

Tuesday, 14th July, 1981

Members present:

Sir Graham Page, in the Chair

Mr Alf Dubs

Mr George Gardiner

Mr John Hunt

Mrs Jill Knight

Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson

Mr William Waldegrave

Mr John Wheeler

The Committee deliberated.

Consideration of the Report from the Sub-Committee on Race Relations and Immigration (Racial Disadvantage) resumed.

Paragraphs 198 and 199 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 200 read, amended and agreed to.



Paragraph 201 read as follows:

201. The CRE apparently regard objections to monitoring on grounds of cost as being cynical. This is unduly harsh, although the experience of employers who have in fact undertaken systematic monitoring is that the costs are minimal. The likely opposition of employees is a most serious objection, but again it would appear from the evidence available to us that this can be allayed by rational explanation where employers and unions have the real will to do so.

An Amendment made.

Another Amendment proposed at the end, to add the words:

"We are similarly convinced that fears of reverse discrimination are needless. Racial quotas are illegal in this country and we are convinced that they should remain so. There is not the least likelihood that Parliament would be willing to follow the example of the United States practice of reverse discrimination which has arisen in circumstances in no way comparable to those in the United Kingdom"—(*Mr John Wheeler*):—

The Committee divided:

Ayes, 4

Mr Alf Dubs

Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson

Mr John Wheeler

Noes, 4

Mr George Gardiner

Mr John Hunt

Mrs Jill Knight

Mr William Waldegrave

Whereupon the Chairman declared himself with the Noes.

Paragraph, as amended, agreed to.

Amendment proposed, to leave out paragraph 202 and insert the following paragraph:

"202. The strongest argument for employers keeping records of ethnic origin is that these offer a check on whether Equal Opportunity Policies are proving effective in practice. Against this, we see a danger in putting too great a reliance upon statistics as such. The argument that ethnic monitoring is a necessary adjunct to an Equal Opportunity Policy is persuasive, but not convincing; in the case of medium-sized and smaller organisations, equally valid conclusions could be drawn from direct observation. **We therefore recommend that it be left to each employer to judge whether ethnic monitoring would serve any useful purpose within his organisation.** The experience of some large employers, both public and private, is that monitoring can serve a useful purpose, provided it can be undertaken with the approval of their employees. Equally, we must recognise the strong opposition of many white and ethnic minority employees to monitoring, and we note that trade unions are as divided on its alleged merits as are employers. Severe damage could be inflicted on racial tolerance and understanding if any employer were to seek to browbeat employees into accepting the practice against their will. **We accordingly recommend that no employer should attempt to introduce ethnic monitoring without first securing the full approval of his workforce**"—(*Mr George Gardiner*):—

Question put, that the Amendment be made.



The Committee divided:

Ayes, 2

Mr George Gardiner

Mrs Jill Knight

Noes, 6

Mr Alf Dubs

Mr John Hunt

Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson

Mr William Waldegrave

Mr John Wheeler

Paragraph agreed to.

Paragraph 203 read as follows:

203. The issue of ethnic monitoring is so controversial a component of any strategy for the enforcement of equal opportunity, and the role of Government as an employer is so influential, that the decision of the Government on ethnic monitoring of the Civil Service has become not only an earnest of the Government's response to the Tavistock Report but also a touchstone of their general attitude to monitoring. The Minister of State at the Home Office emphasised that the Government did not intend the decision not to proceed with the partial census as a general condemnation of monitoring; but the decision will inevitably be interpreted as such by many observers, in the same way as was the 1980 decision to omit an ethnic question from the 1981 Census. **We therefore recommend that the Minister of State at the Civil Service Department re-examine his decision not to undertake some sort of ethnic monitoring of the Civil Service.**

Amendment proposed, to leave out paragraph 203 and insert the following paragraph:

"203 The position of the civil service merits separate consideration. From the evidence received we must conclude that the fears voiced by the Minister of State for the Civil Service Department that staff co-operation in ethnic monitoring would not be forthcoming from members of all the civil service unions are plainly justified. Indeed, in the industrial section there is a high probability that its introduction would be positively harmful to improving race relations, and for that reason alone should not be attempted. The same would appear to apply in respect of parts of the non-industrial civil service. The question then remaining is whether the Minister should take up the offer made by the CPSA and the IRSF for a limited monitoring exercise confined to their own members. Practical considerations point strongly against doing so. Monitoring a portion of the civil service defined purely by membership of two unions would be of minimal statistical value, and would present administrative complexities greater than if the whole of the non-industrial civil service were to be covered. Partial monitoring according to union membership cannot possibly be equated with, say, the experimental monitoring of one Department, or even of all within certain grades. **We therefore concur with the Minister in his decision to decline this well-intentioned offer.** Finally, there is the question whether the CSD should make a further effort aimed eventually at introducing ethnic monitoring throughout the civil service. It is hard to see what principle could justify monitoring the non-industrial civil service while the industrial section was excluded. **We conclude that the CSD should form their judgement on the value of ethnic monitoring in the same way as any other employer, and be subject to the same requirement to secure the agreement of employees before doing so. If Equal Opportunity Officers**



are appointed in each Department, we recommend that the question be reviewed again in the light of their experience and of what resources are currently available"—(*Mr George Gardiner*):—

Question put, that the Amendment be made:

The Committee divided:

Ayes, 1

Mr George Gardiner

Noes, 6

Mr Alf Dubs

Mr John Hunt

Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson

Mr William Waldegrave

Mr John Wheeler

Another Amendment proposed, in line 6, after "monitoring" to add the words:

"It is not of course the sole issue, although it is clearly a central one in an organisation where the majority of employees are recruited locally at seven or eight hundred recruitment points. Critical examination of, for example, nationality eligibility rules operating in respect of certain public bodies such as museums can only be hypothetical in the absence of statistics. It is also difficult to imagine how the proposed Equal Opportunity Officer in each department (para 194 above) will be able to function as effectively in the racial as in the sexual equality side of his job, since he will not have statistics on the ethnic composition of the Department's personnel equivalent to those available on their sex"—(*Mr John Wheeler*):

Question put, That the Amendment be made:

The Committee divided:

Ayes, 6

Mr Alf Dubs

Mr John Hunt

Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson

Mr William Waldegrave

Mr John Wheeler

Noes, 2

Mr George Gardiner

Mrs Jill Knight

Paragraph, as amended, agreed to.

Paragraph 204 read as follows:

204. Evidence received both centrally and locally from the Manpower Services Commission and the Department of Employment suggests that, of all Government agencies, they are the most aware of racial disadvantage. However imperfectly, they seek to monitor ethnic minority unemployment nationally and locally, and in some cases to monitor ethnic minority participation in their training and special programmes. MSC evidence bewails "the absence of comprehensive, reliable and up to date statistical information", and we echo that complaint. Some of the difficulties could be solved by the MSC themselves adopting across-the-board ethnic monitoring of those using their services, and by Careers Offices doing the same. Liverpool City Council informed the Sub-Committee that the Careers Service were anxious that ethnic minorities should have full access to



careers opportunities, but the Council will not allow them to count ethnic minority groups registered at the Careers Office. Where figures do exist they are of significant value. They show for example the rate of ethnic minority TOPS completions, and the heavy use made by ethnic minorities of YOP workshop schemes. National figures could show, for example, whether the ethnic minority "shortfall" in participation in Work Experience on employers premises revealed in Bristol and London is reflected nationwide. **We therefore echo the recommendation contained in the joint MSC/CRE report "Special Programmes Special Needs" that the rate of ethnic minority participation in special programmes be monitored, and also recommend that the Employment Services Division (ESD) and the Careers Service introduce a coherent form of ethnic monitoring which would identify clients by ethnic group as well as by their birthplace and that of their parents.**

Amendment proposed, to leave out paragraph 204 and insert the following paragraph:

"204 Evidence received both centrally and locally from the Manpower Services Commission and the Department of Employment suggests that, of all Government agencies, they are the most aware of racial disadvantage. They seek to monitor ethnic minority unemployment nationally and locally, and in some cases to monitor ethnic minority participation in their training and special programmes. In their evidence the MSC bewail "the absence of comprehensive, reliable and up to date statistical information". It is suggested that the MSC could adopt across-the-board ethnic monitoring, and that Careers Offices could do the same. Liverpool City Council informed the Sub-Committee that the Careers Service were anxious that ethnic minorities should have full access to careers opportunities, but the Council will not allow them to count ethnic minority groups registered at the Careers Office. Where figures do exist they can be helpful, showing for example the rate of ethnic minority TOPS completions, and the heavy use made by ethnic minorities of YOP workshop schemes. National figures could show, for example, whether the ethnic minority "shortfall" in participation in work experience on employers premises revealed in Bristol and London is reflected nationwide. On the other hand, the Sub-Committee received no evidence that minority communities wished their ethnic origins to be monitored at Jobcentres, and the practice could also foster damaging suspicions among the white unemployed that those from ethnic minorities were being pushed ahead of them to fill notified job vacancies. **We therefore echo the recommendation in the joint MSC/CRE report "Special Programmes Special Needs" that the rate of ethnic minority participation in special programmes be monitored, but do not recommend that the Employment Services Division (ESD) or the Careers Service introduce any coherent form of ethnic monitoring until there are strong indications that this is desired by their clients"**—(*Mr George Gardiner*):—

Question put, That the Amendment be made:

The Committee divided:

Ayes, 4

Mr George Gardiner

Mrs Jill Knight

Mr William Waldegrave

Mr John Wheeler

Noes, 4

Mr Alf Dubs

Mr John Hunt

Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson

Whereupon the Chairman declared himself with the Ayes.



Paragraph inserted.

Paragraphs 205 to 212 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 213 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 214 to 216 read and agreed to.

Paragraph 217 read, amended and agreed to.

Paragraphs 218 to 225 read and agreed to.

Motion made and Question put, That this Report be the Fifth Report of the Committee to the House.

The Committee divided:

Ayes, 6

Mr Alf Dubs

Mr John Hunt

Mr Alex Lyon

Jo Richardson

Mr William Waldegrave

Mr John Wheeler

Noes, 2

Mr George Gardiner

Mrs Jill Knight

Several papers were ordered to be appended to the Minutes of Evidence.

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

*Ordered*, That the Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence be Reported to the House.

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

[Adjourned till Monday next at half-past four o'clock]

## ANNEX

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1. YOP in Local Areas.
2. Information on Ethnic Minorities available from SPD research.
3. Proposed APU survey of the performance of Pupils of Afro-Caribbean origin—Note by the Department of Education and Science.
4. Entries and "Passes" in Asian Language Examinations set by the English and Welsh Examining Boards, Summer 1979.
5. Papers on civil rights and equal opportunity enforcement submitted by the Society of Civil and Public Servants Commission for Racial Equality Branch.
6. Memoranda submitted by the Immigration Control Association.
7. Memorandum submitted by the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education on Section 11.



8. Papers submitted by the Hideaway Youth Project.
9. Papers submitted on teacher training by:
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10. Papers submitted on Section 11: Local Government Act 1966
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11. Memorandum on Section 11 submitted by Mr David Wong.
12. Council for Community Relations in Lambeth—Care Assistance Project.
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14. Papers submitted by Retailers:
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15. Memorandum submitted by Mr R Blackman of the West Indian Organisations' Co-ordinating Committee (Manchester).
16. Memorandum submitted by Father Irving Richards (Leicester).
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*Note:* Extracts from many of these papers have been printed as Appendices to the Minutes of Evidence.



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