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THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

Middle Class Afro-Caribbeans: A Racial Fraction of the British Middle Class or a Class Fraction of a Racial Group?

VOL 2

SHARON JUANITTA DAYE

Doctor of Philosophy

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

October 1987

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CHAPTER SIX

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORIES: PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO
ACHIEVEMENT AND COPING STRATEGIES ADOPTED

...ability of these respondents
...whether full-time or
...over half (57%) of all
...quarters of those
...as a motive for migration
...populations of those
...their occupation prior to
...well over half of the male
...professionals or white-collar
...professional is
...populations of
...is evident
...qualifications

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY: JOB CHANGES, PERCEIVED BARRIERS TO UPWARD MOVEMENT IN THE LABOUR MARKET AND COPING STRATEGIES ADOPTED

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an attempt is made to compare and contrast the occupational histories of the respondents categorised by gender and migration history, so as to construct a relatively clear picture of the way in which these individuals have been incorporated into the British labour market and the way in which they themselves have responded to that incorporation over time.

6.2 MALE RESPONDENTS WHO MIGRATED AS ADULTS: POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO

Forty two male respondents in population One migrated to Britain as adults, as did eight of the sixteen males in population Two. As tables 5.7 and 5.22 in chapter five indicate the main objective of the majority of these respondents at the time of migration was to obtain further education (whether full-time or part-time) in Britain. These respondents accounted for over half (59%) of all the men in population One who arrived as adults, and three quarters of those males who came as adults in population Two.

Those men who cited work/economic prospects as a motive for migration represented a much smaller proportion of males in both populations. Of those respondents who provided information concerning their occupation prior to migration (Tables 5.8 and 5.23) we see that well over half of the male respondents in population One worked either as professionals or white-collar workers. Only one respondent in population Two worked as a professional in the period prior to migration. In terms of the educational qualifications of the thirty five men in population One who answered the question it is evident that the majority had 'secondary school' and above forms of qualifications

prior to migration. Forty two per cent came with 'O' levels or 'O' level equivalents. Five respondents came with 'A' levels or 'A' level equivalents, two came with degrees (which were directly related to their occupations in the medical and legal professions, and seven respondents came with professional qualifications. Given that only four of the eight male respondents answered the question we see (Table 5.24) that even so they were relatively less well qualified than the male respondents in population One who migrated as adults.

6.2:1 OCCUPATION PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB OBTAINED ON ARRIVAL (Tables 6.1 and 6.2) Bearing in mind the principal objectives of these two groups of respondents at the period of migration, their occupational status prior to migration and their level of education, we can now go on to look at the way in which these respondents were incorporated into the British labour market. This has been achieved in four stages: firstly by comparing the respondents' pre-migration occupational distribution with the employment position they took up on arrival, secondly, by assessing their occupational position after three years in the British labour market, thirdly, assessing their employment situation after ten years, and fourthly by matching their present occupational position with the job they occupied prior to migration. The latter comparison is made to see whether in broad terms they have been able to regain or supercede the occupational position they occupied during the pre-migration period.

Population One (Table 6.1)

Professionals Prior to Migration: Of the nine respondents in population One who worked as professionals in the period prior to migration (this includes five teachers, two barristers, one doctor and an accountant) five were able to find immediate employment opportunities in their particular professions on arrival. It should be noted that of these five respondents, three arrived in

MALES POPULATION ONE

JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB OBTAINED ON ARRIVAL

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESS- IONAL	WHITE- COLLAR	PUPIL/ TEACHER	APPRENTICE	UNSKILLED MANUAL	STUDENT NURSE	STUDENT	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL
PROFESSIONAL	5	-							5
WHITE COLLAR	1	2							3
NURSING		1						1	2
(JOB OBTAINED ON ARRIVAL IN BRITAIN)	INTERMEDIATE	1	3	2	1		1	5	13
	SKILLED MANUAL			1					1
	UNSKILLED MANUAL		3	1	2	1			7
	RAF/ARMY		1	1		1	1	1	5
	UNIVERSITY/ COLLEGE	2	1		1		2		6
	TOTAL	9	11	3	5	2	4	7	42

TABLE 6.1

Britain during the mid to late 1970s. It is possible that their late arrival in Britain may have been to their advantage in that they were able to gain access to certain fields of employment which may otherwise have been closed to them two decades previously. (Johnson and Cross 1985) Of these three respondents, two (who came as a doctor and an accountant respectively) stated that they found no difficulties in obtaining employment in Britain. In contrast, however, the third respondent, who had been a practising barrister for seventeen years in Jamaica (having obtained his legal background in Britain during the late 1950s) states that he faced considerable difficulties on arrival in Britain. He migrated to Britain from Jamaica with his family in the 1970s, his move being prompted by political upheavals of the time. He states:

I wanted to continue as a barrister but I found difficulties in finding a chambers. These White people didn't want me in their chambers. In the end I began looking around for a space in a Black chambers The Black chambers are always looking for barristers no matter their ability They have a bad reputation but they don't behave any worse than White chambers

He eventually found a space in a 'Black chambers'.

The two other respondents who were able to find immediate employment within their particular professions were both teachers. One arrived in Britain in the early 1950s, the other came a decade or so later. Both respondents came with the intention of gaining additional qualifications and possibly returning home to the Caribbean. The first of these had no initial problems in finding a school to take him on. However, on arrival at the school he found that he was shown to the staff room and was ignored every day for three weeks. He was not allocated a class and the staff refused to speak to him. Finally he complained to the Education Authority and the Headmaster was instructed to give him a class. The class he was eventually given was "the worst class in the school". He states that he viewed this as a challenge and that he had

very early on decided that he was not going to allow "these people" to put him off.

"I said to myself, I am going to show them what I can do and I will be better than them"

The experience of the second respondent who arrived in the early 1960s was different. He arrived in Britain on a Monday and by the Wednesday he was working as a supply teacher. He found no problems in the school he was allocated to.

Another two of the nine respondents who had worked as professionals prior to migration found work in Britain as a clerk and sales assistant respectively. Both had been qualified teachers. The former respondent appears not to have had any intentions of carrying on his career as a teacher in Britain for he wanted to do a part-time degree and return home on completion. In keeping with this objective he thus set about finding a job which would involve clerical work and this he states he found with little difficulty. The second respondent dissatisfied with the political set up back home states:

I didn't go straight into teaching on arrival because I wanted to settle in first. So I got a job at a large department store and I worked there for six weeks. (Headmaster)

During this time he began applying for various teaching posts. Eventually the education authorities told him that they had found him a school and sent him along. He arrived at the school to be met by a somewhat surprised headmaster who did not expect him. The headmaster told him that he must be mistaken as there were no vacancies in his school adding "What makes you think you would be able to teach in England". The respondent states that at the time he was not 'race conscious' and simply accepted the headmaster's comments and objection to him as being related to the fact that the Education Authorities had not informed him that they would be sending a new teacher. The

White Collar Workers Prior to Migration

Eleven respondents had worked as white-collar workers in the period prior to migration and of these only two were able to find jobs as white-collar workers on arrival in Britain. The first who had been a trainee accountant in Jamaica states that:

Within a month of reaching England I got a job as an audit clerk with a firm of accountants. I made a direct approach to the firm and I was received very well. (Accountant - Own business)

The second respondent had worked as a customs clerk at the docks. On arrival in Britain he spent a couple of weeks looking for a clerical job and found one working for a small manufacturing company. He states:

I went in with a particular attitude which was that I was going to succeed. I wasn't happy just being a clerk so I found out how to do wages etc and became more diversified. I stayed behind in the lunch hour, helped people, and got to know the lot. (Accountant)

Seven of the remaining nine respondents who had been white-collar workers in the Caribbean found employment as trainee nurse, ward orderly, station porter, registration number taker for British Rail and as unskilled factory workers. At least four of these respondents had attempted without success to obtain clerical jobs on arrival in Britain. For example:

I wanted to work and study because I needed to acquire the necessary qualifications to take up dentistry. So because I had been doing clerical work back home I decided to try and get a clerical job but the labour exchange would not send me for any clerical jobs. Once I asked a White friend to apply for a job I had seen in the exchange, the man there had told me that the job had already gone. When my friend went to ask about the job he was asked whether he would like to go for an interview. (Dentist)

Another respondent, who had worked for nine years as a qualified drugs dispenser in a hospital, came to Britain in the mid 1950s. He came because he thought there would be better career opportunities in Britain. On arriving he

tried to get a job in his own line of work but he had to face many rejections. He states that he usually got as far as the interview but once the employer had seen him they never replied. He states:

One manager got a shock. He was happy to have me as a dispenser over the telephone but when he saw me that was a different matter. The manager was shocked He never bothered to write back after the interview so in the end I decided to take up nursing.
(Dispensing Optician)

Two other respondents tried to obtain work as clerks but faced similar problems of acceptance. One came with higher seniors ('A' level equivalents) examination passes the other with senior cambridge ('O' level equivalent) and bookkeeping certificates. Out of desperation each respondent decided to go on the railways working as station porter and registration number taker respectively.

Finally of the two remaining respondents one joined the R A F which was his original intention and the other went straight into full-time education for two years taking diplomas in accounting and shipping law.

Pupil Teachers Prior to Migration

Three respondents came to Britain as pupil teachers. Of these two came to further their education. This they did by working during the days (one as a telephone operator, the other as a porter in Lyons Corner House) and studying in the evenings.

Apprentices Prior to Migration

Five respondents worked as apprentices in the period prior to migration. Of these, two were able to gain access to employment in their particular fields of

work - that being construction and motor mechanics. The other three respondents were less successful. Two had been apprentice pharmacists with between three and six years training working in 'drug stores'. Both respondents stated that at the time it was considered the next best thing to becoming a doctor. On arrival in Britain both faced problems of finding employment in their occupational fields. One respondent stated:

People refused to employ me as a trainee pharmacist. I couldn't even get an interview. It took me three months to realise that I wouldn't get a traineeship, they usually had good institutional reasons for not taking me on i.e. my age. And some made it clear that even if I did have the qualifications they would not give me the job (Race Relation Adviser).

Eventually the respondent found a job as a warehouseman; the other respondent decided to join the Royal Air Force.

Unskilled Workers Prior to Migration

Of the two respondents who came as unskilled manual workers one went straight into full-time education to do a three year course in architecture and the other went to work in a factory. Whilst there the respondent also attended evening classes - he states:

I went to night school and took up bookkeeping and commerce. When I passed my exams I asked for a transfer at work, I wanted to move over to the clerical side of things you know, but they refused me - so I left. They weren't prepared to move me from the shop floor to the office even though I had the qualifications. (Businessman)

Students Prior to Migration

Four respondents had been students prior to migrating to Britain. Of the four one came to, and did, join the Royal Air Force; the other three respondents came to further their education with two going to college, one to do 'A' levels and the other photography. (The latter respondent worked as a van driver for

six months before beginning his course). The third respondent went straight to university to do medicine.

No Information Concerning Occupation Prior to Migration

Of the forty two male respondents who came to Britain as adults there were seven respondents for whom information concerning occupation prior to migration was not available. These respondents on arriving in Britain found jobs as trainee nurse (RMN) porter, dish washer, stock checker, guard and bus conductor on London Transport and one joined the Royal Air Force. Of these seven, two respondents mentioned that they had senior cambridge examination passes and one stated that he did not have any qualifications when he arrived. No information concerning qualifications was obtained from the four remaining respondents.

POPULATION TWO (Table 6.2)

Of the sixteen male respondents in population two, eight came to Britain as adults. One respondent came as a professional (he had been the headmaster of a secondary school), one worked as a sales assistant prior to migration, one worked as a pupil teacher, two as apprentices and one had worked as a self-employed insurance salesman. Information concerning employment prior to migration was not available for the two remaining respondents.

Of the eight respondents five stated that they had decided to come to Britain in order to further their education, one said he came to give his children a better education and another came for the opportunities for work which Britain had to offer. Of the five who came to study only one - the headmaster - managed to get into full-time education to do a Masters degree at university. Two respondents found jobs where they received on the job training - working

MEN POPULATION TWO

JOB OBTAINED ON ARRIVAL BY JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESSIONAL	INTER-MEDIATE	PUPIL/TEACHER	APPRENTICE	SELF-EMPLOYED	NO INFORMATION	TOTAL
UNIVERSITY	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
NURSING	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
INTERMEDIATE	-	-	-	1	1	2	4
SKILLED MANUAL	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
UNSKILLED MANUAL	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	1	1	1	2	1	2	8

TABLE 6,2

as trainee mechanical engineer and student nurse (RMN) respectively. The two remaining respondents decided to work during the days and study during the evenings.

As stated earlier the men in this grouping (apart from the headmaster) were, on arrival, less qualified in comparison to the male respondents who came as adults in population One. Relatively few of the men in population Two mentioned coming up against any difficulties in obtaining their first jobs in Britain. It is possible that the apparent ease with which the respondents were able to find jobs is related to the fact that not having very many qualifications they did not seek, as the men in population One did, to apply for white collar jobs (which were at the time 'reserved' essentially for members of the 'host' population) (Rose et al 1969, Castles and Kosack 1973). The jobs which the men in population Two applied for were jobs in which Afro-Caribbean workers were by then already to be found in (areas such as London Transport, National Health Service, labouring) so they did not therefore challenge the employers.

The employment climate which many of the respondents in both populations entered into during the 1950s and early 1960s was one which, as outlined in chapter four, was characterised by an acute labour shortage which was brought about to a great extent by the expansion of the British economy in the post war period (Green 1979). As a result of this expansion in the economy indigenous workers were able to move into the more 'attractive' sectors of the economy and where they were able to obtain better wages, training facilities and more white collar and skilled manual work.

The vacuum which was created, as a result of this upward movement of indigenous labour, in sectors such as the textile industry, metal manufacture, building, engineering and public services such as the National Health Service

and transport (LT AND BR) had to be filled, and was by the new entrants to the labour market - New Commonwealth workers. Set within this context then it is not surprising that those members of population One when seeking to find employment in areas other than unskilled manual work or on London Transport and British Rail for example, came across difficulties. The employers in the non-growth sectors of the economy did not require qualified workers as the indigenous workforce fulfilled that role; what these employers required in the main was a pool of cheap available labour to perform semi-skilled and unskilled work. As the comments of some of the respondents illustrate in the preceding paragraphs, some of those who came with 'O' and 'A' level qualifications or actual work experience had to take up employment in factories, work as porters, cleaners, dishwashers, train guards and so on on their arrival in Britain. The employers were able to successfully ignore their credentials and work experience by stating that their credentials were below the standards required in Britain. This is in fact borne out as many respondents mentioned that, although they had the relevant qualifications they had to retake them in order to obtain British qualifications. As one respondent who worked as a clerk prior to migration stated:

Things were very difficult for Black men arriving in the 1950s. I arrived in England in 1955 wanting to do some sort of clerical work. I had brought along the certificates I had obtained for examinations passed at grammar school and at college, but employer after employer turned me down for the clerical positions I applied for. They refused to acknowledge the validity of my certificates. At one point I had made up my mind to return home but I felt that would have been a defeatist attitude so instead I decided to get the qualifications which the employers wanted. So during the day I worked as a ticket collector and at night I studied for three 'A' levels which I obtained within a year. (Principal Social Worker)

Having received his 'A' levels the respondent found that the doors were still closed to him, but eventually after a long wait he managed to get a job with a firm working as a clerk.

MALES POPULATION ONE
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESS- IONAL	WHITE- COLLAR	PUPIL/ TEACHER	APPRENTICE	UNSKILLED MANUAL	STUDENT	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
PROFESSIONAL	7							7	+2
WHITE COLLAR	1	4						5	+2
NURSING							1	1	-1
INTERMEDIATE		3	2	1	1	1	3	11	-2
(JOB AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN)									
SKILLED MANUAL		1		1				2	+1
UNSKILLED MANUAL		1		3	1			5	-2
RAF/ARMY			1	1		1	2	5	NO CHANGE
UNIVERSITY/ COLLEGE	1	1				2		4	-2
RETURNED HOME		1						1	NEW CATEGORY
APPRENTICE							1	1	NEW CATEGORY
TOTAL	9	11	3	6	2	4	7	42	

TABLE 6.3

years of being in Britain. Having done so he immediately set up his own practice out of choice rather than necessity - as he states:

The firm I had gained my practical experience with offered me a partnership when I qualified but I turned them down because I felt that they thought they could use me to get Black clients (Solicitor).

Two respondents moved up into the 'white-collar' category which in more precise terms would be identified as junior non-manual positions. They worked as accounts clerk and booking clerk respectively. Both respondents had managed to regain in broad terms their original occupational position of being clerical workers. One of the respondents suggested that his ease of access to this form of employment was related to the fact that the employer was Jewish. He states:

It was a relatively small Jewish firm and they were quite prepared to take me on as an accounts clerk. I should say 90% of Black people who got into firms it would more than likely be a Jewish firm, you know, tailoring or anything commercial, or factories. There was no discrimination in London Transport or the hospitals etc., they would employ Blacks, but only for menial tasks. There was a lot of discrimination in the private sector but not by the Jews, they would give you a chance. (Businessman)

The one respondent who moved into the skilled-workers category had moved up from doing unskilled factory work. He was now working as a telecommunications officer for the post office. In relation to his original position of senior clerk in the rice marketing board 'back home' it is evident that although he had experienced movement within the British labour market he had not, at this stage attained his original occupational level.

There were losses in three occupational categories, this included nursing (-1), intermediate (-2), and unskilled manual (-2). Of those respondents leaving these particular occupational categories some experienced small scale upward movement, others downward movement in the labour market - such as trainee State Registered Nurse to guard on the underground and still others joined the Royal Air Force.

Two new categories emerged after three years, these being 'apprentice' and 'returned home'.

As regards the former category the respondent was taken on as an apprentice in a dentist's laboratory at the age of nineteen where he received training and was sent to college on day release courses. Having worked in Britain for three years doing various labouring and unskilled manual jobs the second respondent decided to return home to Trinidad. As he states: "To see whether things would be better there". This decision to return home to the Caribbean or go abroad is one which (as will be shown later) 21% (9 respondents) of the respondents in population One at various stages decided to do.

POPULATION TWO:

As table 6.4 shows, after three years in Britain the respondents in population two remained either in the same job they had on arrival or occupied a job of a similar occupational standing to their first job in Britain. Only one respondent experienced some movement. This respondent moved from an 'intermediate occupation' as a guard on the London underground into the white-collar/junior non-manual category working now as a counter clerk in a post office. There are no details available concerning his occupational position prior to migration so as such it is not possible to assess the degree of mobility. The respondent came over from Barbados on the London Transport Scheme and worked as stated on the underground. The respondent stated that he had never intended remaining with this job, he saw it more as a means to an end which was to get an office job in Britain.

Although there was little upward or downward movement within the labour market for this group of respondents in general this 'stability' can be attributed to the fact that firstly some of the respondents were being trained (one as a registered mental nurse and the other as a production engineer) and

MALES POPULATION TWO
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN
(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESSIONAL	INTERMEDIATE	PUPIL/ TEACHER	APPRENTICE	SELF- EMPLOYED	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
(JOB AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN)								
WHITE-COLLAR (INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL)	1						1	NO CHANGE
NURSING		1					1	NO CHANGE
WHITE-COLLAR (JUNIOR NON-MANUAL)						1	1	NEW CATEGORY
INTERMEDIATE				1	1	1	3	-1
SKILLED MANUAL				1			1	NO CHANGE
UNSKILLED MANUAL			1				1	NO CHANGE
TOTAL	1	1	1	2	1	2	8	

TABLE 6.4

secondly, some were studying part-time and used their jobs to fund not only their families but also their studies, or were saving so that they would be able to take up full-time studies. For example one respondent states:

I worked in the post office mailroom, it was a safe job and I saw it as something which could tide me over. I had decided that I was going to better myself and the first opportunity I got I left to go into full-time education (Accountant).

It is evident that of the respondents in both populations those respondents who came to Britain as professionals were able to recover their original occupational positions within three years (the majority were well within this period). Some however made sideways movements. For example one respondent who had worked as a senior manager for a firm of accountants on arrival decided (his position as senior manager being arranged by a subsidiary of the British firm in the Caribbean) that he wanted to do something else and became a lecturer in a college of further education - teaching accountancy. Other respondents by this stage were on the brink of making distinct changes in their careers but were having to face difficulties:

After a few years teaching I began to make applications to go to medical school. I had a very difficult time as various bodies refused to acknowledge my training and qualifications. I think there were two weapons that they used against me, firstly I was Black and secondly, my age because I must have been in my late twenties then. (Doctor)

6.2:3 OCCUPATION AFTER TEN YEARS IN BRITAIN BY OCCUPATION PRIOR TO MIGRATION

POPULATION ONE: As table 6.5 shows after ten years in the British labour market the respondents have experienced a certain amount of movement, with gains occurring in the professions (+4) and the 'white-collar' category (+5). In addition new categories have emerged: own account worker, businessman (at this stage boss controlling under 25 employees) community relations officer and unemployed.

MALES POPULATION ONE
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER TEN YEARS IN BRITAIN
(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESS- IONAL	WHITE- COLLAR	PUPIL/ TEACHER	APPRENTICE	UNSKILLED MANUAL	STUDENT	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
PROFESSIONAL	4	2		1	1	2	1	11	+4
WHITE COLLAR	1	3	1	1	1		3	10	+5
RACE RELATIONS			1					1	NEW CATEGORY
NURSING							1	1	NO CHANGE
UNSKILLED MANUAL						1		1	-4
RAF/ARMY				1			1	2	-3
OWN ACCOUNT WORK						1		1	NEW CATEGORY
BUSINESS		1		2			1	4	NEW CATEGORY
UNEMPLOYED		1						1	NEW CATEGORY
COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY	1	2						3	-1
RETURNED HOME/ WENT ABROAD		2	1					3	+2
NOT APPLICABLE	3							3	NEW CATEGORY
NO INFORMATION				1				1	
TOTAL	9	11	3	6	2	4	7	42	

TABLE 6.5

Looking firstly at the figures for those respondents who occupy professional occupations in the period prior to migration, three arrived in Britain during the late 1970s and have been placed in the non-applicable category. In real terms then the gains to the 'professional' category has been +6 with upward movement into this category occurring for those respondents who in table 6.3 had been students at university (this accounts for three respondents) and others who had been working as senior audit clerk, bus conductor, station guard, and warehouseman. Whilst working each of the latter respondents had also been studying in order to obtain 'A' levels, degrees or professional qualifications.

Within ten years of being in Britain the two respondents who came to Britain as students were now working as barrister and doctor (G.P.) respectively. Interestingly within this period both respondents had returned home to the Caribbean after qualifying in their respective professions: The latter respondent on qualifying from medical school found no difficulties in obtaining work in Britain and was able to secure six monthly placements in various hospitals (as is usual). However he began to feel that he should return home to the Caribbean and contacted his embassy to tell them of his intentions. He was told that they would organise a job for him on his return. When he eventually returned home he found that they had not arranged a job for him and after a couple of months he returned to England where he began doing locums.

The other respondent returned home basically because he felt that it would be better for his career. Prior to this on completing his law degree, in England, he had decided to join the Law Society to become a solicitor.

He states:

One had to get articles ... I must have made over sixty applications to various white firms and not one accepted me. I was

very frustrated but eventually I did get articles with a firm of Black solicitors. But after a while I decided to switch over and went to the 'Bar', but it turned out to be just as bad there. Black barristers were being starved out and were not getting any work from White solicitors ... In the end I decided to return home. (Barrister)

The respondent did return home but came back to England after a year or so and set up his own practice.

The upward move into the 'professional' category was also problematic for another respondent. This respondent had completed a part-time degree within four or five years of being in Britain but was not able to obtain a full-time job in teaching, even though he applied persistently. Instead he had to make do, as he put it, with various one year contract positions in colleges of further education and in most instances the head of the college:

made it obvious that if he couldn't get another person he would have me (Race Relations Adviser).

Another respondent having been 'forced' to work as a bus conductor for two years in order to support his family because he was unable to obtain a job as an architect states:

getting started was really difficult but after a long while I managed to get a job as an architectural assistant in a college through a friend of a friend who was a lecturer at the college. It would have been difficult if I had applied in answer to an advert, and if I had I doubt whether I would have got the job. (Architect)

As table 6.5 shows the overall gain in the 'white-collar' category when compared to the figures in table 6.3 is +5; however it is necessary to point out that there has in fact been an increase of seven additional respondents. This figure does not emerge due to the fact that some of the original white-collar workers from table 5.36 have moved out of this category and into the 'business' category.

These new entrants into the 'white-collar' category came from the 'intermediate', 'unskilled manual', and R A F categories. Each stated that they had come up against certain obstacles which for a time had prevented them from obtaining an 'office job'. For example:

It seemed my age was against me, I was thirty three years old and I just couldn't get a clerical job. I tried several places but it was difficult. Then in 1965 (by now I had been in Britain for ten years) I got a job to work in the accounts department of the Co-Operative Society (Businessman).

Another respondent had this to say:

I had quite a lot of trouble getting a job in this field (bookkeeping) but eventually I went to Brook Street and the woman said she might have something for me in the West End, and I persuaded the Boss that he ought to give me a chance, and they did. (Businessman)

Only two of these respondents actually stated that racism had a part to play in their experiences of the British labour market up to this period. The first in referring to British Rail in particular argued that the wages for clerical work with them were low and that as a result they were able to secure Black employees with 'good qualifications' because they found it hard to obtain similar work elsewhere.

That way they got a good bargain, qualified workers on the cheap.

He goes on

A lot of the white guys I worked with weren't as bright as I was and they were above me. One's own deductions told you that you would not get anywhere in a hurry. They talked about seniority and that was their excuse not to promote you, because no way were they going to have Black people above them. It wasn't anything to do with your education it was because you were Black. (Senior Community Relations Officer)

The second respondent states

When I completed my degree I got a job as a clerical officer at the G L C. I got the job via the back door. I had to work at what I believe was two grades below what I should have been doing for years. They would only put me up one grade to executive officer.

rather than administrative officer. I really think it was racial. If they had upgraded me to administrative officer it would have meant that I was the only Black person at that grade. (Race Relations Adviser)

Mature Students.

As the table shows three respondents had returned to formal education. Two respondents had begun full-time courses at University, one to do medicine, the other dentistry. Both men were in their early thirties when they began their respective courses and for each this move into formal education represented the culmination of the hopes they had had when they originally came to Britain. The third respondent attended college in order to obtain the relevant 'A' levels needed to begin a diploma course in optics.

Own Business:

Within the ten year period two respondents had established their own small businesses (shipping agency, firm of accountants) and one respondent worked as an own account worker (photographer). Two of the respondents had been working as white-collar workers and the other as a photographer on a magazine. When asked why they had decided to develop their own business only one respondent seemed to have a definite answer - he stated

I think I always intended to set up my own practice. I ventured out on my own because I needed a job and I couldn't get the salary I wanted, so I thought 'Sod it! I'll get work for myself I went out and rented an office. I had no problems in finding a premises In the early sixties it was impossible to make a business solely on the Black community, therefore I did, and still do service the White community. (Accountant)

Returnees:

Another three respondents left Britain during this ten year period of which two returned to the Caribbean and the other went to the United States. The respondents state that at the time they intended leaving Britain for good, as two state below:

I was going to emigrate with my family to America. So I went out there for just under a year to see what it was like. (Insurance Agency Manager)

When I had finished my degree I decided to return home, I went as part of the government repatriation scheme When I arrived I started working as a lecturer at a government technical college.

After a while circumstances at home made the respondent think twice about remaining there:

For political reasons I became unemployed ... and I decided to return to England. (Deputy Headmaster)

'Race Relations' Postings:

As table 6.5 illustrates one respondent was working in the field of race relations. This respondent worked on a youth project in the South London area. He had been working with Afro-Caribbean youths since he had completed a full-time course in youth and social work six years previously.

POPULATION TWO.

Within the ten year period in Britain there have been gains in two occupational categories (see table 6.6), the junior non-manual (white-collar) category (+2) and the skilled manual category (+1). The two respondents moving into the former category had previously been working as unskilled manual and intermediate workers respectively. The move these two respondents made up into the 'white-collar' occupations did not seem to present any difficulties for either respondent. This was in marked contrast to the experiences of some of the men in population one who felt that racism on the part of employers and their age militated against them in the labour market.

Mature students:

One respondent after four years of training and working as a nurse decided that he wanted to go into teaching, which had been his original intention when he arrived in Britain. Having made this decision he left nursing and went to university to do a Bachelor of Education, for he felt that he was still young enough to change his career. He states:

MEN POPULATION TWO
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER TEN YEARS IN BRITAIN
(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESSIONAL	INTERMEDIATE	PUPIL/ TEACHER	APPRENTICE	SELF- EMPLOYED	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
WHITE-COLLAR (INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL)	1						1	NO CHANGE
WHITE-COLLAR (JUNIOR NON-MANUAL)			1			2	3	+2
SKILLED MANUAL				2			2	+1
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER					1		1	NEW CATEGORY
UNIVERSITY		1					1	NEW CATEGORY
TOTAL	1	1	1	2	1	2	8	

TABLE 6,6

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I wanted to get out of nursing because there were no prospects for a Black nurse in terms of promotion ... Black nurses usually reach some sort of ceiling. (Secondary school teacher)

Own account worker:

Having worked as a stock controller for four years this respondent decided that he could do much better for himself if he took up where he left off whilst he was in Trinidad. As such he set up a small insurance and finance agency which he ran from his home. Later he was to have to take on consultants who worked for commission.

One of the particularly significant patterns that has emerged whilst looking at the positions of the respondents in both populations over the period of ten years (as recorded in tables 6.1 to 6.6) is that at all occupational levels the strategy which the respondents have adopted in order to better their employment opportunities has been one of credentialism. Many if not all saw this as the one important factor which would be able to assist them in obtaining the types of job they wanted. Those who found that the qualifications they had obtained in the Caribbean were not readily accepted attended evening classes or did correspondence courses in order to obtain the relevant British qualifications. However statements made by the respondents in the preceding paragraphs indicate that having obtained these qualifications it did not guarantee that employers would employ them, and if they were already employed it did not mean that promotion would come their way.

On realising that they were not really progressing some respondents in 'mid-career' decided to change course and begin a new career. Again this was done by going back into formal education in pursuit of qualifications.

6.2.4 PRESENT OCCUPATION BY JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION

POPULATION ONE:

When compared to table 6.1 which looks at job obtained on arrival, table 6.7 indicates that overall there has been a considerable amount of upward occupational movement amongst the respondents over the years they have been resident in Britain.

Respondents who presently occupy 'professional' positions:

Of the forty-two men who came to Britain as adults, there are now twenty three individuals who occupy professional occupations. Of these twenty three seven originally came to Britain as professionals. As the table shows the remaining sixteen came as white-collar workers, pupil teachers, unskilled manual workers, students and for some occupation prior to migration is not known.

These fifteen respondents now occupy positions in a variety of occupational fields - they work as barristers, solicitors, dentists, dispensing opticians, architects, journalist, doctor, nursing officer, education inspector, accountant, principal social worker, deputy headmaster and probation officer. On average these men have been resident in Britain for twenty-five years, have held five jobs each in this twenty five year period, taken on average sixteen years to reach their present positions and have been in these positions for an average of ten years.

Well over half of these respondents indicated that they had encountered considerable levels of racism when seeking to establish their careers, and in two instances this meant that they had to set up their own practices in order to make real headway in their careers:

I was in my mid thirties when I qualified. (Bachelor of Dental Surgery) I tried to get a 'house job' there but I wasn't successful, so I decided to go into general practice. There were a lot of vacancies then but I came up against the colour bar. I could sense

MALES POPULATION ONE
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY PRESENT JOB

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESS- IONAL	WHITE- COLLAR	PUPIL/ TEACHER	APPRENTICE	UNSKILLED MANUAL	STUDENT	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
PROFESSIONAL (NURSING OFFICER)	7	7	2		1	3	2	22	+11
RACE REL- ATIONS; RACE ADVISER C R O	1	1	1	1			1	5	+4
WHITE COLLAR INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL		1		1		1	1	4	-6
BUSINESS	1	1		3	1		2	8	+4
COMMERCIAL MANAGEMENT		1		1				2	NEW CATEGORY
TOTAL	9	11	3	6	2	4	7	42	

TABLE 6.7

the racism ... I applied to posh areas because I thought I would accumulate money faster but they always said they were busy. Then I started looking for places in the 'East End' and got accepted by a White principal who had had Blacks working for him before. In the early 1970s I decided to become self-employed, I had worked hard to accumulate money and I had sold my second house and utilized a part of the money to purchase the practice - I bought a going concern. (Dental Surgeon)

After graduating I began looking around for somewhere to do my articles, it took me a total of four years to get a placement ... trying to get trained as a solicitor you come up against a lot of prejudice. I think I had written over a hundred letters and I went to, at the most, a dozen interviews because in those days because you were Black it was extremely difficult for anybody to take you on as a trainee and solicitor ... they would say, "Okay, you are qualified and we think you are capable but the point is we do not have a vacancy", although those vacancies were still open - they were still open all the time because sometimes I used to phone up and they would say, "Yes, we have a vacancy" but when you turned up for the interview it was closed, finished, done. So there we have this difficulty and I was getting so despondent that I must admit between 1972 and 1975 I applied to go to Canada, as a matter of fact I got the visas to go, I was terribly upset about it, then all at once I got this offer from a Jewish firm and I abandoned the idea of going to Canada and I went and did my articles which I did enjoy and I qualified - it wasn't easy because it was really hard work ... I worked with a firm of solicitors for three years then I decided that I would set up my own practice which I now have. (Solicitor)

Another respondent argued that after all the years he had been working as an architect he was still applying for the job of supervisor. He states:

I was in the same job for six years before they promoted me to senior architect and by then I was into my mid-forties ... soon after I began applying for a supervisor's job, but I have never managed to get an interview. I am not sure whether it can be put down to racism or my age. I think my age is an important factor, you see the round about way in which I achieved my position is very different from the norm, it took me nearly sixteen years from the beginning of my training before I finally became a senior architect ... My background is different from that of the Whites I work with, they start their courses at a much younger age and they didn't have a wife and family to support at the same time ... many of them have been promoted over me. Actually when I think about it, the way I got this job was strange, most of the jobs I have had have been by personal recommendations except this one. I applied for it and got it on my own. There used to be a lot of comment from the white fellows and I found out later that the head bloke was a 'radical' and he had decided to give me the job because I was Black. (Architect).

Of the seven respondents who originally came to Britain as professionals some had managed to recover or supercede their original occupational positions and as such were pleased with their progress, as one respondent states:

I am at the same level I was in at the Caribbean, except here I have more influence. Occasionally I come up against racist individuals like yesterday I tried to park in a hospital car park and a 'door man' told me to move ... I had to call the Chief of Security to put him in his place - yes and I had my E.M.A. badge on the car and he saw it ... he was a rude little numb-skull, an uneducated White man and that's the problem ... anyway incidents like that don't really matter because they don't affect my career as such. (Doctor)

Another respondent, a solicitor with his own practice, states:

I haven't experienced any open racism but more covert racism. I practised as a Barrister at home with no question of my ability, but here even though I am a qualified solicitor I feel I am still regarded as a student, you can feel that some Whites won't take you seriously.

Having said this however he goes on to state:

dealing with Whites, I regard prejudice as something to be coped with and I deal with it accordingly - one has to use racial prejudice, not pander to it, manipulate it to your advantage.

In contrast some of the seven feel that they had had to fight for everything they had achieved, and saw racism as a principal barrier to their achievement. One respondent stated that he had to make many applications before he managed to obtain a deputy headship, but that this did not compare to the struggle he had in trying to get a headship; having received his deputy headship he was advised to wait at least two years before applying for a headship. He states:

I felt this was reasonable, but later a White man who had received a deputy headship after me received a headship after only a year. This made me very angry. I began applying for headships but my applications were never successful. If I was offered a headship it was usually for a school where 90% of the children were Black and I avoided these because I felt that I was being used. I had to wait nearly seven years before I received a headship and that I felt was probably due to the fact that I began to let it be known that I was going to apply for a headship once more and then I would go to the race relations board I got the headship, whether it was as a result of that I don't know. (Headmaster).

Race Relations Postings:

Four additional respondents now work within the race relations industry. These respondents have been working as community relations officers (senior and principal levels) or 'race advisers' on average for a period of eight years. Prior to this all in some way or another had become involved in various community (Afro-Caribbean) related activities, working either as youth leaders, running and teaching in supplementary schools. Having said this, the move into the race relations field did not seem to be a conscious decision on the part of the respondents. The excerpt below is typical:

I got involved in youth work in the South London area and because of how things developed in the 1960s race relations became the in thing and this meant whatever motivation I had in making a contribution in the youth field broadened out into the race relations field. I never set out to become involved in race relations as such, but I was committed to various causes. In fact I never deliberately planned my career. I became a professional because of the political climate - you know immigration etc, etc. (Race Relations Adviser).

Intermediate Non-Manual (White Collar Workers):

Three respondents located in this occupational category work in the civil service (occupying Executive Officer grades and above), the fourth respondent works as an accountant in a commercial/private company. On average these respondents had been in Britain for twenty-three years, held four jobs in this period and taken fifteen years to reach their present positions. All four respondents mentioned that they had experienced some form of racism in terms of their careers, but only two respondents felt that this had definitely influenced their careers. Respondent 'A' had decided in the early 1970s to join the post office because it seemed to offer more scope in comparison to the firms he had worked with previously. The respondent had never experienced any prejudice in these firms but found out that it usually took the men who worked there fifteen years to become foremen.

and that was only the first stage of the management structure, which was far below what I wanted to do.

He goes on:

I went into the post office as a ... technician, I did lots of post office training courses on the new equipment - going on day release courses etc. But I was to learn that the post office is a very dangerous organisation. I believe they have an institutional racism policy and this I know from experience. When I became a T.O. after about three or four years I wanted promotion. I had had good reports prior to asking for promotion, but after I asked they got a little more controlled with me ... I know of six black guys who left the post office around that time, some were pressured into leaving by workers, others by management and I began to think something is wrong here. Black guys were there for years and years and were not getting promotion and Whites would come who didn't even know the most fundamental things - and we had to tell them - got the promotion and you as usual were overlooked ... My boss said to me 'you won't get promoted in the post office, go to your union and find out why'. I was in his office when he said that. He said 'What nationality are you?' and I told him I had a Guyanese passport and he said, 'No, you are Black, and the unions know that you can't be in charge of more than ten men because they wouldn't work under you and it's union policy!' I didn't know what to think. He said, 'as long as I have a happy workforce working under me I'm happy - if I had one man who was good but ninety-nine who didn't like him, I would get rid of him because it's good management sense.' So I went to see the union and he said he couldn't deny it. The union was corrupt and prejudiced. I told my friends and even the White guys who heard about it told me to go to the race relations board. The Whites didn't even go to the union meetings so they didn't know about it, the union's racism is right through the system and there's nothing you can do. You have to play along with the system and use the law as it stands. But the C.R.E. would just pay me money and that is not what I want. Every law in every society has loop holes and there are ways and means of getting through.

The respondent finally left the post to go into the civil service. When making the move he states that he had considered that things might be worse in the area of the civil service he had chosen and as he puts it, "It is". He states:

I wanted to be on the ladder in the department not at the bottom where there are too many channels before you reach where you want to be.

The respondent states that he got a reasonable starting grade and was pleased. However he left after seven years because, as he states:

I left the department because again you are sent on courses etc and that's good and a lot of it is good, but some aspects need a lot of

shaking up The supervisor's decisions are not questioned enough, there are many instances where the supervisors are racist and won't put you up for promotion. I remember people would come and ask for me and not the boss because he didn't know a lot of things about the job and as a result a lot of people thought I was a higher rank than I was because of the work I was doing I decided eventually that I was going to look after myself I ask for promotion. Usually if you want to change your job you should go through your supervisor, but for me they always produced obstacles. I thought about what was happening and I decided I would apply to the field I am working in now. I knew my management didn't have any jurisdiction and I got the job because I couldn't lose and this was because they - my old management - didn't know. I'm two grades higher now, its a management job basically, they make me feel at home. I have about 20 people under me and I have to nurture confidence with them, but it will come.

Respondent 'B' like respondent 'A' works in the 'civil service', and he too is not pleased with the promotion process. He states:

I am not satisfied with my progress to date. I have lost in all three promotion levels. There is just no opening for the Black man. Every year you have a staff report in the civil service and if you don't get on with your reporting officer ... well, that's your number. There are two or three reporting officers and they determine whether you are promoted or not. I had some disagreement with a report and as a result I did not get a promotion and this was when I was actually due for a promotion. ... on two occasions there was definite reason. I know for a fact that the reporting officer was an out and out racist and, as I expected, he gave me an adverse report but what could I do? There are about four Blacks here and none have been promoted within the past ten years - I mean senior promotions and they have the qualifications and the experience and they still don't get it I had to change my department in order to get promotion. It's inherent in the ----- system. It's classified and therefore you can't complain - you have no comeback. Anyway on the whole promotion is slow for Black people throughout the civil service, you can get so far and no further.

This respondent on moving to a new department does now feel that in his new job as training officer the chances for promotion are better.

Businessmen:

As the table 6.7 shows, eight respondents have established their own businesses. This includes six respondents who have twenty five or less employees and two respondents who have twenty five or more employees. The majority of the respondents (5) established their business in the mid to late

1960s, two in the early 1970s and one respondent had been in business for eight months. The areas of business they are to be found in include; hairdressing, construction, travel agents, overseas shipping and transport, car showroom and garage, financial consultant, building society, porcelain specialist. The reasons the respondents gave for going into business are varied as the excerpts below indicate:

I was always inclined towards the world of business, I wanted to make money, but hairdressing came about by accident We decided to open up a business, we found a property and started selling cosmetics and wigs, and then things blossomed from there My wife is the hairdresser, I am more on the management side of things.

I decided to do this because I always like to have the freedom to make my own decisions. It means you have to work harder but at the end of the day you get more satisfaction but not necessarily money wise If you can't handle a job you don't take it on ... you have freedom of movement you see. (Construction business)

The ambition to succeed prompted me to start my own business. I could see that I was never going to get anywhere at work, people who were less qualified than me were getting better positions, becoming foremen and the like. In the early days they felt that we Blacks didn't have the skills ... so I got myself a small repair place and started up my business. (Car showroom and garage business)

I formed this company in the mid 1960s with myself and a couple of colleagues. There were about four of us and we wanted to go into the retail business but then two dropped out, so the two of us thought the travel business was up and coming. We decided not to go in for just Black business but all travel We had a really hard struggle for four years. In those days Blacks didn't have a proper background in business Anyway we leased the premises and there was no competition, but problems arose with British Airways etc., because they said we weren't qualified and, yes, we weren't qualified at the time. We needed at least two years of practical experience in an agency. We had to take a lot of training so in the meantime we had to employ experienced staff to work for us until we got our licences. (Travel Agents)

I was inspired by the finance director at the place I worked at and I began to think about going into business I had ambition all the way. I wanted to act as a buyer for countries throughout the Caribbean, shipping goods that were needed to the Caribbean ... then in 1965 some friends asked me to join them in their business. It was a partnership but I wanted it to be a limited liability and I joined as Director and Company Secretary We managed to survive because we refrained from having expensive life-styles we went without salaries always putting the company first. (Import/Export/Hairdressing/Cosmetics Business)

The businessmen in this grouping have all in one way or another come up against problems in terms of finance, finding premises or whatever as is the lot of many when establishing a new business. However the experiences of some of these respondents are such that the issue of racism has had a significant part to play in their business development. In fact throughout the interviews with respondents from other occupational fields particular issues were raised concerning the various 'obstacles' that they had met in following their respective careers. Their experiences and more importantly the strategies adopted in order to overcome 'obstacles' which presented themselves seemed not to be 'one offs' specific to a particular individual but a pattern was seen to emerge. Consequently, rather than analysing and discussing the experiences and strategies of those respondents already looked at, and those yet to follow in this chapter, these issues will be dealt with in chapter nine.

Commercial Management.

The two respondents located in this category work as regional sales manager and agency manager respectively. Both respondents have had varied work backgrounds which have not in the main been related to their present area of work. Both have held their positions for just over five years. The agency manager states that he is very pleased with the way he had been able to progress with the company, and states;

This company gives West Indians more of a chance than other life insurance companies, they promote you on the basis of your ability not your colour.

This respondent's attitude toward promotion is that it is all a matter of timing and as such he does not foresee any problems in reaching his goal - that being 'superintendent of agencies'. The second respondent is less satisfied with his position but indicates that his dissatisfaction is primarily related to the fact that he cannot obtain the right sales force. He states:

A lot depends on my sales force and the quality of my region doesn't depend on my ability as such but on the people I employ.

POPULATION TWO:

As table 6.8 indicates the occupational distribution of the respondents in population two has altered considerably in comparison to table 6.2 which details the first jobs obtained on arrival in Britain

It has taken on average fourteen years for the respondents in the 'intermediate non-manual' category (excluding the respondent who came as a headmaster, and found work as a teacher relatively quickly) to reach their present occupational positions. Their occupations include; secondary school teacher, computer programmer, junior manager, accountant, and bank clerk. On average they have each held five jobs in twenty years and have been in their present job on average for six years. Of these six respondents half feel that their progress has been very slow and suggest that it is as a result of the promotion procedures which they feel can be influenced by particular individuals who write up a candidate's progress report.

At the end of the year when the progress report was to be sent up to the head office (the accountant usually does the report and sends it in to the manager) the bank manager recommended that I should be upgraded to 'merit 2' and I was. The following year the same accountant wrote a really awful progress report for me, I don't know why because I was working hard and hadn't had any problems. The manager did not agree with the report and he went and spoke to the first cashier who told him how wrong the accountant was and the manager tore up the report. (Bank Clerk)

the respondent suggests that this time he was lucky, but that he felt sure that this form of bias in completing reports happened all the time and that it allowed particular individuals who did not like a candidate to hold them back by deferring their promotion. This observation was also made by two respondents in population One as noted earlier. Both argue that the way in which the promotion procedure is structured leaves room for bias on the part

MEN POPULATION TWO
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY PRESENT OCCUPATION
(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

		PROFESSIONAL	INTERMEDIATE	PUPIL/ TEACHER	APPRENTICE	SELF- EMPLOYED	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
PRESENT OCCUPATION)	WHITE-COLLAR (INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL)	1	1	1	2		2	7	+5
	OWN ACCOUNT					1		1	NO CHANGE
	TOTAL	1	1	1	2	1	2	8	

TABLE 6.8

of those writing the reports. This view is aptly summarised by another of the respondents in population Two when he states:

You get a different type of hassle in the civil service, there is a lot of lip service and back-biting. A man could stifle your report and make it look as though you are mediocre - result - no promotion, and you could remain in that position for the rest of your life. (Accountant)

The barriers to achievement which another respondent outlines touch upon what he describes as the racist attitudes of the system he works within as a whole:

There are Black teachers with experience and qualifications, but they are not of the right 'class type', as a result they are not given a bite of the apple and in amalgamation some Blacks are demoted back to scale one A lot of Blacks are disillusioned and they don't attend meetings. They go home. They don't take part in extra-curricula activity etc and this is a 'catch 66' situation because they then reinforce the White's view of them They say they are anti-racist, but it's a lie. And this is the situation in a lot of schools. ... Racism is a moral problem and the people in senior positions ought to be more moral. A White usually gets scale 2 within six months but not the Black. The Black teachers are given the worst time-tables and classes and given a heavier workload than the white, and are monitored more than the White. For example if a Black teacher is late for a lesson the senior teacher will play more hell than with a White teacher. Your authority is undermined - here's another example; if a White child complains about a Black teacher the head would believe the child or he would ignore the teacher's complaints You cannot relax because you are always wondering what they are up to next Most Blacks go into a profession to work hard and do well but you are soon disillusioned because there is no reward in terms of promotion. I see myself as working in a job with a White and being paid less because his chances of promotion are so great in relation to mine. (Secondary School Teacher)

The respondents looked at so far in both survey populations have, in the majority of instances, highlighted in their interviews their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with their experiences in the British labour market. The experiences detailed in the preceding pages have to a great extent been their own 'free thoughts' on their employment situation. In order to structure their experiences, slightly more specific questions concerning their present circumstances were asked so as to try to assess the level of concern they had

about their position in the British labour market. Their comments are illustrated in tabular form in Tables 6.9 through to 6.12, and discussed in sections 6.2:5 and 6.2:6 below.

6.2:5 SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL POSITION (Tables 6.9 and 6.10)

POPULATION 1:

As Table 6.9 reveals, 60% (twenty five respondents) of the male respondents who came to Britain as adults, when asked: "Do you think in your present job you are making the kind of progress that you would like?" indicated that they were satisfied with their current occupational positions. Their level of satisfaction fell into three main categories. Of the three, those who felt that they were making good progress represented the largest single group. Below are some of their responses:

I have full confidence that in my present job I will do well.
(Telecommunications Officer)

I am quite happy with my position, I am a senior officer. My reason for coming into this job is to make what contribution I can to eliminate injustices. If I could be in another job which was lucrative I would have a different approach. But I feel this is my calling, money is not the over-riding factor. I could get a job that I can forget when I go home, but that is not me. (Community Relations Officer - Senior)

Reaching where I have was, and is, a breakthrough, not just for me but for the Black race. I tried to do the job to the best of my ability to show them what a Black man could do. You have got to be prepared to fight to get yourself well-qualified, don't stop at White peoples' standards. (Doctor)

Yes, very much so. I hope to retire at forty five and relax, leaving the business to be run by others. I have been working hard for the past ten years to build the business up and I have succeeded. I would like to enjoy my retirement. (Businessman)

Two respondents stated quite strongly that their careers had been hampered in some way by racism on the part of employers and educational institutions. Even so, both now feel that, despite the drawbacks they experienced at the

SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

POPULATION ONE

MALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION	TOTAL	%
<u>SATISFIED</u> - Making good progress	13	31
<u>SATISFIED</u> - Achieved as much as expected to	6	14
<u>SATISFIED</u> - So far but wants to achieve a lot more	6	14
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - Only achieved a part of what they expected.	12	29
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - Not progressing because of prejudice.	3	7
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - But going to retire soon	1	2
TOTAL	41	

TABLE 6.9

NON-RESPONSE = 1

time, they are now able to overcome barriers of racism. This confidence seems to stem from the belief that they had managed to 'play the system' at its own game.

Six respondents although answering that they were satisfied also indicated that they wanted to achieve a lot more.

The professional Black communicator is still fighting to establish credibility as a professional in an industry which sees them as relevant only to Black topics. (Journalist)

I know that, after four years in the job, I expect to apply for a school of my own or I might apply for an inspectorate ... I don't apply for jobs without the necessary experience and that is what I am getting now. (Deputy Headmaster)

I have achieved just a small part of what I really had in mind. My intention is to have at least three firms. So far it has been intriguing and I didn't expect so much success in so short a time. I think there is a need for good Black lawyers. (Solicitor)

I am not interested in making too much progress in my job now because I'm now interested in developing my own business. (Accountant)

This last respondent is not alone in his desire to develop his own business. Other respondents mentioned that they were considering branching out into some form of business:

I am in the process of meeting with my accountant and Bank manager. I have developed a lot of credibility in my field, I now want to set up a private business of my own. I am going home to survey the market situation and see whether there is an opening to improve the supply and demand side of things. (Insurance Agency Manager)

I have thought of becoming self-employed but I think, because of my age and my family commitments, it would be difficult. Also there would be problems of getting financial backing, and establishing contacts would prove difficult in the computer industry. (Air Traffic Engineer)

Thirty nine percent (16 respondents) of the respondents mentioned that they were dissatisfied with their current occupational position. Of these, three respondents indicated that they were not progressing as a direct result of

racial prejudice. The excerpt below is typical of their perception of the situation:

I'm not very satisfied with my position, you see a Black person can only get to a certain point on the scale ... but after that it is difficult to progress beyond that point. There are certain constraints but even taking those into consideration one finds it more difficult than one's White counterparts ... it is because of the institutionalised racism that is inherent in the system, it is subtle and difficult to pinpoint ... it is people like myself who suffer because we can't work an argument which is cogent, to convince anyone ... but one knows it is happening but you find it is difficult to pinpoint and that is frustrating. (Principal Social Worker)

Twelve respondents indicated that they were not satisfied with their present positions because they had only achieved a part of what they had wanted to achieve:

No, my progress has been too slow. I would have liked to have moved faster. This job has the civil service tendency - i.e. you are not promoted on merit but mainly on a time-scale seniority basis and the outcome of promotion boards. It's the system. We retain those civil service tendencies, had it been in private industry I think I might have made faster progress My applications didn't get past the promotion board, I don't know why. I suppose the easiest thing to say is it was because I am Black, but I don't know. (Air Traffic Engineer)

No, I haven't achieved as much as I expected to, the competition is very stiff. There is always someone who can do the job for a couple of pounds less and therefore the customer will go for the cheaper price. The construction industry has had a big upset over the past four years or so and there's no money going into it. (Businessman - Construction Business)

No, I have not been successful in the sales end of my career because it is not a highly profitable region. It is also difficult to obtain the quality of staff necessary to run a successful company. (Regional Sales Manager)

I don't think I have achieved what I wanted to. I want to be in business where the profit is extensive which will allow you to employ people that will leave you free to do other aspects of the job. (Businessman - Hairdressing)

I don't think I have achieved as much as I expected to. I wanted to make more money. I think the recession has a lot to do with it. (Travel Agent)

POPULATION TWO

The majority of the respondents in population two (see Table 6.10) are not satisfied with their current occupational position. Half of these respondents identify racism as the factor which has served to hinder their progress:

I think I expected a lot more. I am very good at teaching and I know that the results I get as compared to other teachers is good, therefore I think I should have progressed far more than I have. At the moment I am standing still. As a Black you have to work ten times as hard but you know that you won't get promotion ... but I have decided that I will now speak my mind and stick my head out a bit. (Secondary School Teacher)

Many times Whites themselves have told me that I have missed promotion because of my colour and that is why I do contract work. As a contract worker I am my own boss. (Scientific Instrumentation Engineer)

Those respondents who indicate that they are dissatisfied with their present positions tend not to enlarge upon their dissatisfactions, the excerpt below is typical;

I am not pleased with my position. I am overdue now for a promotion - about two years overdue. (Accountant)

One particular factor that emerges from the answers given to the question concerning satisfaction with present occupational position is that, although the numbers of respondents in population Two are considerably smaller than that of population One it is evident that proportionally more respondents in population Two cite racism as a factor which has an effect on their careers.

In contrast many of the respondents in population One tend not to see racism as affecting their present positions but regard it as having more of an influence in the structuring of their careers in the earlier period of their 'occupational lives'. One reason for this may be related to the fact that, in their present positions they are able to have more control over the way in which their career is seen to progress, whereas earlier on they occupied

SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL POSITION POPULATION 2 -

MALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

<u>DEGREE OF SATISFACTION</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>SATISFIED</u> - Achieved as much as expected to	2	25%
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - Would like to achieve more	3	37%
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - Because of racism at work	3	37%
<hr/>		
TOTAL	8	

TABLE 6.10

positions which were more dependent on the 'good will' of certain individuals or groups of individuals.

6.2:6 HAVE THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED LEAVING THEIR PRESENT JOB?

(TABLES 6.11 and 6.12)

POPULATION ONE:

As table 6.11 illustrates, the majority of the respondents in population One appear to be satisfied in their present jobs and would not be prepared to leave their jobs. Of these over half indicated that they did not intend leaving because the prospects in their particular fields were good. Just over a quarter stated that, although they had some reservations, they would not leave their jobs. For example:

I am satisfied in that I am enjoying the job and responsibility, but there is an obvious yearning to progress to the next stage.
(Nursing Officer)

People are still breaking the race relations act left, right and centre, and sometimes you feel that you are not yet any closer to getting rid of the racism. (Race Relations Adviser)

I haven't seriously considered leaving my job although sometimes you get the odd moment when you get impatient, when you feel you are not getting enough results, do you know what I mean? (Senior CRO)

Ten respondents indicated that they had considered leaving their jobs. There was no main theme to their pronouncements as all gave varying reasons:

Oh yes, I have considered packing it in many times, generally because of the pressures one is consistently under. This has only come about since the recession. I am operating within an area of high unemployment, and banks regard these people as a credit risk because they haven't got the spending power and this, in the end, affects my business. (Car Showroom and Garage Business)

Yes, to return home or just go overseas. I have also been thinking about combining teaching and dentistry, and teaching in a hospital. It is still very tempting. (Dentist)

Certainly I will change my job at some point. I think I will become a business consultant, because my son does not want to carry on the business. (Accountant)

HAVE THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED LEAVING THEIR CURRENT 'JOB'?

POPULATION 1 - MALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

	YES OR NO	TOTAL	%
YES REASONS VARIED	(YES - For a job with better prospects and job satisfaction	1	2%
	{		
	YES - Reasons varied	8	19%
	{		
	(YES - To return home	1	2%
	NO - Good prospects here	21	51%
	NO - Satisfied but with reservatons	10	24%
<hr/>			
	TOTAL	41	

TABLE 6.11

NON-RESPONSE = 1

POPULATION TWO (See table 6.12)

Only four of the eight respondents in population Two answered the question. Of these, three respondents stated that they had no intention of leaving their present job, either because they felt the prospects were good or because they felt their job provided security. Only one respondent stated that he had considered leaving his job to look for another with better prospects:

Yes, for the reasons I have already mentioned, I was thinking about my own business because I want to be responsible for my own income, but I realise I will still face problems from racist institutions like banks etc. (Secondary School Teacher)

6.3 FEMALE RESPONDENTS WHO MIGRATED AS ADULTS: POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO

Eleven women in population One and fourteen women in population Two migrated to Britain as adults. As tables 5.7 and 5.22 indicate, the majority of the women in population One came to Britain in order to further their education. These respondents accounted for over a half of this type of migrant. The majority of women in population Two who came as adults stated that their objective at the time of migration was to come and find work, they accounted for little over a third of this type of migrant.

The women in population One came to Britain as professionals (two qualified teachers, two qualified nurses), white-collar workers, pupil teachers, student nurse, and student. The women in population Two came as white-collar worker, shop assistant (intermediate), pupil teachers and some were unemployed. There were four respondents in population Two for whom information concerning job prior to migration was not available.

HAVE THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED LEAVING THEIR CURRENT JOB?
POPULATION 2 - MALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

YES OR NO	TOTAL	%
YES - For a job with better prospects	1	25%
NO - Good prospects here	2	50%
NO - Because it is a secure job	1	25%
<hr/>		
TOTAL	4	

TABLE 6.12

NON RESPONSE = 3

NOT APPLICABLE = 1 (This respondent is a contract worker)

The majority of the women in population One came to Britain with secondary school and above levels of qualifications. The women in population Two were less well qualified on arrival. (See tables 5.10 and 5.27)

6.3.1 OCCUPATION PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB OBTAINED ON ARRIVAL (Tables 6.13 and 6.14)

POPULATION ONE: (Table 6.13)

Professionals prior to migration

Of the four women who worked as professionals in the period prior to migration, two found immediate employment opportunities in their particular professions as nurses. As such, both respondents were able to 'recover' their original occupational positions. The two respondents stated that they had no difficulties in obtaining work. Their ease of access to employment was related to the fact that they possessed a resource which the National Health Service needed at the time.

White-collar worker prior to migration

Two women worked as white-collar workers prior to migration; one as a secretary, the other as a statistics officer for a government department. The latter respondent went straight into full-time education at University - which was her main reason for coming to Britain. The former was able to find immediate employment as a copy typist and states that she had no difficulties in getting the job.

Pupil teacher prior to migration

The one respondent who came as a pupil teacher found work as a kitchen assistant at Lyons.

WOMEN POPULATION 1

JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB OBTAINED ON ARRIVAL

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

(JOB
OBTAINED
ON
ARRIVAL)

	PROFESSIONAL	WHITE COLLAR	PUPIL TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	STUDENT	STUDENT NURSE	TOTAL
* NURSING	2				1	1	4
WHITE COLLAR		1					1
INTERMEDIATE			1				1
UNSKILLED MANUAL				1			1
COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY	2	1			1		4
TOTAL	4	2	1	1	2	1	11

TABLE 6.13

Note:

Rather than placing 'nursing' under the umbrella category of 'professional' it was felt that placing this particular professional group of workers in a separate category helps to highlight the number of women (in both populations) who as professionals are to be found in the field of nursing.

Came as a student nurse

On arrival in Britain this respondent worked for under a year as a nursing auxiliary in order to make up the time until her Registered Mental Nurse (RMN) course started.

Student prior to migration

Two respondents came to Britain as students. One went straight into nursing to train as a State Enrolled Nurse (S E N), and the other went to boarding school to do her 'A' levels as, at that time, there were no 'A' level courses in her country of origin. This latter respondent has been included in the 'came as an adult category' due to the fact that she was over seventeen years old on arrival. Those respondents placed in the 'came as a child' category includes those who came to Britain at the age of sixteen years and under.

Unemployed in the period prior to migration

Only one respondent was unemployed prior to migrating to Britain. The respondent came to Britain to join her husband in the early 1950s; her first job in Britain was as a packer in an ice-cream factory.

POPULATION TWO: (Table 6.14)

White-collar worker prior to migration

Three women in population Two came to Britain as white-collar workers. All three had worked as clerks, in a government office, bank and post office respectively. Of these three, two went straight into nursing to train as State Registered Nurses (S R N). The third respondent went straight into full-time education, as she states:

WOMEN POPULATION TWO

JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB OBTAINED ON ARRIVAL

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	WHITE COLLAR	INTERMEDIATE	PUPIL/ TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL
WHITE COLLAR					1	1
NURSING	2			2	1	5
UNSKILLED MANUAL		1	1	1	1	4
COLLEGE/ UNIVERSITY	1		1		1	3
INTERMEDIATE		1				1
TOTAL	3	2	2	3	4	14

TABLE 6,14

I had my shorthand and typing skills from Barbados but when I got here I decided to do a refreshers course at a secretarial college. I was there for a year. (Personal Assistant/Secretary)

Pupil Teacher prior to migration:

Of the two respondents who came as pupil teachers, one found employment as a 'sorter' in a laundry 'killing time' as she put it until she was able to begin her nurse training. The second respondent enrolled at a college to do an Institute of Personnel Management (IPM) course:

My intentions at the time was to use the course as a stepping stone to getting to do a dietician's course (Secondary School Teacher)

Unemployed in the period prior to migration.

Of the three who were unemployed prior to migrating to Britain, two went straight into nursing - one to train as an S R N, the other as a R M N. Both women indicated that they came from a family of nurses and so it was the natural thing to do. As one of them states:

I wanted to travel and do nursing My mother was a nurse and my sisters and my cousins, so it was a family thing. It was also a personality thing because I liked looking after people. Apart from that there was the economic situation in England, they wanted nurses ... so it was a twofold thing really. It wasn't just us rushing to England, they were inviting us, we were cheap labour. We knew, but we also knew that we would be qualified in a profession in the end. (Nursing Tutor)

The third respondent got her first job working in a laundry. She states:

It was funny really because when I was there they were amazed that I could spell, because they - you know, the White girls - couldn't. (Clerk Typist)

No information on job prior to migration:

Of these four respondents, three went straight into the labour market and the fourth went into full-time education at college to do an I M A course. Of the

three who began work soon after arrival one got a job as a shorthand typist - she states:

When I came to England I went out a week later and went to the Labour Exchange. They asked what I could do and at that time it was very difficult to get work as a Black person in an office. But the chap there said there was a job going and that I could try them - i.e. as a shorthand typist. So I casually went in and was interviewed by the manager - who was very nice. I was dubious because I didn't think I would get the job as none of my friends or relations who had good qualifications worked in an office But I got the job, I was taken on on six months probation. (Office Manager)

The second respondent went straight into nursing. She was to train as a registered fever nurse. The respondent stated that she chose this particular form of nursing because she intended to return home and thought that 'tropical fever nursing' would be useful. The third respondent, who came to join her husband, found employment in a cider factory; she states:

I started off in factory work because I wasn't aware that 'we' could do anything else. All my fellow natives were doing it. I was young and didn't realise the opportunities open to me. (Secretary)

Looking at the types of occupational category that the women in both survey populations entered on arrival in Britain, we see that the occupational spread of their first job in Britain is similar. Almost equal numbers from both populations found white collar or intermediate work, or went into nursing. However more women in population Two found work as unskilled labour in factories. Nearly equal numbers went into further education, although the women in population One who went into further education went to university on arrival whereas the women in population Two went to colleges.

Compared to the experiences of the men in populations One and Two it is significant that none of the women mentioned coming up against any difficulties in obtaining work - particularly significant are those women who found employment as white-collar workers/intermediate, non-manual, workers. It

can be argued that the ease with which the women in both populations found employment is related to the fact that these women (apart from the two who got secretarial jobs) were not choosing to enter occupational fields that were closed to them. The National Health Service was keen to have more nurses and the various service industries and non-growth industries having lost much of the indigenous labour force to the growth industries was a ready recipient for what they regarded as cheap labour.

Of the four women in population One and five women in population Two who went into nursing on arrival in Britain, only one enrolled as a State Enrolled Nurse. Although the numbers of women are small it is still apparent that these proportions are not in line with the pattern of recruitment that was said to characterise the recruitment of Afro-Caribbean women into the National Health Service as nurses. Allen and Smith (1974) point out that, in the early period of Afro-Caribbean migration, Black nurses were concentrated at the level of the S E N - a qualification which is not recognised outside Britain and as such ties those who take these courses permanently to the bottom of the nursing hierarchy. (See also Race Today No 8, 1974, and Wilson & Mitchell 1991).

6.3.2 OCCUPATION AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN BY OCCUPATION PRIOR TO
MIGRATION (Tables 6.15 and 6.16)

POPULATION ONE:

As table 6.15 indicates, within the three year period changes have occurred in the occupational distribution of the respondents. Two women had moved into the 'professional' category. The first, who had been a qualified nurse on arrival, moved from working as a nurse (a position she had occupied for the first year she spent in Britain) to become involved in medical technology and trained to become a haematologist. She states:

WOMEN POPULATION ONE
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN
(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESS- IONAL	WHITE- COLLAR	PUPIL/ TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	STUDENT NURSE	STUDENT	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
(JOB AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN)	PROFESSIONAL	1	1				2	new category
	NURSING	1			1	1	4	no change
	WHITE COLLAR		1				1	no change
	UNSKILLED MANUAL			1			1	no change
	UNIVERSITY	2					2	-2
	BAR COUNCIL					1	1	new category
	TOTAL	4	2	1	1	2	11	

TABLE 6.15

I was a trained nurse at home but I decided to come to Britain for the higher education it offered ... I chose haematology because you still had contact with the patients and also you participate in the follow-up treatment of these people. To do this training back home would not have been easy, therefore I had to come here.
(Haematologist)

The second respondent, although eventually finding a job as a psychologist, indicated that she had a particularly 'rough time' in finding employment. She states that having completed university she set about looking for a job, but came up against considerable racism. She would turn up for interviews at hospitals to be asked whether she was in the right room. She states that there was one particular experience that she would never forget:

After my Masters (degree) I went for a managerial post in a custodial institution. I had done research about custodial systems and young people, therefore I had the knowledge and experience necessary. I went for the interview and I knew that to a certain extent in terms of qualifications and experience I was the most qualified person there. At the end of the day I was told that I had got the job. Then I waited for written confirmation and to my horror they had switched the job. It was switched to a post far lower. I didn't even need to have a degree let alone be professionally qualified and have the experience I had. So I went to the local authority that was in contact with the place and it was a horrific experience whereby I had a young slip of a White clerk telling me what as a Black woman I needed to go in for such and such a salary for. And anyhow people would feel too threatened and I was overqualified for the post anyway, etc., etc., and why for instance didn't I apply for such and such a job which would more suit my standing and status. I refrained from clobbering him and walked out. That is one experience that comes to mind.
(Psychologist).

The original white-collar worker in this group had, by this time, moved into S R N training, while another respondent had received promotion from clerk to shop front manageress.

Within the three year period there was one addition to the 'nursing' category. This respondent had been a copy typist but had decided to train to be a S R N. Each of the three original respondents in this category had by this time bettered their positions within the nursing profession. The respondent who

came to Britain as a qualified nurse was now a ward sister. The second having qualified as an S E N began S R N training. The third respondent having qualified as an S R N began training as a psychiatric nurse.

Finally one respondent who was doing her pupillage states:

I didn't have any problems then in getting a pupillage. The 'Par' is based on the 'Old Boy' network and my father had some contacts but what really went in my favour was that I had been to public school. (Barrister)

POPULATION TWO (Table 6.16) As the table indicates there have been gains in two occupational categories (white-collar junior non-manual (+2), nursing (+2)) and a new category has emerged - 'intermediate'. The gains in the 'white-collar' category came about as a result of two respondents moving up from the 'college' and 'unskilled manual' categories (see Table 6.14). These respondents now worked as secretary and telephonist respectively. Neither respondent mentioned coming up against any difficulties in obtaining these jobs.

Two respondents moved from unskilled manual jobs into the 'nursing' category to train as S E N and S R N respectively. Of the original five respondents in the 'nursing' category, two had qualified as S R Ns and now worked as staff nurses. One on qualifying as an S R N began doing agency work, the fourth began training as an S R N and the fifth went to work in an orthopedic hospital. None of these women mentioned coming up against any problems. The response of the respondent below is typical:

It was a top hospital at the time, I had no problems there, they were above that. (Sister In Charge)

WOMEN POPULATION TWO

JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER THREE YEARS IN BRITAIN

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	WHITE COLLAR	INTERMEDIATE	PUPIL TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	NO INFORMATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
WHITE COLLAR (JUNIOR NON- MANUAL)	1			1	1	3	+2
(JOB AFTER THREE YEARS) NURSING	2	1	1	2	1	7	+2
INTERMEDIATE		1	1			2	NEW CATEGORY
UNSKILLED MANUAL					1	1	-3
COLLEGE					1	1	-2
TOTAL	3	2	2	3	4	14	

TABLE 6,16

6.3.3 JOB AFTER TEN YEARS IN BRITAIN BY OCCUPATION PRIOR TO MIGRATION

(Tables 6.17 and 6.18)

POPULATION ONE: (Table 6.17)

As the table indicates, within the ten year period some occupational categories have experienced gains (professions (+2); white-collar (+2); others losses (nursing (-2)) (in most instances the loss from a particular category indicated an upward movement), and some categories have disappeared altogether such as the 'intermediate' and 'unskilled manual' categories. There is only one respondent who has not been resident in Britain for ten years and has thus been included in the not applicable category.

Two of the respondents who came to Britain as professionals but went to university on arrival are by now to be found in the professional category working as careers officer and lecturer respectively. At this stage, although coming up against a certain amount of 'negativity' from White colleagues neither mentioned coming up against any racism which might have affected their careers, as one of them states:

My bosses were always very supportive. I worked hard and as a result I have been compensated in that my work was recognised. I did not plan my promotion structure at all. My second boss would push me into promotion and at that time I did not want the responsibility but he kept pushing me.

The test of, as she put it, loyalties which she was to face came from the Black grass roots level. She states:

As a Black student I discovered that, if I was to remain in this service, I had to, firstly, come to terms with my Blackness and, secondly, come to terms with people's acceptance of me. My choosing this profession excited different reactions amongst certain quarters, it was an interesting experience When I first started I began to get pressures from Black groups in the area in which I worked and my first real exposure to Black grass roots was being called 'hall out', 'Uncle Tom' etc., etc., and the word soon spread in the grass roots and they were ready to test my loyalties. The schools gave me a different reception - the female heads saw this as an advantage to race relations - I was a model for young blacks

WOMEN POPULATION ONE
JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER TEN YEARS IN BRITAIN
(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	PROFESS- IONAL	WHITE- COLLAR	PUPIL/ TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	STUDENT NURSE	STUDENT	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
(JOB AFTER TEN YEARS IN BRITAIN)	PROFESSIONAL	3					3	+ 2
	WHITE COLLAR	1	1	1			3	+ 2
	NURSING	1			1	1	3	- 1
	PUPILEGE					1	1	NEW CATEGORY
	NOT APPLICABLE	1					1	NEW CATEGORY
	TOTAL	4	2	1	1	2	11	

TABLE 6,17

to emulate ... contacts were established with schools and all agencies connected with young people, but I received mixed reactions from Black voluntary associations. (Careers Officer)

Two respondents moved into the 'White-collar' category and were now working as senior typist and shorthand typist respectively. The latter respondent in order to obtain the qualifications and skills needed for the job used to attend evening classes whilst she worked during the day as an unskilled factory worker. Other respondents in this population also attended evening classes not simply for the interest but because they were seeking to use the qualifications gained as a key to getting the type of employment they wanted. Some studied for 'A' levels and 'O' levels and others for hotel management and hairdressing qualifications. When compared to the women in population Two, However, it is evident that more women in population Two were attending or had attended evening classes by this time and were usually studying for 'A' levels, 'O' levels, or were involved in secretarial or accounts courses.

One of the respondents who had moved into the white-collar category within the three year period and worked as a front shop manageress, was now working as a regional manager for a catering chain.

Of the three women who were still working within the nursing profession, two had experienced upward movement within this ten year period. One now worked as a relief sister, the other as a senior sister. The latter respondent argues that prior to getting this position she was beginning to think that it was time to move. She states:

I felt that I had the ability to go further and the incentive to get on in life and not stay put. So I applied for the post, also I knew my finances would be improved. (Nursing Officer)

The third respondent still remained a ward sister (a position she had held for the past seven years).

POPULATION TWO (Table 6.18)

As the table shows there were gains in one occupational category (white-collar, junior non-manual (+3)) and losses in two categories (nursing (-1), intermediate (-1)). Of the three additional respondents to the 'white-collar' category, one worked as a catering officer at a further education college and two worked as clerks. One of the latter respondents, who had previously left the nursing profession to work on the buses, in order to accumulate enough money to go to secretarial college states:

by then I had my secretarial qualifications but I just couldn't get a secretarial position. I was usually told that I didn't have any experience, which was true. I used to think, 'I'll never get any experience if someone doesn't give me a chance'. (Shorthand Typist)

Of the two original white-collar workers one still worked as a shorthand typist, although now she found that over the years she was taking on additional office responsibilities, but not receiving an official upgrading in her position. She States:

Within a few years I started to do the accounts, so I was basically a typist, a clerk, and a receptionist. I used to manage the office when he was on holidays, doing the wages, doing the banking, accounting, etc and I didn't get any extra pay. At one time they had to bring in the union for me to be upgraded, because I was taking on so much responsibility. The Head Office at first agreed to upgrade me but, within a few weeks, they wrote back and said that there had been a mistake in the grading. I didn't leave it there, I went back to the union and they eventually sorted it out and I got my grading. (Office Manager).

The second respondent by this time began working as a 'temp' because she had taken the previous year off work in order to do a full-time study course for the final year of her part-time degree.

Of the six respondents who were still in the nursing profession, three now worked as staff nurses. One of these mentions that it was then that she first began to come up against racism:

WOMEN POPULATION TWO

JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY JOB AFTER TEN YEARS IN BRITAIN

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	WHITE COLLAR	INTERMEDIATE PUPIL TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	NO INFORM- MATION	TOTAL	GAIN AND LOSS
(JOB AFTER TEN YEARS)						
WHITE COLLAR (JUNIOR NON- MANUAL)	1	1	2	2	6	+3
NURSING	2	1	1	1	6	-1
INTERMEDIATE		1			1	-1
UNSKILLED MANUAL				1	1	NO CHANGE
TOTAL	3	2	3	4	14	

TABLE 6,18

I was working in casualty and the sister there was really awful to me. At first I didn't think it was prejudice, but gradually it dawned on me. It kept on for ages, until one day I went to her office and told her that I thought she was a racist. She nearly had a heart attack, she even called a meeting with all the other nurses to tell them what I had said but nothing came of it though ... but things did get better. (Sister in Charge)

Of the three remaining respondents, two worked as sisters and one as a district nurse. The latter respondent stated:

I became a district nurse because it was easier with the children, because you work more independently and because I liked to be with my children in the evenings. I didn't want baby sitters.

Of the fourteen women only two respondents remained in the same occupational positions they had taken up on arrival in Britain - one worked as an 'intermediate' worker, the other as an unskilled manual worker. The former respondent argues that she was quite contented working in the 'sewing room' - the money was good and she was using it to help pay for her brothers and sisters to come over to Britain. The latter respondent stated that her young children dictated the type of work she did as she had to stay home with them during the days whilst her husband was at work. In the evenings she went out to work, but the only work available between six and ten pm was factory work.

Apart from the women for whom information concerning occupation prior to migration was not available, it would seem that all the women in population One had recovered and in fact 'overtaken' the occupational position they occupied prior to migration. All the respondents stated that, at this stage, they were pleased with what they had managed to achieve career/work-wise.

Of the women in population Two for whom information of job prior to migration was available, six had managed to overtake their original occupational positions and four had managed to recover their original occupational position.

In the main these women too were satisfied with what they had achieved in terms of employment.

In contrast to the men in both populations the women seemed to have faced, in broad terms, much less difficulties in gaining access to the type of employment they applied for in this ten year period and seemed more satisfied with what they had managed to achieve.

6.3:4 PRESENT OCCUPATION BY OCCUPATION PRIOR TO MIGRATION

POPULATION ONE (Table 6.19)

The women in population one, as table 6.19 indicates have experienced a considerable amount of upward occupational movement since the time they entered the British labour market (for the majority this was in the 1950s and 1960s).

Respondents who presently occupy professional positions

Of the eleven respondents there are now nine that presently occupy 'professional' positions. As the table shows, there were four women who originally came to Britain as professionals. Each of these women not only recovered their original occupational positions but have managed to overtake it. Two of these women were able to reach their present positions well within the 'ten year period' and their positions since then have been relatively unchanged. The other two respondents have, through promotion, both managed to obtain managerial positions within their respective profession and as such have taken on decision making roles.

WOMEN POPULATION ONE

JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY PRESENT JOB

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION

		PROFESSIONAL	WHITE COLLAR	PUPIL TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	STUDENT NURSE	STUDENT	TOTAL
(PRESENT JOB)	PROFESSIONAL {							
	PROFESSIONAL	3	1		1		1	6
	NURSING OFFICER	1				1	1	3
	WHITE COLLAR (INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL)		1					1
	BUSINESS WOMAN			1				1
	TOTAL	4	2	1	1	1	2	11

TABLE 6,19

How do these women perceive their situation in terms of career? In broad terms none of these women feel that they have come up against any particular lasting difficulties in pursuing their careers in Britain. In referring to racism or racist practices they indicate that they have been able to overcome these successfully, but at the same time feel that the pressure is always on them to do things three times as good as a White person. Some feel that they are constantly being watched for the mistake they may make that will have White counterparts saying 'See, those people cannot do the job properly'. These particular views can be interpreted by some observers to be indicative of paranoia on the part of 'Black professionals'. However, many respondents, both male and female in both survey populations hold similar views and argue that this is what a Black person when they choose to enter 'white-dominated' professions must learn to cope with. As one respondent states:

You have to fight a rear guard to keep your position all the time.
(Nursing Tutor)

Another 'problem' which one of the four respondents who came as professionals mentions is one which refers not only to 'race' but to gender. She states:

In my job I get problems of being Black and being a woman. I get little jibes from my male staff and I have to sometimes read them the riot act and lay the facts down clear and hard. However, being a Black person has most significance over being a woman. Some resent my position/status over them. For example, if there are any problems in the outer office, say, and the person asks to speak to someone in authority, ie the Boss, my staff have to come and get me and they resent it particularly the male staff (a) because I am a woman and (b) because I am Black. The reaction from the client when they see me is amusing also - for the 'someone in charge' is not only a woman but is Black. I can't afford not to be 'on the ball' all the time.

Of the five women who have moved up into the professional category, two work as nursing officers, one as a psychologist, one as a social worker (Team Leader), and one as a Barrister. On average these women have been resident in Britain for twenty one years, have held five jobs in this period, taken sixteen

years to reach their present position and on average have occupied those positions for five years.

The obstacles to the progression of their career which these women have experienced did not occur in the early stages of their careers but became more apparent when they began to seek promotion and more responsibilities in their respective careers. As two respondents indicate:

I applied for the post of senior nursing officer but I didn't get it the first time. It was the first time I had encountered what I saw as resistance because I was Black. (Senior Nursing Officer)

The respondent eventually received the post of senior nursing officer but of her present position states:

Other nursing officers try to needle me but I ignore them. They try to thwart me in many ways. It is actually the toughest time in my career, I don't seem to gel with my present colleagues as I did at other places I have worked at, but then again then I wasn't senior nursing officer.

The other respondent had this to say:

When I was applying for nursing officer jobs the senior sister kept trying to put spokes in my way. In my report and reference she said that I wouldn't be able to cope with difficult people ... I couldn't leave it at that and I questioned it ... She was a senior sister and she was trying to stop me because she didn't want me to get the job. I went on night duty and got out from under her. That was a definite thing I did, and do you know, within three months I was promoted to nursing officer. (Nursing Officer).

Strategies such as that adopted by the latter respondent in order to attain promotion is one method (although not precisely the same) that other respondents have used in order to get away from an individual or groups of individuals who have the power to determine the structure of their careers. This is particularly so for those respondents, as mentioned earlier, who, working within the civil service or in occupational fields with similar promotion procedures, depend on 'reporting officers' to write their progress

reports etc. These respondents either moved to different departments or went to different branches (usually this meant a sideways move occupationally) in order to, as they saw it, safeguard their careers.

Respondents who presently occupy intermediate, non-manual, white-collar positions

Only one respondent is present in this occupational category - she works as a housing officer. This respondent argues that her move from shorthand typist to clerk in local government and eventually to housing officer has been smooth. She states:

I have always been successful in my applications, even when I don't apply I have received promotion When I got this post I was called to the office and told that they were very pleased with me and that they felt I would be suitable for the job of housing officer.

Respondents who presently run their own business

As the table indicates one respondent presently runs her own business. Having lived in Britain for nineteen years and worked as a regional manager for a catering service for many of these nineteen years the respondent states that, although she enjoyed her job and the responsibility that went with it, she decided to go into business full-time. She goes on:

Whilst working I had been attending evening classes where I did hairdressing (because I like to utilize every minute of my time) and when I qualified I became a co-partner in a hairdressing salon. I only worked there at weekends and my partner ran the show really. About two years ago I decided that it was about time I set about managing my own business full-time Now I have my salon and I run a school of hair design upstairs. I employ two qualified hairdressers who train the girls.

The only difficulties the respondent mentioned coming up against whilst in the process of setting up her business was finding a good location to establish her salon.

POPULATION TWO: (Table 6.20)

As the table indicates the women in population Two have managed to achieve a fair amount of upward movement in the labour market (although not as much in comparison to the women in population One). All have managed to recover and in fact overtake the occupational positions they occupied prior to migration.

Respondents who presently occupy intermediate non-manual positions

Three respondents are to be found in this occupational category - they work as personal assistant secretary, secondary school teacher, and office manager. On average these women have been resident in Britain for twenty-two years, in which time they have held three jobs, taken fourteen years to reach their present positions and on average occupied these positions for seven years. As the excerpts below indicate, none of these women are satisfied with their present positions:

All the jobs I have held as secretary P.A. have been working with upper management because I am a good secretary, but having said that I am sorry I ever learnt shorthand and typing because it's so routine, you can't get beyond that stage. It's demeaning, it's alright as a junior but after a certain level well, but if your boss is intelligent then it is not too bad.

"I have not achieved what I expected to achieve. My grading should be higher for a start and they know it. And I think prejudice comes into it because the firm doesn't seem to want Blacks in the front line and it employs very few Black people and at times I regret going into that field because of the amount of work and the responsibility. The pay does not coincide with the duties."

"I have reached the point of frustration now. The length of time I have been on scale two as head of this Department is ridiculous. For this department the maximum salary is scale two, so they have given me a part of the scale 3 salary but not the scale three status." (Teacher)

As with some of the women in population one the latter two respondents have been able to attain a certain level within their respective occupations, but in terms of consolidating their position (in the form of achieving promotion) they find themselves faced with 'obstacles'. Both women feel that racism on

WOMEN POPULATION TWO

JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION BY PRESENT JOB

(JOB PRIOR TO MIGRATION)

	WHITE COLLAR	INTERMEDIATE	PUPIL TEACHER	UNEMPLOYED	NO INFOR- MATION	TOTAL
WHITE COLLAR (INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL)	1		1		1	3
(PRESENT OCCUPATION) WHITE COLLAR (JUNIOR NON- MANUAL)				2	2	4
NURSING	2	2	1	1	1	7
TOTAL	3	2	2	3	4	14

TABLE 6.20

the part of their employers contributed to the fact that they were not able to attain promotion. In addition one of these respondents stated that she felt that the fact that she was a woman also had something to do with her lack of progress.

Respondents who presently occupy nursing positions

Of the seven respondents located in this category four work as ward/nursing sisters, one as a district nurse, one as a nursing tutor and one as a nursing auxilliary. Apart from the latter respondent the other levels of nursing can be included in the 'intermediate non-manual' category, the nursing auxiliary can be included in the 'junior non-manual' category. The reason for not including in the table those respondents who occupy nursing positions in the two 'non-manual' categories mentioned is that, in keeping this category separate, one is able to more readily identify the number of respondents in the nursing profession. On average these women have been resident in Britain for twenty four years, in which time they have had five jobs (for the majority these jobs were actually within the nursing service/profession), took sixteen years to reach their present positions and on average have occupied these positions for eight years.

Only one of these seven women has indicated that she actively pursued furthering her career in the nursing profession. The other women indicated that for the present they did not wish to go any further. This, what can be termed, self-imposed restriction on their careers has come about for varying reasons as the excerpts below illustrate:

In my position it would be difficult to get promotion because I am working part-time, I won't do full-time because of my children. I take them to school, collect them from school, help them with their homework and help them when they need me. My mother was always at home because children need their mothers. (Nursing Sister)

I want to remain in this position now, I don't want to go any further in administration because if I moved up I would be in an office and removed from the patients. In my job I have the best

of both worlds - administration and nursing. It's a nine to five job because the patients don't stay over night. (Sister in Charge)

I don't want promotion upwards because the health service is being dismantled from the top down. I am an examiner for the General Nursing Council and I am quite happy with my job as it stands. (Nursing Sister)

I have never really wanted to go any further in terms of promotion, I am a homely type and this would upset my home life. (Nursing Sister)

None of the above respondents mentioned that they had come up against problems which they felt may have served to influence their careers to date. All acknowledge experience of individual racism of some form or another but this was seen as taking place more on a one to one level (racist comments, etc). It can be argued that if these women were indeed to face any barriers to their achievement it is more likely that it would (as has happened with other respondents in the field of nursing) occur when applying for 'management' posts such as senior nursing officer or nursing officer.

The experiences of the one respondent in this group who did seek to pursue promotion is in line, in broad terms, with the experiences of some respondents and the way in which some of their careers have been structured to a certain extent by the actions of those in authority who choose to abuse the 'powers' that they hold.

I used to do a lot of teaching in the classroom whilst I was a sister. I was the only ophthalmic nurse with training there so they were using me, but I was using them too because I was learning how to teach. After a while I did an evening course in City and Guilds, it was a teaching course. I also studied for four 'A' levels. Even when I had passed the City and Guilds course the Senior Tutor refused to call me a qualified tutor. So I decided to study for the Certificate of Education which would make me a qualified teacher and then there would be no way that they could avoid employing me as a teacher. But I faced a lot of opposition from the head of the teaching hospital and she would not give me a reference to go to London University. So what I had to do was to apply to a polytechnic to do the course there, all, remember, unknown to the Director. I got a reference from a Black principal tutor at another hospital. I applied for the course, booked my days off, etc. and then I told the Director that I was on the course because I wanted to qualify myself. She was furious, she wrote me nasty letters etc. She said that I might have to find another job on the completion of

the course, and that if I failed I would have to leave. She was trying to drive the fear of God into me. She even went as far as trying to collaborate with the course tutor to fail me. She had telephoned the 'Poly' and spoke to the Course Director and said that they were unhappy at the prospect of my teaching at the hospital because I was only able to teach West Indian and Malaysian students, and that the calibre of the (White) nurses coming in was much higher. The course leader told me all of this

The respondent eventually received her certificate of education but then had problems with registration. As a result a solicitor was brought in and soon afterwards her registration was forthcoming. Even so she was made a 'contract employee'. Of her situation she states:

The other tutors think I am fighting the system but I do get on with some of them The Director has retired now, she said I was not tutor material. What she really wanted was for me to go back as a ward sister, but I was determined to become a tutor even without help from her and the authorities, because usually that's the way it is done. I was prepared to, and did, pay for myself One has to push and understand the system and fight the system you are in, or go around the system in order to achieve or just to survive. (Nursing Tutor)

Respondents who occupy junior non-manual positions

Four respondents are located in this category - they work as clerk typist, shorthand typist, secretary, and assistant school meals organiser. On average these women have been resident in Britain for twenty six years, in which time they have held seven jobs, taken sixteen years to reach their present position and on average have occupied that position for nine years. Three of the four respondents have had very checkered employment careers which involved at some stages leaving the labour market altogether in order to have and look after their children. Sometimes they took on evening work working in factories as unskilled labour. However when their children reached school age all began attending secretarial college (some full-time, some part-time) in order to obtain secretarial skills:

I went on to a six month secretarial course, I did this basically because I began to realise that if I got proper training there would be better jobs available for me, rather than just doing factory work.
(Secretary)

I did a Pitmans secretarial course because I wanted to seek a new horizon. (Clerk Typist)

These women indicate that throughout their working lives they have at some time or another faced particular obstacles to their progress, whether it be the fact that they had to stop work in order to have and look after their children, or when actually working having to face problems of racism. As regards racism they suggest that racism proved more of an obstacle when they were seeking 'office work' as opposed to when they applied for factory work. Some state that they found that some firms they worked at as clerks or typists appeared to offer one set of wages to Black employees and another to the White employees. The excerpt below is typical:

In some firms Blacks are paid less than the White girls, they don't give any reasons I have encountered that sort of thing in two firms I have worked at and that is why I started to do temping, at least then you got the right money. (Shorthand Typist)

6.3:5 SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL POSITION (Tables 6.21 and 6.22)

POPULATION ONE

As table 6.21 reveals, when asked specifically about their present job rather than about their career history as a whole, the majority of the respondents in population One who answered the question stated that they were satisfied with their current occupational positions. As shown, the level of satisfaction fell into four categories, and of these four those who stated that they had achieved as much as they expected to, represented the largest single grouping. Below are some of their comments:

Job-wise I am satisfied, I am now at a senior level, I have reached the top of the scale so really I can't get any more job-wise. But as an individual I would like to move but my chances now are reduced. In America you are never too old. Here there is a cut-off point. I would have loved to have done medicine. In America you could move up gradually, not so here. (Haematologist)

In the main Blacks are held back from management posts, but yes, I have achieved as much as I expected to. In my work there has to be movement all the time, I don't like my work to be still. (Divisional Head)

SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL POSITION

POPULATION ONE - FEMALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION	TOTAL	%
<u>SATISFIED</u> - Making good progress	1	10%
<u>SATISFIED</u> - Doing better than expected	1	10%
<u>SATISFIED</u> - Achieved as much as expected	6	60%
<u>SATISFIED</u> - So far but would like to achieve a bit more	1	10%
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - Only achieved a part of what they wanted	1	10%
TOTAL	10	

TABLE 6.21

NON - RESPONSE = 1

Another respondent in this category, although satisfied in her job, acknowledges that her White colleagues do try to hinder her progress, but she goes on to state:

When you are working with Whites you know you may get a problem but you find it easier to work with them. You get more resistance from the Blacks, they think you will do favours for them because they and you are Black. The Black nurses and domestic staff give me the most problems. (Senior Nursing Officer)

It is a very satisfying job. I never really set myself any goals. It was more difficult for my clerk to sell me than a White male. I had a dual handicap - being Black and a woman. It has taken me longer than is usual to build up a practice. You have to have connections. (Barrister)

Of those respondents in the other 'satisfied' categories only one respondent gave a full answer. She states:

I have achieved more than I expected to. My present boss does not interfere and I make decisions and stick to them and I do a lot of planning. (Nursing Officer).

The only respondent to mention that she was not satisfied states:

I do not think I have been in it long enough to achieve what I want to. There are still a lot of openings that I want to take advantage of, like seeing more community links provided for children in care, and in my position I think I would be able to influence that. (Social Worker - Team Leader)

The fact that the majority of women in population One said they were satisfied with their present occupational position does at a surface level seem to contradict the way in which many outlined their experiences of the British labour market, but this is not so. The question asked was specific and only asked about their current position and not about their experiences leading up to that point. The significance of their answers lies in the fact that the majority had, despite factors such as racism and sexism, managed to achieve what they expected to. Set within this context then their responses do not appear contradictory.

POPULATION TWO:

As with the women in population One the majority of the women in population Two (see table 6.22) indicated that they were satisfied with their current occupational positions. The level of satisfaction falls into two categories, and of these those respondents who stated that they had achieved as much as they expected to represented the largest single grouping. The following excerpts are typical:

I have achieved as much as I expected to and I am still learning as I continue my nursing career. (Nursing Auxiliary)

In my present job I think I will achieve as much as I want to achieve. If I keep up the French I get to do the translation I want to do. (Secretary)

I have achieved as much as I expected to, I get a lot of job satisfaction and I have never been held back at all. (Sister in Charge)

Yes in a nutshell, because I don't think I could do any more in my job. (Secretary P.A.)

Of those who mentioned that they were not satisfied with their positions, the majority indicated that racism had hindered their progress and had kept them in their present positions:

No, I am not satisfied, but I am pragmatic in thinking about the future, they are cutting back on nurse tutors so there's no development there and with my problems with the authorities that may be against me in terms of promotion. They have blocked me from getting a senior tutor's position. (Nursing Tutor)

No because I am not making the progress I would like, there's no room for promotion there ... they are prejudiced. There are only a few of us Blacks that work there and you are treated as Blacks. For example there's one girl whose boss doesn't even acknowledge her. The assistant departmental manager in my department shows his prejudice in his actions. (Clerk Typist)

The obvious difference between the responses of the women in population One and Two is that over a quarter of the women in population Two who mentioned that they were not satisfied with their occupational position cited racism at work as being the cause for their dissatisfaction.

SATISFACTION WITH CURRENT OCCUPATIONAL POSITION POPULATION -
TWO - FEMALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

DEGREE OF SATISFACTION	TOTAL	%
<u>SATISFIED</u> - Achieved as much as expected to	7	50%
<u>SATISFIED</u> - But would like to achieve more	1	7%
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - Would like to achieve more	2	14%
<u>NOT SATISFIED</u> - Racism has stopped them from progressing	4	28%
TOTAL	14	

TABLE 6.22

6.3:6 HAVE THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED LEAVING THEIR PRESENT JOB?

(Tables 6.23 and 6.24)

POPULATION 1:

Of those in population One who answered the question over a half stated that they would leave their present job. (See table 6.23)

Yes, it's so insecure, as a result I'm constantly thinking of leaving.
(Barrister)

Yes I have toyed with the idea, but I am a realist - what would I do? (Senior Nursing Officer)

Yes I would, but I realise I am too old to move now.
(Haematologist)

Yes because of the pressures of dealing with the public - many of my clients are racist. I haven't experienced any racial discrimination in the office, whether they talk behind my back is another matter. (Housing Officer)

I think every individual must think 'Yes, I'm ambitious, and change is the essence of being'. I always have my ears and eyes open.
(Psychologist).

As the table shows those respondents who said no they would not leave their present jobs fell into two categories which are self-explanatory.

POPULATION TWO: (Table 6.24)

As with the women in population One the majority of the women in population Two who answered the question stated that they had considered leaving their present jobs:

Yes I wouldn't mind leaving if it meant getting a good salary.
(Nursing Sister)

Yes because of the routine. I want to do something completely different. You can't get very high in the secretarial field. You can hardly get across from secretary to management. (Secretary P.A.)

Yes I have - but I will only leave it to go onto district nursing but part-time only. I am not going to do it full-time because of my children. (Nursing Sister)

HAVE THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED LEAVING THEIR CURRENT JOB? POPULATION ONE -
FEMALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

YES OR NO		TOTAL	%
YES -	Reasons varied	5	55%
NO -	Good prospects here	1	11%
NO -	I enjoy what I am doing	2	22%
NO -	Satisfied, but with reservations	1	11%
TOTAL		9	

TABLE 6.23

NON-RESPONSE = 2

HAVE THE RESPONDENTS CONSIDERED LEAVING THEIR CURRENT JOB? POPULATION TWO - FEMALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS ADULTS

	YES OR NO	TOTAL	%
YES Reasons varied	<u>YES</u> - For a job with better prospects	6	46%
	<u>YES</u> - Reasons varied	2	15%
	<u>NO</u> - Good prospects here	4	30%
	<u>NO</u> - Satisfied, but with reservations	1	7%
TOTAL		13	

TABLE 6.24

NON-RESPONSE = 1

I would probably move into the community or maybe go back into general nursing. (Nursing Sister)

When I look at my situation I can't see myself going on to a scale three. The only way I can do it is to go on to the 'pastoral side' i.e. doing the behavioural side of things I am now doing a BEd degree part-time, it might help me get into, say, administration. (Secondary School Teacher)

Yes at my age it's a bit absurd, but I would like a job that would give me self-satisfaction and a chance to use my thinking capabilities. (Clerk Typist)

Five women stated that they would not leave their present jobs. Of these, two simply said no and the other three had this to say:

No not really as there isn't anything else I would rather be doing. (District Nurse).

No, never, I would be crazy (Sister in Charge)

Yes about twelve years ago because I didn't think I was making enough progress because I was a woman. It is definitely not a woman's firm. (Office Manager)

The general pattern which would seem to typify the experiences of the women in both populations One and Two whether they be professionals or junior non-manual workers is the fact that if they choose to remain at 'low' occupational levels, thus not competing for promotion, they tend to experience less outside influences/pressures in their 'work-life'. If on the other hand they choose, as the majority do, to seek to further their careers and move up within their respective professions/careers, then pressures of racism whether direct or indirect to a large extent begin to structure the form which their careers take. If, however, they are able to achieve their chosen occupational positions the respondents state that in order to get there they often had to be three times as good as their White counterparts. In looking at the experiences of both the men and women in both populations we see that some have been able to take stock of their situation and adopted particular strategies which have enabled them to manipulate the circumstances they find themselves in. This some have been able to do by making complete career changes such as teacher

to doctor, barrister to solicitor. Others have made sideway moves within particular institutions or firms in order to 'get from under' reporting officers or managers who they feel have hindered their progress. Others seek to gain further qualifications (this is the most frequently adopted strategy) which they hope will serve to enhance their career prospects.

6.4 MALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN. POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO

POPULATION ONE:

Eleven of the fifty three male respondents in population one came to Britain as children. All came to join their parent(s) who were already resident in Britain. Four respondents arrived during the 1950s of which three came between the ages of ten and thirteen years, and one came at the age of four years. The remaining seven respondents all arrived in the 1960s. The age range for this group was between four and sixteen years.

6.4:1 School attended on arrival:

Of the eleven, two were to attend infants school soon after arrival, four attended junior school, four went to secondary schools (comprehensives), and one respondent did not go to school but went straight on to college to do City and Guilds.

6.4:2 Age on leaving school and qualifications obtained:

Of the eleven, five respondents left school at the age of eighteen, and of these only one respondent left without any qualifications. The others left school with between two and three 'A' levels and between five and seven 'O' levels. Five respondents left school at the age of sixteen years. Of these respondents four left with between three and seven 'O' levels, and one respondent left without any qualifications.

6.4:3 Education and Employment Pattern (Table 6.25) (See also tables 6.26 and 6.27 for highest academic and professional qualifications possessed).

Table 6.25 illustrates succinctly the pattern of transition from formal education to the world of work. As the table indicates, seven distinct patterns have emerged. The most frequent single pattern is the 'school - college - university - work' category. Some of the respondents who followed this pattern left school to take their 'A' levels at college, others to sit for additional 'O' and 'A' levels.

Over a third of the respondents on leaving school went into the labour market (one at the age of eighteen years and three at the age of sixteen years). Their first jobs included: clerical officer in the civil service, laboratory assistant in a research centre, apprentice window dresser and labourer. Of these four respondents, three decided that they wanted to achieve something more and returned to full-time education, (two at nineteen years of age and one at the age of twenty two).. Two went to university and the other went on to teacher training college. Only one of these respondents already possessed the relevant 'O' and 'A' levels, the other two attended night school in order to obtain the 'O' and 'A' levels required. Of these three respondents only one mentioned in any detail why he had decided to return to full-time education. He states:

I had a love affair with chemistry, but I left my job because my experiences of working in chemistry made me realise that I would get much more satisfaction out of teaching it. So I took up teaching.

Of the eleven, seven respondents went to university to do a first degree. Two began their courses at the age of eighteen, two at nineteen, one at twenty and two at the age of twenty two. Their subject areas included engineering,

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS - POPULATION TWO - MALE RESPONDENTS WHO
CAME AS CHILDREN

EDUCATION TO EMPLOYMENT	TOTAL
SCHOOL - UNIVERSITY - WORK	2
SCHOOL - COLLEGE - UNIVERSITY - WORK	3
SCHOOL - WORK - UNIVERSITY - WORK	2
SCHOOL - WORK - TEACHER TRAINING - COLLEGE - WORK	1
SCHOOL - COLLEGE - WORK - POLYTECHNIC - WORK	1
SCHOOL - WORK	1
APPRENTICESHIP/-WORK	1
TOTAL	11

TABLE 6.25

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION POSSESSED MALES POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO - CAME TO
BRITAIN AS CHILDREN

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION	POPULATION 1	POPULATION 2
PhD	1	
MA, MSc	3	
BA, BSc	4	2
A' LEVELS	1	
O' LEVELS		
CSE's		1
HNC	1	
CITY AND GUILDS		1
NO ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS	1	
TOTAL	11	4

TABLE 6.26

PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS POSSESSED MALES POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO - CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN

PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	POPULATION 1	POPULATION TWO
CQSW	2	-
PGCE	2	-
BAR FINALS	1	-
TEACHER TRAINING CERTIFICATE	1	-
DIPLOMA IN HAIRDRESSING	1	-
TOTAL	7	-

TABLE 6.27

chemistry, psychology, law, economics and social studies. For six of the seven respondents the professions which they were to eventually enter (either immediately on graduating or after taking PhD or a professional qualification such as CQSW or PGCE) were closely related to the degrees which they had taken.

6.4.4 Career Histories

The Professional Employed:

As table 6.28 illustrates the largest single occupational category in this grouping is the 'professional employed'. The respondents in this category work as probation officer, psychologist, education adviser, social worker (manager) and deputy head teacher. All five possess professional qualifications which are directly related to their respective professions. On average since leaving college/university these respondents have held four jobs, taken nine years to reach their present positions and occupied these positions on average for a period of two years.

When discussing their career histories none of these respondents felt that they had come up against obstacles (particularly racism) in their respective occupational field. As one respondent states:

I have never experienced any barriers to my progress. I am usually in the right place at the right time. At the time there were not many young Black qualified men in the system, and I only ever applied for the jobs I wanted.

These respondents have all experienced a steady progression in their occupations, with each move made being an upward move in terms of promotion.

When asked whether they were satisfied with their present occupational positions all gave positive responses as the excerpts below indicate:

PRESENT OCCUPATION - MALES POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	POP ONE	POP TWO	TOTAL
BOSS 25 < EMPLOYEES	3	-	3
BOSS 25 > EMPLOYEES	1	-	1
PROFESSIONAL SELF-EMPLOYED	1	-	1
PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYED	5	-	5
COMMERCIAL MANAGEMENT	-	1	1
INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL	1	3	4
TOTAL	11	4	

TABLE 6.28

I am making the progress I would like but it is too early to talk about the promotion prospects, but I should think that my chances are as good as most people in my field. If the GLC is dismantled then it's not so good. Anyway I might feel the need for a change in a few years time. (Psychologist)

Yes because I am optimistic I guess. I match myself against other people on experience etc, background, and I do therefore think I am doing better than I expected. That's to say I was never really a very ambitious person. Therefore what I have achieved I think is a lot. (Probation Officer)

Yes I am satisfied firstly, in terms of the objectives of my post, although the lack of resources is constraining. And secondly, in terms of my own progression - yes I am satisfied. (Social Worker - Management)

Given the level of satisfaction with their current occupational position some respondents still, when asked whether they had considered leaving their present jobs, said yes they would.

Yes its extremely stressful. The concept of multi-cultural education is marginalized anyway. I would rather not work in an overtly race related industry The stress of dealing with racism every minute of the working life is difficult for one to take. (Education Adviser)

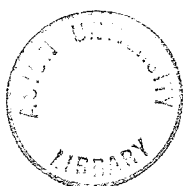
Yes because I am planning for the future but I know it's not realistic for me to leave before the next five to six years. (Probation Officer)

Those respondents who said they had not considered leaving their present jobs had this to say:

No, I've only just arrived and I enjoy what I do. (Psychologist)

No because it's very young and it is unlikely that they would find someone with the same commitments and philosophy to carry on the job. (Social Worker - Management)

No I think I will give it another two years I won't be learning anything more really so I will move on. In teaching you can side step to an advisory side of it. You don't go up a scale. (Deputy Head Teacher)



The Self-Employed Professional:

Only one respondent is located in this occupational category. This respondent has been a practising Barrister for over ten years and states that his progress within the profession has not been easy.

The system at the bar is one which operates on the 'who you know' at the beginning, rather than 'what you know'.

On completing his post practical course at the Council of Legal Education he faced considerable difficulty in finding a pupilege. After some months he was successful. When he had passed his finals he became a 'tenant' with the chambers where he served his pupilege, getting as he puts it 'a lot of Black cases'. This process of 'Black cases' for Black barristers is argued by many of the respondents who work within the legal profession to come about by the actions of the 'clerks' in the chambers. A more detailed discussion of the role of Afro-Caribbeans in the legal profession follows in part two of this chapter.

This respondent has despite the various problems which he says he has had to face in his career (particularly racism within the legal system itself and from his dealings with the police on various cases) managed to attain a level in his career with which he is quite pleased, but would still, he argues, like to achieve more:

Blacks succeed where they are expected to in areas such as sport, but they are not successful enough in the Bar'. We have now got to develop Black practitioners in all fields. At the moment all the non-white judges are Indian and there are no Black prosecutors at a senior level.

The Businessmen:

As table 6.28 indicates, four respondents have chosen to leave the labour market and establish their own businesses. Only one of these respondents employs more than twenty five people in his business. This respondent owns a

large hairdressing concern. The other respondents run estate agency and shipping agency, chemical engineering company and mini cab service respectively.

All four respondents have varying employment backgrounds. Firstly, two went to university and of these two one left after his first degree and the other remained to do a PhD. On leaving university the former found work firstly as a youth worker on a youth project. Later he began teaching economics at a college of further education on a part-time basis. He had tried to get a full-time position but was unsuccessful. In addition he taught at a supplementary school, also on a part-time basis. After a few years he decided to go into partnership in an estate agent and shipping business. When asked whether he was satisfied with the business to date he stated:

I'm not sure how to answer that. If you mean are there any barriers? I don't feel that there are. It's all a question of time in a self-employment situation, things don't happen overnight.

The latter respondent having worked as a research fellow decided that he would like to work for himself in his field - chemical engineering. There were problems which he was to come up against in the initial stages - problems such as finance. He states that he approached several banks but was unable to secure a loan. Usually the banks gave no reasons as to why they refused to give him a loan. As a result he and his partner had to finance the buying of premises and equipment from their own savings. Even at the time of the interview the respondent stated that finance still remained a problem for them, however he did go on to state:

The business is making some progress but I hope it will do much better.

Of the four businessmen the owner of the hairdressing enterprise seems to be the most successful. His 'success' may be due partly to the fact his business

has been going for a considerable time and therefore seen its way through the often insecure teething stage and partly because it has a specific 'target area' of clients. On leaving school the respondent became an apprentice window dresser but he states that his heart was not always in it. Later:

I took up an apprenticeship which was very successful. I was taken on by a European hairdressing business Obviously there are problems when you are Black, but they asked me to stay I did a three year apprenticeship and worked with their chain of shops.

After going abroad for a year or so the respondent returned to Britain. He states that on his arrival he began to realise that there was an opening in the hairdressing market which he felt he was able to take advantage of.

In those days they (White hairdressers) didn't really want Black customers. But business was business and I took advantage of this I went out and found an accountant and he guided me - you know, cash-flows etc. I also looked at how others were running their business and took stock. It took me seven or eight years to get the business how I really wanted it and I had to take chances in order to get what I wanted

The fourth respondent suggests that the business he is involved in at present represents a spring-board; he will use the business to accumulate enough money to obtain his desired business - a garage. About four years ago as a qualified mechanic and welder he started up the mini-cab business with a friend. At present they have about twelve cars on their books and they themselves drive also. Although the respondent has not come up against any particular lasting problems he does feel that things are moving rather slowly:

I didn't expect to get rich overnight, but I shall stay with it until I get my garage, that is what I really want.

The Intermediate Non-Manual Worker:

This respondent works as a Business Consultant for a commercial body. Having left sixth form college he went to work as a clerical officer in the civil service. After two years he left to go to university to do a BSc in Economics. Having completed a Master's in Management he decided that it would be a wise

career move to do a PGCE course. This he did and, following that, worked for six years as a lecturer at a further education college until he took up his present job. Going over his career to date the respondent indicated that he was not satisfied. He cited racism, in relation to his career, as being the cause of his dissatisfaction but gave no examples of exactly how he felt it had affected his career - for example whether he was speaking in terms of lack of promotion or job refusals. Howeverⁱⁿ reference to his present job he states:

I'm getting a lot of satisfaction from this job, but in terms of occupational successes I do not think this job is in line with my full potentiality - I could do more. I don't think I have reached my peak. A lot of my contemporaries at university are far ahead of me occupationally. I am nowhere near to that. They are far ahead of me because they are White, there's racism in this country.

POPULATION TWO

Four of the sixteen male respondents in population Two came to Britain as children. These respondents all arrived in the early to mid-1960s, between the ages of seven and sixteen.

6.4:5 School Attended on Arrival:

of the four, one went to junior school, two went to secondary school (comprehensive) and one went to college.

6.4:6 Age on Leaving School and Qualifications Obtained:

Of those who went to school in Britain, one left school at the age of eighteen, one at seventeen and another at sixteen. These respondents left with one 'A' level and four 'O' levels; three 'O' levels; and five CSEs respectively. The respondent who attended college on arrival left college at the age of twenty having obtained three 'A' levels and six 'O' levels.

6.4:7 Education and Employment Pattern (Table 6.29) (See also Tables 6.26 and 6.27 for highest academic and professional qualifications possessed).

As table 6.29 indicates there are three distinct patterns of transition from formal education to work. Half of the respondents left school and went straight into the labour market (one aged seventeen, one aged sixteen and the other aged eighteen). One worked as a clerk, one joined the army and the other worked as a solicitor's clerk. After one other job change the former joined the army where he obtained a City and Guilds in Motor Mechanics. On leaving the army he decided to set up his own mobile repair business, working mostly on motor vehicles. This venture lasted a few months until he found a full-time job as a mechanical fitter for a large commercial company. After a few years he was made workshop manager. When asked whether he was satisfied with his present position he replied:

I haven't achieved as much as I expected to and I haven't reached as high as I would like to go. There are not barriers as such but more prejudices, for example I wanted a fitter but the expression on his face at the interview was that he wouldn't work under a foreign person, and that was me interviewing him. They might think 'why should I go in at a lower level and work under a foreigner as well.
(Workshop Manager)

As noted the second respondent went straight into the army at the age of sixteen. He states:

I joined the army because I hadn't decided exactly what I wanted to do I enjoyed all the training and signed up for nine years.
(Insurance Agency Sales Manager)

The respondent eventually left the army because he felt that he had achieved as much as he could within the army and it was time for a change. He goes on:

I had considered working in a bank and I also wanted to join a security firm because I wanted a job in which I could progress and was interested in.

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERN
POPULATION TWO - MALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME AS CHILDREN

EDUCATION TO EMPLOYMENT	TOTAL
SCHOOL - WORK - UNIVERSITY - WORK	1
SCHOOL - WORK	2
FURTHER EDUCATION COLLEGE - POLYTECHNIC - WORK	1
TOTAL	4

TABLE 6.29

Eventually he began working as a trainee associate for an insurance company, which, as he put it, was "the bottom of the ladder". Due to the nature of the insurance business he found that within a couple of years he had moved up within the firm to become Trainee District Manager. However after a few years the firm was closed down because the owner decided that it wasn't doing well enough. Presently the respondent works as a Sales Manager for a relatively newly established insurance agency. When asked whether he was satisfied with his present position he stated:

There's no limit to what you can achieve financially. As for position and power I am in a very good position because there is only one above me and that is the boss.

He goes on to say:

There are quite a few Blacks coming into the insurance business now. Before in a lot of cases people thought that they couldn't do it because they lacked confidence. But now a lot have come into the industry because they think it's quick money. But you only get out of it what you put in. I sell to more Whites than 'ethnics' say about 50% to Europeans; 30% to Blacks and 20% to Asians.

The third respondent after working as a Solicitor's Clerk for about two years left to do a law degree. He did this for a year but then decided that it was not what he wanted to do. On entering the labour market again he was employed as a Stock Controller. After a year he returned to university to do a social science degree - which he completed. Presently the respondent works as a Trainee Accountant. The respondent indicated that he himself had not faced any problems in terms of finding employment. He argues that he had been refused jobs but he did not see the refusals as being as a result of a racist interviewer, but felt that it was probably because he did not perform well in the interview. When asked whether he was satisfied with his present position he stated:

No, I don't think I am working hard enough at the moment. Progress comes with the completion of my exams.

The fourth respondent who went on to college after leaving school, to study for his 'O' and 'A' levels decided to go on to university where he did a computer science degree. On graduating the respondent joined the civil service. He states:

I got an interview through an advert in the paper. I had to convince them that I was going to stay in this country When I joined they were beginning to go towards computers so I knew my degree was going to be useful.

The respondent has remained in this job since leaving university and has, in that time, received two upgradings; the last was eight years ago. When asked whether he was satisfied with his current position he replied:

I am not making the progress I would like but you have to understand the civil service. The job I want is in management. There are a lot of Black people but I have the feeling that they do not want Blacks in the position where they can give orders, for example, I applied for a post which would have meant meeting a lot of district inspectors. From the time I went into the interview I knew I wasn't going to get the job. It's something a white person couldn't understand because it's instinctive. They did not see me in the job I was applying for. The report system within the civil service lends itself to personal bias. If a countersign officer does not like you he can determine whether your name is put forward or not. I like management and I think I would be very good at it, but these management posts are very few and far between and so I have to accept when they say 'There isn't an opening now. (Accountant)

When all the respondents were asked whether they had considered leaving their present jobs, three answered in the affirmative.

Yes lots of times because one gets a lot of disappointment in life. I had uprooted my family when the company closed and at that point I thought I might leave the insurance business, but this company has potential for growth. (Sales Manager - Insurance Company)

Yes but it's difficult in our situation. The jobs are very few and far between for the type of job that I do. Plus I have been here for too long to pack up and start something new. (Workshop Manager)

Yes I think about it, if I move it will be to join a firm of accountants. Right now I'm working hard to get promotion, I am interested in the rewards of the office rather than the money. My next report goes in in November and if they tell me "Sorry" then I will have to reconsider my position. There's a breaking point where you leave or stay. Everything now is built around the children so

you need the work stability. A move has to be very seriously looked at before moving. (Accountant)

The respondent who stated that he had not considered leaving his job had this to say:

No, not really, because if I had thought of that I would be looking around for some alternative. As for the future I am thinking of returning home once I have qualified. (Trainee Accountant)

In broad terms the employment experiences of the respondents in both populations One and Two appear to be less marked by feelings of dissatisfaction with their current occupational position than those male respondents who came to Britain as adults. This is particularly the case for the 'professional employed' in this group (who in the main are local authority employees) who feel that they have made good steady progress in their careers. It is possible that the degree of satisfaction among these young respondents might be because of a comparison with other young Black people in their age group, or peer group, who according to surveys carried out (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Group 1980, Brown 1984) are mostly unemployed.

Similarities in terms of employment experiences emerge however when one goes on to look at particular spheres of employment such as the legal profession or the civil service. Here the process of 'It's not what you know but who you know', as regards the legal profession, and secondly, procedures of promotion and upgrading in the civil service appear to affect both those who came to Britain as adults and those who came as children.

6.5 FEMALE RESPONDENTS WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO

POPULATION ONE:

Of the twenty-seven female respondents in population one, eleven came to Britain as children. Four of these respondents arrived in the 1950s, their ages ranged between six and nine years. The remaining seven came to Britain in the 1960s between the ages of eight and sixteen.

6.5:1 Schools attended on arrival:

Of the eleven, two went to infants' school, six attended junior school, two went to secondary school (grammar and comprehensive) and one went straight on to technical college to study for additional 'O' levels and to begin 'A' level courses. This latter respondent states:

I left grammar school at the age of sixteen with five 'O' levels. When I came to England I enrolled at technical college and spent the first year doing a couple more 'O' levels and I began my 'A' levels because I wanted to go in for dentistry.

This respondent was not the only one to arrive with 'O' levels; another respondent came with seven 'O' levels and attended grammar school on arrival where she sat for her 'A' level examinations.

6.5:2 Age on leaving school and qualifications obtained:

Of the ten respondents who attended school in Britain, half left school at the age of eighteen. All five left with between three and two 'A' levels and five 'O' levels. The other five respondents left school at sixteen years of age. Those with 'O' levels had between two and seven 'O' level passes, those with CSEs had between six and seven CSEs. Of the five, one respondent also had RSA shorthand and typing certificates.

Only one respondent mentioned that she had faced problems with trying to get her teachers to take her career choice seriously.

I grew up in a religious background and as a child they would tell you about helping people abroad in Africa and I was very keen to be a missionary and that was where Doctors came into it and I thought this was also related to helping people. I was doing well at school back home, and when I came up here and started school I still wanted to do medicine When I was thirteen I went to look at some careers books, the teachers didn't know how to take it and suggested that I do nursing instead. A social worker came to the school and I told her that I wanted to do medicine and she was surprised and she said why didn't I do nursing. That was characteristic of the attitude at school. When I came to this country I had missed the eleven plus so they put me into the 'C' stream so I had to work my way up to the 'A' stream - which I did When I got to technical college they still didn't think I would get the 'A' levels to do medicine, they discouraged me. They always said I should think of something else to do. But I worked a lot on my own, I did not ask for advice from the careers officer. I went and got the books to find out what grades in 'O' and 'A' levels I would need and what universities to apply to. (Doctor)

6.5:3 Education and Employment Pattern (See table 6.30) (See also tables 6.31 and 6.32 for highest academic and professional qualifications possessed)

As the table illustrates there are five distinct patterns which mark out the transition from formal education to work. Two patterns are followed most frequently by the respondents, firstly 'school-college-university-work' and secondly 'school-work-university-work'.

On leaving school the three respondents in the latter category found work as clerk, copy typist, and clerical officer. All three decided after a few years to return to full-time education; by this stage they were aged twenty seven, twenty six, and twenty. All went to university to obtain their first degrees. When asked why they had decided to return to full-time education two had this to say:

Whilst working I began studying for extra 'O' and 'A' levels at evening classes, it was partly because I wanted something to do. I decided to do a degree purely by accident. I saw secretaries who

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS
POPULATION ONE - WOMEN WHO CAME AS CHILDREN

EDUCATION TO EMPLOYMENT	TOTAL
SCHOOL - COLLEGE - UNIVERSITY - WORK	3
SCHOOL - UNIVERSITY - WORK	2
SCHOOL - UNIVERSITY - WORK - LAW COLLEGE - WORK	2
SCHOOL - WORK - UNIVERSITY - WORK	3
SCHOOL - WORK - BUSINESS	1
TOTAL	11

TABLE 6.30

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION POSSESSED
WOMEN - POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO
CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN

<u>HIGHEST QUALIFICATION</u>	<u>POPULATION ONE</u>	<u>POPULATION TWO</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
PhD	-	-	-
(MA, MSc, MBA	4	1	5
(BA, BSc, MBBS	6	1	7
A' LEVELS	-	1	1
O' LEVELS	1	2	3
CSE's	-	2	2
NO ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS	-	2	2
TOTAL	11	9	

TABLE 6.31

PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS POSSESSED
WOMEN POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO -
CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN.

PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	POP 1	POP 2
BAR FINALS	2	-
LAW SOCIETY FINALS	1	-
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANCY EXAMINATION PASSES	2	-
P.G.C.E.	1	1
C.Q.S.W.	-	1
TEACHER TRAINING CERTIFICATE	-	1
S.R.N	-	1
TOTAL	6	4

TABLE 6.32

were not promoted, and they were intelligent and even so they were not promoted. So I decided that I would do a degree and then I could get promotion if I came back. I had no intention of being a lawyer. I wanted the degree so I could go back to work and use it there. (Barrister)

I started to take life seriously and I began to think of social work at this point and I started to do generic social work. I applied to do a CQSW course but decided against doing it because I wanted to do a degree. (Race Relations Adviser)

As table 6.30 shows ten of the eleven respondents went to university. Four went in at the age of eighteen, two at nineteen, two at twenty, one at twenty six and one at twenty seven. Their subject areas included; law, medicine, dentistry, accountancy, psychology, B.Ed., economics and sociology. For nine of the ten respondents the jobs which they were to eventually take up (either on graduating or after taking professional examinations such as Bar finals and PGCE) were closely related to the degree which they had taken. The importance of this lies (as for their male counterparts in population One) in the fact that these respondents did not simply take the degrees as a matter of process, but were actually able to use their degrees to their advantage when they eventually entered the labour market.

6.5:4 Career Histories:

The Professional Employed:

As table 6.33 indicates the largest single occupational category for this group of respondents is the 'professional employed' category. The respondents in this category work as; lecturer, barrister, solicitor, chartered accountant, doctor, dental surgeon, deputy headmistress and race relations adviser. On average, since leaving university, the respondents have held four jobs, taken five years to reach their present positions, and occupied these positions for an average of two years.

PRESENT OCCUPATION - WOMEN POPS 1 & 2
CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	POP1	POP 2	TOTAL
BOSS < 25 EMPLOYEES	1	-	1
PROFESSIONAL SELF-EMPLOYED	1	-	1
PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYED	9	-	9
INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL	-	5	5
JUNIOR NON-MANUAL	-	3	3
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER	-	1	1
TOTAL	11	9	

TABLE 6.33

Throughout the discussion of their 'career histories' only one respondent indicated that 'racism' (although not directly related to her personally at this stage) did have a part to play in hindering the achievement of Black workers. However, as the excerpt below indicates, the racism which she identifies is double edged.

Promotion is supposed to be based on merit. Racism operates at a pretty high level here. For a lot of reasons there is a very strong Asian male clique who are placed throughout the organisation and I think they do attempt to block the paths of Blacks ... , there is also White racism but it is more subtly expressed. (Race Relations Adviser)

Apart from one respondent who had a fairly checkered employment history, all the respondents have managed to maintain a steady 'upward movement' within their respective careers. Usually they have gone straight into jobs on leaving university and in the main feel satisfied with their present positions:

I am making the sort of progress I would like to, I haven't been kept back at all. In my profession you do work and do it well and you get promotion I haven't felt any barriers at all I have always had positive discrimination. (Chartered Accountant)

I think I have achieved as much as I expected to considering the time scale. But I am about six months behind, but I put that down to personality clash with one of my managers. (Chartered Accountant) -

I am making the progress that I would like to. (Solicitor)

I am really enjoying doing general practice and I have been doing quite well in the areas I wanted to do well in and I still have to settle in here first. (Doctor)

The centre started last year and I think within that time we have been successful in tackling issues relevant to the Black community. (Barrister)

One respondent who did feel dissatisfied with her progress had this to say:

No, I don't think I have made much progress. I haven't achieved what I expected to achieve. Also I feel I should have got the staff to discuss current educational issues more, but still this is a training ground for me. (Deputy Headmistress)

When asked whether they had considered leaving their present position, over a third said they had considered it. This, as the excerpts below illustrate, usually meant that the next move they envisaged would be an upward career move:

Yes because of dissatisfaction with my progress in reference to what I have just said. (Deputy Headmistress)

Yes if something better comes up. But I am committed to it. The management committee is all Black and is therefore unique. (Barrister)

I intend leaving and going on to pastures new to try something new. I am equipped to do a variety of things and I want to do these things. (Chartered Accountant)

I would only leave if it was to go home. I would not go into private dentistry because of the lack of community contact, and contact with doctors and nurses. (Dental Surgeon)

It depends on what there was on offer, as it is I would rather not stay. (Race Relations Adviser).

Two respondents stated that they had not considered leaving their present jobs

No, not really, because I am progressing and the prospects look good. (Doctor)

No, because I haven't been here that long and I am still settling in. (Solicitor)

The Professional Self-employed:

The only professional self-employed respondent in this group of women works as a Barrister. This respondent made a change in her career at the age of twenty six. On leaving school she worked as a copy typist. Whilst working as a secretary some years later she decided, as mentioned previously, that she was capable of achieving more and went on to do a law degree. On graduating she states:

... I decided to do the Bar examinations instead of the solicitor's examinations. I had reasoned that if I went back to the Caribbean it would be to my advantage to be a barrister rather than a solicitor. ... I did my pupillage which I was able to get through contacts, that is what it's really all about - contacts.

When asked whether she was satisfied with her present position she stated:

Yes. At the moment I am getting more crown court work. My only complaint really is the waiting around for the money. In terms of my career as you put it, there are a lot of opportunities, but it takes years to be a Q C or Senior Barrister, you have to be practising for ten years at least.

The Businesswoman:

On leaving school at the age of sixteen with two 'O' levels and RSA typing certificates this respondent began her working life as an office junior. She then, after a few years, worked as a clerk typist and then personal assistant to a contracts manager. After nine years she decided to leave the type of work she had been doing and became an insurance agent and then an insurance consultant. Having worked within this area for six years or so she states that she then decided to establish her own insurance business which has been running now for four years. The respondent was not keen to discuss how she had established the business but did point out that, at present, she was having difficulties - not with the business itself but problems with the staff. She did not believe they were good at their jobs or indeed took their jobs seriously. She spoke of their bad time keeping and stated that she was considering letting some of them go and employing someone more mature, who, as she put it, knew the value of having a job.

POPULATION TWO

Over a third of the women (9 respondents) in population Two came to Britain as children. Of these nine respondents, one arrived in Britain in the late 1940s aged six. Three came in the 1950s between the ages of two and thirteen, and five arrived in the 1960s between the ages of seven and fifteen.

6.5:5 Schools attended on arrival:

Of the nine two were under school age, two went to junior school and four attended secondary school (one of which went to grammar school). One respondent who was fifteen on arrival did not go to school, but went straight into the labour market. She states:

I got a job after being in England two weeks. A factory job was going and I got it. I was so pleased. (Domestic Supervisor)

6.5:6 Age on leaving school and qualifications obtained:

Of the eight respondents who attended school in Britain, two left school at the age of eighteen and of these two, one had three 'A' levels and five 'O' levels, and the other had six 'O' level passes. The latter respondent went on to teacher training college and the former went to university. Two respondents left at the age of seventeen - one had two 'O' levels and two CSEs and the other had six CSEs and RSA certificates in shorthand and typing. The remaining four respondents left at the age of sixteen. Of these four, one left without any qualifications and the others left with between six and nine CSEs and three 'O' levels.

6.5:7 Education and Employment Pattern (Table 6.34)

The respondents in this grouping have varied patterns of transition from formal education to work. Even so the table does show that (if one looks only at the option taken after leaving school) the most frequent option taken was to enter the labour market. This accounts for four respondents. Only three respondents gave an indication of the type of job they were able to attain on leaving school. They worked as pharmacy technician, nursing cadet and bank clerk respectively. The latter respondent states:

I went straight to work, I was hoping to carry on my education but there were pressures at home with younger brothers and sisters.
(Bank clerk)

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS
POPULATION 2 - WOMEN WHO CAME AS
CHILDREN

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT	TOTAL
SCHOOL - COLLEGE - UNIVERSITY - WORK	1
SCHOOL - UNIVERSITY - WORK - UNIVERSITY - WORK	1
SCHOOL - TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE - WORK	1
SCHOOL - TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE - WORK - BUSINESS	1
SCHOOL - WORK - COLLEGE - WORK	1
SCHOOL - WORK & STUDY	2
SCHOOL - WORK	1
WORK	1
TOTAL	9

TABLE 6.34

Three respondents went on to college. Of these two went to teacher training college and the other attended a further education college to study for 'O' and 'A' levels which enabled her to go to university a couple of years later. Only one of the respondents who started work on leaving school left the labour market for an extended period to return to formal education; this she did in order to obtain a CQSW qualification.

6.5:8 Career Histories

The Intermediate Non-manual Worker:

As table 6.33 indicates, the largest single occupational category for this group is the 'intermediate non-manual worker'. The respondents in this category work as residential social worker, nursing sister, community librarian, social worker and school teacher. On average since leaving school, teacher training college or university these respondents have held two jobs, taken six years to reach their present positions and on average occupied these positions for four years.

These respondents have had very few job changes, and in the main appear to be satisfied with their present occupations. Only one respondent mentioned that she was not satisfied with her present occupational position, as she states:

No, I am not very satisfied, particularly as regards my prospects and income. (Community Librarian)

Those respondents who were satisfied had this to say:

Yes I am making the progress that I would like. At the moment I am doing a BEd degree part-time and after that I'll look for another job up the career scale. (Teacher)

Yes I am satisfied, I was offered the deputy post but I turned it down because of my child. I will be doing a two year CQSW course soon. But I do not want to do the administration side of the job, I am thinking in terms of what is best for my child. I should go on to field work, but I won't. I would like to come back into residential work. (Residential Social Worker)

This is a tough one, firstly I do not feel I am ready for these prospects whether they exist or not. Secondly, there are no prospects as such in my present position, I would have to find it elsewhere. (Social Worker)

Although satisfied with present positions the respondents are not averse to the prospects of leaving their jobs if this meant a move to a better position, as the excerpts below indicate:

No, I have not considered leaving my present field but I have considered similar employment at another hospital to broaden my experience, (Nursing Sister)

Yes to get more experience in a different kind of school and a different kind of child. At the time I decided to leave the teaching posts dried up so I therefore decided to do a BEd which would eventually leave me with more options to choose from. (Teacher)

The Junior Non-Manual Worker

Three respondents are located within this occupational category, they work as bank clerk, domestic supervisor and pharmacy technician. Only one of these respondents has had more than one job. Before obtaining her present job as domestic supervisor in a hospital she worked as an unskilled factory worker for a period of nine years, (in which time she had stopped to have her children). She then began working part-time as a domestic. Of her present job she states:

I applied to become a supervisor because I wanted a change ... I had no problems at the interview.

When asked how she saw her future the respondent seemed to be in two minds:

I would like to achieve more. I went to college for a year or so, I was learning cleaning science, but I became ill. If I had completed the course I would still have been a domestic supervisor but a grade higher, but then again I don't really want too much paper work.

The two remaining respondents both work in the same area of work as they did when they left school some ten or more years ago. The first, a bank clerk,

has worked in several different areas of banking (such as remittance, accounts, foreign exchange) but she does not feel satisfied with her progress.

I feel as though I have to work twice as hard to get where I want to go. There are hardly any Blacks here. My first boss was nice but the girls saw that he liked me and kept trying to keep me back Other Black girls in banks were finding it hard to get upgraded and they were surprised when I was upgraded, but you see attitude has a lot to do with it. These girls did not use their discretion, they would act - you know. . . . But having said that there is still racism. After my first boss left there was another one, he was really prejudiced and he would do anything to keep a Black down. Our present boss never says hello, he prefers to approach other members of staff than myself and the Black fellow ... there was an Asian fellow who had the qualifications to get to the second floor but for years he was kept back until he complained and recently he got promoted.

Since completing her pharmacy course the second respondent has remained in the same position; when asked whether she was satisfied she stated:

I am satisfied so far. My promotion has been delayed because of the children. I only work part-time. When the youngest goes to school then I will consider becoming a senior technician. For the time being I am happy working part-time because I have to ensure time with my children. Anyway I have been a technician for a number of years so I have the experience so I don't envisage any difficulties.

The Own Account Worker

On leaving school this respondent went on to teacher training college. On qualifying she went abroad for a year to do teaching. Coming back to Britain she obtained a job in educational publishing. She states:

Whilst in publishing I started to write, and being Caribbean had some positive aspects for a change. They employed me as a school correspondent and they were the ones who were willing to offer me opportunities. This was unusual. They encouraged me to develop to the full. Some things are opportunities which you turn to your advantage because this started me writing and now publishing.

After five or six years the respondent left to become a freelance writer until taking up the post of education officer in a local C R C. Since then she returned to freelance work, and then before starting her publishing business

worked on community projects. When asked whether she had had any particular problems in obtaining work she stated:

Well in the early days yes, when looking for jobs in the summer holidays they would not employ me because I was Black, they said the customers wouldn't like it. There were very firm barriers in those days in terms of housing, jobs etc., it was much less subtle than it is now.

The respondent indicated that her business was still in its early stages and that financing may prove a problem - as she states:

My partner and I provided our own finance but I think we may have to seek funding in order to develop and expand.

In the main, as with many of the respondents in populations One and Two who came to Britain as children, the majority of the women in this group do not seem to have experienced any particular barriers to their occupational achievement. The majority argue that they are satisfied with their present positions, but would however consider leaving their present positions if this meant moving to a better job. Having said this it is evident that those respondents who do not feel satisfied with their position perceive that part of their problem lies in the fact that they have to work three times as hard as their white counterparts to achieve similar occupational levels. This appears to typify not only the intermediate or junior non-manual worker but also the professional worker.

6.6 MALE AND FEMALE RESPONDENTS BORN IN BRITAIN POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO.

POPULATION ONE:

Five women in population One were born in Britain. Their ages range between twenty six and twenty seven years.

6.6:1 Schools attended, age on leaving school and qualifications obtained:

Up until the age of eleven years all the respondents attended state schools. At secondary school level, one attended private school and another grammar school. The remaining respondents attended comprehensive schools.

Of the five respondents three left at the age of eighteen with three 'A' levels and eight 'O' levels each. Of the remaining two, one left at the age of seventeen with six 'O' levels and the other left at the age of sixteen with five 'O' levels.

As table 6.35 shows, on leaving school three respondents went on to University, one attended college (secretarial college) and one entered the labour market finding a job as an administrative assistant for an advertising company. The subject areas for those who went to university included Biological Sciences, Spanish and European Studies and Law. All three respondents had expected to go on to university on leaving school, as one respondent mentions.

At the age of fifteen I made up my mind to do journalism and I always loved languages. I knew I wanted to go to University and it was always understood that I would go to university. My brother did as well But I had to make the decision whether to go to university or go straight into journalism and I chose university. I thought languages would be useful if I were to travel abroad as a journalist.

Only one respondent's degree was directly related to the job which she was eventually to enter. For the other two respondents the degree was used as a 'key' for opening the door to their desired professions.

PRESENT OCCUPATION - WOMEN POP 1 AND 2
BORN IN BRITAIN

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	POP 1	POP 2	TOTAL
PROFESSIONAL SELF-EMPLOYED	1	-	1
PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYED	2	-	2
COMMERCIAL MANAGEMENT	2	-	2
INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL	-	1	1
TOTAL	5	1	

TABLE 6.36

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS
POPULATION 1 - WOMEN BORN IN BRITAIN

EMPLOYMENT PATTERN	TOTAL
SCHOOL - WORK	1
SCHOOL - UNIVERSITY - WORK	2
SCHOOL - COLLEGE - WORK	1
SCHOOL - UNIVERSITY - WORK - COLLEGE - WORK	1
TOTAL	5

TABLE 6.35

6.6:2 Career HistoryThe Self-Employed Professional

As table 6.36 illustrates only one of the five respondents is located within this occupational category. The respondent has been working as a barrister for a little over a year. Although stating that she was satisfied with her present position she stated that she had often thought of leaving the profession because she felt unsure of her future as a barrister.

The Professional Employed

Two respondents are located in this occupational category; one works as a lecturer in a college of further education and the other as a journalist. The former respondent on completing her degree worked for various computer companies as a technical support analyst. She states that after two years of this she decided it was time for a change.

I decided that I couldn't stand manufacturing. I thought I owed myself rather more than flogging equipment. What I really wanted to do was to do teaching as a career and find promotion within that sphere of work. So I left my job and did the PGCE course.

This respondent did not have any difficulties in finding a job once she had completed the course, as she states:

I saw the advertisement in the 'Times Educational Supplement', I applied and I got it. I'm lucky with getting jobs. I have never experienced any really blatant racism when either applying for jobs or whilst in a job. (Lecturer)

When asked whether she was satisfied with her present position she stated that she was satisfied but that she would obviously like to achieve more. As such she argued that she would be prepared to leave her job if the situation presented itself in order to obtain one with better prospects.

On completing her degree the latter respondent worked for a couple of months with an Afro-Caribbean newspaper in order to gain experience. When she began looking for a permanent posting she began to have problems which, as she argues, were due in part to the fact that journalism is a highly competitive area with many candidates chasing too few openings. She goes on to argue however that, in some instances, her situation was made even more difficult because of the actions of some interviewers:

I got an interview with a division of Westminster press - they wanted someone with languages, therefore I seemed to have the right qualifications. But the men started asking me political questions about Grenada, I was coming up with some very good answers but he began to ask rude and irrelevant questions. I felt that as soon as he saw me he didn't want me.

The respondent states that, even now in her present position on a local newspaper, she has come up against and had to deal with various prejudices.

People are always shocked to see me especially the policemen, especially after speaking to them on the phone. It undermines your whole professionalism by suggesting that you are only interested in Blacks - not that you aren't. (Journalist)

This 'matching' of the Black professional in the media with what are seen to be 'Black issues' has been highlighted earlier in the chapter, where another journalist states that he has become aware of the way in which the media respond to the presence of the Black professional. This to a certain extent is reflected in other occupations where the Black professional is not seen as operating, in the broad sense of the term, as a professional but as someone there to service the non-White areas of interest or clients. In this way the Black workers' professionalism is undermined. This is not to say that, as a professional and a Black person they do not have a particular interest in the Black (Afro Caribbean and Asian) community, but that to have this imposed on them represents a method of sectioning off the Black professional from the mainstream and re-enforcing the view that Black people and their 'problems' are not seen as a part of the mainstream of British society but as something

apart. This process of what can be termed 'marginalisation' will be looked at in a subsequent chapter.

Commercial Management:

The last two of the five respondents are to be found in this category. The first works as a manager/financial consultant for a firm of financial consultants and the second works as part of the management team for an advertising sales company,

The former respondent left school at the age of sixteen years to go to secretarial college. She states that she had always wanted to be a personal secretary. On completing her RSA course she started working as a junior personal secretary to a senior nursing officer. Of the nursing officer she states:

She was very hard on me, so I cultivated an aggressive character which helped me not only in that job, but in other jobs. I knew I was good at my job so I wasn't going to be put down.

Having gained working experience in the first job the respondent moved on to another job as personal assistant. For the next three years the respondent occupied various jobs but each time as a personal assistant. She then decided that she wanted to be a personnel officer because of the better pay that it offered. Having obtained two 'A' levels at night school in previous years she enrolled on an IPM (Institute of Personnel Management) course. Within the next two years she worked as a recruitment consultant for an agency, she states:

I was progressing nicely - comfortably selling and recruiting, but I was making money for someone else. So I decided to move from a secure zone to being self-employed.

The respondent worked as a sales associate at a life insurance agency for two years until taking up her present position. The respondent, in speaking of her career to date, indicated that she had faced problems in the labour market, not

necessarily racism but personality clashes with people she worked with, but she goes on:

If you have an obstacle in your way - move it. The poor, hard-done-by Black is the wrong approach, you have to stand up for yourself.

The latter respondent since leaving school has worked within the field of advertising, starting off as an administrative assistant for the first six years or so then moving on to interviewing prospective employees, thirdly getting involved with the public relations side of the job and latterly working as special projects manager. Speaking of her work she states:

Being a woman you have to know what you are talking about and if you are good you will stand out and other people, ie your company's competitors, often offer you a job, it's very competitive You have to know your business. I will read up and I don't pretend to know what I don't know.

As regards questions concerning satisfaction with present position and whether she had considered leaving her present job the respondent had this to say:

Yes I have achieved as much as I can expect. I do private work where I make up company brochures - I do it in the evenings, usually two evenings a week is spent co-ordinating. Yes I have considered leaving because there is nothing more there for me. I have mastered what I am doing. I need to branch out into something bigger. Such as working on a freelance basis. I have had offers to start up my own trade magazines.

The respondent had some very definite views concerning racism as she states:

I have never come across a colour barrier in my job such as in meeting with clients or anything. With sophisticated people it doesn't come up and we are dealing with business so they want what is best for their company, never mind the colour of your skin. With those who are well travelled, well educated, and experienced in business, colour does not come up There are no Black males in the company, advertising has become a very female thing ... but you have to fit in with the system of a country, and I personally would not employ a Rasta'."

POPULATION TWO

Only one woman in population Two was born in Britain. This respondent attended private school from the age of five to eleven and then went on to a state school for her secondary education. The respondent left school at the age of eighteen, with two 'A' levels and seven 'O' levels. Having left school she went on to a teacher training college (College of Education). On qualifying she took up her present post of teacher for maladjusted children. When asked whether she was satisfied with her present position she stated:

I have achieved as much as I have expected to, I'm not that ambitious a sort of person but I would like to branch out.

Male Respondents

Of the sixteen male respondents in population two, four were born in Britain. Their ages range between twenty five and twenty nine.

6.6:3 Schools attended, age on leaving school and qualifications possessed

All four respondents attended state school up to the age of eleven. At secondary school level three went on to comprehensive schools and one, on passing the eleven plus, attended grammar school. Of the four, one left school at the age of seventeen with seven 'O' levels, two left school at the age of sixteen of which one had five 'O' levels and the other had no examination passes. The fourth respondent left school at the age of fifteen and he too left school without any qualifications.

6.6:4 Career Histories

As table 6.37 indicates there are three distinct patterns of transition from formal education to work. Half the respondents entered the labour market on leaving school (age sixteen and fifteen respectively). One began work as a

EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS
POPULATION TWO - MEN BORN IN BRITAIN

EDUCATION TO EMPLOYMENT	TOTAL
SCHOOL - WORK	2
SCHOOL - 6TH FORM COLLEGE - UNIVERSITY - WORK	1
SCHOOL - COLLEGE - WORK	1
TOTAL	4

TABLE 6.37

paint sprayer, and the other joined the army. The former respondent worked as a paint sprayer for ten years. He mentions that he found the job boring but that there wasn't really very much he could do, as he did not have any qualifications. Eventually he decided to rent a space in a workshop where he carried out a few jobs - fixing cars whilst still maintaining his full-time job as a paint sprayer. However he gave up the job to work full-time in his workshop. He states:

I struggled on my own but it took all my savings ... then a couple of years ago I managed to set myself up in a railway arch. I was still working on my own but I knew it was the only chance I was going to get. I am very ambitious and I will take the risk. (Own Account Worker)

When asked whether he had had any problems since he established his business he stated:

Yes, there's one man who owns a showroom and he gave me a job to do and I charged him £4,000 but he said no, he would pay me £2,000 for it. He knows I need the money because the job takes a long time and you need capital to get the bits and pieces and to hire people. When it came to paying out (I was taking a sub off the job to pay the rent) in the end he owed me £1,000 and we had to argue and fight, he said I never mentioned £4,000. He gave me a couple of jobs in between which paid the mortgage but not the rent ... when he finally paid I was in debt. So I didn't do anything for him for a couple of months. Instead I used to do jobs for some other garage I got the impression that he wants to hold me down, he doesn't want me to make money. He does all sorts to me but he knows I have to be pally with him because I need the work from him because he is my only big customer. I do the job better than he wants for much less than I would like.

The latter respondent on leaving school joined the army. He states:

I hated school, you were typecast, they would send me to certain tutorial classes trying to get me to fit the mould ... they didn't put the Black kids in the school in the mode for 'O' and 'A' levels I didn't know enough about the world so going into the army gave me a second crack at obtaining qualifications because I had got on badly at school. The school had put me on the shelf at that stage. (Computing Engineer)

The respondent chose electrical mechanical engineering as his trade on entering the army.

I chose it because I have a flair for it. I am a natural engineer. I have to make things and use my ingenuity.

On leaving the army the respondent went to the labour exchange:

I had an open mind, they said my army qualifications would carry a lot of weight. I found this was not quite true. Employers take it with a pinch of salt, they regard you as cannon fodder, navvies, you weren't associated with commercial industry.

Attending interviews, he argues, opened his eyes even more:

I had to over prove my capabilities at the interview (and in the job) the interviewers would usually drill you about the subject as though they were trying to catch you out. They want you to be a text book. But as a result of experiencing all this it has made me better than most. My input is more therefore now I am more proficient.

Eventually the respondent found a job as a welder fabricator/sheet metal worker but after two years he came to the conclusion that he wanted a clean easy job where he could use his mind more rather than the physical aspect of engineering. Eventually he managed to get a job where he was involved in mechanical engineering. He had, he states, wanted to do electronics but the firm suggested that, with his background, he would be better suited to mechanical engineering. His experiences with this company led him to go in for contract work in order to avoid the barriers which employers were able to put in front of him when he worked with them full-time. He states:

They said after I proved myself I would get a full skilled man's money. I warranted the top money and I wanted it. They said I had a trial period I was moving up within the job getting more responsibility etc. They brought a White guy from college and said I had to train him to be my governor, but the guy didn't have the ability. They were pushing me into a corner again so I rebelled I decided to do contract work because I spoke to some freelance personnel working at the firm and they told me all about it and how it worked.

The respondent has worked as a contract worker for ten years. He states:

There was a boom in contract work because of the brain drain but it was cheaper to have contract people and if work picked up they

would employ full-time people and if business slumped then they didn't have to pay redundancy money.

As regards job satisfaction and whether he would leave his present job the respondent had this to say:

I often wonder whether if I went into one firm and remained, where would I have got in that firm, would I be at management level etc. With contract work you build someone else's business and not yours. But yes in contract work you possess versatility of knowledge.

If I remained in one place I would be limited by racism, economics etc. There's a lot of ladder climbing that Blacks and people from outside the UK have to face. You do not experience this as a contractor because you do not belong to the place. You, to a certain extent, feel you are your own man.

The third respondent, who at present works as an executive support analyst, left school at the age of sixteen to attend sixth form college to do his 'A' levels. This respondent stated that he had a lot of trouble at his secondary school.

The headmaster was colour prejudiced. He used to pick on all us Black guys all the time. He told me that I would never pass my examinations and that I should not come back. He didn't like to think of Black people doing well My history teacher said I wouldn't pass in a million years, and she didn't even know me. She may have seen me in the playground I got an 'A' in History 'O' level. ... I would never give the school as a reference for the Head would try to destroy me. He did the same sort of thing to two other Black guys and they were really good work-wise and their behaviour was good.

On gaining his 'A' levels the respondent then went on to university to do an engineering degree. When speaking of the 'milk round' he states:

There are a lot of management posts but Blacks don't get through by applying through the university. For example if you apply for the post of a bank manager where any degree can apply, then the barriers come. Or take my experience, I applied to many chartered accountant firms but it was difficult to tell whether it was prejudice or your class of degree, but the milk round starts in November so therefore they don't know what your class of degree will be.

The first job the respondent occupied on leaving university was as a stress engineer for an aeronautical company. He states:

I left because I didn't like where I would have ended up by the time I was thirty. I had a look at my supervisor, he was an example of a successful engineer, and that's what I would be and it didn't suit me, in addition his salary wasn't really worth it.

The next job he obtained was in a new field and he worked as an accounts assistant.

It basically involved bookkeeping, this is where I began my accounts training. I made this move because I thought I would be better off financially. I was there for twelve months and I did everything basically in the office.

Following this the respondent went on to work at another company in a similar position. He states:

After nine months I received promotion to financial analyst I was in a position where you could advise any of the other accounting departments. When my boss went away for a few months I did his job - they didn't want me to leave and they said I would be head of the department in three months.

In his present position as executive support analyst the respondent states that he is satisfied but would like to achieve a lot more. When asked whether he had faced any problems in his job(s) he stated:

Once you are within a company, and if you are good the prejudice tends to fall away. Although if I go to a slightly higher level then the prejudice will come again There's definitely a lot of prejudice but how you get over it is a matter of luck. My boss wasn't prejudiced but those under him were It's the people in between who are the most prejudiced not the people at the top A lot of companies do like to project a young image, at my company the top levels were around twenty five and thirties and that helps as well and their ideas are different. Whereas the older ones have old-fashioned ideas and are more prejudiced.

The last respondent left school to go on to college to study for a technician's certificate in civil engineering. On leaving college he worked as an order office clerk and telephone salesman. He stayed with this job for just over a

year and left to work as a junior draftsman within an engineering company.

Latterly he works as a civil engineering draftsman. He states:

I was going to build bridges and tower blocks and so on. I wanted to be able to work abroad through my work. I don't think I will stay within this field, I want to go into journalism. It's a conscious choice not to go any further in the draftsman field. At school I was very arts oriented you know. English literature ... I see my future in terms of journalism. I will continue doing freelancing until I get a permanent position.

This respondent indicated that he had never experienced any racial prejudice in applying for jobs or in the places he worked - he states:

When I came to work here I had in fact applied for a higher post than I was qualified for and the interviewer gave me this job.

6.7 SUMMARY

In looking at certain characteristics of the three groups looked at in this chapter (those respondents who came to Britain as adults, those who came as children, and those who were born in Britain) it can be said that overall there was a tendency for those respondents in population Two (the lower middle class) to cite racism as a factor which has done and still has an effect on their careers. In contrast many of the respondents in population One (particularly those who came to Britain as adults - both male and female) regard racism as having had more of an effect in the early stages of their careers than at present. A reason for this may be due in part to the fact that in order to achieve their present occupational positions they have manipulated the situation in which they found themselves via three main strategies: credentialism, sideways career moves and complete career changes. Of those respondents who came to Britain as children a significant proportion indicated that they had not experienced any real barriers in terms of occupational achievement. It can be argued (using the experiences of some of those respondents who came to Britain as adults as a basis for comparison)

that, due to the fact that these respondents have not at this stage progressed very far in their careers and as such have not met the threshold within their respective occupations which some of the 'older' members of the survey populations have met, the older generation of Black professional, for example, has pushed back the original threshold to the benefit of the 'younger' Black professional. However when the younger Black professionals begin to push forward for upward movement within their respective occupational structures they may come to realise the limits set for their progress. This is already evident in some of the careers of those respondents, who came to Britain as children or were born in Britain, looked at earlier, where we see that they are beginning to experience career ceilings similar to that of the older respondents for example in the legal profession or the Civil Service.

This can also be said to typify the position of those women (both populations One and Two) who came to Britain as adults for, as seen, when they chose to remain at a low occupational level - unskilled manual worker, junior non-manual worker, staff nurse - they found that 'race' did not play a significant role in structuring their careers. However, when they chose to further their careers they then became aware of the way in which racism within the labour market began to structure the form which their careers took and the strategy they adopted in return.

In looking at the early experiences of those respondents in survey populations One and Two who came to Britain as adults it can be argued that their incorporation into the British labour market was structured not only at a 'macro level' by the demands of the British economy (highlighted by their need for unskilled manual labour and workers in the National Health Service in the post-war period) which served to channel many of those with qualifications, skills and work experience into specific sectors of the economy, but also at a 'micro level' by the racist actions of individual employers. It can be said

that there was a two-way process of incorporation operating within the labour market. In attempting to resist the pre-determined occupational positions which awaited them (for the legitimacy of their qualifications, skills and work experience acquired in the Caribbean had been denied) many respondents, as shown earlier, underwent the process of re-taking examinations which they had already taken in order to acquire the British certificates that British employers demanded. This process represented the inception of a strategy which many respondents would follow and develop - that of 'credentialism'. This strategy did not, as pointed out, necessarily guarantee immediate employment or promotion, but from the pattern of the careers outlined it is evident that it did enable the respondents to counter and manipulate to a certain extent the circumstances which they found themselves in. Remaining with the issues of credentialism but focusing upon the respondents' present occupational position it is worth noting that some of the respondents, in making comparisons with their White counterparts at work, argue that they in fact possess more qualifications and work experience than them, but are aware that they still have to be three times as good to maintain equivalent positions and even so promotion eludes them. This is typical of the experiences of Black professionals and serves to highlight the complexity of the way in which 'race' becomes effective at a micro-level. Far from the process of racism decreasing the further up the occupational ladder the Black worker goes, it merely changes in form. The process of overt racism appears to be less prominent, but it is replaced (for want of a better word) by a process which is able to be disguised as a part of the general procedure of the firm, department or whatever. This is exemplified firstly by the experiences of those respondents working in the Civil Service and NHS whose ability to obtain promotion within their respective careers relies to a great extent upon the reports given by reporting officers. Here it is evident that there is scope for individuals or groups of individuals to abuse the promotion procedures and as such undermine the Black worker's career prospects.

Secondly, via a process of 'marginalisation' in which the Black professional is seen to be there to service the non-White areas of interest of clients. In so doing their field of work is relegated or seen to be separate from the mainstream, and, as stated earlier, serves to reinforce the view that Black people and their problems are not a part of the mainstream of British society but something apart. This process of marginalisation some argue has taken place in the field of politics where issues relevant to Black people have been depoliticised in the process of establishing institutions such as the Commission for Racial Equality, which acts as a buffer between the State and Britain's Black population. (Sivanandan 1982)

CHAPTER SIX PART TWO

6.8 INTRODUCTION

In order to add a little clarity to the perspective offered in part one of this chapter - which attempted to analyse the response of respondents over time, without specific reference to their occupational group - This sub-section goes on to examine more closely two occupational categories which have been highlighted by recent events, and policy makers' attention (as demonstrated in the Scarman Inquiry for example, or the House of Commons inquiries), and for which sufficient numbers of respondents were present in the survey population to draw wider conclusions without identifying individuals too closely.

The first section thus looks at the position of Afro-Caribbeans in business, and section two goes on to look at Afro-Caribbeans in the legal profession. The final section of this chapter looks very briefly at the issue of Black women professionals. This section is dealt with in very broad terms and as such represents an attempt to tease out some of the issues which were raised during conversation with certain sections of the women interviewed for this research.

6.9 AFRO CARIBBEANS IN BUSINESS AND THE PROFESSIONS

6.9:1 AFRO CARIBBEANS IN BUSINESS:

There has been considerable interest concerning the issue of 'Black people' and their involvement in business particularly since the urban 'disturbances' of 1981. (Sawyer 1983, Wilson 1983, Ward and Jenkins 1984) In his report following the disturbances Lord Scarman stated:

The encouragement of Black people to secure a real stake in their own community, through business and the professions, is in my view of great importance if future social stability is to be secured ... I do urge the necessity for speedy action if we are to avoid the perpetuation in this country of an economically dispossessed Black population. A weakness in British society is that there are too few people of West Indian origin in business, entrepreneurial and professional class. (Scarman 1982:167-8)

The main thrust of Scarman's argument rests on the assumption that in order to encourage social stability, Black people have to have a stake in British society. As such the development of the small independent business and a 'professional class' are put forward as vehicle for the economic and social development of Black and ethnic minority groups.

Wilson (1983) states that the origins of this focus upon the creation of small business amongst Black and ethnic minority groups:

lie in a coincidence of arguments in favour of the small business as a generator of national economic growth and as a solution to the special problems of the deprived inner city. (Wilson 1983:63)

He goes on to state that:

Although the primacy of the entrepreneur and individual initiative in the process of economic development has long been recognized, latterly a revival of interest in the regenerative powers of the entrepreneurial small firm in general has raised the possibility of redressing the alleged imbalance of economic opportunity by encouraging the formation and growth of more Black and Asian businesses. Thus opportunity in business is seen as one option in a range of economic possibilities facing individual members of the non-White ethnic minorities. (1983:63)

A number of studies have been carried out which examine the position of the Afro-Caribbeans and Asians in business. (Aldrich 1980, House of Commons Memorandum 1980, Kazuka 1980, Lambeth 1982, Sawyerr 1982, Wilson 1983) The study carried out by Brooks (1983) looked at both Afro-Caribbean and Asian businesses and concluded that:

With regard to any possible wider contribution within the inner city economy, the evidence, in Lambeth at least, is that Afro-Caribbean business development exhibits perhaps more promising signs of

potential in the immediate future than does the Asian sector, which largely concentrates on a narrow range of retail activities with limited markets. The Afro-Caribbean sector is more diverse, is generally more optimistic about future growth prospects, and contains within it some individuals with great ambition and enthusiasm who are willing to identify and exploit gaps in the market. This sector is still at a relatively early stage of development and it will be of great interest to trace the course of its progress during the next few years. (Brooks 1983:43)

But the majority reveal that Asian businesses are in general terms more 'effective' than those of the Afro-Caribbean run businesses. (Miles 1982, Wilson 1983, Brown 1984)

In fact the progress made by Asians in business is an exemplary case of apparently successful adaptation to a new and sometimes hostile environment, using the business organisation as a vehicle for upward social mobility. With a broadening of the Asian business base, this transition presages yet further progress, as the requisite skills and experiences are developed and passed on to later generations of business owners.

So far, however, the Afro-Caribbean group has apparently not succeeded in making this transition. There is almost no evidence in existing studies of higher order business activity. Indeed, the scale and type of activity operated by the Afro-Caribbean business person indicate that, while some progress is perceptible, the pace of development is exceptionally slow. In the light of the rapid advancement made by other groups, the Afro-Caribbean group is at an even greater relative disadvantage in the exploitation of economic opportunity. (Wilson 1983:64)

Reeves and Ward (1984) in attempting to give an indication of firstly the pattern of business involvement amongst Afro-Caribbeans in Britain and secondly the extent to which they have been able to penetrate the British business sector (using data from 1971 census, Smith 1976, 1977, 1977/8 NDITS) reveal that compared to Asians (Pakistani and Indians), migrants from European countries in the New Commonwealth (particularly Cyprus and Malta) and the figures for the population as a whole, the figure for Afro-Caribbeans in self-employment is considerably lower. Similar figures emerged when they went on to look at the proportion of Afro-Caribbeans who were managing employees in small business:

a higher proportion of Indians being smaller employers than Whites. Proportionately four times as many Whites as West Indians were managing employees in small businesses. (1984)

In looking at the types of businesses that Afro-Caribbeans were entering the significant finding was that there was a strong emphasis on the service sector but little evidence of movement into distribution as is characteristic of a good proportion of Asian business. (Reeves and Ward 198 :127) The businesses that Afro-Caribbeans entered included: building and construction (which represented the highest single category of Afro-Caribbean involvement) property development, hairdressing, retail sales (particularly food and off-licences) car repair, second hand car sales, taxi driving, travel and shipping agencies, clubs, record shops, insurance broking, fashion, beauty and modelling, financial services.

Brown (1984) in his survey provides more recent figures which identify a further increase in the percentage of Asian males (principally Indians) in self-employment with figures of 6% in 1971 increasing to 20% in 1982. In comparison the figures for Afro-Caribbean males went from 2% in 1971 to 7% in 1982. In looking at types of businesses run by the self-employed in the survey his findings are in line with that of Reeves and Ward, as he reveals that involvement in the construction business is high amongst the Afro-Caribbeans (as nearly half of the thirty-eight self-employed Afro-Caribbeans included in the survey worked in the construction industry). In comparison only two per cent of the Asian self-employed and twenty eight per cent of the White self-employed are in this industry. Two-thirds of the Asians were involved in distribution, catering, hotels and repairs. However, he qualified this by stating that:

Although this figure is much higher than those for White or West Indian self-employed workers (26 and 21 per cent respectively), and must therefore be taken seriously into account when discussing Asian employment patterns, the size of the self-employed catering and retail sector among Asians is still small in relation to the rest of the Asian workforce. Eleven per cent of all Asian workers are self-

employed with a business in this sector (the figure is the same for men and women) compared with three per cent of White workers; thus it is correct to say that Asians are more strongly represented among the self-employed in the retail and catering trades than Whites or West Indians, but it is wrong to suggest that this type of employment is typical for Asians: the majority of Asian workers are employees and work outside of this sector. (Brown 1984:165-166)

POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO - THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO ARE SELF-EMPLOYED

The above in broad terms serves to contextualise what is known about the factual position of Afro-Caribbenas in business in Britain. Table 6.38 illustrates the types of businesses and years served in that business of the respondents in populations one and two of this research. The respondents located in column three, professional self-employed, although not included in the section dealing with those respondents presently in business earlier on in this chapter, have been included in this section due to the fact that although they are self-employed professionals they also employ staff (ranging between one and nine employees). Of the one hundred and twenty interviewed twenty two run their own businesses (three women and nineteen men). As the table indicates, half of the respondents have been in business for between one and five years, and half for between eleven and twenty four years. As noted earlier in the chapter their range of businesses include: hair and cosmetics manufacture and distribution, construction, travel agent, estate agents, chemical engineering, minicab, shipping agent, car showroom-garage-petrol station, financial consultant, car insurance agency, publishing, professional services: firm of accountants, firm of solicitors, dentist. As can be seen these types of businesses are in line with evidence concerning Afro-Caribbean run businesses. (Reeves and Ward 1980 and 1984, Brooks 1983, Sawyerr 1983).

Catering for an 'ethnic' market?

Of the twenty respondents fifteen indicated that the composition of the markets they serviced was mixed (Afro-Caribbean, Asian, White). In some

POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO - SELF EMPLOYED IN SPECIFIED SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS
BY YEARS SPENT RUNNING BUSINESS

YEARS RUNNING BUSINESS	LARGE BUSINESS (SEG 1)	SMALL BUSINESS (SEG 2)	PROF. SELF- EMPLOYED (SEG 3)	OWN ACCOUNT WORKER (SEG 12)	TOTAL
1 - 2 YEARS	-	3	1	1	5
3 - 5 YEARS	-	3	2	1	6
11 - 14 YEARS	2	1	1	-	4
17 - 19 YEARS	1	3	-	-	4
20 - 24 YEARS	-	1	1	1	3
TOTAL	3	11	5	3	22

TABLE 6.38

instances respondents indicated that the majority of their customers/clients were White. These include those respondents who run a firm of accountants, firm of solicitors and car insurance agency (these businesses have been in existence for between two and twenty years. Those respondents whose businesses are targeted specifically at the Afro-Caribbean market include the hairdressing and cosmetics manufacturer establishments.

Much of the literature on Afro-Caribbean business refers to the dependence of these businesses on the ethnic market (Phillips 1978, Brookes 1983). Using evidence based on the Lambeth Survey Brooks states:

Thirty nine per cent of the Afro-Caribbean firms interviewed drew three-quarters or more of their trade from the Afro-Caribbean community, including four businesses which did no trade at all with the White community. These figures included firms which do not particularly specialise in ethnic products, along with some which clearly do (such as hairdressers). (Brooks 1983:47)

The issue of ethnic market dependence is of considerable significance in that in catering solely for an ethnic market Afro-Caribbean run businesses in fact limit their success. It is obvious that there is a ceiling to be reached in the exploitation of ethnic markets and as such the potential for growth is limited. Ward and Reeves (1984) argue that due to the fact that Afro-Caribbeans are more diffusely settled than Asians there are fewer markets, and that although there are needs and cultural preferences specific to the Afro-Caribbean community:

they are not so wide-ranging and exclusive as to support business activity on the same scale as among the Asian community. (Reeves and Ward 1984:132)

They go on to suggest that in the older residential areas, which tend to have a numerically strong Asian population, the Afro-Caribbean run businesses face considerable competition from Asian-run businesses. Similar problems of access for the Afro-Caribbean business sector are experienced on what Reeves

and Ward call modern council estates, as competition in this context comes from White retailers. They state:

While competition between shop-keepers on council estates is usually small, there is often stiff competition for access to the site. Often rents are high because premises are new and purpose-built, and demand is increased by the prospect of profitable trading. West Indians are likely to find it much more difficult to obtain access to shop premises of this kind, and in the absence of a large captive market of fellow countrymen the prospects of trading are far less attractive - Some Asians have been able to move into shopping areas serving the White community. But frequently it is capital acquired in the course of building up trade in an area of ethnic minority, concentration that is used to finance expansion into bigger premises and white shopping areas. (1984:133)

Sawyer (1983) points out that even though Afro-Caribbeans may have access to a captive market this does not necessarily guarantee 'success' as the effective demand and purchasing power of this population is low. Thirdly, it is argued by some that although many Afro-Caribbean businesses offer non-ethnic goods and services racial discrimination on the part of White customers (suggested in the Lambeth survey (Brooks 1982)), or discretionary spending by ethnic consumers (suggested in the Brent study (Wilson 1983)), means that in this way too the Afro-Caribbean business is hindered in its attempts to capture a wider market. Another factor which may serve to undermine the position of Black businesses is one which was referred to by the respondents in this research. Some respondents suggested that large concerns such as supermarkets are beginning to stock ethnic foods under the heading of 'exotic foods'. They suggest that it is possible that the small Afro-Caribbean food shops/grocers may come under considerable pressure as larger stores will be able to undercut their prices because of their central location (in relation to the main shopping areas); in addition they can draw upon a wider range of customers.

STAFFING:

Reeves and Ward point out that in the employment of labour Afro-Caribbean business could be divided into four categories: Firstly those businesses who have no employees, secondly, those who employ a very small number of staff - usually Afro-Caribbean, thirdly those who are trying to expand and are encountering recruitment and labour problems as a result and fourthly those who have successfully expanded to employ twenty five or more staff. As can be seen from table 6.38 nineteen respondents employ staff and there are three respondents who as own account workers do not employ staff. Of the latter, one respondent (who runs a car renovation business) states that he does occasionally take on labour when he is given a 'big job' by a customer. However, he stated that usually the extra labour was more of a hindrance in that they require a lot of supervision when he is there.

Of those respondents in small business (<25 employees) and in the professional self-employed category only two presently employ members of their immediate family to work in the business. As Brooks (1983) and other have pointed out this method of recruitment is more typical of Asian run businesses. The remaining businesses (who on average employ between two and twelve employees) indicated that they employed predominantly Black staff (Afro-Caribbean). Only one respondent mentioned that he employed roughly equal numbers of Afro-Caribbean, Asian and White staff. Many of these respondents stated that they felt it was right that they give opportunities to Black people (Afro-Caribbean), by employing them, as the situation for Black workers in the labour market - particularly the young - was difficult. The statements made by the owners of a firm of accountants and a firm of solicitors are typical of the way in which they (respondents in business) assess the situation. The former states:

I have secretarial staff and three trainees ... I think we should give opportunities to our own, so I gave the advantage to Black

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applicants, but if they do not buck up things will have to change because I still have a business to run.

The latter had this to say:

Now in relation to the staffing of my practice I have two solicitors, one trainee and two secretaries - one West Indian and one English. My English secretary sometimes accuses me of being racist possibly because I don't employ more Whites ... but the thing is there are so many examples of young qualified Blacks boys who can't get a job because they are Black and as a result they are not able to progress in the way they should - as any other ordinary British citizen - so I have to do my part and give them a chance.

Of the three respondents who own large (>25 employees) businesses, two employ mostly Black staff. No information concerning staff composition was made available by the third respondent.

Apart from two respondents whose businesses are based in central London the majority of the remaining respondents' businesses are located in predominantly Afro-Caribbean areas of North, South and West London, and to an extent can be said to reflect the racial composition of the area in which they are located.

Previous Employment and Qualifications:

As table 6.39 indicates there is a fairly wide range of occupational positions amongst the respondents, in terms of previous employment. Of the twenty two respondents just over a quarter (six respondents) had worked as manual workers: five doing skilled manual work and one doing unskilled manual work in the period prior to establishing their own businesses. Of those in the skilled manual category two had worked as qualified motor mechanics, one as a paint sprayer (on cars) one as a qualified dental technician, and one as a maintenance engineer for British Rail. Of those respondents who were professionals and not self-employed prior to establishing their businesses, three had been employed as solicitors, one as a lecturer at a college of

SELF EMPLOYED IN SPECIFIED SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS BY EMPLOYMENT PRIOR TO ESTABLISHMENT OF BUSINESS

	EMPLOYERS IN		PROF. SELF EMPLOYED (SEG 3)	OWN ACCOUNT WORKER (SEG 12)	TOTAL
	LARGE FIRM (SEG 1)	SMALL FIRM (SEG 2)			
PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYED	-	2	3	-	5
INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL	-	2	2	-	4
JUNIOR NON MANUAL	1	2	-	1	4
COMMERCIAL MANAGEMENT	-	1	-	-	1
SKILLED MANUAL	1	3	-	1	5
UNSKILLED MANUAL	-	1	-	-	1
HAIRDRESSER	1	-	-	-	1
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL	3	11	5	3	22

TABLE 6.39

further education and one as a research fellow at a University in the South of England. Of those in the intermediate non-manual category - one had worked as a senior audit clerk, one as a technical officer for the G.P.O, one as a part-time tutor in a college of further education, and one as an insurance consultant. Of those located in the junior non-manual category, one had worked as a credit controller, two had worked as accounts clerks and one as a stock controller. The respondent located in the commercial management category had worked as a regional catering manager.

The majority of these respondents decided to enter the sphere of business for positive reasons, as some of their comments seen in part one of this chapter illustrate. Some stated that they had always been inclined towards the world of business because of the advantages it had over being employed - such as independence and making their own decisions. Others felt that they had reached a phase in their careers when they felt it was right to branch out on their own. This latter motivation is more typical of the responses given by those who had previously worked as employed professionals or in commercial management. Those respondents who gave what Brooks (1983) would call negative reasons for establishing their own business account for about a quarter of the respondents. Usually these respondents referred to the fact that in the previous jobs they had come to the realisation that they would not be able to progress very far in their respective field even though they had the necessary qualifications and experience. This was particularly so for those respondents who had worked as skilled manual workers.

In attempting to assess what can be called the degree of fit between the respondents' occupation prior to establishing their business and their present business interests, over half of the respondents have become the owner of a business in the same area as their previous job. As such all possessed either professional or technical qualifications which were directly related to their

businesses. This was the case with all those who had worked as professionals (not self-employed), half of those who had worked as intermediate non-manual workers, and over half of those who had worked as skilled manual workers.

Of those for whom there was no indication of a direct link between previous occupation and present business interests, it was evident that in at least three instances there was an indirect link in that certain aspects of their previous employment situation could in principle be applied to their business, such as management skills, as in the case of the respondent who had worked as a regional catering manager, and those respondents who had experience of working in accounts departments in the private sector. For the remainder of the respondents the move into business had 'sort of happened' because partners (business and marital) had put forward propositions which they felt were viable even though not directly related to their own field of work. Finally, although none of the respondents mentioned that they had been in business previously, five respondents did state that they came from a business background - for their fathers had run their own businesses 'back home'.

Looking briefly at the level of qualifications obtained by the respondents, as can be seen from table 6.40 we see that of the twenty two respondents, only one respondent does not possess any academic, professional or technical qualifications. Three respondents possess degrees of which two have been able to use the training involved in their current business interests. Nine respondents possess professional qualifications or diplomas (Law Society qualifications, accounting certificates, and diplomas in shipping and export and hairdressing). The extent to which the majority of the respondents in terms of experience and academic/professional/technical qualifications have been able to apply this to their business interests is in line with the view which Brooks (1983) puts forward when he suggests that:

SELF EMPLOYED IN SPECIFIED SOCIO ECONOMIC GROUPS
BY HIGHEST QUALIFICATION POSSESSED

	EMPLOYERS IN		PROF. SELF EMPLOYED (SEG 3)	OWN ACCOUNT WORKER (SEG 12)	TOTAL
	LARGE FIRM (SEG 1)	SMALL FIRM (SEG 2)			
PhD	-	1	-	-	1
FIRST DEGREE	-	1	1	-	2
LAW SOCIETY QUALS	-	1	2	-	3
TEACHER TRAIN- ING CERTIFICATE	-	-	-	1	1
ACCOUNTING (PROF QUALS)	-	-	2	-	2
DIPLOMAS	1	3	-	-	4
'A' LEVELS	-	1	-	-	1
HIGHER SENIORS	-	-	-	1	1
'O' LEVELS	1	1	-	-	2
H N C	-	1	-	-	1
CITY AND GUILDS	1	2	-	-	3
NO QUALS.	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL	3	11	5	3	22

TABLE 6.40

Because Afro-Caribbeans tend to remain in activities in which they were initially trained they in fact have the highest incidence of technical qualifications specific to their business activity. (Brooks 1983:45)

Afro-Caribbeans in business and the process of obtaining bank loans, advice and assistance

Research has shown that gaining access to finance represents a particular problem area for 'ethnic minority' businesses, particularly for Afro-Caribbean businesses:

which is over and above that suffered by small firms in general. (Wilson 1983:64) see also (Brooks 1983, Ward and Reeves 1984, Kazuka 1980)

Many of the financial problems experienced affect first those businesses which are attempting to establish themselves, second those businesses who wish to undergo further development/expansion of the existing business and third to see them through short-term fluctuations in working capital. It is argued that in general small firms use private finance: personal savings and loans from family and relatives to initially set themselves up in business. Banks represent the main commercial source of finance providing overdraft facilities and term loans. Available evidence reveals that Afro-Caribbean businesses are more dependent upon the former (particularly the use of personal savings) as a method of finance as opposed to the latter. Both Wilson (1983) in his study of ethnic minority businesses in Brent and Brooks' (1983) study of Lambeth reveal that at all stages of business development, but especially at the 'start-up' stage, the Afro-Caribbean run businesses' use of the bank as a source of finance was very low, particularly in comparison to Asian run businesses, which made use of bank finance at all stages.

The Asian group on the other hand, had made extensive use of bank loans (as a primary source) and loans and overdrafts (as primary and secondary sources) at the start up stage. Family funds too played an important part in launching the Asian business, but less

so in the case of the Afro-Caribbean firms In the firm's development stage, the overdraft, which would normally be used to finance short-term fluctuations in working capital (since most of the firms were in small-scale retailing and services, where the requirement for large capital items was negligible, the likely uses of funds were for financing stock and general overheads), was used extensively by the Asian group but hardly at all by the Afro-Caribbean group. The latter preferred to use term loans. This is consistent with the finding that overdraft facilities were available to nearly all the Asian firms, but to only 61.7 per cent of the Afro-Caribbean firms. (Wilson 1983:67)

What factors can be said to account for the fact that Afro-Caribbean run businesses are less likely to seek or indeed receive financial assistance from banks? Three factors are seen to emerge: firstly the bank managers' negative attitude towards the Afro-Caribbean entrepreneur, secondly, lack of business experience on the part of Afro-Caribbean run businesses and their lack of necessary security/collateral.

Bank managers have been found in various studies (Reeves and Ward 1984, Brooks 1983, Sawyerr 1983) to have a negative attitude towards Afro-Caribbean entrepreneurs, but in contrast hold positive views about their Asian counterparts. One of the reasons put forward for this situation is the fact that they consider the Afro-Caribbean entrepreneur to be a greater risk because they do not have a track record in business:

Interviews with bank managers indicated that the most likely areas of racial disadvantage were when banks did not put the same effort into re-shaping a business proposition brought to them by a West Indian, decided against giving a loan on the basis of a negative stereotype of West Indian business capabilities (where banks have no knowledge of a group making good businessmen, there may be a greater insistence on a client having a previous good record before they are prepared to lend to him) and insisted on more security to cover the loan. (Reeves and Ward 1984:137)

The respondents interviewed for this research themselves acknowledged that lack of a track record was a factor that served to work against prospective Black businesses:

I speak to some Black people and they are not very businesslike. Bankers need to know you have the business know-how ... you have

so in the case of the Afro-Caribbean firms In the firm's development stage, the overdraft, which would normally be used to finance short-term fluctuations in working capital (since most of the firms were in small-scale retailing and services, where the requirement for large capital items was negligible, the likely uses of funds were for financing stock and general overheads), was used extensively by the Asian group but hardly at all by the Afro-Caribbean group. The latter preferred to use term loans. This is consistent with the finding that overdraft facilities were available to nearly all the Asian firms, but to only 61.7 per cent of the Afro-Caribbean firms. (Wilson 1983:67)

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The argument that Afro-Caribbean run businesses are less likely to receive financial assistance from banks due to the fact that they do not tend to present: "a neat and clearly thought through, typed formulation of the proposition" (Home Affairs Committee Memorandum 1980:28) they wish to put forward to the bank, may be true of a number of Afro-Caribbean entrepreneurs, but the fact still remains that these excuses may be employed to disguise the possibility that banks may be instituting racially specific measures, based on stereotypes, which can result in the unfair treatment of the Afro-Caribbean

entrepreneur. For example two of the respondents who offered information independently concerning the difficulties they had in obtaining loans from banks, had been in business for a considerable amount of time (four and fifteen years respectively) at the time of asking for a loan and were well established in their businesses. The first respondent had established a car repair business and after four years had decided that it was time to expand and to acquire a petrol station. He states:


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The second respondent who is involved in the hair and cosmetic business states:


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The alternative which the respondent puts forward above, in the last few lines, is one which has already become a reality in the Asian community, as Brooks (1983) points out:



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Advice and Assistance: The issue concerning the establishment of 'intermediaries' has been one which various studies (Reeves and Ward 1984, Sawyerr 1983, Brooks 1983) have put forward as a measure which they argue would serve to aid Black and ethnic minority businesses in setting up and establishing their businesses more effectively. For example Reeves and Ward (1984) state:

business activity might be further advanced if it were served by a professional class of Black accountants, solicitors and other intermediaries who could offer support and sustenance to the West Indian business population to a greater degree than the White professionals who are called on at present (198 :136)

In addition there is discussion concerning the role that professional institutes and trade associations might play. (Brooks 1983) The Asian business community have been able to cultivate an effective network of intermediary bodies which serve successfully to give advice and assistance on a variety of levels: advice on running business, accountancy, obtaining property, legal issues, security problems and advice on assistance available from councils. Based on results from his study in Brent, Wilson (1983) concludes that:



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In recent years various local government authorities, in response to pressure from ethnic minority businesses and more recently as a result of the so-called urban disturbances, have begun to establish Black and ethnic minority business development projects. In some instances various Black American advisers have come over to Britain from the United States (the most recent being Ted Watkins in 1985 who is said to be partly responsible for the transformation of Watts since 1965) to discuss the setting up of Black business enterprises and banks. Efforts have also been made by the London based UK Caribbean Chamber of Commerce to establish a business development Unit which aims to provide a specialist consultancy service, look at the area of business 'start-up' and look at ways of obtaining 'start-up' and expansion capital. (Chairmans Report 1984). Voluntary associations also have a part to play - In 1984 A.S.P.R.O.W. (The Association of Professional West Indians) a voluntary association was formed. Their aim is to provide help and advice to Afro-Caribbeans wishing to set up their own businesses, they state:

Lots of small businesses can flourish if they go about it in the right way and here is where we can help ... we can guide them and give information . Professional people, not just doctors, lawyers and accountants but also builders, carpenters, anyone with a skill or trade can pass on their knowledge and talents to others. (West Indian World: 24th October 1984)

In speaking of the creation of intermediary advisory bodies/agencies one respondent had this to say:



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Afro-Caribbean business as a strategy for group advancement

Our socio-politico-status depends on our ability to promote and look after our own interests and we can only do this if we are economically viable. We cannot be strong politically unless we have a strong economic base ... all in all the Black business community has an important role to play in developing our community and if we do not succeed our community will fail in every way. (Owner of a Hair and Cosmetics Business)

How plausible is the argument that the participation of Black people in business can serve as a strategy for group advancement? In looking at the issue of ethnic business and occupational mobility in advanced societies Waldringer et al (1985) state:

there is a sense among both policy makers and academic researchers that ethnic small businesses may offer an alternative and possible more viable route to upward economic mobility. (1985:587)

Two areas need to be looked at; firstly a clear distinction has to be made concerning whether policy makers and researchers are talking about personal upward mobility or whether in a wider sense they are suggesting that a broader economic base amongst Black people will serve to, as Lord Scarman puts it, secure for Black people a real stake in the community. Evidence produced from studies based on the position of Afro-Caribbean and Asian businesses in the British context suggests that the possibility that Black business will be able to make a contribution in the regeneration of inner city areas and in securing social stability is not supported by evidence, as Brooks (1983) states:

most Black businesses are very small and further growth potential is rather limited in the short term. At present the main contribution of Black and Asian businesses in the inner city lies in offering an avenue for personal economic advancement for Black people who feel disadvantaged in a White dominated economy. (Brooks 1983:51)

Even though some Afro-Caribbeans are able to establish a small business, the fact remains (based on evidence to date) that many are dependent upon the 'ethnic market' and this as already stated indicates that the possibility of commercial success is both marginal and constrained due to the fact that the low purchasing power of the Black community limits profitability. (Phillips 1978, Ward 1983)

Previous attempts have been made by policy makers to look at the creation of a Black business sector - for example:

According to Willie Whitelaw, one of the solutions to the stranding of Blacks in decaying inner cities is the encouragement of small businesses. And in his time Ted Heath presided over the establishment of an Anglo-West Indian Association which sought its membership among West Indian small businessmen. (Phillips 1978:354)

The timing of the Conservative government's intervention in 1982 following the urban disturbances of the previous year, in initiating projects which they hoped would lead to the creation of a prosperous Black business class (Sunday Times, 10/10/1982) leads one to ask the question, 'Who would really benefit from the creation of a Black business sector?' Ward (1983) puts forward a perceptive observation on the situation when he states:

it is the government that benefits most from the ethnic business sector. For the establishment of enterprises and the engagement of labour, especially among ethnic minorities, reduces the burden of social security payments, enhances social stability and offers the prospect of wealth creation, on which the future of the economy depends. (1983:8)

What Ward fails however to discuss here are the broader implications for class formation amongst Black workers in Britain. Instead of making a concerted

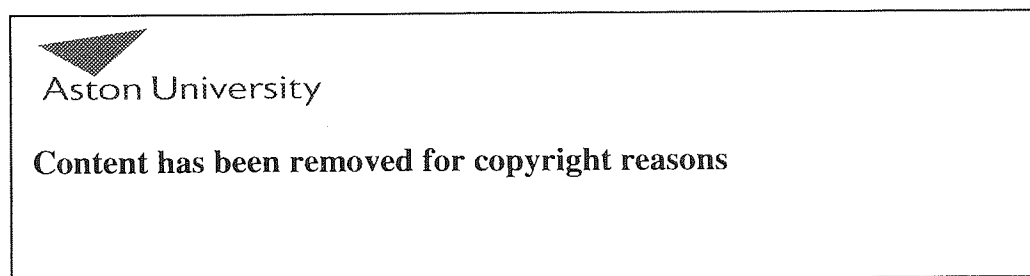
effort to tackle the 'disadvantage' for want of a better word that Black labour faces in the British wage economy, the government seeks to provide avenues of mobility for certain sections of the Black 'community'. As such the government is able to foster the development of class differentiation amongst the Black community to its advantage, precisely because the Black business sector will then have a vested interest in preserving/maintaining the system which serves to exploit and undermine the position of the majority of Black labour in Britain.

6.9:2 Afro-Caribbeans in the Legal Profession

The fact that Black people have over the years experienced considerable difficulties in gaining entry into, and working within the legal profession has only relatively recently come to the fore. The 1979 report made by the Royal Commission on legal services - under the Chairmanship of Sir Henry Benson - revealed (something which Black groups and barristers had been seeking to draw attention to for many years) that available evidence showed:

clearly that barristers from ethnic minorities are less successful than others in finding seats in chambers.

The report continues:



The existence of what have come to be known as segregated Black chambers has come about as a result of racist procedures and practices operating within the legal system (Browne and Wilkinson Report, Polytechnic of South Bank Grant

Application 1984/85, Coulbourne 1985). The form these practices/procedures take is one of exclusion, denial of access, isolation. Whether this situation is brought about by direct or indirect racism is not at issue here for the results are the same - the majority of Black barristers are being channelled into 'All Black' chambers. The 'problem' which is seen to arise out of this set of circumstances is, as the Southbank Polytechnic Law School point out, that:

- (a) many (though not all) of these chambers do not enjoy sufficient guidance as to the best standards of competence and behaviour of the rest of the Bar.
- (b) there are able young Black barristers coming to the Bar who (if White) would expect to obtain, but in fact do not obtain, tenancies in established White set chambers. They are therefore forced in to take tenancies in predominantly Black chambers.
- (c) this process, unless changed will ensure the continuation of de facto segregation and the consequent feeling of alienation among Black barristers.
- (d) in the wider context, unless able Black barristers can obtain the type of practice enjoyed by members of established White chambers, they will not obtain prosecution briefs nor will they be eligible for judicial appointment. In consequence, the Black community as a whole will regard the law as a White institution preserving White privileges. (Polytechnic of the South Bank for its 'Minority Access to the Legal Profession Project' Grant application: 1984/85:4)

The issues listed above touch upon the four key factors which presently mark out the position of Blacks choosing to enter the legal profession. During the interviews carried out with the eight barristers and three solicitors present in population One these issues have, in broad terms, been the focus of discussion. For example see pages 305 and 318 of this chapter, where two barristers point out that they themselves had persistently been refused places in White chambers and as a result were forced to take tenancies in 'All Black chambers'. Only one of the eleven respondents expressed any objection to the presence of Black chambers or predominantly Black chambers - the respondent had this to say:



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This statement vividly illustrates the way in which stereotypes and generalisations have been built around the existence of Black chambers. Both the Report of the Royal Commission on Legal Services (1979) and the South Bank Polytechnic Law School in their attempt to ameliorate the situation that faces young Black barristers (by identifying the way in which racist practices and procedures, whether direct or indirect operating within the legal profession, serve to channel Blacks in to Black chambers) have possibly unwittingly served to perpetuate and reinforce the racist views they set about to eliminate. By suggesting that the majority of Black chambers do not enjoy sufficient guidance as to the best standards of competence and behaviour of the rest of the Bar, they appear to have taken on board wholesale the views

held by those White barristers and judges who seek to undermine the status of the Black professional in the legal profession. The logical conclusion of this approach to the issue of Black chambers is that they will all be labelled as incompetent and consequently their position within the legal profession will be further undermined to the benefit of the White majority.

The question that should be asked is why should the existence of Black chambers or predominantly Black chambers be seen as problematic? For the real problem is not the Black chambers as such, but rather the processes within the legal profession that fostered their development. Before attempting to reduce the number of or indeed bring an end to Black chambers it might be useful to first deconstruct, in part, the argument surrounding the issue of Black chambers. There are two aspects that will be looked at here - firstly, what available evidence is there to suggest that Black/ethnic chambers are any less competent and have lower standards of behaviour in comparison to the rest of the legal profession? Taking the issue of standard of behaviour for example, one respondent interviewed pointed out that in court judges often attempted to undermine the Black barrister's case with statements such as "I can't understand the way you people talk". The respondent suggests that in making such a statement the judge (whether intentionally or not) by inference gives the impression that the Black barrister is incapable of handling a case in a British court room. The respondent points out that instances such as this represents just one of many ways in which judges and others attempt to undermine the status of the Black barrister in the courtroom situation, and that sometimes 'goading' such as this could lead to outbursts on the part of the Black barrister, thus resulting in the barrister being branded as badly behaved. Although such statements are anecdotal they do however help to highlight another aspect of the situation.

Secondly, the Report of the Royal Commission on Legal Services (1979) states the commission was particularly concerned with the increase in the number of qualified solicitors from ethnic minorities and that if they were to follow a similar pattern to that of qualified Black barristers "the result would be that firms of solicitors composed exclusively of members of ethnic minorities would set up in practices in areas with a substantial minority population there would be a clear division on racial lines in the practice of the law, to some observers, in the administration of justice itself". In addition to the concern cited above it is possible that one of the Commission's unstated concerns is the fact that the presence of more Black/ethnic minority solicitors can serve to stem the monopoly of the White Bar. Many of the respondents in this research who are involved with the legal profession point out that Black barristers are being 'starved out' because they do not receive work from White firms of solicitors. All three of the solicitors interviewed stated that they did tend to send a considerable number of their cases to what they considered to be the good Black barristers, (of these only one indicated that they sent cases specifically to those Black barristers working in White chambers). Although not being able to generalise from this, it can be argued that if Black firms of solicitors were to send the majority of their cases to Black barristers this would inevitably have an effect on the livelihood of some White barristers. For although channelled and marginalised into what is deemed to be the low status area of work (such as criminal cases), the existence of Black firms of solicitors and Black barristers serves to reduce the employment and financial opportunities of the White firm of solicitors and White barristers. It is ironic that the process of 'criminalisation' of many Black youths in Britain (Hall et al 1978, CCCS 1982) has meant that in the majority of instances Black professionals within the legal system are benefitting - for they attract this 'type' of client away from the White firm of solicitors and White barristers. The Black youth facing a criminal charge or brought to court as a result of 'friction' with the police may regard the

legal system as a White institution there to preserve White privileges and as such may feel more favourably disposed to place himself with a Black solicitor thus 'cutting out' the White solicitor.

The institutional racist practices and procedures that have been seen to operate within the legal profession (Goulbourne 1985) are far reaching in the sense that it not only affects the career prospects of Black entrants to the legal profession but also the position of those already established within it. There is a danger that those who wish to ameliorate the position which confronts young Blacks entering the legal profession may unwittingly serve to further undermine the status of those places where Black entrants seeking pupilege or articles are able to turn. It is possible that some of these chambers are not of a high standard (according to the definition set by the Bar); however this should not be used as justification for implying that the majority are sub-standard. What may become commonplace is a situation in which White professionals within the legal system seek to place restrictions on Black professionals in an area where institutionalized practices or client preferences already serve to restrict in many instances Black professionals to clients of their own 'race'.

In conclusion, it is worth quoting at some length the feelings and experiences of respondents working within the legal system to illustrate, however anecdotally, how they themselves preceive the situation.

A respondent with his own firm of solicitors states:



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Another respondent with his own firm of solicitors had this to say:

Because we Blacks in the legal profession do not have a Black support system in the community, we tend to do criminal work. I made a conscious decision when I was setting up my firm that I was going to get civil work. I wanted to do the cases I wanted to, which was not criminal cases. So I decided to look for up market premises. It was daring but it worked and it involved a lot of work to get the right sort of cases ... we send our cases to both Black and White barristers - if they are good they get the work. We must encourage Black counsel to have high standards.

Speaking of his experience of one particular case in which he was one of a group of Black barristers representing a group of Black male youths a respondent states:

The case lasted over three months ... then one day the taxing master telephoned my clerk and said that they were going to slash the junior counsel's fees. They were upset because so many Black barristers were on the case and we were going to get a lot of money Black barristers owe a lot to 'Brother Hermon' head of Harambe, he gave work to Black barristers. He fought hard to create a Black Bar so that Blacks could get the cases. Now White liberals are trying to win them back. (Barrister)

Another barrister with his own chambers states:

It was through my own strong personality and effort that I was able to establish myself ... in the early days when I went for pupillage certain barristers in my chambers (I was the only Black there) would not speak to me and the clerk didn't even acknowledge my existence. When my pupil master realised what was happening he became very angry ... at my second pupillage the clerk said, "Do not squat here the solicitors won't brief you". I was in my early forties at this point, I was a mature student going to the Bar, but I knew my age was not the problem because White people that age came to the Bar ... when I tried to find a chambers to get tenancy the clerks kept turning me away. One barrister kept saying that I should go into the civil service but I wouldn't give up. Then a West Indian friend said, "Why don't we team up and establish our own chambers?" and this is what we did. Once we got it we did it up and began taking on Black people - West Indians, Africans, Indians, Pakistanis. It was a respected group, but some said it was a 'ghetto' We have some senior Black barristers who excluded themselves, but they had already set themselves apart by marrying White women I will not tolerate substandard behaviour in my chambers I want people who respect them This is a mixed chambers now, you've got to play your politics right. You can sometimes isolate yourself from the mainstream in 'all Black' chambers. So in order to get to know the European you have to mix with him. There is an old saying: 'In a country of chickens, cockroaches must be very careful how they pull out their heads', meaning if they are not careful in how they come forward they can easily become hen-pecked. So hang on to the side or the back of the chicken so they can't shake you off. So we must do with the mainstream, hang on like a limpet to the mainstream and if they try

to kick you out then call 'colour Bar' I keep opening the door for young Black people, I flood the courts with young Black women barristers. If I don't do it they won't stand a chance. I came to the Bar with the intention to colour the English Bar, I didn't want to be a token member of chambers In many ways Black clients don't stand a chance with White barristers. For example once when working on a case, I was in the cloakroom reading a paper when I overheard a young White barrister discussing a case, he shouldn't have been doing this anyway. When I listened more carefully I realised that he was one of the barristers along with myself who was representing a group of young Black lads on a criminal charge. This barrister was telling the other one that he was sure the boy was guilty and that he would get him to plead guilty to get the case over and done with. I couldn't believe it because he was supposed to be defending the boy. What chance did the boy have with someone like that representing him. This is the sort of thing that is going on in the courts, some White barristers are selling Blacks who they are supposed to represent short. They don't care, why should it matter to them.

6.9:3 THE BLACK WOMAN AS A PROFESSIONAL

The Black male has a particular problem in this society in that I think they are going to be the butt end of most of the aggression in this society. Because of sexism it is easier for male dominated White institutions to take on a Black woman because they do not perceive her as much of a threat, as they would a Black man. So although the Black man and woman both have a problem in terms of racism I think it's much stronger for the male. Also the Black male has fewer outlets - There is a growing Black female organisation - a solidarity movement if you like developing in this country which doesn't exist for the Black male. You know the Black male doesn't actually come together, and particularly the Black male professional. All the avenues that males usually have as outlets for their kind of solidarity such as rugby clubs, soccer clubs and stuff like that the Black male does not get into, and dominoes and stuff like that they do not perceive as a professional thing so they don't do it. So all the traditional forums that one would expect to exist for male solidarity and grouping actually is not open to the Black male apart from cricket and then you would most probably find the Black professional joining White cricket clubs. (Multi-Cultural Education Adviser)

The statement above was made by one of the male respondents in population One. Within this statement he attempts to assess the position of the Black male professional in British society (he himself is a professional). In outlining his view the respondent puts forward an interesting interpretation concerning the way in which Black professional women may be incorporated into the professions.

As a subject area both politically and theoretically the issue of gender has been approached from a variety of perspectives - ranging from inequalities in the labour market in terms of opportunity of access and equal pay to the debate (discussions) concerning the differentiation of sex roles in the family. In broad terms some Marxists and Marxist feminists focus upon the role of women in the capitalist production process; by examining their role in the home as domestic labour and in the labour market as wage labour. (Beechey 1986, J Mitchell 1966 C Middleton 1974, H Hartman 1979) More recently others, as Valerie Amos (1982) points out have attempted to develop a Black feminist perspective which seek to address not only the issue of gender but also that of race and class. For amongst these women there is a recognition that Black women are oppressed not only in terms of their gender but also in terms of their race and class. (Race Today 1972-1975, S James 1974, P Parmar 1982, CCCS 1982)

The main aim of this section is not to develop a coherent argument concerning gender and the role of Black women in general within the labour market as this would be beyond the scope of this research. What is intended here however is an attempt to raise the question of how do the processes of racism and sexism articulate within the labour market with particular reference to the incorporation of the Black (male and female) professional.

Throughout the occupational structure Black labour both male and female are not well placed and are to be found concentrated in the least favourable sectors of the economy. As mentioned in chapter four available evidence indicates that only a tiny proportion of Black labour are to be found in the top socio-economic groups; only one Afro Caribbean man in eight is employed in the non-manual sector, but a larger proportion of Afro-Caribbean women are able to obtain low-level non-manual work (sales and clerical). The evidence for their presence in professional and managerial positions is even lower, with

the majority of the women located in the 'professional' category being located in the field of nursing. Studies such as that carried out by Jowell and Prescott-Clarke (1970) Michael Firth (1981) and Ballard and Holden (1975) provide evidence which supports the argument that Black applicants are discriminated against when they apply for professional and white-collar jobs. The respondent at the beginning of this section suggests that as a result of the sexist assumptions held about female labour it is easier for male dominated White institutions, under 'pressure' to employ Black labour, to take on a Black woman because they do not perceive her as a threat.

The idea that women are not regarded as a threat is in part related to the fact that the position of women as wage labour is defined to a certain extent in terms of their position of 'powerlessness'. In reference to male-dominated professions such as law, accountancy, medicine few women tend to occupy top positions in these professions where they can be seen to be involved in the decision making process. (Pinder 1969, Westergaard and Resler 1975) Women as professionals are concentrated in professions such as nursing, teaching or social work all usually regarded as low-level professions and which all in some way are seen as 'caring' professions, which is in line with the traditional view of women as 'carers' as opposed to decision makers. The professions the majority of women occupy are not characterised, as many of the male dominated professions are, by high degrees of autonomy - within their professions they tend to be accountable to a higher level. As Hall (1975) argues when looking at the argument presented by W R Scott, he states that (predominantly male) professions such as law, architecture, medicine are autonomous professional organisations in which the members of the profession determine the norms governing their behaviour whereas schools, libraries and social work agencies (predominantly female professions) he describes as:

heteronomous professional organisations in which the professional employees are at least partially subordinated to an externally imposed administrative framework ... (1975:)

These externally imposed norms, which often have a legislative origin, serve as a set of general or specific guidelines within which the professionals must operate, thereby lessening the amount of professional autonomy.

The position of the Black worker in the British economy has been structured since their arrival in the post world war two period through a process of its racially specific inclusion into the labour market. (Castles and Kosack 1973, Moore 1975, Hall et al 1976, Sivanandan 1982) However, a few Black workers have managed to move up from the positions 'traditionally reserved' for them at the bottom of the labour market, and are attempting to enter various professional fields. Their path has been blocked in many ways (Jowell and Prescott-Clarke 1970, Goulbourne 1985) by acts of racial discrimination on the part of employers. However, taking the example of the legal profession pressure is beginning to be exerted on both the Bar and the Law Society to make the legal profession more accessible to the Black professional (barrister, solicitor) who wish to enter the profession (Royal Commission on Legal Services (1979), Polytechnic of South Bank 1984:15, Goulbourne 1985,) The question to be asked is whether White chambers and White firms of solicitors coming under pressure to open their doors to Black trainees, or qualified Black barristers and solicitors may be more favourably disposed towards employing Black women as a result of sexist assumptions held about female labour. Institutions such as these would feel less threatened by their presence, because in a White male dominated institution the Black woman (as any other woman) would not be perceived as being able to encroach upon their preserve. Below is an excerpt from an interview with a female barrister in population One. She states:

Being Black and a woman is a double disadvantage. The legal profession is an overcrowded profession and as a Black person getting a tenancy is very difficult, and a lot of Blacks fall by the wayside here. A lot depends on who you know but many do not have knowledge of the contacts needed. A lot of chambers do not want

women anyway - Black or White - but recently since about 1981 they have been taking on a lot of Black women. There are equal amounts of Black men and women going to the Bar but mostly Black women get tenancy - I know about this because of the things I hear - Black women are getting tenancy in White sets. I don't know why this is happening maybe they don't see us as a threat because they believe we will leave to have babies. (Barrister)

The above is anecdotal and has not been put forward as evidence but does however serve as an indicator of the possible responses of institutions which find that they are having to (if only as a token measure) open their doors to Black professionals.

In attempting to deal with the issue of whether Black professional women have greater access to the professions Epstein (1973) states:



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Although Black women professionals may be permitted/allowed to enter professions previously 'excluded' to Blacks the factor that remains as a possible barrier to their development within their respective professions is that as a Black person they may face pressures of exclusion and isolation. Factors such as exclusion and isolation within the White male dominated professional setting are made effective by the fact that as a Black person and a woman certain avenues/outlets of solidarity are closed to her. Within this context as a woman and Black professional she is excluded from the informal social setting, cultivated within various professions, where in fact many important decisions are made and policies generated. As Hall (1975) points out:



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CHAPTER SEVEN

CLASS RACE AND POLITICS THE PERCEPTIONS AND
EXPERIENCES OF AFRO-CARIBBEANS IN BRITAIN

CHAPTER SEVEN - CLASS, RACE AND POLITICS: THE PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES OF
AFRO-CARIBBEANS IN BRITAIN.

Up until now the treatment of the respondents involved in this research has been one in which their objective structural position within the British labour market as workers has been the main focal point: discussing firstly at a general level the initial incorporation of Afro-Caribbean labour into the British labour market in the post-war period and the economic role which had been demarcated for them. (Castles and Kosack 1973, Smith 1977, Green 1979, Miles 1982) Secondly, at a more specific level the way in which the respondents in this research were themselves incorporated into the British labour market was considered along with the strategies they adopted in an attempt to structure the direction their employment opportunities should and would eventually take.

In this section an attempt is made to provide a brief (and non-generalizable) view of the way(s) in which the respondents themselves make sense of the circumstances in which they find themselves in living in Britain. The themes of class, race and politics have been chosen for this purpose as vehicles through which the respondents are able to put forward their perspectives. The importance of assessing the position of Black labour in Britain in what can be termed their objective relationship to the levels of the economic, political, ideological and the social, is acknowledged here. However there is also a need, as stated earlier, to take into account the perceptions and subjective experiences of Black workers. These have been, as Bird (1977) highlights, almost entirely neglected in research concerning Black workers, for it has not been considered to be a legitimate topic for research and analysis. As Bird goes on to argue the unintended consequence of this has been the depersonalization of those who experience discrimination. (1977:44) As such we have no knowledge of how Black workers experience their work or the ways

in which they themselves perceive and respond to economic, political and social pressures that mark out their existence in British society.

Many of the respondents are quoted from at length in order to get a feel of their outlook and perceptions. In this way we are able to unpack the complexity, and sometimes contradictions inherent in the arguments they present. Subsections in each of the main sections of this chapter are headed by the probe used to elicit the remarks quoted.

7.1 CLASS AND RACE

7.1:1 "What do you understand by the term Social Class?"

The term social class is one which very few of the respondents had difficulty in identifying. In reply to the question 'What do you understand by the term social class?' only two of the one hundred respondents (non-response 20) who answered the question stated that they were not familiar with the concept. The remainder of the respondents were able to provide a definition with varying degrees of sophistication. The excerpts below give an indication of the types of answers received:

Some respondents felt that social class was defined by a number of factors:

That is a difficult one, but social class as I understand it is really to do with a number of things. Firstly, social class has something to do with the sort of family you were born into. Typically in England for example people who are born in stately homes are the ones who are upper middle class. So it is really to do with the situation in which you are born. Secondly, the other class structure is to do with, I think, the sort of occupation you are in. So you have two separate class structures, those you are born into - like the sons of the landed gentry and the sons of the top civil servants, they are more or less inherited if you like - a sort of class structure of birth. Whilst on the other hand you get what we spoke of earlier - social mobility - people tend to move into a certain class category in relation to the type of job they are doing and the type of education they experienced. A third category sometimes is to do with the area in which you live. There

are certain areas which have a class image, so someone living in Hampstead would be seen as having a certain standard of living in that area. This is what I understand social class to be. (Community Relations Officer, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Social class refers to groups of people who are banded together by life style, where they live and the work they do, hedonism, the accent they place on education and a common way of feeling amongst themselves. (Headmaster, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Others provided what can be termed sociological definitions:

It refers to a group of people who have a similar background and a similar occupation, I mean that is the simplest way one could define it. (Doctor, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

It is an artificial grouping of people, grouped according to educational achievement, expectations and living style, and it can have racial connotations. (Doctor, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

I see it as a gradation of people based on their socio-economic position, but having studied social class so much as a sociology student I just see it as a construct set up by sociologists. I don't actually believe that people perceive themselves as belonging to a social class, I think we categorise people from the outside as belonging to a certain social class. (Multi-racial Education Adviser, male, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

It's a way a dividing people according to or rather in relation to how others see them and this is done mainly by those in power. (Trainee Accountant, male, came to Britain as a child, population 2)

Some respondents saw social class as being related to one's occupation:

People are slotted into various sections of the community. There is the working class guy who does menial tasks, the middle class guy works in an office and does white-collar work and then there are the upper middle classes and the upper classes. But today the working class guy earns more than the white-collar guy. (Bank clerk, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Others saw it as being related to wealth/money:

Social class is determined by the amount of money you have, well that's not entirely true because there are some people who are comparatively poor but still they enjoy a good social standing you see ... This is a class ridden society, but you can bridge it with money I suppose. But still there are certain barriers that you can't overcome under certain circumstances you see its a rather complex thing in England especially, well all over the world I suppose ... in fairness to them I mean look at India, they have what is called the

Caste System and that is even worse than here And even in Trinidad where I come from the Indians have a caste system there too. There are the Hindus and the Moslems. If a Moslem girl wants to marry a Hindu boy the families quarrel and fight and want to kill each other In Trinidad we also have a little difference in colour, if you have a family and some of them are dark skinned and some of them are fair skinned, when they have a party or a wedding or a christening or something they invite all the fair skinned ones and don't invite the dark skinned ones. That goes on a lot in Trinidad, and there are cases where a dark skinned man married to a fair skinned woman finds that her family won't have anything to do with her at all after that, and so it goes on, the class thing goes on all over the world in different forms. (Own account worker, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

There were also some respondents who felt that they didn't understand the meaning of social class in Britain:

I really don't know what it means in England, it is different from what it means in the West Indies. I object to people putting people into classes, I don't know what they mean because its all such a muddle. Back home as a Black person the only way to improve yourself was through education. Therefore people who work in factories etc are no less than someone with inherited wealth. In the Caribbean I suppose I would be considered middle class because of my family background, but even so you would still be seen as Black because there's no colour caste in Barbados, there you are either Black or White. (Barrister, female, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

If I were talking about the West Indies I would say the social class would be what work your parents do; ie are they professional people, or are they farmers or are they cleaners?. In England I think the social class structure is a bit different in that it is not as defined as it is in the West Indies, there are so many different types of jobs and that makes it difficult. You can be from a very professional family but work as a waitress in England, but in the West Indies that would be taboo, no one would be from a professional family and work as a waitress. So you see the barriers here are less well defined than they are in the West Indies. (Lecturer, female, born in Britain, population 1)

Still others saw class as being a state of mind:

To me its a state of mind, a way of thinking, a mentality, because you can't look at it in terms of wealth because some of the aristocracy don't have any money they are completely broke so you can't now in the twentieth century judge class in terms of wealth. For example, to me nouveau riche isn't necessarily middle class because their mentality is still basically at their roots, and what ever they do they will be the same in terms of their outlook on life. (Advertising Sales Department Manager, female, born in Britain, population 1)

Finally there were those who felt that the notion of social class was not a reality for Black people in Britain:

Social class in this country does not exist for Black people. My generation and age group are separate from the younger ones - they are British so maybe it is different for them. I haven't changed my accent. From my generation there are some who want to be White but when they are in trouble then they come back to us. In this country if the White man does not open the doors for you it is harder for you to get by. They control the jobs etc. It doesn't matter what you do, they can either make you or break you. (Accountant, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Although the definitions of social class provided by the respondents are obviously phrased differently it is evident that various themes have emerged. First of all the majority of the respondents, if not all, identified two or more factors which they felt went towards defining the term social class. A person's occupation, education, income, life style and area in which one lives, were the most frequently cited indexes, and of these occupation, education and income were particularly favoured. To a lesser extent factors such as status, values, outlook, beliefs, shared habits, speech, type of friends, standard of living, access to power, family background were also identified. These were usually combined with one or two of the more frequently cited factors.

Secondly, although the respondents were not asked to compare the concept of social class in Britain with that of the Caribbean, nearly a third of the respondents (twenty eight born in the Caribbean and two born in England) made this comparison independently. As can be seen from some of the excerpts above respondents referred to what they saw as a more well defined class system in the Caribbean which they saw in part as being a colour-class system. In this they follow, perhaps without knowing it, Fernando Henriques (1968) who in his study of family and colour in Jamaica presents a detailed explanation of the colour-class system. Tracing its origins under the system of slavery to what he calls the contemporary colour-class system, he suggests that this does not represent a complete break with the past but a modification

of the 'system'. Henriques argues that the majority of the Black people (78 per cent of the total population) could be classified as the labourer-peasant group which he identifies as the lower class. What he calls the 'coloured' and Black middle class predominated in government clerkships and elementary supervisory jobs, shopkeeping and teaching. The upper class was composed of:

Whites and fair coloured people who largely monopolize executive positions in the civil service, such occupations as planter, and the professions generally. (Henriques 1968:50)

Henriques argues that the colour-class division is not rigid, instead it serves as a useful indicator of economic status but does not necessarily indicate social position.

The extent to which this colour-class system persists in the Caribbean in the 1980s is open to debate, but James (1984) suggests that it is from such a cultural milieu - albeit one persistently punctuated by African resistance to the European value system foisted upon them during the colonial era - that the post-war Caribbean migrants to Britain emerged. On arrival in Britain however they were faced with what he terms the crude bipolar (Black/White) allocation of ethnic groups within Britain, where no regard was paid to the complex hierarchy of shades by the British people:

They were regarded monolithically as 'coloureds', 'West Indians', 'Blacks', 'immigrants', and even 'wogs' with no reference to differential shades. (James 1984:8)

James goes on to argue that the racism which these Caribbean migrants faced in Britain helped to severely undermine:

if not totally destroy, this hierarchy of shades of Black which the Caribbean working class had itself, by and large, adhered to. The erosion of this hierarchy of shades, not the means by which it has been undermined in Britain, is without doubt, a positive political development. (James 1984:8-9)

Evidence from this research supports James' proposition/argument, in that adherence to the 'colour-class system' does not seem to have persisted amongst those respondents who migrated as adults and as such had experience of the system in the Caribbean. As stated earlier a significant proportion referred to the system as it existed at their time of migration. All, except one respondent, gave the impression that in Britain what was of significance for Afro-Caribbean workers was the effects (whether social, economic or political) of the Black (migrant/immigrant) White (English/White British) divide. Only one respondent suggested that the belief in shades of colour was still prevalent amongst the older generation of Afro-Caribbeans in Britain, although she herself does not adhere to this system of thought. She states:

Class isn't the big thing so much in the Black community and I think people get illuded by that. The colonial legacy has left a colour question in the Black community. Those who have so-called softer hair and the lighter skin, that is where a lot of the shit lies. It's not so much to do with money because you may have a community whereby you have some real 'natty-roots people' who have a hell of a lot of money and have all the furnishings but that might not make them belong to the same class as the so-called lighter skinned ones who as they say in the West Indian community are hoity-toity and pretend that they have, even when they don't have, even if they are hungry inside. So to me class might play something, and it has started to play something as more and more Black people adapt and adopt Anglo-Saxon qualities, values and things like that, but at the same time the colonial legacy of colour is still strong.

Are you here referring to the situation in the Caribbean?:

No, here in Britain. Go and take a look in Brixton and various parts of the place and you will see it. You know how many people are walking around still imbued with the legacy of colour-caste, where are you living? It is still prevalent, you have got to work at a community level whereby you are interacting with Black people and you will be shocked. You talk to other Black professionals who work and are in daily contact with the Black community and you will see. Class is a very newish concept for the older generation of Blacks in Britain. Class has been a colour question - shades of darkness. (Psychologist, female, population 1)

The perception of Afro-Caribbean workers as being external to the British class structure was the third theme to emerge, and as will be shown later, is

one which became more pronounced in the answers provided by certain respondents for at this stage very few respondents chose to elucidate on their belief that the position of Afro-Caribbeans in Britain could not be dealt with in class terms.

7.1:2 Do You Believe Britain's Black (Afro-Caribbean) Population is Split Along Class Lines)?

As can be seen from tables 7.1 through to 7.3 the majority of the respondents (in each of the three groupings: (a) came to Britain as an adult (b) came to Britain as a child (c) born in Britain) stated that they did believe Britain's Afro-Caribbean population to be split along class lines. In proportional terms those respondents who came to Britain as children were more likely than the other respondents to answer in the affirmative:

Yes the process has been going on for quite a while, because the concept of assimilation and integration is such a strong concept in Britain. There was a notion that if you were successful/if you made it you would in a sense become an honorary White, and I think a lot of people actually took that on board and actually believed that. Also of course back within the Caribbean the process of say the colour caste system - the process of dividing people into class was very strong in the Caribbean anyway ... I think that since success in this society is viewed in terms of social mobility then I think that it's inevitable that it will be split in terms of class. (Multi-cultural Education Adviser, male, population 1)

Yes definitely, because there are Black people at every level in society - within reason - up to I would think the upper middle class, that is of course if you reason in terms of their income and life style. You know, whether they own their own homes, type of cars they possess, the sort of area in which they live, the type of jobs they do. But the majority of Black people are concentrated now at the lower end, aren't they, in the working class? (Psychologist, male, population 1)

They are and always have been split in terms of class. There is a class system operating in the West Indies and in England they are split amongst themselves, but when viewed in terms of White society then no, we are all Black. (Teacher, Head of Department, male, population 1)

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS ADULTS: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'IS BRITAIN'S BLACK (AFRO-CARIBBEAN) POPULATION SPLIT ALONG CLASS LINES?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	19	3	6	9	37	59%
NO	13	3	2	4	22	35%
DON'T KNOW						
IT DEPENDS	2	-	1	-	3	4%
TOTAL	34	6	9	13	62	

TABLE 7.1

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 13

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'IS BRITAIN'S BLACK (AFRO-CARIBBEAN) POPULATION SPLIT ALONG CLASS LINES?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	6	4	10	6	26	78%
NO	4	-	1	1	6	18%
DON'T KNOW						
IT DEPENDS	-	-	-	1	1	3%
TOTAL	10	4	11	8	33	

TABLE 7.2

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 2

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) BORN IN BRITAIN:
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION 'IS BRITAIN'S BLACK (AFRO-CARIBBEAN)
POPULATION SPLIT ALONG CLASS LINES?'

	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	MEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	4	1	1	6	60%
NO	1	-	3	4	40%
TOTAL	5	1	4	10	

TABLE 7,3

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN
AS ADULTS: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - DO YOU EVER THINK OF
YOUR POSITION WITHIN BRITISH SOCIETY IN TERMS OF CLASS?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	8	1	2	6	17	26%
NO	27	5	8	7	47	73%
TOTAL	35	6	10	13	64	

TABLE 7,4

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 11

Some respondents identified the divisive effects of class division on the Black population:

Yes it can be split along class lines because you have quite a lot of Blacks who are professionals or semi-professionals and there are others who are not and who use their physical strength to earn a living. So in that way you can actually see a division. Also if you have your professionals on one side they are not really going to want to associate too much with those people they see without anything really. There are also outside pressures such as racism in the community or in the country as a whole. The actual working class, especially the Black working class is defined by the authorities as trouble makers, so if a Black person gets into a position where he sees his interests are being threatened he would want to disassociate himself or herself from the actual working class as such. So that he can strive along faster in an upward path. (Trainee Accountant, male, population 2)

It has recently become split along class lines because since 1979 where racial polarisation has increased there has been more opportunism within the community, and the middle class by its nature are opportunistic and so there are opportunistic elements in the Black community. They have seized this opportunity to become a middle class. In other words You will find a lot of businesses which are not based on producing a service but based on making a fast buck. And also you find a few people gaining access to certain jobs which are reserved for Black people - mostly in the media and the arts and they undoubtedly do not aspire to any or adhere to any working class principles but on the contrary to White middle class values. (Businessman, population 1)

I think it is already split along class lines. There are certain places I would not go to and you have a certain attitude or code of behaviour that you may not see in certain West Indians. It's also whether you can adapt to certain situations ... back home I never see things in terms of class. You have the haves and the have nots and that is seen in terms of material possessions and your class didn't matter it was your colour. And I had that attitude. (Accountant, male, population 2)

Of course it can be split. Some Blacks who are now in professional jobs want to disassociate themselves from the Black community. They think they have achieved certain things and begin thinking that they need a White spouse - this practice is still quite prevalent. (Barrister, woman, population 1)

Yes definitely but I think it is probably harder to say for sure what basis it is split on in this country but I think it is definitely there, because Black people are very class conscious anyway, and this comes down from our slavery days. I think it is split more in terms of money as opposed to education than say the White society as a whole. (Solicitor, woman, population 1)

Other respondents recognised a split in the Black population, but still argued that this was not indicative of their belonging to the White class structure:

Yes I think they are certainly split along class lines, but maybe not in the classic sense, because the position of West Indians is one of powerlessness in Britain and so it is difficult to talk of a classical middle class say amongst a group as a whole who don't really have very much bargaining power. However given that, I think there are certainly signs now of a West Indian middle class and there certainly are differences. It's really to do with occupation, attitudes, perceived interests, aspirations. They are not a part of the White middle class structure, they may think they are but I don't think that is the case at all, because they don't have the power and they are not admitted into that group in terms of acceptance. I mean if they had economic power, an economic power base, for bargaining power then it would be much more realistic to talk about it and they would be accepted, not necessarily on a personal level but they would be accepted more because they have got something to bargain with Acceptance in these terms wouldn't make any difference to their social class...it is a problem because it's not straight forward, and because the whole of the non-White population in this country, I think, are regarded as a sub-class. It's a problem to talk about middle class Blacks and working class Blacks. There are differences and you can't just lump them all together either. For instance I think I have got more power in a limited sense than say if I were unemployed living in a really bad situation - no money or little education. It would be very false for me to think that I was in the same position as someone who hasn't got the advantages that I have had and have ... then again maybe I am deluding myself. (Senior Race Relations Officer, woman, population 2)

As can be seen, some of the respondents are more critical than others in assessing the position of Afro-Caribbeans in terms of class in the British context. Approximately a third of those respondents who migrated to Britain as children and who suggested that Britain's Afro-Caribbean population was divided in term of class made no mention of any actual or perceived problems of alignment between for example a Black working class and the White working class. The remainder of this group of respondents however, highlighted what they felt to be contradictions inherent in the situation which Afro-Caribbeans faced in Britain in terms of acceptance into their supposed class of arrival. They found it difficult to resolve the issue of 'race' and 'class'. On the one hand they identified criteria such as occupation, education, income, which they saw as objective indicators of class position, but on the other hand they acknowledged that these indexes of class are not the only indexes employed by

the 'host society' when looking at the position of Afro-Caribbean workers. They argue that the notion of 'race' is used by White society firstly to undermine their economic standing in British society and secondly, as a way of relegating Black labour to a position below that of the host society.

Of those respondents who migrated to Britain as adults, or were born in Britain, the majority of those who stated that Britain's Afro-Caribbean population was split along class lines were less likely to voice any doubts as to whether 'race' served in any way to determine the way in which Black workers are or are not incorporated into the British class structure: whether they exist as a fraction of the White class structure or as a separate entity alongside or below the British class structure. The excerpts below give an indication of the types of answers received from those who did believe it to be split along class lines.

Yes they are already split along class lines and they are also split along island lines. Most Blacks in this country are in the working class, they have all the characteristics of the working class in this country. (Race Relations Adviser, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Yes in this country I think there are also social classes in the Black community ... I personally won't drop my standards just because I am here ... Guyanese people in every country know each other in terms of their professions. ... I will let my daughter travel to meet the right sort of husband - say in Canada or America. The West Indian men in this country are not the sort I would like for her. (Solicitor, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Yes I think so. The structure of society in this country is such that you are slotted into a class position. It is there but I hate to recognise it. (Businman, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Oh yes, they are already split, though not out of choice. They are split in terms of income, education, owner occupation of a house, lifestyle etc. Others live in council flats and they can't afford this or that. I am middle class but I do not exploit people. (Deputy Headmaster, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

In cases of crisis there would be a coming together so I wouldn't say split. But we are divided in terms of life style etc. (Senior Nursing Officer, woman, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Occupational position was often identified as an area of division:

Yes it is becoming split. Some West Indians have been left in the 1950s mould and they have not progressed. The more West Indians you get in the professions the more split it will get When you go to parties people now ask you what you do and so on. In fact I am even scared to tell people where I live because they might think I am showing off. (Accountant, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Others chose to identify attitudes and outlook:

I think it is definitely split. This is something I find very annoying, all Black people say we are brothers and sisters and we are all the same. We are not all the same we all have different ideas and different outlooks ... again I think it's attitude, it's nothing to do with money. I wouldn't compare myself at all to somebody who perhaps swept the streets and I know his attitudes wouldn't be the same as mine, because if they were he wouldn't be sweeping the streets There is a lot of class distinction here, definitely, because a lot of the older generation living here, wherever they came from, a lot of them were maybe servants, and I wouldn't compare myself with a servant. I mean my parents weren't servants, my grandparents weren't servants and I wouldn't say the older generation here were middle class. Their attitude and maybe the way they spend even money, it shows, it's always obvious ... do they invest their money, or, I'm sure you have come across this, some people will buy a lot of really expensive things that are tastelessly put together, that just look like one big shambles, simply because they have got the money to spend. And again its the same with nouveau riche, well it can be, I'm not saying that nobody has taste. Or let's take education as another example if they were middle class they would make a point of understanding how the education system works, as opposed to waiting for the children to come home and say, "Well I did this today and I got the top mark". Not really knowing that, although they got the top marks they are in the bottom stream. This is not saying that the children aren't capable this is nothing to do with that at all, but simply because they don't understand that they have to go and push for their children. My parents had to push for us at school and make sure that we were in the right streams according to our ability. At schools they do keep a lot of Black children in the lower streams simply because they don't feel there is much chance of them learning and they know the parents aren't going to come and say, "Why are you doing this?" because the poor parents don't understand anyway. (Advertising Sales-department Manager, female, born in Britain, population 1)

Some quoted from their own experiences:

Yes it is. It's split in a similar way to White people. I mean you will get your Black families living in run-down areas really struggling to make a living and to keep their families' heads above water like a lot of the people I meet - I do a lot of stories on council estates and that so I see it first hand. And then you have

families like mine, okay we moan about not having enough money, but really we are quite comfortable. So there is a definite divide. (Journalist, female, born in Britain, population 1)

Others focused on education and income:

Yes I do believe that the Black community is split. I believe that some Black people are aspiring towards the middle class definitions, because their education has improved, which means that they are now, especially the Black women, finding themselves in very good jobs in excess of ten thousand pounds, which is a good standpoint. If you have a really sound economic footing in this country, then the sky's the limit. Our education has improved a hell of a lot, we are becoming professional people. We are becoming solicitors, barristers, accounts and management - this, that and the other. And this is usually as a result of our education ie more of us are taking degrees which usually determine what sort of job you can get Then there are the Black people who have a very poor education, who are possibly working in jobs such as auxiliaries and that sort of thing and working very hard. But their income capacity and their educational background is very low. So yes I would say in the Black community itself we have definitely two different structures at least. (Personnel Officer, female, born in Britain, population 1)

Of those respondents who stated that they did not believe Britain's Black population was split in terms of class (they represented 30% of all those who answered the question), well over half stated that the reason for this was related to the fact that in Britain Black people were regarded as being Black and nothing else, and as such class as a concept could not be applied to them:

No I don't think so. In the West Indies we had class divisions and that was based on an economic level rather than colour. Here, however, the colour of your skin is used as a class barrier against you. (Teacher, woman, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Well I wouldn't say so, not in this country. In this country it seems that everybody once you have got some sort of Negro appearance you are classed as a Black and there is no class system for us as would be the case for a White man There are some Blacks though who choose to divorce themselves from the ordinary Black man. In my experience they are the ones who tend to join the Conservative Party. They separate themselves totally from the Blacks and the only time they do come in contact with them is when they are trying to exploit them. This sort of person feels that they have made it to the top and instead of helping other Blacks they prefer to go and get married to a White person and forsake Blacks altogether. These people are few but they do exist. I do think though that if there is a class system at all in the Black community it would be perpetuated by those people who have married Whites. They just feel themselves to be one above the ordinary Blacks. (Solicitor, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Not very easily because I think there are much more pressing criteria by which Black people are judged and I don't think that class is one of the first things that comes to mind by people who make that kind of judgement, and I think that we ourselves as a group haven't actually seen it as terribly important. I think that what people tend to do is to divide you from educated to uneducated whatsoever, and I don't think that necessarily is along class lines. (Probation Officer, male, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

We are made to feel second class citizens regardless of our class, even if superficially they accept you into say the middle class, the prejudice seeps through and they patronise you. (Nursing Officer, woman, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

No I don't think so. You are Black in the political context and also in the eyes of the Whites. For us there is no class structure as such and we are therefore outside the class structure. In fact we are in a unique group along with I suppose the very poor Whites - the oppressed bracket. This society does not give us any opportunities. Human rights are not handed down fairly to Blacks, it is not equal. By equal I do not mean that I want to be equal with the White man, I want to be me an individual with my own thoughts and rights. (Scientific Instrumentation Engineer, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Some respondents argued there is a separate Black class system:

We are in the West Indies because we have our own class system there, but in England we are pretty much marginalised. We are not accepted and we are not seen as belonging to either the middle class or the working class. Blacks in Britain do have their own class system which operates outside of the British system. If you have Black organisations the post holders are usually professionals. We have a separate class system which operates in societies or organisation, gatherings or churches, there aren't that many areas where it can operate. (Headmaster, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

In Britain I don't think they see us as any particular class - they see us as Black. In other words it is a pigment problem. The society sees us with a pigment and don't believe who you are. Sometimes they force you to pull your status out in an unconventional way. Having said that we can be split in class lines amongst ourselves but not in terms of the English person. (Doctor, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

No we are all considered to be Black. England is a great leveller - no matter what you were back home, here you are just Black. (Dispensing Optician, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Someone who is a teacher may feel he is a bit different to someone who sweeps the road, or the guy who works at British Leyland or someone like that. Although I think up until now there hasn't been that much difference because people do tend to have Black friends who are not all teachers and if all the Black teachers were to rely on Black teachers or Black doctors for friends they wouldn't have that many friends, because they are so few and far between. So we

do tend to socialise more, and as such I don't think there is such a social gap between the Blacks, although the individual might think there should be because he is different. He worked hard he went to university to get his degree, or something like that, and he can't see why he should be the same as a man who didn't do anything but just goes to the 'bookies' to back horses every week. I think the desire of the individual is different to how we are perceived by the host community, so we have to identify as one and so I don't think there is that much of a social gap between Blacks in this country.
(Telecommunications Officer, male)

Although acknowledging that Black people are not differentiated in Britain in terms of class, some respondents admitted that if they were 'back home' things would be different:

There is a class split in the Caribbean but not here. Here we are seen as Black and that is our class. Some of the Black people I associate with here I wouldn't accept them in Jamaica, but I have changed since coming here, well a bit, and I now look at people as people. (Accountant/Businessman, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Again these excerpts highlight some of the difficulties the respondents had in reconciling the fact that, although they believed Afro-Caribbeans in Britain to be fairly diverse in terms of income, education, occupation, for example, they believe that within the British context Black people are grouped together and are consequently handled and responded to in those terms. Some respondents appear to speak from experience - such as the nursing officer and the doctor who give an indication that at some time or another they have been confronted with a situation which brought them to terms with what one might see as their 'contradictory position' in British society. For on the one hand they are in a society where the ascription of the 'race' label and the articulation of racism in the British social formation (Miles and Phizacklea 1980:23) has ensured that they as migrant workers, and latterly their children, have a particular position in economic, political, legal, social and ideological relations vis-a-vis British society which relegates them to the bottom of the social order. Whilst on the other hand they have managed to attain an

occupational position which could be defined in objective terms as being middle class.

The last respondent appeared to be coming to terms with another aspect of the issue, in that he was faced with the fact that the class system which he had lived with, in the Caribbean (which would have placed him somewhere in the upper middle class) had become redundant once he arrived in Britain. For as another respondent pointed out earlier, 'Britain is a great leveller'.

7.1:3 Do you ever think of your position within British society in terms of class?

As can be seen from tables 7.4 and 7.5 the vast majority of those respondents who migrated to Britain as adults or as children stated that they did not think of their position in Britain in terms of class. Amongst the smaller group of respondents who were born in Britain the numbers were equally divided between those who did think of their position in terms of class and those who did not. (see table 7.6) Below are a selection of responses given by the respondents (from all three groups) who stated that they did not in fact think of themselves in terms of class:

No I do not, I think of myself in terms of colour to start with. You see as a Black person if I think of myself as belonging to a middle class background it wouldn't really mean anything, because all these things are to do with, not the way I think, but how you are perceived by the host community - how you are perceived by everyone around you. If you were a genius you would still to an extent be relying on other people to show how clever you are. You see because I say I am a genius it doesn't mean that other people will accept me as a genius, because that genius would have to manifest itself to other people and your genius would have to be acknowledged by other people to say I am good at certain things. Until and unless people say these things you are nothing. It's all to do with how you are accepted. So when I look around me and I think about the people around me and I think about myself, I think of myself as a Black person within the society, not as a middle class person or a working class person because I think that is how I am perceived This is what we have to bear in mind. (Special Telecommunications Officer, male, population 1)

No you see West Indians don't fit into the social class structure of this society at all, they are outside of the class structure I

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN
AS CHILDREN: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'DO YOU EVER THINK
OF YOUR POSITION WITHIN BRITISH SOCIETY IN TERMS OF CLASS?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	2	-	3	2	7	21%
NO	8	4	8	3	23	71%
SOMETIMES	-	-	-	2	2	6%
TOTAL	10	4	11	7	32	

TABLE 7,5

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 3

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO WERE BORN IN BRITAIN
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'DO YOU EVER THINK OF YOUR POSITION
WITHIN BRITISH SOCIETY IN TERMS OF CLASS?'

	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	MEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	2	1	2	5	50%
NO	3	-	2	5	50%
TOTAL	5	1	4	10	

TABLE 7,6

am a good example in the sense that while I occupy the sort of professional status that you might deem middle class. But most of the people I associate with are working class people. I don't in the main associate with what would be regarded as the White middle class. I have got quite a number of West Indian middle class friends but most of the time the people I associate with are what would be regarded as working class in this society. You see a lot of people from my particular country are over here and they are mostly tradesmen etc. They are people I know from when I was small. I had a party here Saturday night and ninety per cent of the people were from my own little village back home, and they were all what one might term working class people. They are my very good friends and some are my relatives and I don't see myself as any different from them. (Headmaster, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

A number of respondents did not view their position in class terms for a number of reasons:

No I never look at myself as being in a particular class. I see the responsibilities etc which brings me privileges which others may not have had. (Probation Officer, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

No not really, I often try to think of myself as a classless person, I try not to categorise myself. (Nursing Officer, male, population 1)

No, I haven't given much thought to it quite frankly, I don't believe in the class structure myself. My philosophy is that whatever sector of society you belong to, ie industry, service or profession you are in, you are making a contribution to the totality of society. So what I am really saying is that class is not important. (Community Relations Officer, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

There are lots of middle class people Blacks and Whites who tend to look at the working class with a certain amount of snobbery. But no I do not think of my position in terms of class. My music is very Black and the vast majority of my friends are ordinary people I have known for many years, and they are working class people who work in factories. We speak in the same way we would back home. (Deputy Headmaster, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Some answered from a political standpoint:

No, and as a socialist and as a person who wants to eradicate any kind of class situation I particularly don't want to think in terms of that. I want to see people as people and human beings and to value people according to their abilities and their capabilities and see people as persons in their own right. (Principal Social worker, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Again the image of the 'outsider' came to the fore:

No, I think of my position in this society in terms of an immigrant and I try to adopt all tenets that an immigrant should do and probably my grandchildren may be born here I don't know, but I personally look on myself as an immigrant who works within this society and try my best within this society. First for the society in general and secondly for my people in particular and other ethnic minorities. (Doctor, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

No, never, I can't. By the racist nature of the society it is difficult for people like myself to participate fully in Britain. It is difficult to actually categorise yourself. If you felt that you could participate politically in the country, as well as have an economic stake in the country, as well as feeling comfortable in the country then you would have justification for saying this is the class I belong to. Because what you do, I mean social being and social consciousness is the same thing, what you do reflects the class you belong to. But if you are denied a large part of your aspirations and they are not fulfilled then it is difficult for you to have an intellectual conception of what class you belong to. The only thing a conscious Black person can do in Britain is to try and secure some kind of economic base, and in as much that can be somewhat parasitic. (Businessman, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

No not in terms of class, in terms of race, because no matter what qualifications a Black person might have he is still looked upon as just a Black. In certain circumstances certain Blacks might appear to be accepted but the majority are kept down. If you are after acceptance and you are not lucky to have the right breaks you will never get it, but if you don't care about having the consent of the Whites you will be alright. (Trainee Accountant, male, came to Britain as a child, population 2)

Others placed more emphasis on being an individual:

I see myself as an individual who happens to be doing a job of work. I relate to everybody, I'm not interested in this business of 'I have made it'. People know I am the Boss and I don't have to keep reminding them. I have an interesting cross section of friends both professionals and loving ordinary working people. I look to them to keep me in touch with my roots. (Careers Officer, woman, population 1)

No, as far as I am concerned I am just a working mother, happy with what I am doing and blow the rest. (Nursing Sister, woman, population 2, came to Britain as an adult)

The combination of being Black and a woman also determined the outlook of some respondents:

Not so much class but race I should think, because you are first of all Black, then I might think I am a woman. For example if I think of my career and the obstacles to my getting on I think first I am Black, secondly I am a woman and thirdly I might think of class, but I rarely think of class. (Journalist, woman, born in Britain, population 1)

The excerpts above are representative of the types of answers given by those respondents who chose to elaborate upon their attitudes towards the concept of class as it related to their position in Britain (just over a third simply stated No, they did not think of their position in Britain in terms of class). As can be seen the single most frequent reason put forward for not considering their position in class terms is the fact that they believe that as Black people they stand outside the British class structure. In many instances this was seen as a result of the fact that this was how White society perceived them. Those respondents who stated that they did not consider class to be important, or that they saw themselves primarily as individuals, fell into roughly equal proportions.

The following are excerpts from interviews held with those respondents who stated that they did think of their position in Britain in terms of class:

Yes I suppose I do. I want to get on, I have always had a lot of ambition to get on and make good use of the opportunities in this country. Black people tend to criticise and run down the politics of this country and the racism, but that is human nature, they will find it elsewhere in any other part of the world and even in their own countries. There is prejudice over there, not racial prejudice it's more class prejudice. Yes I am aware of my class, I come from a working class background but I want to aspire to better things. I want to live in a big house and have a nice car and so on, and I am prepared to work hard for it. As long as I do it legitimately and don't hurt anybody or break the law in the process, I intend to do well and live a comfortable life when I am older. I don't really want to live in this country all my life because I don't like the climate for one thing. This is a very good country though to get on in, despite the heavy taxation and so on. Of course there are barriers which Black people face, but you have to overcome them, you have got to be prepared, you can't take a defeatist attitude or too aggressive attitude because you are likely to get nowhere at all. I know they say you have to be that much better as a Black man to get on and I agree with that, but alright you know what you are up against, so go out there and try and achieve it. (Draftsman, male, born in Britain, population 2)

Some focused on lifestyle:

Yes I think I do. Well for instance there are certain people who maybe if I were sitting in a wine bar who would come and start speaking to me I wouldn't want to speak to. I mean I know that from experience, and there are other people who might start talking and I might think, "Oh yes, he (or she) sounds alright", and then I might hold a conversation with that person. I think that is a class thing. I wouldn't have a boyfriend who earned less than I did. Or I wouldn't have a boyfriend who was a mechanic because I wouldn't have anything in common with him. He wouldn't like to go to the type of places that I like to go to, and we wouldn't have the same values, and I'm sure he wouldn't be comfortable at a cocktail party with company executives and so on. Although I think I could fit in better into his lifestyle than he could fit into mine, but I wouldn't be prepared to do it on an on-going basis. Maybe once in a while if it is a friend yes. (Advertising Sales Department Manager, female, born in Britain, population 1)

Some argued that they are made aware of their class position by those around them:

It's funny you should ask that because lots of people ask that. It's really strange because you find that when you reach a position such as mine your friends and your family change around you. They suddenly regard you as some sort of God, its a really strange sort of feeling. And you lose friends as well. Well you lose contact with them I should say, I don't think they consciously say they are no longer your friends, but once you aspire I'm not sure whether it's jealousy or just envy or whether they think that because they are not on my earning capacity and I can afford to go to all these places and I drive a good car or whatever that I no longer want to associate with them, which is totally wrong. But I have definitely found that people react differently towards you when you become, in inverted commas, 'successful'. Your own people and that is sad. It also depends on how you carry yourself, because a lot of Black people who have got positions are really pig-headed with it and they go round believing they are the best thing since sliced bread. So I can understand why some people turn against them, but that's not my approach and as a Christian I wouldn't behave like that anyway. So returning to the question I suppose I do think of my class position especially when compared to my White counterparts, particularly my White friends who were at school with me, I sort of compare myself with what they have achieved and what I have now achieved, and I think I would say I was a Black middle class. (Personnel Officer, Female, born in Britain, population 1)

I do when I have to fill a form in or when I do a questionnaire, and I am not being funny. I think that I think about it when I have had to think about it, like when the last census came around and they had a thing on class. It's not something that occupies my mind very much, but yes I do occasionally think about it. (Headmistress, population 1)

Some are conscious of their class position because of the jobs they do:

Yes basically because of my profession. I am constantly reminded of my power because of my job. I only meet the senior executives. (Chartered Accountant, woman, population 1)

Yes I constantly think about class and colour. I still feel that classes have not been blurred. There are a lot of subtle distinctions that still exist and I don't fit into all the factors of a White middle class society. I am from a working class background but within my profession - in Chambers they are all from middle class and upper middle class backgrounds, a few have been to private school. The 'old school boy' practice is still going on. All this I found out being at the Bar, and things are very subtle. They don't judge you by your work, but by your parents, rather than dealing with you individually. Accents also make a difference, regional accents make it difficult. (Barrister, woman, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

It would be dishonest to say I have never looked at my position in terms of class, but I am always conscious of the fact that I am Black and as such I question the appropriateness of placing myself in 'a class group'. (Business consultant, male, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

Some respondents identified what can be termed the 'duality' of their position:

I suppose by all the sort of criteria that we have just looked at I would come in the middle class section, but in terms of attitude and political opinions I am very much identified with the working class and my background is working class, so are my roots. (Psychologist, male, population 1)

Yes I do, I see myself as being middle class back home because of my schooling and profession and here in Britain too because of my values, my self-esteem. But this society will always see me as working class because of racism. But I am middle class in terms of my education and my profession. (Nursing Tutor, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Yes especially with the British themselves. They are so class conscious, they judge you from the school you went to, the way you dress, the area in which you live, the type of house you live in and your parents' occupation. So I suppose I try to see how they see me. The sensible ones see us in classes but then some try to manipulate you or use you as a token Black. (Nursing Sister, woman, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Other respondents were conscious of their class position but acknowledge that

White people do not see them in that way:

Yes I do, but I feel that the working class British who would identify you once you are Black as inferior. I feel this is inculcated in him, he feels he is superior to the Black man, it

makes him feel good that in spite of the fact that he is in the working class he is not at the bottom of the pile, he is superior over even the Black man who is a doctor, or a professional man, he still considers himself superior to the Black man. The educated middle class White person now he accepts you as a middle class if you have certain middle values, but that does not say, and I know you did not ask this question, that he is not racially biased. You still have that racial bias, but once he listens to you, becomes aware of your attitudes of what he considers to be is the norm, the standard of a middle class. He would accept you as a middle class. And that goes of course with the occupation that you have got. (Dentist, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Oh yes, I am a second class citizen in Britain because I am Black. (Barrister, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Some respondents assessed their position in relation to the Caribbean:

Yes I take it for granted, but I don't in any way relate to the British context, I am thinking of my position by home. (Solicitor, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Yes I regard myself as middle class. I attach the same standards of living, and values to the middle class in the Caribbean. I have always believed that I am middle class. My position was never lowered when I came to Britain. In Barbados we have always been regarded in certain respects as more English than the English. So I adhere to the same criteria that you would apply to class structure in Barbados to England. (Higher Executive Officer, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Quite a few of the answers provided by this group of respondents are particular to individual respondents: for example those who stated that yes they do think about their class position in terms of getting on in their careers, the people they associate with, or how their friends react to them and the position (occupational position) they occupy. These types of answers are not representative of this group of respondents. However, three fairly well defined categories of answers did emerge. Firstly, there were those respondents who stated that they still chose to view their class position in terms of how they would be seen in the Caribbean. Secondly those who although they had considered their class position in Britain acknowledged that as Black people, class was not a concept that could be readily used to define their position in Britain. Thirdly, there were those respondents who suggested that they did not consciously think about their position in Britain in terms

of class, but only did so when made to think about it - either in terms of their jobs and work associates or when filling in forms or something similar. This third category was in fact the single most frequent answer offered by this group.

7.1:4 Are you more inclined to think of yourself in terms of being a Black person as opposed to your class position?

In order to assess the level of priority the respondents gave to seeing themselves as Black people as opposed to assessing their position in Britain in terms of class, the respondents were asked, "Are you more inclined to think of yourself in terms of being a Black person as opposed to your class position?" As can be seen from tables 7.7, 7.8, and 7.9 the majority of the respondents (63% of all those who answered the question) stated that, yes, they were more inclined to think of themselves in terms of being a Black person. In many instances no reasons were given as they had in part answered the question previously. Of those respondents who did enlarge upon their answers the reasons given usually revolved around the argument that they lived their lives through their 'Blackness' and identified themselves as such. The excerpt below is typical:

Yes, that's the first thing that goes before me, with me, and everything, I am a Black person. (Psychologist, woman, population 1)

Those respondents who said they were *not* more inclined to see themselves in terms of being a Black person did not necessarily state that they thought of themselves in terms of class. In fact only one respondent stated that they were more inclined to see themselves in terms of class:

I think of myself as a middle class Black and I feel quite happy about it. I am always aware that I am Black and in a way I feel robbed that I speak with an English accent. My colour has a positive discrimination effect because I am acceptable. I am a carefully chosen nigger - a White man's nigger, but I play them at their own game. I play to get what I want ... I believe that I am in

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS ADULTS: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - ARE YOU MORE INCLINED TO THINK OF YOURSELF IN TERMS OF BEING A BLACK PERSON AS OPPOSED TO YOUR CLASS POSITION?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	19	4	6	6	35	60%
NO	11	2	3	7	23	39%
TOTAL	30	6	9	13	58	

TABLE 7,7

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 17

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS A CHILD: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - ARE YOU MORE INCLINED TO THINK OF YOURSELF IN TERMS OF BEING A BLACK PERSON AS OPPOSED TO YOUR CLASS POSITION?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	7	3	7	3	20	64%
NO	2	1	1	3	7	22%
IT VARIES	1	-	-	-	1	3%
WOMAN	-	-	1	1	2	6%
BLACK M/C	-	-	1	-	1	3%
TOTAL	10	4	10	7	31	

TABLE 7,8

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE = 4

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) BORN IN BRITAIN:
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - ARE YOU MORE INCLINED TO
THINK OF YOURSELF IN TERMS OF BEING A BLACK PERSON AS OPPOSED
TO YOUR CLASS POSITION?'

	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	MEN POP 1	TOTAL	%
YES	3	1	4	8	80%
NO	2	-	-	2	20%
TOTAL	5	1	4	10	

TABLE 7.9

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS ADULTS
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'IF YOU HAD TO SAY MIDDLE OR WORKING CLASS
WHICH CLASS WOULD YOU SAY YOU BELONGED TO?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
WORKING CLASS	5	3	2	7	17	26%
MIDDLE CLASS	22	3	7	5	37	56%
HAVE NO CLASS	6	-	-	-	6	9%
BLACK	1	1	-	-	2	3%
PROFESSIONAL MIDDLE CLASS	-	-	1	-	1	1%
NOT SURE	-	-	-	2	2	3%
TOTAL	34	7	10	14	65	

TABLE 7.10

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE - 10

a White country and I will conform in order to succeed. (Chartered Accountant, female, population 1)

The other respondents saw themselves in terms of being an individual/human being (they accounted for well over a quarter of those who answered the question), or in terms of gender:

I think of myself more in terms of being a woman than colour. I mean colour is important but Black women have taken a lot of shit from White society and Black male society and we have got to start getting things for ourselves, and thinking about ourselves as being Black and women at the same time To me that is the biggest issue, it's really important. (Residential Social Worker, came to Britain as a child, population 2)

7.1:5 If you had to say middle or working class which class would you say you belonged to?

In asking the above question no reference was made to the issue of colour or racism. The respondents were only asked to identify the class position they felt they belonged to. As tables 7.10, 7.11, and 7.12 indicate the majority (55%) of those respondents who answered the question identified the middle class as being the class they felt they belonged to. A few of the respondents stated that they found it difficult to answer the question because they felt that as Black people the British class system was not applicable to their particular situation. This response was in line with the answers they had provided in response to the previous questions; however, by suspending the issue of 'race' for the time being some of these respondents were able to assess their position in terms of what they felt to be broad indicators of class position. Factors such as occupation/profession, income/ economic power, education/professional qualifications were identified. As can be seen from the excerpts quoted below, these factors formed the basis of much of the answers provided by all those who stated that they felt they belonged to the middle class. Additional factors identified included; values, aspirations, standard of living, area/type of residence, family background, and father's occupation.

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS A CHILD: ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'IF YOU HAD TO SAY MIDDLE OR WORKING CLASS WHICH CLASS WOULD YOU SAY YOU BELONGED TO?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
WORKING CLASS	2	4	2	2	10	31%
MIDDLE CLASS	6	-	7	4	17	53%
PROFESSIONAL	1	-	1	-	2	6%
NO CLASS	1	-	-	1	2	6%
BLACK	-	-	1	-	1	3%
TOTAL	10	4	11	7	32	

TABLE 7.11

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE - 3-

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO WERE BORN IN BRITAIN:
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'IF YOU HAD TO SAY MIDDLE OR WORKING CLASS
WHICH CLASS WOULD YOU SAY YOU BELONGED TO?'

	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	MEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
WORKING CLASS	2	1	2	5	50%
MIDDLE CLASS	3	-	2	5	50%
TOTAL	5	1	4	10	

TABLE 7,12

MEN AND WOMEN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO) WHO WERE BORN IN BRITAIN:
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'DO YOU THINK IT IS POSSIBLE FOR BLACK
(AFRO-CARIBBEAN) PEOPLE TO BE MIDDLE CLASS IN BRITAIN?'

	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	MEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	4	1	2	7	70%
NO	1	-	2	3	30%
TOTAL	5	1	4	10	

TABLE 7,13

Well I suppose if we play blind for a minute I say I *could* be deemed a middle class person because of my education, my occupation, my income and life style. But the other thing is whether the people in those classes would accept me. I don't know. I believe they wouldn't accept me, for evidence suggests that they wouldn't. (Social Worker - management level, male, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

To be consistent with theoretical knowledge I would say middle class. However, politically speaking, and here I am using the word political in a very cautious way, I would say I am just a member of a status group, which is Black. (Business Consultant, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Some respondents were very confident about how they saw themselves:

I am middle class and growing. I intend to be upper middle class. I am achieving so much and I don't intend to stop. I can never be upper class though because I haven't got inherited wealth. (Chartered Accountant, female, population 1)

I would honestly say I was middle class and that's because of my education and aspirations. I aspire towards a lot of the things that people associate with the middle class success. For instance if I had a child there is no way, if I had the money, that I would send that child to a government school. It would have to be a very good school that had a very good reputation. I would like to think of my child going to a school of my choosing, the best school I think would do for that child and get the best out of that child. And if it happened to be a private school then too bad. I don't vote Labour and I don't vote Conservative either, because I don't like either of their policies I vote Liberal/Social Democratic if I have to vote, because I feel that is middle of the road and I feel I must vote for something to at least be able to say I did vote. I tend to be middle of the road, Conservative with a small 'c' if you like. So those are the sort of things you can associate with the sort of people who have aspirations for middle class status. My taste is quite middle class in many things. In clothes for example, I mean I don't go to the shop and buy a nice outfit because it's got a nice style, I want the material to be nice. I don't go and ask for the price, if I like it then the price comes after, not because I have got the money to squander but if the material isn't right and the price is cheap and I like it, I won't buy it even if I like it, because I want to think it's going to last me for a long time and it won't if the material isn't any good Also my friends - the people I invite here are people like me, although there are other people as well, you know people who are not professionals but most of my friends are professionals like myself. (Solicitor, female, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

I would say middle class because of the power I control - economic power which determines who you are. (Accountant/Businessman, population 1)

Again emphasis was placed by some on the 'non-acceptance' of Whites:

Middle class because of my education, salary, the friends that I have. I am a professional middle class person by anybody's definition, but Whites would not recognise this though. (Race Relations Adviser, male, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

Some emphasised that although they regard themselves as middle class they have not severed links with the Black 'community':

Middle class and this would be based on education, income etc, but I have not severed links with the working class Black community. I have remained friends with my working class friends. Even my mode of speech hasn't changed. I will speak to my friends from back home with my accent in front of my middle class friends. (Deputy Headmaster, population 1)

It is difficult for me to say because to be frank with you, on the one hand I certainly consider myself above many working class people from the point of view of aspirations. And it is right also that from the point of view of my life style, ie I don't drink a lot in pubs and I have a house and so on, in the classic British sense you could consider my position to be middle class. However, in an intellectual sense there is no way I aspire to the same sort of values that they would aspire to. (Businessman, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

I don't know and that is my dilemma. I want to get away from the whole idea of class it is abhorrent to me. But if I am pressed I would have to say that since in this country White society sees people in professional jobs as being middle class, then I would have to reluctantly say I am in the middle class. (Principal Social Worker, male, population 1)

The theme which ran through quite a few of the answers provided by the respondents, is one which relates to the issue of acceptance by what can be termed - the class of arrival. These respondents identify and acknowledge that as a result of the racist nature of British society they as Black people will not be accepted - regardless of their professional standing, education or whatever - as anything more than/other than Black. The most significant aspect of the views put forward concerning this issue is that in assessing their situation in British society these respondents outline that they do not feel any affiliation to the middle class. Those respondents who stated that they believed they belonged to the working class accounted for 29% of all

those who answered the question. This is what some of the respondents had to say:

I would say I belong to the working class. Okay, I might sometimes be in a better financial position than some of the people who call themselves middle class, but that doesn't make me middle class. Whatever I might attain I really work for it and I am still working. So therefore I count myself as working class. I wouldn't consider any success I might attain to be able to take me out of that class bracket. (Businessman, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

I would have to argue that I am placed within the working class framework, because that is basically where society tends to place me. It's not a question of where I place myself it is where society places me within the strata of society. From an economic viewpoint though they stipulate that I am in the middle class sector by definition, because of my occupation. (Lecturer, woman, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

I think I would say I am working class. Some would say that I am denying my professional status which they see as being middle class But I know what it feels like to be working class and I don't know whether I know what it feels like to be middle class. (Team Leader, Social Worker, woman, population 1)

I don't think I am typical, because I align myself with the working class. The middle class are false, they are always striving to be upwardly mobile. (Headmaster, population 1)

A sociologist like yourself would put me in the middle class on the grounds of income and everything else - the type of job I do and so on, but I think the fact remains that I identify with the working class. (Psychologist, male, population 1)

Working class, because I see myself as a worker. Middle class people are very well off, they can do anything they like and go on holidays. Whereas I'm a working class person who lives from day to day. (Pharmacy Technician, woman, population 2)

It's a difficult one because by virtue of the fact that everyday you have to justify your existence as a Black person, you are put in the position where even if you have middle class values you are put in the position where you have to say you are still in the working class. The colour of your skin in this country judges you and makes you working class irrespective of your qualifications, job, possessions, etc, etc. They feel much safer putting you in these bags and stereotyping you. (Accountant, male, population 2)

I belong to the working class because I live on a council estate and I'm not in a high powered job. (Shorthand typist, woman, came to Britain as an adult population 2)

I would say working class and be proud of it. It speaks for itself, I go out to work to maintain a set standard of living, but I don't go out to earn to put myself into another class I work for myself and my family. (Nursing Sister, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Since being in this country I think that I will consider myself to be working class because those are all the experiences that my family and I think I have had. If someone were to ask me what my class was in the West Indies, and still is because of my family living there I would say that we were middle or upper class, which is quite odd it's a bit of a double thing. I don't think that they actually translate very easily, because I am working class here doesn't necessarily mean that I will correspond with the same grouping in the Caribbean and likewise from the Caribbean here. (Probation Officer, male, population 1)

If you define it in terms of parental background or work experience I would say at the moment I am working class. I do have aspirations of moving upwards and that will come about when I complete my studies. (Trainee Accountant, male, came as a child, population 2)

Again the issue of the way in which British society perceives Black people forms the basis of some of the responses received from the respondents. Other respondents indicated that they identified with the British working classes, whether it be in terms of outlook or actual experiences was not always clearly defined. Those respondents who emphasised their financial situation as being an indicator of their class position, tended to be those who worked in the teaching and nursing professions or those who worked as secretaries and clerk typists. The issue of housing tenure was another factor that was used by a few respondents as a measure of their class position. This method of 'measurement' was usually adopted by those respondents who presently live in council houses/flats. As can be seen from figure 7a, of the one hundred and eleven respondents who provided details concerning house ownership, eight respondents stated that they live in council houses/flats. These respondents represent a considerable minority. The majority of the respondents (83%) are owner occupiers.

This pattern reflects to an extent evidence put forward by Smith (1977), that when controlling for occupation, Afro-Caribbeans are nationally over-represented as owner occupiers and under-represented as council tenants when compared to their counterparts in the indigenous population. Similar conclusions are reached by Foner (1979) and Miles and Phizacklea (1980). One

HOUSE OWNERSHIP - POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO

HOUSING TENURE	POPULATION	POPULATION	TOTAL	%
	1	2		
(DETACHED (HOUSE)	7	1	8	7%
(SEMI DETACHED (HOUSE)	19	8	27	24%
(TERRACED (HOUSE)	26	15	41	36%
(TERRACED (TOWN HOUSE)	1	-	1	0.9%
OWNER (DETACHED (BUNGALOW)	2	-	2	1%
OCUPIED PROPERTIES (SEMI DETACHED (BUNGALOW)	2	-	2	1%
(FLAT (CONVERSION)	6	1	7	6%
(FLAT (PURPOSE BUILT (2 - 4 STOREYS	2	-	2	1%
(MAISONETTE	-	3	3	2%
PRIVATELY RENTED FLAT	3	2	5	4%
COUNCIL FLAT/HOUSE	2	6	8	7%
HOUSING ASSOCIATION HOUSE	1	-	1	0.9%
NURSES HOME	-	1	1	0.9%
LIVING AT PARENTS HOME	1	2	3	2%
TOTAL	72	39	111	

FIGURE 7a

NOTE NON-RESPONSE - 9

of the main arguments put forward for this over-representation in the private housing market is that direct and indirect discrimination in the public sector (Rex and Moore 1967, Peach, Robinson and Smith 1981) served to force them into the private sector. Even so, as Peach et al (1981) point out: entry into the private sector was controlled by the building societies:

and prior to the 1968 Act there was nothing to stop building societies discriminating in overt as well as covert ways against (Peach et al 1981:26)

7.1:6 Do you think it is possible for Black (Afro-Caribbean) people to be Middle Class in Britain?

The answers given in response to the question above provide a clearer understanding of the weight which the respondents give to how they believe the host society views Black people and how that in turn reflects upon their perception of their position in Britain. Taking the overall results of tables 7.13, 7.14, and 7.15, we see that over three quarters of those who answered the question felt that it was possible for Black people to be middle class in Britain and just under a quarter of the respondents felt that it was not possible. Below there is a selection of the types of answers provided:

There already is a Black middle class in this country, in fact a professional Black middle class. You can usually judge this in terms of their occupation and education, but some Whites refuse to recognise this they prefer to see all Blacks as hoodlums and drug pushers. (Race Relations Adviser, male, population 1)

Yes and I think there are many who I know personally who consider themselves as middle class. They, as I have said before, are the type of Black men who divorce themselves from the Black community and go and live in very posh areas, and as a matter of fact try to speak like the Englishman. They also try to adopt all the virtues of the Englishman. That's what I term as the middle class Black man. You see many people who although their skin is Black go out of their way to act the opposite or associate themselves with any Black person because of their wealth or the position they hold.

MEN AND WOMEN WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS ADULTS (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO);
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION - 'DO YOU THINK IT IS POSSIBLE FOR BLACK PEOPLE (AFRO-CARIBBEANS)
TO BE MIDDLE CLASS IN BRITAIN

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	22	3	9	12	46	79%
NO	5	3	1	1	10	17%
NOT SURE	1	-	-	-	1	1%
IT DOES NOT MATTER	1	-	-	-	1	1%
TOTAL	29	6	10	13	58	

TABLE 7,14

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE - 17

MEN AND WOMEN WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS CHILDREN (POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO);
ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION 'DO YOU THINK IT IS POSSIBLE FOR BLACK (AFRO CARIBBEAN) PEOPLE TO BE
MIDDLE CLASS IN BRITAIN

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	7	2	9	5	23	76%
NO	3	1	2	1	7	23%
TOTAL	10	3	11	6	30	

TABLE 7,15

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE - 5

Those people I would say are middle class Whites but who have a Black skin. (Solicitor, came to Britain as an adult, male, population 1)

As far as I am concerned the position of Black people or how they are seen is not going to change very much. We shall always be regarded as immigrants. Our position will not be improved whether we are here for thirty years or three months, we will always be immigrants. (Businessman, came to Britain as an adult, population 1)

No I do not, it is only possible in another setting, another environment, another country. (Barrister, woman, population 1)

No, there are not enough of them to be middle class because not enough of them have the right attitude. The right attitude is having values, ambition, wanting to get on, what you have you want for your kids and more. Values are the crux of it ... Black people from the Caribbean are contented to live for today instead of forgoing happiness now for happiness in the future. The classes will never change. (Chartered Accountant, woman, population 1)

Oh yes there's going to be a great struggle ahead for the majority of us, but we can achieve middle class positions in terms of our jobs. (Auxiliary Nurse, woman, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Some argued that Black people in the professions are accepted as middle class:

I don't know what that means. They can be accepted by people in the professions they happen to be in. I don't think Blacks are kept from the higher echelons but they must assist other Blacks. For example the 'tokens' must realise that they are tokens and help others. Blacks will be in more positions of power, but Black children have to be told that it is a hard graft. (Barrister, female, came as an adult, population 1)

Others argue that they would not be accepted:

No not really, not in terms of acceptance. I have got to be realistic and say, you will never have complete integration. When you have integration then you can have these lines of classes. They can't deal with Blacks in terms of class. For example a Black with a good car, they think you must have got it illegally. They take no time to understand you. So therefore even if you achieve you are still regarded as the same. The irony is that we understand the White race much more than they will ever understand us. (Accountant, male, came to Britain as a child, population 2)

Yes it is possible because there are quite a few who are in the middle class bracket educationally and financially and they acquire most of the things middle class people acquire. They live in good areas, pay good attention to their children's education etc, and all the necessary things within the home. But they are not recognised

as being middle class by the Whites in this country. (Office Manager, woman, came to Britain as an adult, population 2)

Possession of middle class aspirations was cited by some:

On my definition I think it is definitely possible for Black people to be middle class in this country. I mean there are lots of Black people with aspirations especially the younger Black people. They have middle class aspirations, they want a house, they want a good education, they go to college, they want a job a qualified job, they want to earn a reasonable salary, they like good things and if they get the chance they will also send their children to private school. Those things are what I see as middle class aspirations. It's not that they want to be middle class it's because those things themselves they feel help them or help their children to succeed in this society. (Solicitor, woman, population 1)

Others who would appear to have a similar class position in terms of occupation as the previous respondent are less concerned with aspirations than with definitions based on current position - for example:

If one goes by occupation then I would say yes it is possible, but if one goes by parental occupation or upbringing or how they are seen by Whites then no. (Doctor, woman, population 1)

Oh yes certainly, but it depends what you mean by middle class. If they want to be 'middle class English', some people I suppose will strive for that, but whether it's a good thing or not I wouldn't like to say. I think it would interfere and as I see it take away from the Black consciousness, their own racial background. (Training Lecturer, male, population 1)

Why not? It depends on how you define class. I don't look at class as being a matter of race really, because if I am capable of being middle class in other parts of Europe where it is predominantly White, I can't see why I can't see why I can't see myself as being middle class in England which is still predominantly White. (Engineer, male, population 1)

Yes it exists already, but there are social problems. I have seen and experienced envy and hostility among other Blacks when they see other Blacks trying to improve themselves. The open minded ones will look favourably on that sort of individual, but some show their envy and hostility. (Dentist, male, population 1)

Some argued that it was possible but would produce a number of compradors.

It is possible yes, but I hope we don't produce many for a long time because there would be a racial imbalance. They would only be a lot of tame people and I'm sure the British would manipulate them as they have done in the past. (Accountant/Businessman, came to Britain as a child, population 1)

I think it is possible, and I think there are substantial numbers of Black people who have deliberately made themselves middle class. In order to do that they have had to restrict their links with their own community, so that they can feel accepted by the White middle class community. They have had also to restrict their own cultural activities. (Race Relations Adviser, male, population 1)

The problem with Black people is that they have become very pessimistic. We have got very good reasons for being pessimistic because from time immemorial we have been stamped on, trodden on and the rest of it, so we have great reason to feel that way. But it's now time for us to stop blowing our trumpets on 'Oh I have been hard done by' and even though we are barristers we are still regarded by 'Mr White Man' as such and such. Blow 'Mr White Man' you have got to go out there and you prove to them that you can do the job ten times better than them, and you put them in a position where they need you. Barristers and solicitors have got a key position there, the public need them, so exploit the situation Black people have to work at a job ten times harder than the White man because we are criticised for every move we make. So if we are just on the same level as the White man, the White man is going to be seen to do better in everybody else's eyes, but if we are five to ten times better which we usually are if we put our minds to it, then we will get the recognition. We will outshine him so much that there is just no way that they could dispute that we are better than him. It's got to be a clear cut decision that this person is really fantastic, it can't be, 'Well, possibly they are about the same'. We mustn't sit down on our laurels and say, "Well I have become say a manager of this, that, or the other and great". You can't do it, you have got to keep on going, keep fighting. I really believe that. We can do it, we have got to stop being pessimistic, if you have got an obstacle, move it, MOVE IT OUT OF THE WAY and don't anyone tell me that it can't be moved, it can. (Personnel Manager, female, population 1)

As in the preceding sections, the answers provided by the respondents have been quoted at length. As can be seen the respondents present a variety of views but in many instances they are working towards the same answers. The significance of the answers provided, lies not in whether they say 'it is possible for Black people to be middle class in Britain' or 'not', but rather the process of reasoning adopted by each respondent in attempting to put forward their perception of the situation facing Black people in British society.

The picture that has emerged is one in which three broad perspectives can be said to have developed. Firstly, there are those respondents who hold the view that it is possible for Black people to fit into the British class

structure (here emphasis is placed upon objective indicators of class position) and as such do not envisage any problems. Many acknowledge the existence of racism in Britain, but feel that this can be overcome with time. Significantly this group makes no mention of the possibility that Black people may not be accepted as middle class by the class of arrival. Secondly there are those who have constructed their own 'ideal type' of what they see as the existing Black middle class in Britain. In the majority of instances the 'ideal type' presented appears to be based on particular individuals the respondents themselves have come into contact with. The type of middle class Black person they describe is usually regarded as someone who consciously seeks to sever links with the 'Black community', adopts speech and mannerisms similar to that of the indigenous middle class and chooses to have a White spouse. The descriptions provided fit very much the description which Frazier (1958) uses to describe the Black American middle class. On the basis of his findings he argues that the Black middle class in America:

Strive to mould themselves in the image of the White man.
(1957:146)

Thirdly, there are those respondents who argue forcefully that Black people can never be middle class in the 'true sense of the word' due to the fact that they will never be accepted by White society, they will always be regarded as just another Black. A third of these respondents did, however, answer in the affirmative, when asked, "Do you think it is possible for Black people to be middle class in Britain?" It would seem that having acknowledged that class position on the basis of acceptance by the class of arrival can never be a reality for Black people in the British context, they resolve to argue that used purely as a descriptive concept (as opposed to one which necessitates common acceptance by members of the receiving class as a pre-condition for 'gaining entry') Black people can be described as middle class in objective terms. The world view which these respondents adopt is one which views Black

people striving against the odds to succeed in terms of their careers and eventually doing so - but not gaining the acceptance of the host society. As individuals these respondents do not identify with the concept of class in British Society but instead make sense of their situation through their experience of being Black in a predominantly White society.

Of the three broad perspectives which have emerged, the first and third are the most frequently voiced assessments of the concept of class as it relates to Afro-Caribbeans in the British context. Overall the level of identification with either the White middle or White working class is low. The respondents identified objective criteria such as occupation, education, values, outlook that they felt typified being middle class and many argued that they did possess these criteria. However, as stated earlier, many indicated that this did not mean that they identified or felt an allegiance to the British middle class, as their position was complicated by the criterion of 'race' - a factor which they felt was a principal determinant of the way in which they were viewed by the White British. Only a handful of respondents stated that class was of no consequence to them in Britain as they viewed their class position in terms of the Caribbean. In the main the respondents who held this view arrived in Britain much later than the majority of the respondents, they migrated to Britain during the 1970s as a result of political upheaval in their country of origin and can be seen perhaps in a sense more as migrants than settlers.

7.2 A PERSPECTIVE ON BRITISH POLITICS

In the following section of the chapter we go on to look at the political views held by the respondents, their attitudes towards the British political system, and their political allegiances. In so doing it is hoped that a picture will emerge that serves to highlight how the respondents interpret their position vis-a-vis the arena of British politics.

7.2:1 Voting: What Political Party did you Vote for in the 1983 General Election? (See Tables 7.16, 7.17, 7.18)

As can be seen from table 7.16 (those who migrated to Britain as adults) and table 7.17 (those who came to Britain as children) the majority of those respondents who answered the question stated that they voted for the Labour party. The results for those respondents born in Britain, recorded in table 7.18, indicates that half voted for the Labour party and the other half voted for the Conservative party.

TABLE 7.16:

Males - Population One - Migrated to Britain as adults

Half of these respondents voted for the Labour party, over a quarter voted for the Liberal/SDP Alliance, and just under a quarter voted for the Conservatives. The reasons given by those who voted for the Labour party fell into four basic groups. Firstly, there were those who stated that they had always voted Labour:

I have always voted Labour because I feel the Labour party is the party for the under-privileged, the workers and for the haves and have-nots and the struggling. Although I am not necessarily in that category I always feel sympathetic to the Labour party even before I came to England, because I already had an understanding of British politics. (Architect, male)

I have voted in every single election since I have been here, and I always supported the Labour party ... I have always identified myself with the Labour party before I came to Britain. I read a lot about the founders of the Labour party and the Trade Union movement and so on. I always felt that the Labour party was the party for the under-dogs. Some people have argued that the Labour party has changed, but society has changed a lot over the years also and I feel that I have a certain commitment to the Labour party despite all the quarrels and arguments they have been having. I think that at the end of the day it is a much more humane party. They all make mistakes, obviously, but the Labour party are much more concerned with the elderly, the sick, the handicapped and people who do not benefit from the rat race, and that is one of the reasons why I support them. (Community Relations Officer, male)

I vote Labour and I instruct all members of my family to vote Labour. I support them not because of their policies in this country but because they are more sympathetic to under developed

MEN AND WOMEN WHO CAME TO BRITAIN AS ADULTS (POPULATIONS 1 & 2) ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION
'WHICH POLITICAL PARTY DID YOU VOTE FOR IN THE 1983 GENERAL ELECTION?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
LABOUR	14	2	7	11	34	59%
CONSERVATIVE	6	2	-	1	9	15%
LIBERAL	2	2	1	-	5	8%
LIBERAL/ SDP ALLIANCE	2	-	-	-	2	3%
SOCIAL DEMO- CRATIC PARTY	4	-	1	2	7	12%
TOTAL	28	6	9	14	57	

TABLE 7,16

NOTE: NON RESPONSE 18

MEN AND WOMEN WHO CAME AS CHILDREN (POPULATIONS 1 & 2) ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION
'WHICH POLITICAL PARTY DID YOU VOTE FOR IN THE 1983 GENERAL ELECTION?'

	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
LABOUR	7	2	3	1	13	68%
CONSERVATIVE	-	-	1	-	1	5%
LIBERAL	-	-	-	1	1	5%
SOCIAL DEMO- CRATIC PARTY	1	-	1	2	4	20%
TOTAL	8	2	5	4	19	

TABLE 7,17

NOTE: NON RESPONSE 16

MEN AND WOMEN BORN IN BRITAIN (POPULATIONS 1 & 2) ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION
'WHICH POLITICAL PARTY DID YOU VOTE FOR IN THE 1983 GENERAL ELECTION?'

	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	MEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
LABOUR	2	-	-	2	50%
CONSERVATIVE	1	-	1	2	50%
TOTAL	3	-	1	4	

TABLE 7.18

NOTE: NON RESPONSE - 6

countries. Back home though I tend to be more Conservative.
(Dispensing Optician, male)

I am a member of the Labour party and I always vote Labour, they represent my opinions and the underprivileged masses.
(Accountant/Businessman)

I vote Labour and I can't vote for anything else because I am a congenital Socialist. Having said that I don't believe any political party will allow Blacks anything voluntarily, we have to use the political structure how any other pressure group would. Whoever is in power we must deal with. The Labour Party is not to be trusted at all. We may in fact get more out of the Conservatives - the name of the game is power. The Asians are exploiting their own to make money and use this as their power base. It is a myth about the rich Asian population, many of them are held to ransom to their own Asian employers who have them in virtual bondage. (Race Relations Adviser)

Secondly, there are those who state that they had voted Labour reluctantly:

Politics to me is irrelevant as a Black man I think people's attitudes and changing those attitudes throughout the years are more important, and no political party is interested in doing that because that would lose them votes. So for years I decided that I wouldn't vote, but then I talked to people and I said to myself you can't get on by being a no-doer you have got to do something, and so I thought even as a bad second choice the Labour party was better than the Conservative although they are both the same racist peoples. (Special Telecommunications Officer)

I voted for Labour, reluctantly I must say, because there is very little difference between the Labour, the Conservatives, the SDP and the Liberals. (Principal Social Worker)

Thirdly, there were those who voted for the Labour party because they believed they might 'help' Black (whether the respondents included Asians in this category was not clearly defined) people in some ways.

Labour, because I think Black people's interests coincides with the Labour party's policies. (Education Inspector)

... I am not saying that the Labour party's attitudes towards the Black was much more Liberal or helpful compared to the Conservative party, but I believe that the programme the Labour party put forward in their manifesto would help the working class, and because the majority of Blacks happen to be within the working class I feel they would also be helped. That is one of the reasons I voted for the Labour party. I also voted for them because of their immigration policies, they spoke about getting rid of the immigration law which the Conservatives had introduced. Despite the fact that they brought in the first immigration laws they decided to repeal it.
(Dentist)

Fourthly, one respondent stated that he voted Labour because:

... I see myself as being left of centre and Labour policies seem to be more acceptable to me rather than any of other parties. (Doctor)

The majority of these respondents had a positive orientation towards voting for the Labour party. Eight of the fourteen stated that they always voted Labour. This does not however appear to be merely a reflection of 'habitual' voting, for these respondents in the main put forward clearly defined reasons for their persistent Labour vote. Those respondents who believed that the Labour party's policies would go some way towards alleviating economic, social pressures amongst Black people in Britain, couched this statement in the belief that as a part of the British working class (the class which they state the Labour party represents) Black people would benefit from measures/policies formed with the working class in mind. Only two respondents were negatively oriented towards voting for the Labour party and only voted Labour because they felt it was the better of two (or indeed three) evils.

The reasons given by those respondents who voted for the Conservative party, place similar emphasis (as did those who voted for the Labour party) on the belief that the party they voted for reflected their opinions and views, and did more to help Black people than the other political parties. In addition these respondents highlighted the view that they believed that the Conservative party's policies were 'better' for Britain and that they also did more to encourage small businesses. All the respondents were positively oriented towards the Conservative party, although none of the respondents gave any class interest reasons for voting Conservative. The excerpts below give an indication of the way in which the respondents put forward their reasons for voting Conservative in the 1983 general election:

I have never voted Labour, I voted for the Conservative, because their policies are much better for this country and in foreign

affairs and this has a good effect on trade etc. (Probation Officer)

Yes, I voted for the Conservative party. I voted Conservative because the Conservative party reflects my views. I can assure you I don't particularly like the leader of the Conservative party but my views are basically Conservative. I was born with those views and I think I will die with them. (Doctor)

This respondent was asked whether he believed that the Conservative views he held in the Caribbean could be transferred to the British context. He replied:

Yes, the same views I had in the Caribbean I have now, I haven't changed. The parties might be different but Conservative views are Conservative views. The Conservatives believe in a meritocracy - otherwise Margaret Thatcher would not be Prime Minister, and that's good, it means merit is given to those who deserve receiving it and that is good for this society. The Conservatives believe in structure, the Conservatives believe in financial control and not wanton spending. The Conservative government believes in hard work, and hard work brings results and those who don't work hard must stand by the wayside or fall by the wayside, in any society. I am not prepared to share anything I earn with some man who does not work, not at any time in my life. I will pay my tax and that's what's keeping him going, but I am not prepared to do it because he has the same opportunities to work. If I was a street cleaner I would do my work to the best of my ability, and that is important, and if this happens you will find you have a beautiful society - well that's the ideal, but the work ethic is important and not living on the State as they do here. If you go to America - if you don't work you fall by the wayside. And remember America is the 'big brother' of this country. (Doctor)

I voted for the Conservatives, because they were positive. The Labour party was too divided amongst themselves. Anyway their contribution to the Black community is nil, the Conservative government has done more. The Labour party thrashed Blacks through the trade unions, the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act - that only affected Black people. The 1981 white paper was brought out by Labour. The Conservatives on the other hand brought Black people in, found them jobs. The LCC gave cash grants in 1954 - in their home loan scheme - to buy houses. In 1959 they gave instructions that Black families only need £100 for a 100% mortgage. The Conservatives did this. Urban aid was introduced by Heseltine, the Conservatives tried to institute the West Indian Chamber of Commerce. The Labour party only talk about helping Blacks. (Accountant/Businessman)

I voted for the Conservative party. The present government is making a concerted effort to help places like the Caribbean Chamber of Commerce, although I think this is as a result of inner city problems ... Labour party politics is always in a state of flux - their attitudes, policies and party manifestos are always changing. It never follows that what they say will come about. One hopes that they will follow the path of the Conservative party and continue the programme of assistance. Black people saw the Labour party as the

party for the workers, but when they came to power the Immigration Bill was more severe and vicious. (Businessman)

I voted for the Conservatives - I am involved with them. If one looks at the policies between the Labour party and the Conservatives, you see that when Labour were in power small businesses suffered - there was no money floating around. When the Conservatives came to power money flowed around. With the Conservatives the small businessman is better off. Therefore while they are in power a small businessman can do better. (Businessman)

Half of those respondents who voted Conservative were in business and their self-interest is evident in the excerpts quoted above. It is noticeable that unlike those who voted Labour, these respondents placed less emphasis on the position of the underprivileged (for want of a better word) and tended to emphasise policies which related directly to their economic position. This in some ways contrasts with the arguments they put forward earlier when discussing their views on 'race' and class, where then they stressed the linkages they felt they had with the Black community.

The remaining eight respondents divided their votes between the Liberal and Social Democratic party (SDP). One respondent voted on the basis of the personality of the party leaders:

I voted SDP. I'm not really a voter, but I hate Thatcher, so I voted for the SDP. Blacks I think will get a better deal from Mr Steel than from the other two. I like the man, I have a good impression of him. To tell the truth though I am not happy to vote because I am not really a part of this society. (Barrister)

The majority of the respondents (six of the eight respondents) voted for the Liberals or SDP because they felt disillusioned with the two main political parties. Usually this disillusionment was directed at the Labour party as they did not tend to vote Conservative:

I voted SDP because previously I used to think that the Labour party was for the Black people and I think that I was thinking more on traditional lines. I had been sort of brainwashed into thinking like that. On reflection I couldn't see any difference between Conservatives and Labour as far as Black people were concerned. Even some of the immigration laws in this country are Labour created against Black people. I honestly could not see any

difference between Labour and Conservative and in my mind I thought Labour was using Black people and enough is enough as far as I was concerned so I decided to give the SDP a try. Unfortunately they weren't many in power so the policies they said they would have brought about they weren't able to do but I think I will vote SDP again until I am proven wrong. (Engineer)

I voted for the SDP Liberal Alliance because I was rather disillusioned (let me make it clear I would never have voted Conservative anyway) with the Labour party. The Labour party was tearing itself assunder internal strife and everything and I didn't think that the policies they advocated were put across to the electorate in a manner that would have convinced them that they would have done any better than the Tories. I looked at the SDP Liberal Alliance as the middle ground because I think that is where I stand politically, I am against extremism on either side. So I thought the SDP/Liberal Alliance would fit my philosophy ... I used to vote for the Labour party. (Higher Executive Officer)

I voted SDP for two reasons. I would not have voted Labour because I felt that in the past successive Labour governments have sort of used the Black vote for their own means and didn't care to represent the Black people. The Conservatives are in my view racist and they are not really representative of the Black people anyhow, because the majority of Black people are sort of middle/working class and I don't feel the Conservatives are interested in those people whatsoever. The SDP is sort of striking it somewhere between the devil and the deep blue sea and I thought okay give them a chance and see what they are going to do. So that's why I voted for them. (Lecturer, Trainees)

I voted for the SDP because I was disillusioned with the Labour party. I didn't think the SDP could do anything. I simply voted for them as a matter of civic duty. I was disillusioned with a substantial amount of Labour's policies. I mean if you want to win an election overall you should have basic policies which the people will accept. You cannot force on people's minds. I mean you may have a small clique that you can almost tell them what you want but overall you have to govern with basic policies, within reason, that people will accept. And its about time that they come to their senses, because people aren't going to accept certain things that they submit. (Businessman)

One respondent stated that local issues were prominent in his mind when he went to vote:

I voted Liberal and it was not a political decision there was a very practical reason why I did so. In my particular area the Liberals do an awful lot. I'm not basically speaking a political animal, what politicians say are six of one and half a dozen of the other really, you get the platitudes before the elections and after, the way they behave and the things they do are totally different, but in my particular area the Liberals do an awful lot, they are good politicians. They really help the local people, they see to local needs. The Liberals have a club resource called 'Focus' - a paper called 'Focus' and the Liberal party candidates and party workers

year in and year out really do look after local needs. They campaign on the door not really to try to get you to vote, but constantly trying to improve the area and meet the needs of the area. I also know the Liberal candidate. So I didn't favour one particular party for political reasons it was just a practical decision. (Regional Manager)

The majority of these respondents explained their voting Liberal/SDP in terms of a negative orientation in that the main reason for voting for them was due to the fact that they were disillusioned with the Labour party - having voted Labour in the past. The disillusionment spoken of revolved around the belief that, firstly the Labour party took the 'Black vote' for granted, and secondly that during the 1983 election the Labour party was seen to be 'tearing itself assunder' as a result of infighting amongst the "far left" and "centre left," as well as not putting forward realistic policies. The first reason is of particular interest in that it highlights the critical eye which the respondents had cast over successive Labour governments' attitude towards the interests of Black people and Labour was found wanting (this critical assessment of the Labour party was not confined to these respondents but was also evident in responses of those who had voted Labour). This assessment of the Labour party is in line with Fitzgerald's (1984) description of the views held by Black Labour party members. She states:



Aston University

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Finally, some respondents argued that they believed the Conservative party to be racist. The same was believed of the Labour party, although this was more implicit in their statements.

Males - Population Two - migrated to Britain as adults

In terms of voting these respondents were evenly divided between the Labour, Conservative and Liberal parties. Noticeably the two respondents who voted for the Conservatives both stated that this was because they did not like the policies which Labour were putting forward at the time.

I voted Conservative because I didn't think much of Labour's policies and I was impressed with Thatcher's first term in office. Also there was no unity in the Labour party at the time and the unions had too much say in the Labour party's affairs. (Bank Clerk)

I voted for the Conservative party because I was dissatisfied with the Labour party policies that it had over the past five years, in terms of taxation which was a burden upon, not only me, but upon the whole society. In my estimation their policies didn't seem to allow the economy to thrive, so I voted for the Conservatives. (Junior Manager)

As can be seen from the excerpts below the other respondents had varied reasons for voting for particular parties:

Yes I voted for the Liberal/SDP because I believe we should have proportional representation of the people, and the two main parties have been structured not to be representative of the masses. (Scientific Instrumentation Engineer)

Yes Labour, I vote for fixed principles and I believe the Labour party have more socialist tendencies than the other parties. (Teacher)

I am an active member of the Labour party and I voted Labour. From the time I came to this country I joined the Labour party, I am a strong Labour party man. (Own Account Worker)

I voted Liberal for the fact that they came closest to representing my views. Tories are too right wing. Labour fight each other and don't know what they are doing. So I thought if I'm going to vote I might as well vote Liberal, they deserved the vote when compared to the other two. (Computer Programmer)

Due to the small number of respondents present in this group few patterns were seen to emerge in terms of reasons given for voting for particular parties, apart from the fact that as with the majority of the men who voted for the

Liberal party in population One, the two men in this group who voted Conservative did so because they were disillusioned with the Labour party.

Women - Populations One and Two - Came to Britain as Adults

The most significant factor that comes to light when comparing the voting patterns of the women in both populations One and Two, as compared to their male counterparts, is the fact that proportionately there is a tendency for the female respondents to vote Labour (over three quarters in population One and approximately the same number in population Two). Those women in population One who voted for the Labour party did so, in the main as a result of a positive orientation towards the party:

I have always voted Labour. My parents were PNP from back home and I have always supported that party because of what it stands for. It stands for equality really, but I don't like it in the extreme way like the way Mr Benn would like it to take. (Nursing Officer)

Yes I voted Labour because they are more for the ethnic minority groups and the poorer class of people on the whole both Black and White. (Housing Officer)

I voted for the Labour party, well certainly I couldn't vote Conservative because it seems to me that that party has all sorts of ideas that are quite racist. So I voted Labour because I think a socialist government would be more sympathetic to operating a more equal society, although I think that is going to be really difficult. Even so they seem to have given more thought to a possibility of accepting people's differences. So they got my vote. (Team Leader, Social Worker)

Only two respondents voted Labour reluctantly - one mentioned that her friends had to 'twist her arm' and the other had this to say:

I voted Labour because I belong to a Conservative constituency. Both of them are the same really and I couldn't care less who won the election, but it was just because it was a Conservative run borough and I am more anti the Conservatives that is why I cast my vote for Labour. (Psychologist)

Of the women in population Two who voted Labour, four indicated that they were habitual Labour voters. One respondent stated that she had voted for the

Labour party because she felt it was the only party that would be able to put the nation back to work - both Black and White. Other respondents stated that the Labour party was the best of three evils:

The Labour party is the best of the three evils I think. There is no way that I would vote for Mrs Thatcher. The Alliance can't make the grade. Anyway I don't believe in those who defect from the Labour party, to me they are just traitors. The Liberal party isn't bad but not the Alliance, but the Liberals cannot form a majority party. Despite what I have said I'm not in favour of everything the Labour party does. (Clerk Typist)

Yes Labour because they were the least of the devils. I couldn't vote Conservative, and the SDP are not established and anyway they haven't a strong voice for Blacks. The Labour party need things sorting out but I think they are the least harsh. (Secretary PA)

The most significant reason provided in comparison to the groups of respondents looked at so far was the statements made by three respondents which indicated that they had voted for the Labour party because it was the party of the working classes. This represents the first set of class interest reasons put forward by any of the respondents:

I voted for the Labour party because I think I am working class and the working class should vote for the working class representatives; (Teacher)

Yes I voted Labour because I thought it was the working man's party. (Nursing Sister)

I think the Labour party is the best party for working class people, and most Black people come within the working class. The Labour party strives to let everyone earn a living. (Office Manager)

Only one respondent stated that because she had supported the Labour party in the Caribbean she decided to support the Labour party in Britain. It was not entirely clear whether the respondent realised that the Labour party in Britain was a socialist oriented party unlike the Labour party she supported in Jamaica which is a conservative political party.

Of the remaining respondents only one respondent had voted for the Conservative party. She states:

I voted for the Conservative party because I think their monetary policies are better for the country. (Shorthand Typist)

Another voted for the Liberal party:

I voted Liberal because I thought Labour had some very naive suggestions, and the Conservatives were too much the other way. There just wasn't a balance. I was a bit confused because you are led a lot by the media and also led a lot by what you see around you and I thought, "Why should we not give another party a chance?" We have seen what Labour has done before, we have seen what the Conservatives were doing and I thought if the Liberals stood a chance I would give them my vote. Politics is a thing. I must say I will discuss with you but my husband has other views so we don't discuss politics in this house. But looking back at politics in other places of the world I find you are led by your own beliefs and I am very much an individual when it comes to politics. I tend to go for things that I personally would think are relevant to me or to my family. (Nursing Officer)

Finally, three respondents voted for the SDP. They had this to say:

I changed the party that I voted for in the past and I voted for the SDP. We met the candidates and I didn't want either of the two major parties so I went for the SDP. (Senior Nursing Officer)

Yes I voted for the SDP. I voted for them because I had lost faith in the Conservative and Labour parties and thought it was time to give a new party a chance to prove themselves. (Secretary)

Yes I voted SDP. The Labour party was lost and I'm not a Conservative, I am very liberal in my views. (District Nurse)

Although there was a significant number of respondents who voted for the Labour party it is evident that their support was not uncritical. A third of the respondents indicated that they gave their vote to the Labour party either because they felt it was the better of political parties on offer or because they disliked the other parties. The same can be said of the type of reasons given for voting Liberal or SDP, here no emphasis was placed on the policies they offered but rather on the fact that they were disillusioned with the two main parties. In terms of assessing the position of Black people and the political party most likely to be 'sympathetic' to issues concerning Britain's Black population, it is noticeable that those women who did raise this as an

issue had all voted for the Labour party and had indicated that the Labour party would be the party to make possible a more equal society. Unlike the men in population One, these women were less critical on the whole of the Labour party and its attitude towards the interests of Black people in Britain.

Males - Populations One and Two - Came to Britain as children

As can be seen from table 7.17 the majority of the men in population One stated that they had voted for the Labour party in the 1983 General Election. The reasons given for voting Labour were varied, but are in line with the reasons given by the other respondents looked at so far.

Two respondents stated the Labour party represented the lesser of three evils and each emphasised the fact that their allegiance to the Labour party was not very strong but that in terms of the policies that were being put forward they felt that the Labour party policies were more in line with some of the feelings they had on certain issues. One respondent stated that Labour was the party of 'the working man' and as such represented his position in Britain.

Another stated: -

Philosophically I find the Labour party more agreeable to my position. The Liberal party yes, but then being realistic I didn't think they would be in a position to influence or form government, so I thought the Labour party was far more in line with my position as a Black person and their ideology was more compatible to mine.
(Business Consultant)

Finally two respondents argued that they gave their vote to the Labour party because they believed it had the interests of Black minorities at heart:

I voted Labour because I cannot see that the Conservative party has the interests of minorities at heart and in particular Black minorities. Not only do I think that they actually haven't got the slightest bit of interest in the working classes, and they represent the middle classes on the whole, but I also think they haven't got much time for Blacks. In fact their last conference at Blackpool illustrated this. One of the motions proposed was that of voluntary repatriation which is probably the tenor of how they feel about

Black people - that they don't really belong here and they ought to be given incentives to leave. I don't think I could ever vote Conservative. The Labour party don't compare terribly well, but I know they pay lip-service to minorities, to the working classes to which I belong in this country. I can't say that they are that keen on Blacks either, in fact it's very odd that the very people whom yesterday voted Labour are today voting National Front, that's an odd phenomena to grapple with, but I think that on the whole if we go in on the working class ticket then our best bet is the Labour party. (Probation Officer)

The Labour party has been more sympathetic to the issue of racial discrimination particularly in the inner cities, and at least they gave Blacks the chance to speak. The Conservative party has always wanted to give the impression that Blacks are swamping Britain, and there is no way I could give my vote to the Conservative party. The SDP, Liberals I feel they didn't have a chance and thus my vote would be wasted, so I wouldn't vote for them. (Social Worker, Management)

A similar response was given by one of the two respondents in population Two, who voted Labour when he stated:

Labour I think identify themselves more with the Black people. Their policies used to be for Black people but then again the Labour party have their prejudices as well. The Conservative party, from my point of view that is, they will still portray a colonial master and servant attitude. I'll give you an instance - there's a Brent saga going on between the Labour and Conservatives through Ambrozone Neil, and all the policies that were designed to help the Black people of Brent, now that the Tory party are in they are going to cut most of those. So I think I identify with the Labour party more so because I think some of their policies are more for the Black people-as a whole. They try more so than the Conservatives to cut out racism in our society. (Workshop Manager)

The second respondent indicated that his main reason for voting Labour was that he could not identify with the Conservative policies.

Of the men in both populations One and Two, only one respondent's vote was given to another party. This respondent voted for the Social Democratic party.

He states:

I usually vote Labour, but I felt Labour weren't going to get anywhere in the election so I voted SDP as a protest vote. (Multi-Cultural Education Adviser)

As reflected in the comments made by other respondents who voted for the Labour party it is evident that within this grouping their voting for the Labour party is not in all instances indicative of a strong allegiance to the party but rather represents a pragmatic decision. The respondents argue that although the Labour party may not always put forward the interests of Black minorities, they are more likely to do so than the Conservative party. The only vote given to the SDP, again, reflects what one might call the negative orientation towards voting for this party (and to a lesser extent the Liberals) in that the respondent did not cite his support for any of their policies, but rather voting for this party represented somewhere else to cast one's vote when disillusioned with the Labour party, the Conservative party rarely being considered.

Women - Came to Britain as children - Populations One and Two

Amongst the women in both populations One and Two there was a significant proportion of respondents who had not voted in the 1983 general election. In the main this was as a result of the fact that they were either on holiday at the time, moving house, or because they had become disillusioned with the political process. Of those respondents in population One who had either been in the process of moving house or were on holiday, one stated that she would have voted for the Tory party, two stated that they would have voted for the SDP, and another stated that she would have voted Labour. (The responses of those respondents from this and other groupings who chose not to vote will be looked at in more detail at the end of this section of the chapter.)

As can be seen from table 7.17 just over half of the women in population One, who did vote, voted for the Labour party. The respondents did not expand to any great length upon the reasons why they had voted Labour, however two respondents did mention that they had always voted for the Labour party and another stated that she had voted Labour because she felt she could never vote

Conservative. Of the two remaining respondents in this group one had voted for the Conservative party. She states:

I don't think the Labour party could have done any better, as a matter of fact I think they would have done a lot worse. I don't agree with all the Conservatives' policies, such as their attitude towards spending cuts. Their attitude towards the education establishment is another example. I don't think that asking overseas students to pay what the government thinks is the full cost of their education is a good idea, because I think Britain gains a lot more by having overseas students here and getting a British education, because they become biased and predisposed towards British products. Therefore when they return to their own countries it would help Britain's economy. I think the result of what the Conservative government has done in the education field is driving a lot of overseas students, for example students from Hong Kong and Singapore and Malaysia to go to the United States instead. And I think that overall Britain is going to lose out. (Chartered Accountant)

The second respondent voted for the Social Democratic party:

I don't like policies that the Labour party puts forward, I don't know what it is like now, but I certainly didn't like it then, and I didn't like the leadership, no way, I would have preferred to vote Conservative then than to vote Labour. I didn't like the Conservatives either anyway so I wasn't left with much choice. If I wanted to vote at all I had no choice but to vote for the SDP. (Solicitor)

Amongst those women in population Two who did vote, half voted for the SDP and they had this to say:

I voted for the SDP because I didn't think Labour or Conservative were really having anything to offer. I felt that the SDP might provide a change or rather a balance if not a change, which would at least make the other two parties stop and think about their policies. I also rather liked some of the things the SDP had to say. (Own Account Worker)

I couldn't see any real difference between the two main parties and the SDP seemed to have potential. (Nursing Sister)

Of the two remaining respondents one voted for the Labour party but indicates that she was unsure as to why she voted Labour, but felt it was the right thing to do. Finally, the second respondent voted for the Liberal party. She had this to say:

We used to vote Labour but this time we decided to give our vote to the Liberals because to us they were more liberal in what they were saying. Also there are quite a lot of Black people who would like to have a good education for their kids and there are also quite a lot of Black people who send their kids to private school, and the Labour party was trying to get rid of all that. I think you should have a free choice, if you can afford it and you want to do that I think you should be able to do that, and some schools that were grammar schools they were trying to turn them into comprehensive schools. I thought about that as well and I think really there should be a choice there so we gave the Liberals our vote. (Bank Clerk)

The responses provided by the respondents in this grouping are again similar to those of the other groupings looked at. The theme of dislike for Labour party policies emerges again and in most instances the Liberal/Social Democratic parties have been the chief beneficiaries in terms of vote catching.

Women Population One and Men Population Two - Born in Britain

As table 7.18 indicates, of the three women in population One who did vote, two voted for the Labour party:

I voted Labour grudgingly because I don't really have much faith in them. (Barrister)

I voted Labour because I can't stand the Conservatives and I don't really think the SDP can do anything. (Journalist)

The third respondent voted for the Conservatives. She states:

My first opinion was maybe I wouldn't vote at all and I thought well that's wrong not to vote at all because it's just choosing the easy way out. I had listened to all the party political broadcasts, read up a bit on each of the parties. Although I have always voted in the past but with the Nationality Bill which coincided more or less with the last election, I didn't quite understand what it was all about, so I looked into that a bit further and so on. And I decided finally to vote Conservative simply because, as I have said before, under the Conservative government Black people stand a better chance. Those who want to succeed are succeeding more than they will under the Labour party at any time at all, because the Labour party will always say that: 'we are for you, we will give you housing, we will give you this, we will give you that' and if you think about it most Black people I'm sure fifty per cent let's say now of Black people in England own their own homes anyway and they want to do something else and they want opportunities to do something else and under the Labour party it's restricted for everybody and of course naturally Black people will be shoved to the

bottom of the echelons as far as anything is concerned. Under the Conservative party they are always willing to give you a chance.
(Advertising Sales, Department Manager)

The only male respondent in population Two that did vote stated that he voted for the Conservative party and his reasons were:

I am a firm believer in Thatcher's economic policies and I believe that theoretically her policies are right. Blacks' position in terms of employment will never get better until the whole country becomes competitive, it's a very long term thing and it should work eventually. To promise Blacks that you are going to give them this and that means nothing and this is what the Labour party does, you can't spend what you have not got. I do know the Conservative views on Blacks, but I also know Trade Unions and the Labour party. Look at the National Front - most of them belong to the Labour party. Blacks have never been that much better off under the Labour party. Black people will only do well if the White people do well.
(Executive Support Analyst)

General Impressions

In terms of party political allegiances there are no obvious differences between the three groupings (those respondents who migrated to Britain as adults, those who came to Britain as children, and those respondents who were born in Britain) looked at, although on the basis of the figures provided in the tables it would seem that there was a greater tendency for those respondents who came to Britain as children to vote Labour. In general however it can be argued that firstly on the basis of many of the comments made by those respondents (in all three groups) who had voted Labour in the past, but had decided to vote for one of the other parties in the 1983 elections, that the internal upheaval which the Labour Party was going through during this period, served to 'frighten away' some of the respondents. In looking at the internal struggle many respondents argued that this was not indicative of a Party ready for government and so they changed their political allegiances and voted for a political alternative.

Secondly, Labour Party policy also came under scrutiny - in broad terms - and many respondents voiced their feelings of doubt about the policies which the

Labour Party had put forward at the time. A few respondents focused on specific policies: one respondent stated that she did not agree with Labour's proposed policy of dismantling grammar schools, and a few argued that the Labour Party was giving too much power to the trade unions.

Thirdly, although the tables reveal that the majority of the respondents had voted for the Labour Party, this cannot be said to be a reflection of their satisfaction with the Labour Party. On the contrary many were critical of its position concerning the interests of Black minorities. There were of course the habitual Labour supporters but apart from a minority these respondents too were critical of Labour's past attempts at government.

Fourthly, of the twelve respondents who had voted for the Conservative Party (15% of all those respondents who did vote), it is apparent that these respondents, although in many ways were aware of the Conservatives' attitudes towards Britain's Black minorities were still prepared to vote for them. The reasons most frequently put forward were that the Conservative Party would be able to make Britain economically competitive and in so doing Black people would benefit. These respondents appeared to stress individual achievement and argued that those who wanted to work/achieve would be given the chance to do so under the Conservative government. Less emphasis was placed on the notion of group development amongst Black minorities in Britain, in contrast this was usually the basis of the arguments put forward by these respondents who voted Labour. This is in line with Fitzgerald's (1984) comments that:



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Fifthly, also noticeable was the fact that, although acknowledging their support for the Conservative Party's policies, these respondents were less likely than their counterparts who voted Labour to identify with a particular class (for example the respondent who stated, "I am working class, so I vote Labour"), such as the middle class and argue that as such the Conservative Party represented their views. Whether this belief was implicit in their statements is at this stage open to debate. It is useful however to point out that ten of the twelve respondents who answered the question 'Are you more inclined to think of yourself in terms of being a Black person as opposed to class?' nearly three-quarters stated that they thought of themselves as individuals. In so doing it can be argued that these respondents had indicated that they were not 'group orientated' in that they did not identify/assess their position in terms of being part of Britain's Black minorities or with a particular class. In contrast approximately three-quarters of those respondents who voted Labour said they thought of themselves more in terms of being Black and thus part of Britain's Black population. It is possible that this gives an insight into why those respondents who voted Conservative did not speak of their class allegiances to the Conservative Party and also why they placed more emphasis on the argument that the Conservatives would help those Black people who, to use their words, wanted to achieve.

Support for the Liberal Party and the Social Democratic Party amongst the respondents in the main tended to come about as a result of disillusionment with the Labour Party, as opposed to any particular allegiance to the policies that they had to offer. In some instances voting for either of these parties has taken the form of a protest vote, or argued by the respondents to be an attempt at seeing what another party is able to do.

Finally, contrary to Fitzgerald's (1984) argument that as Black people become upwardly mobile:

they become less likely to support the Labour Party - a pattern which simply reflects the consequences of upward social mobility observed in other groups of former Labour votes and which obviously has little to do with 'race'. (1984:59).

it is evident from the pattern of voting that has emerged from the respondents in this research that a move away from the Labour Party is not demonstrated (see tables 7.16, 7.17 and 7.18). Almost two-thirds (61%) of those respondents who answered the question, had voted for the Labour Party in the 1983 General Election, compared to 15% who voted for the Conservatives and 23% who voted for the SDP/Liberal Alliance Parties. Similar proportions appear when one looks only at those respondents in population One (professionals, managers, business people) with 62% voting Labour, 15% voting Conservative and 22% voting SPD/Liberal/Alliance.

Respondents who did not vote in the 1983 General Election

Twenty-four respondents stated that they did not vote in the 1983 election. Of these, thirteen were unable to vote either because they were on holiday or in the process of moving house. The remaining eleven respondents made a conscious decision not to vote for any political party. The reason given for not voting can be put into five broad categories. These are given below.

Firstly, there were those respondents who stated that they had never voted. This in fact was the most frequently recorded reason given by the respondents. They state:

I have never voted in this country and I never voted at home either. I don't approve of politics. (Dentist - Male).

No I never vote. They are all for themselves. It doesn't matter who goes into power they aren't going to help me.

I have a lot of debates with my friends about this, but I don't vote because quite honestly to date it hasn't seemed that any party has

been pro-Black or is going to help Black people at all. So I don't see any point in voting for Labour or Conservatives. However, because of the bills and acts that are going through now, with the Conservative government, I think that my vote although it might be small would help the Labour government next time, so I probably will vote. The government's policies are so extreme and anti-Blacks that I will have to vote in the next elections to get someone else in power. (Lecturer - Woman)

I am ever so sorry that you have asked me this question because I don't believe in politics and I have never ever voted and I never ever will, not even if I go back home. Politics and religion is what causes all the problems we have in this world. (Businessman)

Secondly, there were those respondents who stated that at the time they did not believe in any of the political parties:

I refuse to vote just for the sake of voting. I didn't believe in any of them. (Teacher - Woman)

I didn't vote for two reasons. Firstly I didn't feel there was a realistic alternative to the main political parties and couldn't commit myself to voting for anybody. Secondly, the people who actually do the canvassing really put me off, because they refused to answer the questions that you were asking them about racism and all that. They didn't want to commit themselves to anything, and their party policy wasn't all that it should be. Also there was a tendency for them to look at you, see you are a Black voter and assume you are going to vote Labour. Basically I feel that they have to do more to get Black people's votes. (Residential Social Worker - Woman)

Categories three, four and five only include one respondent each, but their views are varied enough to warrant placing them into separate categories. So thirdly, there was the respondent who did not like the Labour party's leadership and states:

I tend to vote Labour but I didn't vote then because I thought Foot was an idiot. The Conservative Party would be better for me financially but still I couldn't vote for them. (Teacher, Department Head, Male)

Fourthly, there was the respondent who was disillusioned by the internal upheaval which the Labour party seemed to be going through:

I didn't vote because I didn't like the wranglings that was going on. If they had been united then I would have voted, but there were too many chiefs. (Trainee Accountant - Male)

Finally, there was the respondent who did not vote because she felt none of the parties were doing anything for Black people:

I don't vote because I just don't see a party that does anything for Black people. I feel that Labour is walking around convinced that they have the Black vote and are not doing anything about it, and because our Black people feel that the Conservatives are for the rich they automatically vote Labour which is totally wrong. You only vote for a party who you really believe is going to do something for your minority group. The Conservatives they don't give a toot about anybody other than people who do have money and the Liberals didn't know what they were talking about so I didn't vote for anybody. (Personnel Officer - Woman)

The doubts raised about the political parties - particularly the Labour party and its attitudes towards the Black electorate and the internal strife which dogged its electioneering during the 1983 period, are similar to those raised by those respondents who had previously voted Labour but had decided to vote for either the SDP or the Liberal party. Some of the former respondents it would seem preferred not to vote at all rather than change the party they usually vote for.

7.2:2 Do You Believe any of the Three Main Political Parties Will/Are Doing Anything for Black and Asian People?

As can be seen in table 7.19 well over half of the respondents (62%) stated that they did believe one or other of the main political parties would do something to ameliorate the position of Black and Asian people in Britain. Thirty seven per cent said they did not believe this to be the case. The categories in the YES/NO column have been constructed from the comments made by the respondents in answer to the question. Fifteen broad categories of answer were seen to emerge. The figure of sixty two per cent of the respondents answering in the affirmative masks a considerable degree of variation in the types of answers received and indeed a considerable level of cynicism towards the political parties. In the following section an attempt

made to look at some of the types of answers offered by the respondents for each category of answer, and to assess the degree of 'confidence' the respondents have in the three main political parties and their ability to deal with issues relevant to Britain's Black and Asian population.

Yes - Labour Will Do Something

As table 7.19 indicates, twenty nine of the ninety six people who answered the question believed that of the main political parties the Labour party would be the one to make an attempt to better the position of Black and Asian people in Britain. Even so the answers provided were varied as the excerpts below indicate:

I think the Labour party may do something although they may have to be forced into it. They realise that Blacks on the whole identify with the labour movement and they have a more humanitarian attitude than the Conservative party. (Accountant - Male Voted Labour in 1983)

They all make attempts to do something, but of the three Labour appear to do more for Black people, although we mustn't forget that it was they who passed three of the most racist acts. (Barrister - Female Voted Labour in 1983)

I believe Labour will do something for Blacks on paper but in practice no. When they get to power they are no longer interested in issues relating to Blacks. Only Blacks can really help themselves, but then again there are Whites who will help. There are a lot of genuine people in the Labour party who genuinely believe in racial equality. (Doctor - Female Would have voted SDP in 1983)

If any it would be the Labour party, but that's their ticket to get the Black vote. I still wouldn't vote for them because they bow down to the unions. (Dental Surgeon - Female Would have voted SDP in 1983)

The only one who will do something vaguely is the Labour party, but I don't look at the Labour party from the point of view that they are the guardians of the Black community, it never has been. What one has to see is that to a large extent in the process of alleviating the problem of racism the economy has to be restructured to favour working class people and inasmuch Black people will actually benefit for many of them are in the working class. If you like it is a pragmatic alliance, it's not based upon any assumption that the Labour party is a friend of the Black community. It is based upon a pragmatic assessment of who best serves the interests, whether by accident or design, of the Black community, and I think

'DO YOU BELIEVE ANY OF THE THREE MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES - LABOUR LIBERAL-ALLIANCE, CONSERVATIVE ARE/WILL DO ANYTHING FOR *BLACK AND ASIAN PEOPLE?' MEN AND WOMEN -POPULATIONS 1 AND 2

YES/NO	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
<u>YES</u> -Labour will do something	7	6	9	7	29	30%
<u>YES</u> -Liberals/SDP/Alliance will do something	2	-	-	1	3	3%
<u>YES</u> -Labour & Liberals will do something	-	1	-	-	1	1%
<u>YES</u> -Conservatives & Liberals will do something	1	-	-	-	1	1%
<u>YES</u> -Conservatives will do something	1	-	-	-	1	1%
<u>YES</u> -If pressured	5	-	4	2	11	11%
<u>YES</u> -To get votes	-	1	2	2	5	5%
<u>YES</u> -Mixed comments	5	-	2	2	9	9%
<u>NO</u> -Not in their interest but may make promises	5	3	2	-	10	10%
<u>NO</u> -Blacks have to organise themselves	4	-	2	1	7	7%
<u>NO</u> -They will do as little as possible	2	-	1	3	6	6%
<u>NO</u> -They will help their own first	2	-	-	-	2	2%
<u>NO</u> -None of them will do anything	-	-	1	1	2	2%
<u>NO</u> -Varied comments	1	1	-	2	4	4%
<u>NO</u> -(No further comment made)	3	-	1	1	5	5%
TOTAL	38	12	24	22	96	

TABLE 7,19

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 24

* THROUGHOUT THE INTERVIEW THE WORD BLACK WAS USED TO DESCRIBE PEOPLE OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN DESCENT.

the Labour party without any shadow of a doubt do this. (Businessman Voted Labour in 1983)

I think of the three parties Labour will probably do more. The Conservative party certainly pay lip service to the projects or ideas of giving ethnic minorities an equal share. I think they will certainly do it at election time - it's nice to get the extra votes. The Liberal Alliance lot, to be perfectly frank I'm not quite sure what they are supposed to stand for because I don't really think they are very clear about what their policies are. They talk about the multi-cultural society that we are, but exactly how they intend to make sure that their policies actually reflect a sort of equal respect for all factions of society I'm not quite sure. Labour I think have had a bit more to say and have done a little, but not enough. I think there's a certain hypocrisy there as well - quite a lot of hypocrisy actually because if you look at the trade union movement - how many Black people are there in there. There's a lot of racism in the trade union movement, there are very few Black shop stewards and of those that are there very few get up into the higher posts. The Labour party and the trade union movement are virtually the same, and I don't actually see Labour doing as much as they should, but they will definitely do more than the other two parties, especially the Conservatives who regard ethnic minorities, not just the Black minorities, as an irritant. (Headmistress Voted Labour in 1983)

Labour will try to do something they always try. The Conservatives and the Liberals want the Black vote but they will not help us, they just see us as potential voters. (Nursing Auxillary - Female Vote Labour in 1983)

Labour will pay lip-service to it. They have an appalling record as far as immigration is concerned. (Barrister - Female Vote Labour in 1983)

Apart from a few, the majority of the respondents in this category remained critical of the Labour party's commitment to identifying the interests of the Black electorate, even though they stated that Labour were the most likely of the three main parties to do something for Black and Asian people. In many instances reference was made to their past record on issues such as immigration. Although phrased in slightly different ways many identified the situation as one in which the Labour party would not be willing to do anything for Black people, but would if pressure was exerted by Black interest groups. Running parallel to this was also the belief that Black people need to organise themselves and work for change within the formal political arena. To this extent there did not seem to be an either/or argument being put forward. The existence of pressure groups on the one hand operating 'outside' of the formal

political arena and on the other individuals/groups trying to enter formal party politics did not seem to be incompatible. Finally the argument was also put forward that it was more likely that the interests of Black people would be met through the advancement of the working classes as a whole, because they formed a faction of the British working class.

Other Political Parties It Is Believed Will Do Something for Black and Asian People

Only five respondents argued that one of the other political parties would do something for Black and Asian people:

Of the three main parties I believe the Liberals will do something for the Asians, the Conservatives are the only ones who will do something for Blacks ie in terms of tokenism, and Labour will continue to apologise. (Barrister - Male Vote Labour in 1983)

I think in the short term the Alliance might do something. I don't believe any White person will do anything for Black people but an emerging party will seek alliances anywhere they can. The Labour party has had its chance, there should have been six Black Labour MPs if they were serious. There's not one in Brent and Brent has had the highest Black population for twenty years. (Multi-Cultural Education Adviser - Male Vote SDP in 1983)

Well that's a very nice question. I get the impression since I have been here that the Black people - my people in this country - believe that the Labour party in particular have more empathy for us. I don't particularly think so. They were the first to start the immigration laws. It's the same White skin, it's the same Anglo-Saxon. There is no party that politically has the empathy, but I think the Black man has a better chance with the Conservatives than any other party because if he has talent his talent will be used. There are many reasons/factors why some people's talents haven't been brought out, but I think it is a myth that has been spread that Black people should vote for the Labour party. It's nonsense I would never vote for them - I would rather give my vote to the Liberal party. I have nothing in common with striking mine workers who have no reason to strike. (Doctor - Male Vote Conservative in 1983)

Themes similar to those expressed by those respondents in the preceding section who believe that 'Labour' will do something for Black and Asian people, appear in this category, where emphasis is placed on tokenism and the issue of

vote catching. The respondents accepted the belief that no political party has the interests of Black and Asian minorities as a priority.

Yes They Will Do Something if Pressured

The respondents in this category indicated that they were under no illusion that the interests of Black and Asian people would be dealt with voluntarily by either of the main political parties but they might respond to pressure.

Below are some of the comments made by the respondents:

Not unless they are shoved into doing it, because they have got other things to spend their money on quite honestly, and unless it's something that they have to do, or if Britain becomes so affluent that it has got money to spare, they are not going to do anything. (Chartered Accountant - Female Vote Conservative in 1983)

Only when it suits their interests or because they are forced into it. Black people now hold the balance of power in a number of inner city constituencies, and therefore they are actually forced to make certain concessions to Black people. So yes, but only so far as they are pushed. (Own Account Worker - Woman Vote SDP in 1983)

Not unless there is a lot of pressure exerted by Blacks, constantly reminding them that we are here, that we want fair treatment and equal opportunities. Otherwise they won't do anything, they have got too much invested in the whole thing to keep us down. Pressure would be the only way of achieving anything The conflicts we had a couple of years back did not come about as a result of racial conflict, but more in terms of economies. There are people, powerful people in this country, who want to continue depriving the majority who do not have. So you find that the big guns in the Labour party and the people behind them are very much the same kind of people who are behind the Conservative party. These are the people with the real power - people with money, they are land owners and factory owners. They don't want to give up what they have to anybody whether they are Black or White, they want to hold on to it. (Psychologist - Male Voted Labour in 1983)

No they won't do anything substantial unless they are forced to do so. You see there might be one or two people in the parties who will want to do things but then again they have to consider the White vote. I think there is an innate thing within this society against immigrants generally, it has always been the case, the Jews have felt the same thing. But the fact of being a Black immigrant compounds the situation. I think the push has to come from the Blacks themselves by putting Black MPs in Black areas and have a situation where Blacks can actually tip the balance, I think that is the only time the parties will respond. (Social Worker - Management - Male Vote Labour in 1983)

They will be forced to in my view, because the immigrant communities' vote is considerable and capable of swaying an

election one way or another now. (Probation Officer - Male Vote Conservative in 1983)

Yes if Blacks and Asians really use their rights and let these politicians know that they need our votes. If we just continue to go to the polling booth and poll our votes and don't really price them in the sense that we need to bargain with our votes. Let them know that if they want our votes we want results for our votes. Until we start doing that neither of these parties are going to do anything really worthwhile for us. (Businessman Would not say which party he voted for in 1983)

The respondents within this category argue that rather than relying upon political parties to come around to taking seriously the interests of the Black electorate, Black people will have to take the initiative. As such emphasis is placed upon the potential bargaining power of the Black vote particularly in inner city constituencies where the geographical concentration of the Black population is such that they could swing the vote one way or the other. The significance of the comments made is also highlighted by the fact that no particular political party was singled out as being more responsive than the others. As such it may be argued that party political allegiances will take a secondary position if the argument for supporting a strategy of pragmatic manipulation of the political process is developed.

Yes They Will Do Something If It Means Gaining Votes

Another five respondents supported the view that politicians would only deal with issues concerning Britain's Black population if it meant gaining votes.

Yes but only when it becomes necessary will they attempt to do something. They might make certain concessions or whatever, to get votes. It will always be for a reason, it won't be for its own sake. As I have said before English people aren't really interested in outsiders. Their society, their life style is geared towards them and their own nationals. There's nothing wrong with that in the first instance, but I think where it is necessary for them to do something for you in order to get something for themselves then they will respond. Or it will happen if it becomes an embarrassment or they want your vote, they may make promises or do certain things in certain areas If you have too many radicals who are saying they want things done they use the media to shoot them down, like Tony Benn for instance. Make them look bad. The majority of people in this country will follow what the media says. They read the newspapers and see 'Tony Benn is a bad man' so even if they think he is a good guy, they won't say it and they won't vote for him

because the majority say no. (Computing Engineer - Male Did not vote in 1983 election)

I think they will all tell us that they will do something because it is a political thing and they can't do anything other than say of course we are aware. It was evident in the last election how they used a Black man on a poster to advertise. If that wasn't affrontery I don't know what is - 'How British are you'. So I think they will all jump because they need the votes. My fear is that any of those parties going in will struggle to come out and say racism is bad without acknowledging the institutional racism which is amongst the walls of Westminster itself or in government buildings/institutions, the Bank of England. There are certain places where you wouldn't see a Black face irrespective of which government is in. So I think I have my doubts about the validity of some of the statements they make. Having said that though I think the lesser of two evils is the Labour party. They might be seen to be more sympathetic to the cause. For instance within the Labour party there are more Black councillors, so one hopes that by giving Black councillors an opportunity then hopefully we might have Black M Ps. Whether we will be able to implement or change anything is another matter, but I think we need to start from that, and so therefore I am encouraged to see more Black people becoming involved at a councillor's level. (Team Leader - Social Worker - Woman Vote Labour in 1983)

Oh yes they will do something if it means getting votes, that's what politics is all about' (Sister in Charge - Woman Vote Labour in 1983)

Again a high degree of scepticism and suspicion concerning the political parties/political process and its treatment of the Black electorate is evident in the respondents' comments. They too give the impression that they are under no illusion concerning the way in which the political parties will attempt to court the Black vote during election time but suffer from amnesia once they enter government. Only one respondent expressed any degree of optimism when she stated that she was encouraged to see more Black people becoming involved in formal party politics at the local level. She saw this as a beginning.

No It Is Not In Their Interest To Do Anything/They May Make Promises

A fair proportion of the respondents offered this response to the question asked:

No none of them, it's not in their interest. They represent White people who are the majority in this country and as such they will always represent the majority and I can't see that the minority has enough muscle, nor have they got a loud enough voice and I can't see

that any of these parties would want to do anything as such for Black or Brown people. (Probation Officer - Male Vote Labour in 1983)

No not really, I mean Labour has always had the image that they will, and I suppose they will do more than the Conservatives but it's a political talking, they will say that to try and get votes. (Journalist - Female Vote Labour in 1983)

Well they make promises especially in areas where they have got a high ethnic population and they hold the balance of the power, but as for actually doing anything they are not really interested ... Their interests come first and it depends on how far down the scale we come before our interests are looked at. (Trainee Accountant - Male Did not Vote in 1983 Election)

Labour might have done something years ago, but I now realise that they use the 'race card' to get votes. Ken Livingston is the only trustworthy one, but they want to get rid of him. (Accountant - Male Never Votes)

Collectively the Labour Party and the Conservative Party are the same, their primary concern is not to lose votes. If they have to change the structure of their manifesto to include the assistance of Blacks this means they will lose votes. So I don't really believe any such plan will materialise. (Businessman - Vote Conservative in 1983)

I don't think any party will come out and help Black people because there would be an outcry from the majority. The Conservatives may help Blacks but the majority of Blacks don't believe that. More money flows under the Conservatives' government and so everyone can get a piece of the cake. At the moment there is recession and unemployment but no government in any country has a choice today, it has to reduce manpower in terms of jobs. (Businessman - Vote Conservative in 1983)

No they just aren't interested because it's not in their interests to put themselves out. If they can get away with never having to do anything then so be it. The city riots of '81 just prompted them to do something about it. Only today they showed the re-building of Toxteth, Liverpool, and that's just a token gesture. The G L C have declared '84 as year to help ethnic minorities but again that's just a gesture, they are just vote catching really, they don't give a dam. (Draughtsman - Did not vote in 1983 Election)

Nothing that would lose them votes you see. They might do something but it would have to be a sort of covert action. There probably are people in the Liberal, Conservative or Labour parties who know there is a lot more that can be done for Black people. We are not asking for gifts and social grants and things like that, what we do want is a fair chance, a fair opportunity, a monitoring of not only of the services but also private industry. There is so much endemic racial problems in this country that you can't get rid of it by legislation and hoping that people complain. A lot of people won't complain and even so there's a lot that comes from the heart that you can't complain about. (Telecommunications Officer - Vote Labour in 1983)

As can be seen, some of the comments made by the respondents serve to echo some of the main themes developed in the preceding categories: there is the argument that the three main parties will only make promises so as to ensure that they are able to secure the vote of the Black electorate and secondly the belief that the three main parties will not commit themselves to anything that would mean losing the votes of the White majority. The Labour party appears to have come in for particular criticism for not only was their record on immigration brought to the fore, but the respondents went on to question their motives and the validity of their statements and found them wanting.

No Black People Will Have To Organise Themselves

Seven respondents supported the view that effective change would only be brought about if Black people organised themselves into pressure groups.

If Blacks could become involved in politics that would be the only way that the parties would help us, because we would be a part of the parties. We would be in their influencing them. We must also try with pressure groups etc and that would mean getting involved from the grass roots and that is easier said than done, although the Indians seem to be pushing ahead. (Nursing Tutor - Woman - Vote Labour in 1983)

They will all do about the same - as little as possible in general terms. What is needed, and this is something that needs to be recognised by Black people is that the political parties will do as little as Black people allow them to get away with. There's not going to be any change, in terms of how much any of them will do, until Black people start putting a voice into the political arena Political change like social change works very slowly, it permeates through the system and to make it work for Black people, Black people will have to get up off their backsides and do something. They will have to go out and join political parties, whichever party they want to join, they have to become active in these parties to make sure that these parties are representing them. That's where it's at. (Journalist - Male Would not say which party voted for in 1983 Election)

SUMMARY

One of the most telling aspects of the responses given by the respondents as regards the degree of confidence expressed in relation to the national parties

and their ability to deal with issues relevant to Britain's Black and Asian population is the fact that the great majority of those who answered the question are sceptical of the national parties and consequently are under no illusion that the interests of the Black electorate would be prioritized by either of the parties voluntarily. Significantly this scepticism is not accompanied by any marked level of resignation to the belief that nothing will be done to alleviate the social and economic pressures that Black minorities face in Britain. On the contrary whether explicit or implicit in their statements they suggest that Black people will need to organise themselves, enter the political arena and put forward their interests and possibly serve to influence policy decisions. Within this framework attention was focused by some on the potentially 'strong' position the Black electorate could occupy in areas where their votes would be able to tip the balance. As noted earlier some of the respondents implied that habitual allegiance to a particular party was not essential. What was of necessity was the need to carve out a position where the national parties would be made aware of the fact that they would not get 'the Black vote' unless they agreed to certain concessions. Having suggested this instrumental approach to securing the interests of the Black electorate many acknowledged that politicians were prepared to make promises only to renege on them once in government.

Finally, considerable emphasis was placed on what many respondents saw as the Labour party's failure to address itself in real terms to the interests of Britain's Black population. Significantly the most critical comments were made by those respondents who had voted Labour in the last two general elections. The implications of this would seem to be similar to the observation made by Ratcliffe (1981) when looking at the voting behaviour of Afro-Caribbeans in Handsworth, when he states:

... among all ethnic groups and in particular the West Indians, the willingness to vote for a particular party did not necessarily imply

a conviction that the party had his/her interests at heart.
(Ratcliffe 1981:282)

7.2:3 LIKELIHOOD OF JOINING A POLITICAL PARTY

In the light of the fact that considerable emphasis was placed, by some respondents, on the argument that one of the ways in which Black and Asian people could ensure that their interests are represented in the political process was for them to enter the political arena themselves, it may prove useful to look at their responses to the question 'Have you ever considered getting involved in politics yourself?' The question was not specific in that it did not identify formal party politics, involvement in pressure groups or whatever. Interpretation of the word 'politics' was left to the discretion of the respondent.

As can be seen from table 7.20a over three quarters of those who answered the question stated that they had not seriously considered getting involved in politics. In the majority of instances the word 'politics' was taken to mean formal party politics. Only a few of these respondents answered at any length, the other respondents made statements, such as 'no way', 'politics is a dirty business' or 'No, not British politics'. Below are excerpts from those respondents who gave slightly fuller answers:

No not really. I think the nearest I have gone to thinking about that would be when I thought of becoming a councillor, but straight away I chickened out of it and thought 'Oh no, I don't want to be one of them'. So I think I haven't given it any careful thought or any careful consideration or anything. (Team Leader - Social Worker - Woman)

No but it depends on what you call politics, but on the other hand politics is in your everyday existence - at work etc, so in that way everybody to a certain extent is involved in politics. (Office Manager - Woman)

No. I'm not interested in politics but with the advancement of Black people, Black culture, Black views, not politics I'm not a politician. I think Black people's views should be expressed more, and I think there should be a push towards Black consciousness. (Air Traffic Engineer - Male)

HAVE THE RESPONDENTS EVER CONSIDERED GETTING INVOLVED IN POLITICS THEMSELVES -
SURVEY POPULATIONS 1 AND 2 - MALE AND FEMALE

YES/NO	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	10	-	3	2	15	17%
YES AND NO	1	-	2	-	3	3%
NO	22	11	17	18	68	79%
TOTAL	33	11	22	20	86	

TABLE 7.20 (a)

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 34

No not to go up as a member of Parliament, if I were younger then perhaps I would consider it. I have supported the Labour party - canvassing or whatever but I have never considered contesting a seat. (Own Account Worker - Male)

I was involved in politics back home, but I have never thought of getting involved in British politics. (Dental Surgeon - Male)

Fifteen respondents indicated that they had at one time or another considered getting involved in politics or felt that they had already become involved.

I have considered it many times. I think one of the difficulties would be building up a grass roots base, this would have to be done first - probably from a community organisation, then you would have the support. You wouldn't want to go into a party for example the Liberal, Conservative or Labour party to effect any change. If you did you would need to get enough Blacks in there to vote you in. I wouldn't rely on the White votes because I know the tricks they get up to. They get you in there but when it comes to nomination they don't nominate you, but if you are solidly for Blacks and you put up your votes and get them to the meetings, it is a democracy and they will vote you in, but you have to build a base first, and that's what I am working on now. (Social Worker - Management - Male)

I have thought about it, but it is not something I could handle at the moment. Politics is a very time consuming job and you have to be very devoted to it all if you want to make some kind of mark. (Doctor - Male)

I would consider myself as being an unofficial politician. I am interested in the whole political process and I never miss voting at elections. I always keep abreast of the political scene, what is happening, how the government is moving, in what direction and so forth. I don't really want to go to Hyde Park or some place like that, and get on a soap box and make political speeches, because I think I can be more effective by actually talking to small groups or indeed talking to individuals, that is what I mean by political contribution. (Community Relations Officer - Male)

Yes I have thought about it I thought about joining the local Conservative party and taking an active part, but I don't think I will because I haven't got the time. (Shorthand Typist - Female)

It depends what you mean, because I think I am involved in politics, because I see politics at every level of life and every level of society. If you mean politics in terms of being a councillor or being a parliamentarian - yes I have considered it, but I felt that I would be doing the Black community more good by heading them at grass roots level. I think that I am more of a teacher and I try through organisations, and through setting up things which I think would benefit Black people, to help them in that way. I feel I could best serve my community in the way I am doing at the moment. (Principal Social Worker - Male)

Oh at one time yes I was dead keen, but I weighed up the advantages and disadvantages and I thought that I didn't want to be involved in meetings every night sometimes going on to twelve or one o'clock.

After all I have a husband to look after. If I could do it on a part-time basis then perhaps yes. (Nursing Officer)

Yes I have considered it, and it's still open for consideration, in terms of getting involved. Whether I would or not I don't really know at the moment because over the past two years my work has shifted If it should happen that I extend what I am doing now to television it could become a matter of choice if the chance came up, to make a decision about going into politics ... yes it is a possibility that I have considered. (Journalist - Male)

Well recently I have been thinking about it. During the past year or so people have approached me and asked why I don't get involved in politics. Maybe I will, but at the moment I have got a priority, which is building up my firm, once it has been firmly established then I will have more time. One of my friends who is also a solicitor spends nearly all of his time now just doing politics. Once I have settled I might just move on to that area. Then I will have to get myself 'jenned up' and the next thing would be to meet all these various people. It is important to meet the right people. At the moment I am meeting mostly important Black people, once you get that then you start laying your groundwork and reaching out to the ordinary White person - communicate with them and then you take it up from there I will try to represent the Black person's view if I do go into politics and I know how I am going to operate - I will try to be as subtle as I can. The same way in which the Englishman talks - with 'forked tongue' as the Indians say it, so will I, that is how you have to play it. (Solicitor - Male)

Although the number of respondents who said they had considered getting involved in politics is small, some of their responses can be divided into two basic groupings. Firstly, there are those who when they refer to getting involved in politics are referring to formal party politics. These respondents appear to have considered the idea fairly seriously in that some of them seem to have an idea of the type of strategy that would be needed in order to initiate their movement into formal politics. Of particular interest was the degree of emphasis given by some to developing support at what they themselves refer to as the grass roots level, as compared to those who placed more emphasis on the process of meeting the right sort of important people. This latter approach leaves an opening for one to ask whose interests will the respondent actually be representing, for establishing a high profile appears to take priority over establishing links with those they eventually intend to represent.

Secondly, there were those respondents who felt that they were already involved in politics, but politics of everyday life, whether that meant becoming involved in 'community' organisations, support groups or just being aware of the political climate and discussing it within groups or with friends.

The most significant factor to arise out of the answers given by the respondents is that five of them were also those respondents who indicated that the only way in which the interests of Britain's Black population would be represented would be if Black people entered formal party politics themselves or used pressure groups to influence the national parties.

Actual membership of political parties amongst the respondents is low. Of the one hundred and twenty people interviewed eleven (that is 9%) of the respondents stated that they were members of a particular political party (in fact less than 4% of the total population ever join a political party. Johnson and Cross 1985) Figure 7b illustrates the numbers of party members by survey population and sex.

POLITICAL PARTY	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL
LABOUR	6	1	3	-	10
CONSERVATIVE	1	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	7	1	3	-	11

FIGURE 7b

As can be seen the majority of the respondents are members of the Labour party. The male respondents in population One represent the largest group with six respondents stating that they are members of the Labour party. The level of activity/participation within their local parties varies from not doing very much at all, to attending meetings and canvassing during election

time. The excerpt below is typical of those respondents who attempt to get involved at a practical level.

I'm just a member I don't hold any posts. During election time I do canvassing and drop letters in boxes and doors and take a delight in dropping it in the Conservative boxes. (Team Leader, Social Worker Labour Party Member)

Only one respondent mentioned that she used to be secretary for her local Labour party and her husband was treasurer. She has since left because she felt that it no longer represented her political views. In the last election she voted for the Social Democratic Party.

7.2:4 LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE IN THE MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

Although the majority of respondents were sceptical of the major political parties and their commitment to taking seriously the interests of Black minorities, many still advocated remaining within and using the national parties as a vehicle to push to the fore issues relevant to Britain's Black population. This is supported when one looks at their responses to two further questions:

- (i) Do you think Black interest groups should bring pressure to bear on their local MPs in the hope that their grievances will be listened to and acted upon?
- (ii) Do you believe Black people should try and enter the party system via the main political parties, or should they start speaking for themselves by setting up an independent party which deals with issues specific to Britain's Black population?

As regards the question of interest groups bringing pressure to bear on local MPs only eight of the ninety two people who answered the question (see Table 7.20b) stated that they did not believe this would be of any use. Below are some of their comments.

No, because it is not in the interest of any of White people to help Black people, it's not even in their interest to educate Black people. Black people must get that into their heads very quickly.

SHOULD BLACK INTEREST GROUPS BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THEIR LOCAL M.P.'s IN THE HOPE THAT THEIR GRIEVANCES WILL BE LISTENED TO AND ACTED UPON? (SURVEY POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO MALE AND FEMALE)

YES OR NO	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
YES	32	9	21	21	83	90%
NO	4	2	2	-	8	8%
NEITHER YES NOR NO	1				1	1%
TOTAL	37	11	23	21	92	

TABLE 7,20 (b)

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 28

So therefore it is for Black people to organise themselves. Okay you can go to your MP because I think that it is wise within the so-called democratic system to use the machinery that is available, because White society is very clever, they will say that you didn't use the machinery that was available. So in order to counter that, despite the fact that you know that that machinery is corrupt, bankrupt and useless you still use it, because if they say you didn't use it, you can say, "No, you lie, I have used it but it didn't work and therefore I had to try something else". But really it is only Black man's own endeavour, his own instrumentality, his own ingenuity, he must be his own resource in order to promote his own interests. (Principal Social Worker - Male)

No. It's a very pessimistic thing to say but it depends on what you mean by grievances. If you mean things like police brutality or things on that scale, or equality of housing and education I can understand it, but if you are meaning to refer to things that will improve our lot to make us sort of strive ahead to give us more, not equality but superiority - ie give us more education because we are lagging behind, or give us better, as opposed to the same, I don't agree with that, I think we should earn it. We should be given the opportunity equally, but from then onwards if you want to get more than equal we should earn it. (Solicitor - Woman)

No, their energies would be better spent in other areas such as small businesses etc, and making money for themselves. Eventually bank managers will realise they are as good a risk as anybody else. (Executive Support Analyst - Male)

It might work in areas which have a large enough immigrant population, but again you have to remember that MPs will only go through the motions. Anyway the Asians have already harnessed that sort of situation. (Dispensing Optician - Male)

No, as I have said before - they will just listen but they won't do anything about it. Whatever the Blacks get they will have to achieve for themselves. (Own Account Worker - Male)

No I think it is a voice crying in the wilderness. The local MP is only one of a number and I can't see that that local MP will be able to do very much for the Black community. The only MP who I can think of who has tried to do something (and I thought he was a bit of a radical) was Bidwell in Southall, and he was involved with the Asian community, so much so that he was losing support from the White population because they thought he was spending too much time on them. He was pretty effective. Whoever the MPs, they have to be committed and I don't think they are committed enough to make any stand. (Senior Nursing Officer - Woman)

Some of those respondents who argued that Black interest groups should exert, pressure on their local MPs had this to say:

Yes I definitely do. In fact we are way behind even the Asians, they have got more say, more business sense, more everything. We have been here a long time and we haven't achieved anything on the political scene, so I definitely think more pressure should be brought to bear on local MPs. What needs to be done is someone to

take the lead and start this and hopefully the rest will follow and give moral and physical support. (Workshop Manager - Male)

Yes because as I said earlier any political party will not make a political manoeuvre in your interests until it becomes necessary, and if you are not continually putting on the pressure he will think that you will go away. (Computing Engineer - Management - Male)

Oh yes, one must try all avenues. Britain contends that it is a democracy so we must try to put our views across, and after all your MP represents you whether he likes it or not. (Accountant - Male)

Absolutely, that is one of the strategies that we must adopt. If our MP gets letters etc, signed by say fifty of his constituents, he has to jump and he must raise it in Parliament. We must use the institutional process. (Race Relations Adviser - Male)

It is evident from Table 7.21 that the notion of setting up a separate and independent party to represent Black minority interests is not particularly favoured by the respondents. The excerpts below are representative of the types of answers received.

I think we should enter the three major parties, because I think they represent and have control over all that Black people need, and that's where we should be aiming. I don't think hiving it off and actually diverting the Black vote - which could be a considerable proportion - into a one way alley will get us anywhere. (Probation Officer - Male)

No I don't think we should set up our own parties because I don't believe in Black alienation. I see Blacks taking part in all three parties. (Shorthand Typist - Woman)

Oh that's a load of 'codswallop'. The Black man has to stay within the three main parties and I think the only chance of a Black man getting into Westminster eventually will come through the Conservative party, mark my words. That's what I think, I may be wrong but that's what I think. (Doctor - Male)

We should remain within the three party system. We cannot be an effective voice on the ethnic minority card. We have more of a chance getting our points heard as part of a larger party. Just look at the SDP. (Personal Secretary - Woman)

I think we should remain within the three party system because I don't think an affiliated party has any chance of putting on society. We have to get into the other parties and work from within these parties and then we can do something. Talking amongst yourselves does not help, it's making other people listen to you that is important. (District Nurse - Woman)

ENTER MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES OR SET UP AN INDEPENDENT PARTY
(SURVEY POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO - MALE AND FEMALE)

ENTER MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES OR SET UP AN INDEPENDENT PARTY	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
ENTER MAIN POLITICAL PARTIES	24	10	16	17	67	77%
SET UP AN INDEPENDENT PARTY	5	-	3	2	10	11%
WHY NOT HAVE BOTH	6	-	3	1	10	11%
TOTAL	35	10	22	20	87	

TABLE 7.21

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 33

Those respondents who felt that a separate/independent 'ethnic minority party' would best serve the needs/interests of Black minorities presented varied arguments but in general terms they argued that up until now - to use their words - the 'Black case' has been poorly presented by some community groups, in that they have either been too late in coming or concentrated on peripheral issues. They go on to argue that Black groups need to organise themselves in order to present a coherent argument, and that if that means establishing an independent party then that is what should be done. As one respondent stated:

I think Black people should represent themselves. There are a high proportion of Blacks who are articulate enough to present their cases, and I don't really think they have to go through MPs or councillors to speak for them in Parliament, they can do it themselves It happened in the Blair Peach situation, it happened in the Deptford fire when those lads were burnt. If people didn't march across London in the way they did then no one would know how they felt. Sending letters and petitions are only useful to a point because it cannot be seen like marches. So I think Black people need to stand up and be counted and be seen to be doing something positive rather than sitting back and saying 'Oh poor hard-done-by me'. (Team Leader - Social Worker - Woman)

One respondent did agree in principle with the idea that, as she put it, the disadvantaged should speak for themselves; however she did not envisage this necessarily being based on the issue of race.

As she states:

I think they should try speaking for themselves, but I think that the objective should not be to represent 'the Black community', I think it should be to represent a section of the community whether it is working class, middle class or whatever class or a section of the population which has got a certain disadvantage regardless of colour. I think they should represent those people and not put it that I am Black and therefore you must support me, because I would never support anybody on those grounds. I won't support anybody on the grounds that because I am Black and they are Black that they must be right, there's got to be something else there. (Chartered Accountant)

As stated previously (and as the figures in tables 7.20 and 7.21 indicate) although acknowledging their scepticism of the way in which the major parties

have responded to the interests of Black minorities, the majority of the respondents still contend that Black people will only get their voices heard if they use the existing political machinery by entering the major parties and attempting to exert influence in that way. Little confidence was expressed concerning the setting up of independent 'ethnic minority parties'. However, in contrast to the argument that Fitzgerald (1983) puts forward in which she suggests that Black voters are unwilling to vote on 'race' issues alone (the basis for this being the consistently poor results of independent ethnic minority candidates) it is argued here that amongst the respondents in this research 'race' issues are a significant factor in determining the party voted for. However many respondents adopted an instrumental approach and indicated that although the major parties would do very little voluntarily, they may stand a better chance if they exert pressure (pressure of the ballot box being one of the most frequently cited methods) on them and influence them in that way, than they would by giving their vote to an 'ethnic minority party'

7.2:5 MEMBERSHIP OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, SOCIETIES OR GROUPS

Although the majority of the respondents are not members of a political party, a significant number, are involved in various organizations, committees, pressure groups, voluntary associations. Seventy three of the one hundred and twenty respondents interviewed stated that they belonged to some 'organisation' or other.

MEMBERSHIP OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, SOCIETIES OR GROUPS

	TOTAL NO OF RESPONDENTS WHO BELONG TO VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ETC	ROW %
MEN POP 1	35	66%
MEN POP 2	8	50%
WOMEN POP 1	20	70%
WOMEN POP 2	10	41%
TOTAL	73	

FIGURE 7c

As figure 7c indicates there was a tendency for more respondents in population One (both male and female) to belong to an 'organization' of one form or another. In many instances respondents from both survey populations mentioned that they were members of two, three or more different groups. (See Figure 7d)

NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, GROUPS, SOCIETIES RESPONDENTS BELONGED TO

NUMBER OF GROUPS ETC BELONG TO	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL
ONLY ONE	13	6	11	6	36
TWO	14	2	7	4	27
THREE AND OVER	8	-	2	-	10
TOTAL	35	8	20	10	73

FIGURE 7d

As figure 7e illustrates the types of groups the respondents belong to are varied. The single most frequent 'organisation' mentioned was that of

TYPE OF ORGANISATION BELONGED TO:

TYPE OF ORGANISATION	MALE POP 1	MALE POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL
VOL ASSOCIATION	13	1	5	2	21
COMMUNITY PROJECTS	6	-	2	3	11
AFRO-CARIBBEAN SOCIETIES (SOCIAL & CULTURAL)	4	3	2	4	13
RUNNING SUPPLEMENTARY/ SATURDAY SCHOOLS	5	-	1	-	6
MASONIC LODGES	6	1	1	-	8
CHURCH GROUPS	2	-	6	2	10
PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS	14	-	7	2	23
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE (LOCAL & U.K.)	3	2	2	-	7
BLACK WOMENS GROUP	-	-	-	1	1
ISLAND CLUBS: GUYANA, ANTIGUA, DOMINICA	3	-	2	-	5
C. N. D.	-	-	2	-	2
SCHOOL BOARD PARENTS TEACHERS ASSOCIATION	1	-	1	-	2
CONSERVATIVE CLUB	1	-	-	-	1
NIGHT CLUB	-	1	-	-	1
SPORTS CLUBS (CRICKET, FOOTBALL, GOLF, FENCING, RIDING, SQUASH BADMINTON, SAILING)	9	2	1	-	12

FIGURE 7e

professional societies/associations. These ranged from medical associations, Law Society membership through to industrial catering association. In some instances the professional associations belonged to were specific to an afro-caribbean membership such as the Afro-Caribbean medical society, Caribbean Teachers' Association, Association of Black Social Workers and Associated Workers, Afro-Caribbean Hairdressing Society.

Membership of voluntary associations was also high, with twenty one respondents in this category. Even so they account for just 17% of all the respondents interviewed. The types of voluntary association the respondents belong to can be seen to focus around the Afro-Caribbean community, (a few respondents stated that they were involved with groups such as age concern, citizens' advice bureau, associations for the disabled - which are specific to the general community). Apart from a few respondents who belong to only one voluntary association, the majority of these respondents are involved in a variety of voluntary associations. These associations offer legal advice, training schemes for Black youth, running hostels for young people, homes for the elderly, housing associations, welfare groups and providing help and advice for Afro-Caribbeans wishing to go into business.

Many of the activities that the respondents are involved in take up a lot of their personal time and some state that it is difficult to see the divide between the time they give to working for 'their community' and their private lives:

The areas of work in which many Black professionals find themselves means that they have certain responsibilities to certain community projects. Black professionals committed to serving the community do work the same long hours, they are always at meetings, conferences etc. So your responsibility to the community extends into your private life - in fact you don't really have a private life. (Own Account Worker)

Although acknowledging the time consuming nature of the voluntary activities they become involved in, the professionals as well as businessmen, all acknowledge the feeling that it needs to be done. As businessmen or Barristers, solicitors, accountants, teachers, they give advice to those in the Black 'community' who need their professional skills. Sometimes advice is given in the form of giving talks to community groups about issues that concern them.

Many of the respondents point out and are critical of those Black professionals who having attained a certain level of achievement seek to divorce themselves from the Black 'community' and seek not to become involved in any activity that might be deemed as detrimental to their professional position. An example of this could be the respondent who although not divorcing himself from the Black 'community' states:

Recently I have not been too involved because as a solicitor one has to be terribly careful whether you get involved in certain organisations because the Law Society has certain rules and regulations that you have to abide by. But behind the scenes I have been involved in giving help, not only physical but financial help.

Other respondents argue that there are also those Black professionals who use community groups for their own benefits. The excerpts below are illustrative of the arguments put forward:

There is a tendency in the Black community that when a Black gets into a certain strata he tends to neglect the grass roots - I'm talking from experience. There are certain places that they would not go to and certain things they would not do, and this is socially destructive. It is possible to move out into better areas and integrate at every level, but you also have responsibility not to neglect your roots, it can be done. (Businessman)

Very few Black professionals are getting involved in grass roots community work, partly because of their careers. Black organisation is perceived as Black militancy by Whites and some Black professionals take this on board. Our job is to see how we can get young Blacks to experience Blacks who are not messed up in their heads. Black kids never experience Black professionals. Ours is the only community where this happens, the Jews and Asians all go to the same church, we don't, therefore the whole of our community can't meet in the same place with people from across the

occupational spectrum ... Professionals usually use community groups for their own ends. That has been my own experience of them ... Now many Black groups are suspicious of Black professionals. (Multicultural Education Adviser)

7.2:6 INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS

In attempting to assess the level of the respondents' involvement in local collective action they were asked whether they had ever been connected with any community campaigns

INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY CAMPAIGNS

TYPE OF COMMUNITY ACTION	MEN POP 1	MEN POP 2	WOMEN POP 1	WOMEN POP 2	TOTAL	%
<u>YES</u> - ACTION ORIENTED TOWARDS AFRO-CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY	6	1	2	2	11	13%
<u>YES</u> ACTION INVOLVED THE GENERAL COMMUNITY	5	2	5	-	12	14%
<u>YES</u> A COMBINATION OF ACTION SPECIFIC TO THE AFRO-CARIBBEAN AND GENERAL COMMUNITY	-	-	1	-	1	1%
<u>YES</u> (NO DETAILS GIVEN)	1	-	1	1	3	3%
<u>NO</u> - NEVER BEEN INVOLVED IN COMMUNITY ACTION	18	7	14	17	56	67%
TOTAL	30	10	23	20	83	

FIGURE 7f

NOTE: NON-RESPONSE 37

As can be seen from figure 7f just under a third of those who answered the question stated that they had been involved in some form of community campaign. The types of community action mentioned fell in the main into two categories. Firstly, there were those who had been involved in action which involved the 'general community' and secondly those whose activities were

specific to the Afro-Caribbean community. The types of activities cited in the former include signing petitions and in some instances attending meetings and to a lesser extent serving on committees. Issues mentioned included campaigns against new roads being built, anti-traffic campaigns, campaigns to get the council to erect width barriers in residential areas, opposition to gypsy camp sites, concern about old people living on their own, campaigning for nurseries, campaigns to prevent the council closing down local hospitals and schools, and campaigns against the building of supermarkets and bingo halls. In speaking of the various campaigns he had been involved in one respondent had this to say:

Anything that is positive I get involved in, that is why I get involved in so many things. I get terribly frustrated if I attend meetings where they only talk and no action follows, I soon fade out of the picture. The reason why you meet is because you have something to discuss, and having discussed something you take a decision. I get involved in those sort of situations because they make sense. Let me tell you about one particular thing I was involved in. The ***** is an estate with a bad reputation, sometimes highly exaggerated, and there was a social worker who actually lived on that estate - usually social workers don't live in those kinds of places. She carried out a survey in the mid 1970s where she actually counted the number of under fives on the estate and there were six hundred and forty. Nobody believed it but the evidence was there. A group of us called ourselves the under fives committee - there were people from all walks of life involved By taking part in that campaign we were able to influence the council who gave us a grant. They gave us a mobile toy library, and we set up the one o'clock club so that the mothers came in and met together as a group. Volunteers looked after the children and the mothers, some of who hadn't been out to say hello to anybody for years, were able to talk to others in a similar position. It is those kinds of campaigns that I am interested in, rather than going outside to say stop discriminating, because that is a different matter and people wouldn't take one bit of notice. (Community Relations Officer)

Those respondents who were primarily involved in activities which were specific to the Afro-Caribbean community were usually involved in issues concerning the under-achievement of Black children in schools and the setting up of Saturday/supplementary schools, providing amenities for young Black children (such as play group/meeting place) whose parents are unable to be with them between the time school ends and the time parents leave work,

immigration laws, the proposed nationality act, campaigns to free someone on remand, involvement in the Colin Roach campaign. Of these respondents only one indicated that he made a conscious decision not to become involved in community work that involved the White community. He states:

I find it difficult to join certain community campaigns because again I find that the White community are not listening to what Black people have to say. They want to treat Black people like donkeys or Jack ass and they want to talk down to you and that is why I have not joined any more community groups where White people are concerned. I don't want no jumped up parvenu to come and talk down to me. (Principal Social Worker)

This respondent went on to indicate that he had begun to realise during the 1960s that the pressures which Black people experienced in Britain had to be resolved by Black people themselves.

I realised at a very early stage that there were White liberals who wanted to dictate the way in which we should organise the Black struggle and I very quickly disassociated myself from people who wanted to dictate to Black people how they should go about running their struggle. I saw that as a very superior attitude for them to adopt. I felt then and I still feel now that if White people want to assist us - well first I should point out that whilst I see British society as a racist society as a whole, I do recognise that there are individuals who are perhaps not racist, but those are individuals when you take the society on a whole it is a racist society. Now having said that, if those people who say they are not racist, those liberals, if they want to help us in struggle I think that they will have to help us the way we want to be helped not the way they think we ought to be helped. I think that this is very important within the Black struggle, Black people must understand this and must be very strong on this. It is our struggle we must be in the vanguard.

In contrast to evidence in studies such as that carried out by Miles and Phizacklea (1980), Pearson (1981), studies which looked mainly at 'working-class' Afro-Caribbeans (occupation here being used as an indicator of class position), the level of participation in voluntary associations and 'community activity' amongst the respondents in this research is relatively high. However this can loosely be argued to be in line with the argument that 'leadership roles' and involvement in voluntary activities is commonly although not exclusively the prerogative of the upwardly mobile. (Pearson 1981)

Although the majority of the activities which the respondents take part in are not political in the strict sense of the word, some respondents indicated that most of what they did was political to the extent that issues such as nationality laws, immigration, SUS, underachievement of Black children in schools, is in fact a part of the political backcloth against which the majority of Britain's Black population live out their lives. As one respondent states:

I see any community campaign as political. As long as you are campaigning for something or against something it is political. It might not be political with a big 'P' but with a small 'p' but it still spells politics for me. (Social Worker Male)

7.2:7 Conclusion

The themes of firstly an awareness on the part of the respondents of the complexity of defining their position in terms of 'race' and class, and secondly their perception of the political process will be discussed further in the remaining chapters. An attempt is made to look firstly at the role of middle class Blacks in the political arena. And secondly to consider the relationship between 'race' and class in terms of how these two concepts articulate in the overall structuring of class relations, by examining both the structural mechanisms of racism and the way in which the respondents themselves perceive and act out their role.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MIDDLE CLASS BLACKS , WHAT OF THEIR ROLE IN THE
POLITICAL ARENA?

CHAPTER 8

MIDDLE CLASS BLACKS: WHAT OF THEIR ROLE IN THE POLITICAL ARENA?

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As can be seen from part two of the preceding chapter, which focused on the respondents' perception of British politics as it relates to their position as Black workers, the majority are critical of the way in which the major political parties have handled issues concerning the interests of Black minorities. In this sense they appear to be under no illusion that the interests of the Black electorate would be prioritised by any of the major political parties voluntarily.

In their article 'Class, Race, Ethnicity and Political Action', which was put forward as an appraisal of Black political activism, Miles and Phizacklea (1977) put forward three potential strategies which they see as being available to Afro-Caribbean and Asian workers in Britain: class unity, ethnic organisation and Black unity. Although the principal focus of the article concerns the political action or inaction of those Black workers whom they see as occupying a structural position within the working class as a whole, it does provide a useful framework against which we can base a discussion of the possible political options available to middle class Afro-Caribbeans. As such an attempt is made to outline in brief each of the three strategies Miles and Phizacklea put forward and to assess the extent to which the political outlook/perspective of those middle class Black people targeted for this research can be interpreted as falling into line with one or other of the strategies/procedures put forward by Miles and Phizacklea.

9.1 THE CLASS UNITY PROCESS

This process begins with the premise that:

"In the field of formal politics, members of racial and ethnic strata will both join and participate in the traditional organisations and institutions of the working class, and that such participation will, if not actually encouraged by White officials and members, at least be positively accepted by them".

and

"In the field of informal politics, class unity would be demonstrated by relatively equal participation of members of racial and ethnic strata in revolutionary parties and movements, rank and file trade union movements and locally-based organisations and protest and direct action groups (such as claimants' union and tenants' associations)". (Miles & Phizacklea, 1977:500).

In looking at both the spheres of formal and informal politics Miles and Phizacklea suggest that in order to assess the degree of political action or inaction of 'racial' and ethnic groupings one has to view their position vis-a-vis that of White English workers. Looking firstly at factors such as voting for the Labour Party or joining a trade union they argue that these forms of action are not necessarily affected by racial exclusion due to the fact that they may be basic or indeed necessary courses of action given the structural position of the working class. They go on to argue that on the basis of available data "Afro-Caribbeans, Indians and Pakistanis in Britain are just as likely as White workers, if not more so, to vote Labour", (1977:500). This they suggest is supported by their own findings. As regards the question of reasons why people voted Labour they highlight the fact that unlike Lawrence's (1974) study, where he concluded that only a small proportion of Afro-Caribbeans voted Labour for class reasons, their data revealed that the proportion of Afro-Caribbeans who gave class interest as a reason for voting Labour was the same as for English workers. The explanation they offer for this difference is that

"in the decade since Lawrence's study, West Indian workers have had further experience of working class life, with the result that an increasing proportion of them have come to identify, at least in electoral terms, with the majority of the British working class". (1977:501).

Turning to look at the issue of trade union membership they argue that members of ethnic and 'racial' strata are just as likely as White workers to join a trade union and may be even more likely to join. In addition they point out that available evidence indicates that Afro-Caribbeans, Indians and Pakistanis are willing to join strikes and other forms of industrial action (Smith 1976, Brooks 1975, Moore 1975, Race Today 1975).

Miles and Phizacklea concede that although joining a trade union or voting for the Labour Party are expedient they are not necessarily forms of political action and as such are not key indicators of class unity. They state

"Of greater significance is the level of participation of West Indian and Asian workers in the unions on the one hand, and evidence of unity in action, involving English, Asian and West Indian workers on the other". (1977:501).

In relation to the former - level of participation in unions - they point out that in the main the level of participation amongst Afro-Caribbeans and Asians in unions (such as attending branch meetings) is low in comparison to English workers, although they suggest that in their study level of participation was similar for Black and White workers. As regards the issue of unity in action they highlight the fact that in some instances (such as the strike at the Grunwick Film Processing Laboratories in North West London in 1976) the ethnicity of the strikers is 'ignored' and the dispute will be seen as being about trade union and class issues. This they state is representative of class unity in action. On the other hand there are instances (such as the Imperial Typewriter dispute) where Black workers, have to organise themselves along ethnic lines at their place of work because the unions fail to act upon, or are a party to clear cases of racial discrimination.

"The strike at Imperial Typewriters was particularly important because the trade union officials accused of racism were from the largest trade union in Britain, the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU). Asian workers at Imperial Typewriters had no option other than ethnic organisation at the workplace: the union had effectively sanctioned the racist policy of the management by accepting unequal production quotas and refusing to support the strikers". (Miles and Phizacklea 1977:499).

Given Miles and Phizacklea's observations and comments it would seem that political action in terms of class unity (the unification of the Black and White working class) will not be a reality in the near future either at the level of formal or informal politics. They argue that a form of unity is possible in the realm of formal politics to the extent that Black (Afro-Caribbean and Asian) workers tend to vote Labour and join trade unions, however they acknowledge that this action is usually individualistic and tends not to be viewed by the Black worker with any particular significance. With specific reference to unity in action with trade unions they suggest that

"The initiative currently lies with the Labour Movement: as things stand class unity will not be blocked by the belief and action of members of racial and ethnic strata but more by the belief and action of White workers and the trade unions. This could encourage the development of a racial and/or ethnic consciousness, particularly amongst the small group of West Indian, Indian and Pakistani trade union activists at the factory level and, in certain circumstances, such individuals could form a leadership for racial and/or ethnic organisation". (1977:504).

Set against this backdrop Miles and Phizacklea are more convinced that if class unity is to be brought about that it will occur at the level of informal politics. Their reasons for citing this as a possibility stems from the belief that

"Class unity can develop at the local level in the form of 'spontaneous' organisation and campaigns initiated in response to a specific issue or problem". (1977:504).

Then they argue it is likely that a broad section of the population may be brought together in order to secure their 'interests', and that racial exclusion will only emerge if there is a specific reason for it to do so.

In broad terms the process of unity which Miles and Phizacklea put forward (based upon the notion of a common class interest put into 'action' either by voting Labour, joining a trade union, or unity of action at an informal level) is plausible. However, their argument is simplistic to the extent that implicit in their approach is the belief that working class interests are uniform; that is to say they generate a set of shared interests and beliefs. Less emphasis is placed upon divisions operating within the homogeneous White working class, let alone including Black labour into the scenario. Current examples would be the conflicting interests of the print workers and electricians involved in the 'Wapping dispute',* or between the miners union and the nuclear power workers. As stated in chapter two class interests identified by theorists as representing the objective interests of a certain class are not necessarily the same as those which members of that class themselves perceive their interests to be. Bearing this in mind one can go on to argue that although Black labour in Britain may be structurally a part of the working class, one would need to be cautious in putting forward an argument which supports the view that because of their common relation to the means of production their interests would be the same as that of the white working class.

The issue of 'race' serves to complicate the position of Black labour in two fundamental ways. Firstly, from the onset of their arrival in Britain Black

*A strike which took place in 1986. Print workers from Rupert Murdoch's Fleet Street run papers were asked for taking industrial action. Their places were taken at Wapping by electricians.

labour has consistently been incorporated into the least favourable sections of the labour market, taking on those jobs which the majority of the indigenous workforce chose not to do (Castles and Kosack 1973, Smith 1976). In this sense the economic interests of the indigenous workforce lay in keeping Black migrant labour out of certain areas of employment. Secondly, although many Black workers have been able to 'experience' working class life one cannot go on to suggest that they, as Miles and Phizackles seem to suggest, identify with the white working class. Miles and Phizackles would seem to ignore the fact that in the places in which Black labour work, the areas in which they live, the 'services' they receive (health, education, legal) Black labour experiences racism and their day to day experience of racial antagonism at the hands of the White class with whom they 'compete' for scarce resources. In this sense the effects of racism serve to structure Black labour's perceived interests, which may not be seen to lie with their white counterparts. Set within this context then the action of voting for the Labour Party or joining a trade union is not necessarily to be taken as an indicator of unity of action, but to a large extent an individual gesture and not an indication of alliances being formed with the white working class.

The issue of shared class interests vis-a-vis the objectively defined middle class Black worker and that of the indigenous middle class is as complex as that of the White working class and the objectively defined Black working class. At the level of formal politics parallel forms of action would include voting Conservative or joining the Conservative Party for example. Here again the issue of race comes to the fore as it is argued here that racism and experience of racism experienced by middle class Black labour serves to determine the type of 'class' and political consciousness generated by this group of workers. Of the one hundred and twenty respondents a significant proportion were unable to reconcile the issue of race and class and saw themselves, within the British context, primarily as being Black and thus

external to the British class structure. Responses such as this serve to highlight the fact that commentators and theorists need to be aware that not only Black labours' objective relationship to the levels of the economic and the political needs to be taken into account, but also their perceptions and subjective experience are of significance. For it is here that the type of consciousness developed serves to structure action taken (or not taken) by these actors.

Looking specifically at voting behaviour evidence from this research points to the fact that only 15% (12 respondents) of all those who did vote (see tables 7.16, 7.17, 7.18) said they had voted for the Conservative Party in the 1983 General Election. As stated these respondents tended not only to not identify with the Conservative Party on a class basis, but also to place less emphasis on the internal development of Black 'community' in Britain. These respondents tended to see themselves as individuals, and consequently their voting for the Conservative Party was considered by them to be beneficial for those people who wanted to succeed in Britain. Forty-two per cent (49 respondents) voted for the Labour Party in the 1983 General Election, and of these three-quarters stated that they saw themselves primarily as part of the Black population, with only a minority stating that they voted Labour because they felt it represented their interests as working class people. The majority of respondents felt that of the three major political parties, the Labour Party, if pressured, would do something to alleviate the social and economic pressures which Black people have to face.

At the level of formal politics class unity for the majority of middle class Blacks within this research is not a reality as issues of 'race' and racism form the basis of their perceived interests, and unity of action would seem to be one in which the issues prioritised would be those specific to Black people.

and that they must be represented at times in which Black people will have to organise themselves and enter the political arena.

How can this be translated into political action? In making plain their scepticism of the three major political parties on the issue of race, and arguing for the need for Black people to organise, it is significant that only 17% stated that they had considered getting involved in formal politics themselves. In this sense the prospect of finding a pool of potential political leaders amongst this grouping would seem to be low. However, as the figures in figures 7c and 7e show the level of involvement in informal voluntary organisations is high, to the extent that a significant number of respondents belong to informal voluntary organisations, community projects, local action groups, pressure groups, run supplementary schools. This pattern of organisation membership it should be noted is one which is more characteristic of those respondents in population one (professionals and managers) as opposed to those in population two (the lower middle class non-manual workers - teachers, nurses, secretaries). As pointed out in the preceding chapter the types of organisation/groups which the respondents belong to focus, in the main, around the Black 'Community' where legal advice centres, supplementary schools, welfare groups are the principal areas of concern. In this way there can be said to exist a linkage between the objectively defined middle class Blacks and the objectively defined working class Black population where issues of class are not an issue. One cannot argue that what middle class Blacks do within these organisations/groups can be readily translated into formal political action, but what can be said is that it does highlight the contact forged and maintained between some sections of the objectively defined middle class and the objectively defined working class Black population. The issue of class is not seen as an issue within this context but rather their consciousness of racism and its detrimental effects on Black people within the structures of

education (development of supplementary schools) and legal system (legal advice centres) help to illustrate their involvement at the local level.

The majority of Blacks (within this research) located in the objectively defined middle class will not, it is argued here, at this stage unite with the White middle class as they do not regard themselves as belonging to, or fitting in, with the British class structure. On the basis of attitudes tapped in this research it would seem that more emphasis is placed on the racialised dimensions of their existence in Britain, and in this way the political consciousness which is generated as a result of this has at its base the knowledge that within Britain their position, as with Black labour in the objectively defined working class, is determined by racism operating within the labour market in particular. There are however, amongst the objectively defined Black middle class, those who see themselves as belonging to and being a part of the 'broad middle class'. Political action for them at the formal level is demonstrated by the fact that they join the Conservative Party. This group of middle class Blacks acknowledge racism but tend to place less emphasis on whether the Conservative Party will do anything to ameliorate the position of the Black population. They argue that under the Conservative Party those Black people who want to succeed can. This group then tend to be individualistic and to care more about their own progress and are demonstratively less involved in voluntary organisations geared to serve the Black 'community'.

8.3 THE ETHNIC ORGANISATION PROCESS

Within Miles and Phizacklea's thesis the ethnic organisation process refers to that situation where

"members of ethnic strata may pursue their political interests on an ethnic basis, that is to say that they believe that a specified political goal can be best attained by organising and acting with other individuals who are defined as belonging to the same ethnic group". (1977:495).

Miles and Phizacklea again divide the types of political action available into two broad categories: formal and informal politics. At the level of formal politics they identify five possible avenues of action. Voting for representatives of ethnic political organisations at local or national elections is the first possibility identified. Miles and Phizacklea state that this is the least viable form of action due to the fact that the size and geographical distribution of the Afro-Caribbean and Asian population in Britain is small. They go on

"At present, it is impossible for an ethnic political party to have candidates elected at a General Election, unless they were supported by White British votes. Moreover, to date no ethnic political party has been formed at the national or local level and the limited data available suggest that this is very unlikely to happen". (1977:496).

Miles and Phizacklea cite the obvious shortfall of this particular avenue of action as being the fact that the Afro-Caribbean and Asian population is relatively small. However they do not mention or discuss whether in fact Afro-Caribbean or Asian voters would in fact vote for representatives of ethnic political organisations. As can be seen from table 7.21 over three-quarters (77%) of those respondents who answered the question "Do you believe Black people should try and enter the Party system via the main political parties or should they start speaking for themselves by setting up an independent Party which deals with issues specific to Britain's Black population?" stated that they favoured the three-party system (Labour, Conservative, Alliance) and did not support the notion of the setting up of independent ethnic minority parties. In the main it was argued that ethnic minority parties would prove to be detrimental in the sense that they might

lead to a marginalisation of Black politics. In this way it is interesting that the respondents in acknowledging that the major political Parties will do very little voluntarily to help ameliorate the position of Black people in Britain, unless pressured, still contend that the most effective political avenue open to Black people, is to get their voices heard by entering the major Parties and exerting influence in that way. Only a relatively small percentage of the respondents (11%) believed that the setting up of an independent 'ethnic minority' Party was viable. The main reason for their support of independent parties is related to the belief that such a Party would best enable Black people to have a voice in the political arena whereby they could put their OWN case effectively.

The support by the majority of respondents in this research for remaining within the three major political Parties is evident. However, one cannot go on to draw further conclusions from this and state that they do not support the idea of Black people establishing pressure groups in order to put their case forward. For as table 7.20b shows this is not the case, as 90% (83 respondents) of those who answered the question "Do you think Black interest groups should bring pressure to bear on their local MP's in the hope that their grievances will be listened to and acted upon?" said they were in favour of black interest groups exerting pressure on their local MP's. This serves to highlight the complexity of the types of political action that middle class Blacks might take by illustrating the fact that they favour a mix of informal and formal political action. The former in the guise of pressure groups and the latter presented in the form of remaining within the three party system. As Layton-Henry and Studlar (1984) point out

"the diversity of the British Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities will be reflected in a variety of relationships with the British political processes and institutions. Focussing on any particular form of political relationship will ignore the complexity of the activities involved. Different groups and individuals may adopt different strategies or be caught up in a variety of forms of political action depending on the issues involved. And in order to maximise their influence they will be involved in a number of

strategies simultaneously, so that involvement in the major parties, for example, does not preclude direct action as well". (1984:9) (See also Fitzgerald 1984).

The second possibility which Miles and Phizacklea outline revolves around the issue of the major political parties adopting ethnic candidates in order to recruit support and votes from the Black electorate. The example they use is that of the Liberal Party's attempt to draw away the ethnic vote from the Labour Party by canvassing an ethnic candidate for parliamentary elections. This strategy Miles and Phizacklea suggest has been unsuccessful (for more recent analysis see Fitzgerald (1983), LeLohé 1984). Miles and Phizacklea argue that the major parties are more likely to adopt ethnic candidates for local elections, particularly in wards where there is a concentration of one particular ethnic group. This particular avenue of entry into formal politics seems to be dependent upon the wishes of the political parties and their desire to gain or maintain electoral control and less to do with an active/positive orientation of ethnic population to be candidates. However be that as it may this would provide an avenue for those middle class Blacks who choose to enter the political arena by taking advantage of the major political parties attempts at 'wooing' the Black vote.

The third type of action available to Black people in the 'ethnic organisation process' Miles and Phizacklea state arises when Afro-Caribbeans and Asians seek to exert influence "through members of ethnic strata standing for election (at the local or national level) on a platform of a single issue or issues of specific concern to his or her own ethnic group". (1977:496). In viewing this particular avenue of action Miles and Phizacklea suggest that the effectiveness of this action has more to do with the opportunity offered of publicising a particular ethnic issue which might otherwise pass unnoticed than of standing a chance of being elected.

The fourth type of activity they identify suggests that influence might be exerted at the level of formal politics through ethnic organisations on a consultative basis. In this way they could be consulted either on a continuing or an adhoc basis in local and national government decision-making process. Miles and Phizacklea suggest that this type of activity is likely to become increasingly important

"where ethnic groups do wish to pursue their interests on a group basis and/or where decision-makers want or need to take into account ethnic interests, pressure group tactics and consultation with relevant organisations will be the only way in which views can be ascertained". (1977:497).

Having said this they go on to offer a proviso by stating that one cannot assume that all members of a particular ethnic group necessarily have a clearly defined set of interests on which they are agreed should be followed through. As such they suggest that this would necessitate examining

"processes of interest articulation within the ethnic group and to carefully consider the validity of claims of self-appointed spokesmen that they represent the ethnic group. Moreover, faced with the intention or necessity of consultation the decision-makers have to decide who is to be approached for information and advice and this can be particularly difficult in the absence of any acceptable ethnic organisation". (1977:497).

This type of activity is one which opens avenues of entry into formal politics for middle class Blacks. It is evident that a significant proportion of the respondents in this research are already involved in a variety of interest/pressure groups/self-help groups, voluntary organisations which focus around issues concerning Black people. Many of the respondents indicated that it was only by having interest groups such as these that Black people could be helped and in this way help to bring issues such as 'sus' and underachievement of Black children in British schools to the fore. Interest groups such as those belonged to by the respondents could be approached by decision-makers for information and advice. However, as Miles and Phizacklea point out one would have to be aware that they only represent a section of Black interest.

In that interest/pressure groups headed by what decision-makers perceive to be acceptable middle class 'leaders of the Black 'community' may act against those groups who the decision-makers perceive as 'radical trouble-makers' and would be able to justify their actions by stating that they had consulted members of the Black 'community'. This sort of situation would serve to divide and splinter 'Black interest' by setting them against each other, as they would be competing to get their issue onto the political agenda.

The fifth form of political action available refers to the organisation or withdrawal of an ethnic bloc vote for one of the three main political parties. Miles and Phizacklea argue that an organised bloc vote could be of considerable significance in local and national elections given the numerical strength of racial and ethnic strata in certain constituencies. Even so they express reservations about whether leaders would be able to organise an ethnic bloc vote. The issue of bloc voting was one which was raised by a number of the respondents when discussing the types of pressure which could effectively be exerted on the three major political parties in order to get them to take on board issues pertinent to Britain's Black population. As stated in the preceding chapter, party political allegiance seems to be secondary, and the arguments put forward by the respondents tended to support a strategy of pragmatic manipulation of the political process, for example giving the vote to the party that delivers. Whether middle class Blacks have the resources available to them to co-ordinate such a strategy is debatable, but it remains a potential avenue for action.

At the level of informal politics Miles and Phizacklea suggest three specific ways in which the interests of ethnic minorities can be pursued. The first possibility they identify focuses upon efforts based around action or protest

groups which are 'set up to fight' a specific issue. This form of action they suggest usually arises when assertions of racial discrimination are at issue - areas such as education and law have been prominent in this respect. As they state

"over the last three or four years numerous parent action groups and defence committees have been organised on an ethnic basis. Such groups have often been very successful in publicising issues involving racial discrimination and also in strengthening ethnic consciousness". (1977:498).

Again this represents a particular avenue of action which would appear to have been taken up by a number of the respondents (particularly those in population one) in this research. In many instances the work which they do in their particular action groups whether it be working with Black parents groups and trying to bring to the attention of local education authorities and schools the issue of the underachievement of Black children in schools, or for more facilities for Black elderly and under 5's in their area, there is usually a link between these respondents and the local Black 'community'. As pointed out earlier it is usually the situation that the areas of work in which many of the respondents (particularly the professionals) find themselves has meant that they have certain responsibility to certain 'community' projects/activities/groups. In this way it can be argued that whether they want to or not they will become involved at the level of informal politics, and in this way the possibility becomes more likely that they will be put forward as 'community' leaders/spokespersons. Alternatively there are those who will make a conscious decision to resist becoming involved in any 'grass roots' action groups for fear that this may damage their career prospects (they feel they may be perceived as 'militants') and prefer to pursue their own individual ends. Another possibility would be that put forward by a significant number

of respondents who stated that certain middle class Black professionals tended to use 'community issues' as a stepping stone to further their careers, be they political or otherwise. This was a particular criticism levelled at prominent personalities such as Rudy Narayan.

The second possibility which Miles and Phizacklea put forward suggests that ethnic interests can be pursued through ethnically based political organisations, including revolutionary movements which do not seek election within the formal political machinery. Miles and Phizacklea state that

"ethnic revolutionary sects do exist in Britain and are active in racial and ethnic communities in the larger cities. In varying degrees they all assert that White racism is a fundamental obstacle in the revolutionary struggle for a socialist society and, from this, argue that Black and brown workers should organise themselves politically in separate organisations from white revolutionary socialists". (1977:498).

Having said this they go on to state that the level of revolutionary class consciousness amongst Afro-Caribbeans in particular the older generation is not high (although no lower than that of the rest of the working class) and so support for these types of organisations is low. One of the main reasons they cite for this lack of enthusiasm to become involved in revolutionary groups is that many Afro-Caribbeans who came as workers in the 1950's still feel they will return home. Thus,

"Seen from their perspective a return to the West Indies is more certain and tangible than increased political conflict and vagueness of revolution in a country which may have originally been seen as the 'Mother Country', but which is still not home". (1977:499).

On the basis of discussions with the respondents in this research the likelihood of them joining revolutionary movements seems small. Firstly, as professionals, managers, businessmen/women, they have secured for themselves a certain level of economic and social stability and may not wish to jeopardise this stability. Secondly, although many acknowledge the existence of racism within structures such as the labour market and the subordinate position Black

labour within that structure, their emphasis for political change would seem to be based more on operating within the existing political framework. So seeking representation and change in that way is perceived as more appropriate.

The third level of action refers to the option of pursuing ethnic interests through the industrial sphere.

In relation to this last possibility Miles and Phizacklea highlight the fact that since the mid 1970's various industrial disputes took on an ethnic dimension, (such as the Imperial Typewriters, Mansfield Hosiery, Standard Telephones and Cables (London) disputes). The key features of these industrial disputes they suggest revolved around the fact that the trade unions involved failed to act upon cases of racial discrimination against the ethnic/Black workforce. Miles and Phizacklea go on to state that although the Black workers taking strike action in defence of their jobs were forced in the majority of instances to adopt an exclusively ethnic strategy, they

"did not draw what seems to be the logical conclusion from their experience, the necessity of forming independent ethnic trade unions. They strongly dismissed this at the conclusion of the dispute, arguing that when union officials strayed from union principles, they must be opposed from within the union and not by forming alternative organisations". (1977:498).

The position of Black workers in objectively defined middle class jobs is dissimilar to that of the objectively defined Black working class worker to the extent that avenues for strike action are not obvious. Middle class Blacks are few and far between in the labour market (Brown 1984), and in numerical terms have little power. Having said this there are examples of Black professionals joining together to form a Black caucus within their respective professions (the Afro-Caribbean Medical Society, Caribbean Teachers Association, Black teachers Collective, Association of Black Social Workers and

Associated Professionals, Afro-Caribbean Hairdressing Society) in an attempt to strengthen their positions as Black workers. Middle class Black labour face truncated career structures, marginalisation and low economic returns in comparison to their white counterparts. The likelihood of their seeking to effectively ameliorate their position via strike action seems unlikely at present, for much of the inroads made are successful in terms of individual battles being waged with employers, professional bodies, as opposed to any general upward movement.

8.4 THE BLACK UNITY PROCESS

The third process which Miles and Phizacklea outline, focuses upon what they see as political action on the part of Afro-Caribbeans and Asians. They argue that both Afro-Caribbean and Asian workers in Britain have had similar experiences in terms of migrating to Britain to seek employment, and subjection to similar levels and types of racial discrimination on their arrival. They go on

"they have come to occupy a somewhat similar occupational position with a strong tendency toward concentration in the lower paid and lower skill sector of the manual working class". (1977:494).

Given these similarities they suggest that it should be possible to argue that Afro-Caribbean and Asian workers could organise collectively in order to pursue common interests, especially the elimination of practices of racial exclusion. However, they suggest that the Black unity process is the least viable of the three processes outlined (whether at the level of formal or informal political activity) for three basic reasons. Firstly, they argue that

"the ethnic attributes of cultural distinctiveness, common ancestry and commonality which promote ethnic organisation are also the very factors most likely to inhibit the development of the Black unity process". (1977:494).

In looking at the cultural characteristics of the various Asian ethnic groups in Britain they state that these are as divorced and distinct from those of Afro-Caribbeans as they are from English culture. Taking these cultural characteristics into account they go on to suggest that this helps to explain, in part, the residential 'segregation' of Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities, and also their occupational segregation. In highlighting the so-called segregation of the two populations/communities they do however, acknowledge that there is contact between the two. Even so this contact they suggest **is contact**

"between individuals with a distinctive ethnicity such that extensive limitations are placed upon the sharing of experience which is often an important condition for political mobilisation".
(1977:494)

The second hindrance to collective political activity which Miles and Phizacklea cite is cross-ethnic prejudice and hostility. They point out that as in Lawrence's study (1974) they in their study have become aware of a certain level of hostile or unfavourable views of Indians and Pakistanis held by Afro-Caribbeans and vice versa. Attitudes of mistrust, scepticism (as opposed to hostility) of the Asian 'community' has been evident in comments made by some of the respondents in this research. In the section of the questionnaire which dealt with politics, the respondents were asked whether they believed Afro-Caribbeans and Asians in Britain would come together over the issue of racism. As table 8.1 indicates over a third said they did not believe this would be possible. The reasons provided were fairly consistent and are typified in the extracts quoted below. The first type of answer refers to what some of the respondents see as the animosity between the Asian and Afro-Caribbean community.

WILL AFRO-CARIBBEANS AND ASIANS COME TOGETHER OVER THE ISSUE OF RACISM IN
BRITAIN? SURVEY POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO - MALE AND FEMALE

	MEN POP1	MEN POP2	WOMEN POP1	WOMEN POP2	TOTAL	%
YES	16	6	9	12	43	49
NO	13	4	8	8	33	37
DON'T KNOW	5	1	5	-	11	12
TOTAL	34	11	22	20	87	

TABLE 8.1

Note:

Non-Response 33

"This is a difficult one. It would be nice if that was possible, but I think its easier said than done because there is a lot of animosity and difference in approach and problems between the Asians and the West Indians. One or two Asians might want to identify with some of the problems that West Indians face, such as racial problems at work and in this way we are natural allies....but it still is not yet possible because we see each other differently,

and there is too much animosity" (Telecommunications Officer - Male Pop1)

The second type of response highlights what they state are the cultural differences that exist between the two groups and its possible effects on forming political alliances

"No I think there will always be some kind of a barrier between Asians and West Indians because of cultural and religious differences. And also Asians tend to mix more with the whites than with the West Indians. It may change with the younger Asians, but that is for the future. The older ones tend to look on West Indians as if they were inferior. They will only mix with West Indians if they can be of assistance to them. For example if they feel the police are getting at them, but as soon as they feel that they are out of that particular predicament then they will raise the barrier again. So I really feel that Asians and West Indians will keep apart".

(Lecturer, Male Pop1).

The third type of response received referred to the common belief, held by many respondents, that the Asian 'community' believe that they are superior to Afro-Caribbeans.

"No never, never, never. The Indians feel superior to West Indians...they are more prejudiced towards West Indians than the Whites are. You might get groups saying they are together, but it will never work".

(Own Account Worker, Pop2 Male).

The fourth type of answer provided suggests that the likelihood of Afro-Caribbeans and Asians forming political alliances is affected by the divide and rule tactics adopted by the British.

"I think it is highly unlikely because there is an unsaid area of schism between Asians and Afro-Caribbeans. I think, as I have said earlier about the divide and rule system, we have seen it work in Africa and I think we have seen it vividly here during the last election. People were classified as Asians and Blacks. A dividing line has to be established, whether or not people can get together, when there are others telling you how different you are would seem to make it really difficult to come to the table to talk about racism in the full sense".

(Social Worker - Team Leader, Pop1 Female).

Finally there were those who suggested that Asians and Afro-Caribbeans could not unite because their ideas of 'freedom' varied too much.

"No. I live in an Asian area and I know a lot of Asians and I don't think they have the same outlook on life that we have, I think that a lot of Asians consider that their salvation would probably be through their own economic endeavours. And that once they have actually managed to achieve economic independence and are able to shut their door they are not worried about political strife, they are not worried about violence on the streets because I don't think that they are built that way. I think they are much more isolated and they can deal with limited opportunity, and I think their limited opportunity might be financial. Whereas I think that Black people don't necessarily want money but they want freedom to walk the street, freedom for their children to get a good state education, and freedom in a general sense. Not just money to give them freedom which I think a lot of the Asian people I know would be satisfied with, which I think is a very limited sort of freedom".
(Probation Officer, Male, Pop1).

Finally, there were those responses which suggested that Asians would only join with Afro-Caribbeans as a matter of temporary expediency.

"No unfortunately not because the Asians think they are doing alright...They would like Blacks to fight for them - physically that is - but not in the political arena. Also the majority of Asians do not see themselves as Black".
(Secretary, Pop2, Female).

These answers all highlight the degree of scepticism held by some of the respondents. What is significant, however, about their comments, in terms of the formation of political allegiance between the Asian and Afro-Caribbean community, is that there is little emphasis placed in objective terms on the similar experiences of racism and discrimination which both populations have faced in Britain.

Forty-nine percent of the respondents did feel that Afro-Caribbeans and Asians would unite around the political table and find strength to fight against racism in Britain. The justification for this belief tended to be varied with most being negative to the extent that their comments were usually preceded by "yes but". Others were more positive. Taking the latter type of answer first

It was evident that these respondents felt that some 'coming together' had already been achieved.

"If you look at what has happened over the past 10 to 15 years we can say that there is some hope. There was a time in Britain when Asians would not identify themselves with Blacks at all, and in fact some got very offended if you mentioned that they were Black. When Enoch Powell made his famous rivers of blood speech in 1968, the Caribbean, Asian Association was formed very quickly in Bradford, and it is still going. They recognised straight away that here was a British politician attacking what he called people from foreign lands, and two communities were singled out. So the Indians in their wisdom decided that we had better close ranks.....so you see the more pressure successive governments place on people from the Indian Sub-Continent and the Caribbean, the more likely it will be that the two sides will come together".

(Community Relations Officer, Male, Pop1).

"Yes because the whole business of Blacks and Asians getting together has become more and more a realism over the last two years in particular, and this is something that is happening all the time at grass roots level and slightly higher without anybody making a song and dance about it. The important thing about what is happening in terms of Black people and Asians is how much is happening that you don't hear about. In the time since I have been in this country I can remember the times when Asians didn't want to be called Black, they didn't want to be classed with Black people but then racial attacks on them increased and I actually see a time when Asians would come and literally ask Blacks to give them give them help, join hands with them. In London over the past two years we have had the same sort of approaches coming from the Jews, coming to Black organisations and Asian organisations trying to get something going - hands across the table sort of thing. So this is the sort of things I am referring to".(Journalist, Pop1, Male).

The "yes but" answers fell into four broad categories. There were those who felt it was possible that Afro-Caribbeans and Asians would join together, but felt that a firm basis of understanding needed to be fostered in order for the alliance to be successful.

"Again that is a difficult question. I think that for expediences sake the Asians will get together with the West Indians or people of African origin. How long that kind of alliance will last I'm not sure, because I'm not sure of not only their political conviction but of the ideology of the Asian. I think that one of the things that I would like to see is Black people, and when I say Black people I mean people of Asian origin and people of African origin having a similar ideology rather than a kind of pragmatism. Because I think that if it is pragmatism there are no principles from which they have to operate, it is only the order of the day as it were. And if it's only on the conditions of racism or something like that, it is not enough. We have to go further and have an ideology of our own which would unite people, because if you share the same ideology, it's like religion, you have a greater affinity with one another. So

I think it is the psychological aspect which is missing and it is important if we are going to have the affinity between the Asians and people of African origin".
(Principal Social Worker, Male, Pop1)

Secondly there were those who felt that 'unity' would only come when the Asian community admit that they are black

"I think there is a possibility but I am doubtful. Nothing will happen until the Asian realises that he is Black, and the Black man stops telling him 'coloured'.

Thirdly, there were those who felt that they would only unite if the white establishment are unsuccessful in dividing the two groups.

"There is a possibility yes, but the leaders of these two ethnic groups have to be aware that the establishment will try to drive a wedge between them. They drive a wedge by employing techniques such as giving more favours to one rather than the other, or saying to one, you are better than the other. They realise that a united front of these two groups would bring pressure to bear on them. So they try to diffuse such forces...If they can come together I feel that they can achieve a lot".
(Dentist, Pop1, Male).

The third factor which Miles and Phizacklea see as preventing Afro-Caribbeans and Asians organising collectively to pursue common interests is based on the view that the two 'communities' themselves do not constitute a homogeneous or coherent community, for they are both characterised (the Afro-Caribbeans to a lesser extent) by intra-group conflict.

8.5 SUMMARY

Of these three types of strategy which Miles and Phizacklea put forward as being available to Afro-Caribbeans and Asians in terms of political action, the most unlikely road to political action as regards middle class Blacks would seem to be the 'class unity' process. On the basis of comments made by the majority of the respondents in this research, identification with the White

middle class would seem to be an untenable proposition at this stage. For although over two thirds of the respondents, when asked, said they believed Britain's Afro-Caribbean population is divided along class lines, their answers usually referred to objective indicators of class position such as occupation, income, education, house ownership rather than identification with the White middle class. Even when referring to themselves the overall level of identification with either the White middle class or White working class was low. The consciousness of 'race' which many of the respondents have, has generated a perception of class which acknowledges that being middle class (in terms of acceptance by the class of arrival) can never be a reality for Black people in Britain because of the way in which they are perceived by White people.

It is possible, however, that a separate Black social class pyramid may emerge as the gap between the majority of Black labour and the few who have managed to attain a relatively higher occupational position ^{widens.} If this situation does occur it is here that intra-group conflict may come to the fore as the Black middle class strive to maintain the niche which they have managed to carve out for themselves. It is debatable whether this would result in an alignment between White and Black middle class, but we may see movement on the part of sections of middle class Blacks to seek political alignment with the Conservative Party in order to secure their own socio-economic positions.

The Black unity process although dependent in broad terms upon the alignment of two differing cultural groups represents a possible avenue for political action particularly if, as Miles and Phizacklea point out

"Further, and more protracted, outbursts leading to an increased number of racial assaults and murder and a growth of racist political organisations will serve to polarise the situation with racial and ethnic strata becoming more ethnically conscious and adopting more substantial forms of ethnic organisation in the informal sphere of political self defence groups."

The political role of middle class Blacks in this context could possibly be that of spokesperson, 'community leader' coming together with their counterparts within the Asian groups. Alternatively, there may not be a role for them to play if they are rejected by the Black majority as they may feel that they themselves can best represent their own interests.

Finally, the ethnic origin process. Middle class Blacks' involvement in political organisations along the lines of ethnic organisation whether at the level of the formal or the informal politics seems the most viable of the three processes. To reiterate at the formal level there are three possible avenues open to them.

Firstly at the level of informal politics, middle class Blacks' involvement in action or protest groups which are set up to fight a specific issue represents a viable avenue for political action. As stated earlier a significant proportion of the respondents (particularly those in population one) are already involved in local based action groups and regard this involvement to a certain extent to be part and parcel of their professional lives).

Secondly, middle class Blacks could act as representatives of sections of the Afro-Caribbean population and liaise with the government of the day on a consultative basis. The White power structure may favour this approach because then they would be liaising with what Sir George Young (Times 10.10.1982) regards as the 'sensible, moderate, responsible leaders of ethnic groups'. It is likely that through this approach only single issues would be put on to the political agenda, rather than getting any firm and constructive commitment to dealing with the structural position of Black labour in Britain. It is possible that this particular avenue of political action will leave room for middle class Blacks to act as a self interest group seeking to better their own position in terms of gaining access to areas of employment for

examples previously cited to them, rather than taking a broader perspective and looking to focus attention on the position of Black labour in Britain. This is an issue which Howe (1985) and Sivanandan (1985) identify when looking at the attempts of middle class Blacks as they see it to appropriate 'the Black struggle' in order to further their own positions.

Although the population interviewed for this research is small and so such their comments are non-generalisable, it is argued here that the role of middle class Blacks in the political arena cannot readily be assumed to be one of political leader for 'Black interests'. The overall impression gained of the groups interviewed was one in which although there was acknowledgement and a keen awareness of the structural position of Black people in Britain few respondents saw themselves doing more than what they are presently doing at what one might loosely call the level of informal politics. The majority would seem to prefer to remain secure in their own positions.

CHAPTER NINE

MIDDLE CLASS BLACKS: A 'RACIAL' FRACTION OF THE
BRITISH MIDDLE CLASS OR A CLASS FRACTION OF A
'RACIAL' GROUP?

CONCLUSION - MIDDLE CLASS BLACKS: A RACIAL FRACTION OF THE BRITISH MIDDLE CLASS OR A CLASS FRACTION OF A RACIAL GROUP?

9.1 INTRODUCTION

We began by stating that the aim of this research was to consider the relationship between 'race' and class in terms of how these two concepts articulate in the overall structuring of class relations, in a situation which involves the incorporation of a Black minority into a homogenous White society. Before moving on to consider the articulation of 'race' and class as it relates to the structural location of the objectively defined Black middle class an attempt is made to deconstruct the structural position of middle class Blacks.

9.2 MIDDLE CLASS BLACK WORKERS IN THE BRITISH LABOUR MARKET

As available evidence suggests, only a very small proportion of Black (Afro-Caribbean) workers occupy a middle class position in terms of occupational position (Brown, 1984, Johnson and Cross 1985). The pattern of employment which characterises the position of the Black workforce in Britain has been structured by their initial incorporation into the British labour market. This incorporation was determined to a great extent by structural constraints which served to restrict their movement out of the least desirable sectors of the labour market.

The respondents within this research it can be argued in general terms have been able to move into occupational positions which do not typify the employment position of the majority of Black labour in Britain. The fact that these people occupy what is termed middle class occupations may lead some to argue that this is indicative of the fact that the British labour market is open to the upward movement of Black labour, and that structural barriers to their 'achievement' do not exist. This argument is not supported here. The structural position of this fraction of the Black labour force needs to be examined carefully, for as more and more political and academic attention is directed towards this tiny population there is a risk (as Pinkney 1984, points out when looking at the position of middle class Blacks in the United States) that an erroneous picture of the structural location of Black labour will be developed. For the so-called 'achievement' of certain sections of the Black labour force may become exaggerated out of all proportion to their actual achievement. In this way some commentators/observers would be able to argue that 'the system' is 'okay', and consequently the remainder of the Black workforce would be blamed for their lack of progress.

In an attempt to move towards a clearer understanding of the position of middle class Blacks in the labour market one can ask (a) who are the employers of middle class Blacks? (b) what are the broad structural constraints experienced by Black labour in terms of the labour market? (c) what strategies do Black labour adopt in order to overcome these constraints?

9.2.1 Who Are The Employers of Middle Class Blacks?

Although the emergence of objectively defined middle class Blacks in Britain has not been characterised by the direct intervention of government in terms of attempting to create opportunities for middle class jobs for Black labour in the form of affirmative action programmes (as is the case in the United States, Collins (1983)), there has to a much lesser extent been a certain degree of intervention which would seem to increase in relation to 'crisis points/periods' such as inner city disturbances of 1958, 1979, 1981, 1985. Lord Scarman in his report (1982) following the 'disturbances' of 1981 suggested that Black people should be encouraged to secure a real stake in their own community through business and the professions to ensure future stability. In making this statement Scarman himself does not make it clear whether he is supporting career mobility within already existing occupational positions or rather policy created job opportunities. The issue of policy created job opportunities is one which has received a certain degree of attention, particularly within literature which attempts to highlight the collaborative position of middle class Blacks in Britain.

The creation of what has come to be known as the race relations industry emerged since the early 1960's with the establishment of the Race Relations Board in 1965. It has been argued by some (Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Sivanandan 1982, Howe 1985) that it was established not only to act as a buffer between the state and the 'Black masses' but to also create job opportunities for professionally qualified Blacks who would have had to have confronted discrimination in other professional fields in the open labour market - in particular the private sector. This was seen as a deliberate attempt to siphon off a potential layer of Black leaders, and in so doing creating

"A class of collaborators who would manage racism and its social and political fallout". (Sivanandan 1982:38)

and ultimately serve to divide the Black struggle on the basis of class divisions.

Although only seven percent of the respondents in population one are employed in what can be termed welfare/charitable organisations these positions represent another opportunity structure for middle class Blacks. Here as with jobs within the race relations industry (6% of respondents in population one worked in the race relations industry) the career structure is truncated. The purse strings for these positions are held by local authorities. Section 11 positions, community relations officers, race advisers, equal opportunity officers provide a limited opportunity structure for middle class Blacks, but evidently they are not the only avenues open to them. There are (as survey populations one and two indicate) those who are employed within the objectively defined middle class (see figure 9a) working as professionals, managers, white collar workers. Even so only a relatively small proportion are employed in the private sector; 15% of respondents in population one and a higher proportion of 37% in population two. The difference between the figures for population one and two are significant to the extent that it serves to illustrate/highlight that there are opportunities for Black labour in routine white collar, clerical, secretarial, technician, low level/junior management positions in the private sector, but less so for the Black professional. Those

respondents in population one who are employed in the private sector work as chartered accountants, dispensing opticians, divisional managers, personnel managers, auditors, journalists. According to comments made by these

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LABOUR MARKET

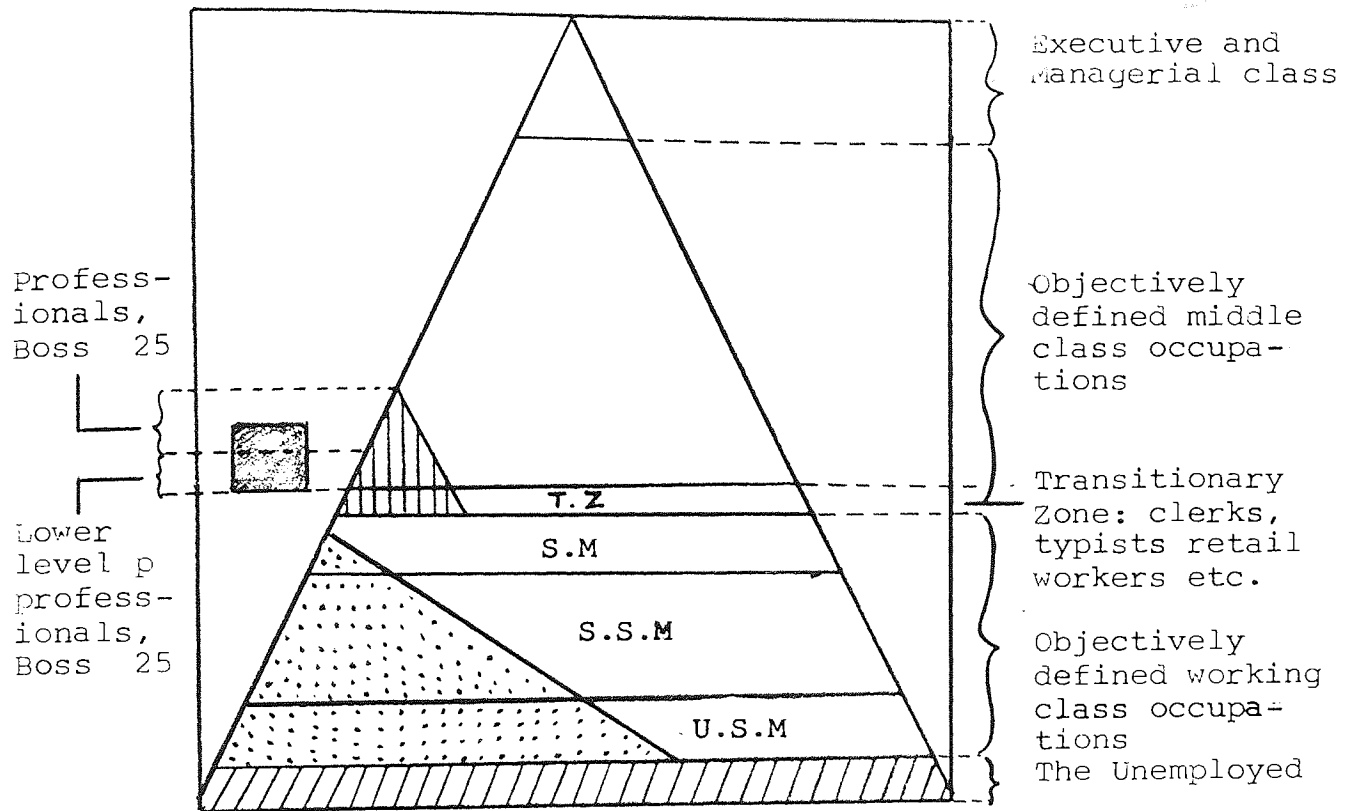





FIGURE 9a

 Black labour occupying positions in the objectively defined middle class

 Black labour occupying Uncontested Territory: Race Relations Industry

 Black labour occupying working class occupations

S.M Skilled Manual labour

S.S.M Semi-skilled manual labour

U.S.M Unskilled manual labour

T.Z Transitional Zone: Routine white collar work, clerks, typists, etc

respondents they usually tended to be the only Black person working within their firm or organisation at that level. Some suggested that not only was it more than likely that they were employed as the token Black, but also that they felt that they had to be three times as good as their White counterparts to attain and maintain their present positions.

The majority of the respondents in population one are employed professionals (as opposed to self-employed) who work in the public sector (civil service or national health service) or local authority. The largest proportion are located in local authority employment, working as teachers, headmaster/mistresses, architects, senior social workers, careers officers, education advisers, lecturers, psychologists. Unlike many of the middle class Blacks employed in the Federal government sector in the United States (Collins 1983) these middle class Blacks are not concentrated explicitly in functions created to serve the Black community. However some argue that they find themselves marginalised within their particular occupational fields. The term marginalisation in this context is used to refer to the process whereby explicitly or implicitly, Black professionals are matched with what are seen to be Black related issues. As previously stated the Black professional is not seen as operating in the broad sense of term as a professional, but rather as someone there to service the non-white areas of interest or clientele. Thus effectively setting their role apart from the mainstream in addition to marginalising the needs of the Black clients receiving the service because adequate resources are not channelled in their direction.

It can be argued that the opportunity structure available to middle class Blacks, judged in this instance by who their employers are, has not been able to penetrate the labour market to any significant extent. Their positions within the labour market are to a significant extent dependent on those who employ them. Firstly, the private sector as employer. Employers in the

private sector are under no real threat of sanctions, (the CRE itself has little impact judging by the watered down code of practice document which it has eventually produced) and may given the current economic and political climate feel that as long as they do enough to satisfy the letter of the law, they need not employ more than one or two Black workers above the position of routine white collar work. Secondly the state as employer. As employer the state demonstrates that there has been little support for the development of a Black professional middle class. It has, however, shown a keener interest in the development of a Black business sector. (Sunday Times 10.10.82). The reason for this apparent preference for developing a Black business sector can be argued to be one which whilst providing peripheral avenues of 'mobility' for Black labour also and more importantly ensures that these Black people would have a vested economic interest in maintaining the system which exploits and undermines the position of the majority Black labour in Britain. In this way government would not have to adopt an interventionist stance, similar to that of the US Federal government of the 1960's, in seeking to ensure structural change within the labour market. Successive governments have, when one looks at the various Race Relations Acts which have been passed, sought not to intervene in a meaningful way with the choice of the employer. There has been a degree of improvement in opportunities for some Black workers, but there has been very little change for the mass of disadvantaged Black workers in Britain. If anything their position has worsened in the present recession. The ineffectivity of the Race Relations Acts, as Lea (1980) points out, lies in the fact that the legislation seemed determined to avoid at all costs any intrusion in the labour market which would initiate a change in the structural position of Black labour. The anti-discrimination legislation was directed towards

"the community rather than the labour market as the arena in which the major thrust of the integration machinery was to be directed"
(Lea 1980:140)

The 1965 Act avoided the area of the labour market and was restricted to focusing on discrimination in places of public resort. The 1968 Race Relations Act made discrimination in employment illegal, however, employers were allowed to discriminate in order to retain a racial balance in their work force. This serves to highlight the fact that the Act was not meant to have an impact on the structural position of Black labour but rather to serve as a palliative to the increasing demands for 'equality' within the labour market by the Black population. The 1976 Act

"empowered industrial tribunals to impose penalties on those who discriminate unlawfully, but the act does not actually place an obligation on employers to actively prevent discrimination" (Pearn 1978:1)

Not surprisingly many employers take little action to combat discrimination in their firms/companies. They may respond to the 1976 Act and the Code of Practice in a number of ways. Firstly, they may choose to ignore the Act and not make any attempt to put an end to discriminatory practices occurring in their firms. Secondly they may continue to discriminate but be sure to hide/disguise discrimination wherever possible, and thirdly some may formulate a non-discriminatory policy but do little to implement it, they merely pay lip service to it.

Thirdly the Local Authority as employer. Many middle class Blacks working in local authority positions, particularly those in certain policy created jobs/positions, such as section 11 posts, race advisers or 'speciality' posts within various local authority departments, may find their positions axed if there is a change of political leadership. This again serves to highlight not only how dependent their positions are but also the tenuous nature of the positions - in other words, marginality.

To reiterate, unlike the American context (albeit limited) there had been no definite attempt in Britain to develop a strategy to effect structural change of Black labour within the labour market. The approach has been one which has sought to stress the belief that the position of Black labour in Britain can only be successfully alleviated through market mediated forces as opposed to effective political and legal directives. The effects of structural racism act so as to limit Black labour's access to certain sectors of the labour market. As such it is argued that Black labour experiences differential access to power and privilege and is consequently rarely to be seen occupying positions where they are involved in the strategic decision making process within private or public sector organisations. The proliferation of equal opportunity policies, which need to be 'serviced' has to an extent provided job opportunities for Black professionals. It is highly likely that a similar pattern of employment opportunities to that which has developed in the US may emerge for middle class Blacks in Britain, with Black professionals on short term contracts - usually between 2-3 years - located in personnel specialities and being responsible for development of equal opportunity policy and implementation. If evidence from the US is an adequate indicator (Collins 1983) then it is also possible that they may find their positions marginalised within the broader framework of the institution within which they work.

9.2.2 What are the broad structural constraints experienced by Black labour in terms of the labour market

The initial incorporation of Black labour into the post-war British labour market and their resultant structural position has, it is argued here, been determined by a set of structural constraints operating at two levels: the

macro and the micro. These two inter-related levels of constraint have served to confine the majority of Black workers to a structural position characterised by its distinct relationship to the mainstream economic, political and legal framework.

The macro level of analysis

This level of structural constraint can be viewed as representing a set of broad based constraints emanating from and continuing to revolve around the structures of the economic and the political. As outlined in chapter four the demands of the British economy in the period following World War Two were such that there was a great demand for low paid unskilled manual labour to work in those industries (textile, metal manufacture, building, engineering) and public services such as the National Health Service and British Rail which had been vacated by a large proportion of the indigenous workforce who sought new avenues of employment further up the hierarchy of wage labour (Green 1979). As such migrant labour entering Britain at this period was faced with a set of employment opportunities based on the needs of the economy. As available evidence indicates the majority of Black migrant workers (both men and women) despite their qualifications, skill level and experience were channelled into what can be termed 'pre-determined', low statused work positions to work as low paid semi and unskilled labour. Thus rather than entering an objective market situation in which they would be free to structure their own employment opportunities Black labour (as the experiences of many of those respondents in this research who came to England as adults testifies) was subject to restrictive practices on the part of employers. Many of those respondents who came with A and O Level qualifications or had occupied white collar positions prior to migration found that they were unable to secure white collar employment, for these positions were essentially reserved for the indigenous workforce (Rose et al 1969, Castles and Kosack 1973). Instead they

experienced downward mobility as they settled to enter those jobs which offered low pay and little hope for the future. The position Black labour found itself in was compounded by the fact that through the ideologies of popular imperialism and race superiority they as a colonial workforce were seen as being a 'race' apart, occupying a position below that of the indigenous workforce (Hall et al 1978, Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Miles and Phizacklea 1982).

Although labour from the New Commonwealth was regarded as a boon by employers to the extent that they represented a cheap source of labour, the British government was less enthusiastic about the inward movement of labour from the colonies (Freeman 1979). The problem for the government did not concern merely the numbers of incoming migrants but rather who exactly these migrant workers were. As previously mentioned the 1949 Royal Commissions Report on Population referred to the belief that immigration on a large scale from the colonies (New Commonwealth) was not desirable. It was stated that large scale immigration into a fully established society such as Britain could only be welcomed if the immigrants were of 'good human stock' and could be merged into the host population. The emphasis on the notion of 'good human stock' and 'race' implies as Miles and Phizacklea (1984) argue that at the level of the political, arguments were formulated which served to highlight the feeling of the government that Britain's future labour shortage was not to be solved by Black migrant labour. Set within this context it is evident that the position of Black labour was not secure. At the level of the economic they were being used to fill in those types of employment in run down industries which indigenous labour had left. At the level of the political they had entered a context which regard them as undesirable and their existence would come to be the focus of a considerable amount of political attention.

By the 1960's available evidence reveals (Daniel 1968, Rose et al 1969) there was no real change in their position within the labour market as the majority (both male and female) still occupied positions in the least favourable sectors of the economy carrying out semi or unskilled manual work. There was however a change in the economy, for the 1960's saw the end of post-war boom. Since the 1960's there has only been small scale improvement in the position of Black labour, marked by an increase in the number of women doing low-level non-manual work (clerical and sales) and a shift of men into skilled manual occupations. Even so as Smith (1977) points out these increases are offset by the fact that they lag behind that of the general population.

It can be argued that as a result of the articulation of the interests of capital, government and labour these interests have served to undermine the structural position of Black labour in Britain. In briefly restating the arguments put in chapter three, we argued in broad terms that the underlying requirements of Capital has been the need for an available pool of cheap labour employable during economic booms, (such as that in the fifteen year period following the end of the second world war when the British economy entered a period of growth), and dispensable during market contraction. On the other hand white labour, who see Black labour as competing for jobs (in addition to competing for essential resources such as housing, education, health facilities, social welfare benefits), have sought to secure its own position at the top of the hierarchy of wage labour. Successive governments in their attempts to secure electoral security have served in certain respects to 'pander' to the interests of Capital and White labour. As a result of the articulation of the interests of these three groupings the issue of 'race' has been brought to the fore and has come to play a central role at the level of the economic and the political, and has consequently served to reinforce and maintain the subordinate position of Black labour. The introduction of legislation concerning immigration and nationality since the 1960's to the present, represents a key example of the way in which the articulation of the

interests of capital, labour and government served to determine the current position and structure of Black labour. The 1971 Immigration Act effectively placed Black labour, albeit those coming to Britain after 1971, on the same level as the European foreign worker. They did not possess full labour market rights and as such represented a compliant workforce who under these conditions would be unlikely to jeopardise their employment position by voicing grievances about pay, safer conditions, or the right to join trade unions.

Policy decisions taken by government (which reflect the interests of the dominant interest groups) has meant that through the process of modification to immigration, citizenship and nationality law Black labour has been set apart at the level of the economic, political and legal. As a result of their subordinate position Black labour have little recourse to challenging dominant interest groups in order to put forward or institute change. For in terms of distribution of 'power' vis-a-vis the indigenous labour, the latter occupies a far more secure position given that they have trade unions to represent their interests. In contrast, as pointed out earlier, Black labour, as various events since the early 1970's testify, occupy a precarious position. Events such as that of Imperial Typewriters are illustrative of the fact that the interests of Black labour are often in conflict with that of indigenous labour, and the very trade unions who are supposed to represent their interests. The emergence of Black sections within trade unions is also indicative of this division of interests between Black and White labour.

Set within this context it is argued here that at the macro level of analysis the structural position of Black labour is more a function of the articulation of the interests of capital, labour and government via the mobilisation of certain factors around the notion of 'race', rather than being dependent upon objective structural forces.

The Micro Level of Analysis

The broad based structural constraints operating at the macro level of analysis do not operate in isolation, but can be said to articulate with and reinforce at a lower level of analysis the subordinate position of Black labour via a set of discriminatory practices, policies and procedures operating within the labour market. The advantage of identifying this lower level of analysis lies in the fact that it serves to broaden and concretise the debate concerning the structural determination of Black labour. It highlights the fact that broad constraints operating at the level of the economic and political form the framework within which structures such as the labour market are able to effectively discriminate against certain sections of the labour force in terms of recruitment, pay, conditions, denial of qualifications. This process can best be demonstrated by looking at, in the following section, the strategies which middle class Blacks have adopted in order to overcome this level of structural constraint.

9.2.3 What Strategies do Black Labour Adopt in Order to Overcome these Constraints

The strategies which many of the respondents in this research adopted in order to counteract the constraints experienced in the labour market have taken different forms. According to comments made by a significant proportion of the respondents, particularly those in survey population one, it is evident that the incorporation of these respondents into the British labour market was structured not only at the macro level by the demands of the British economy, but also at the micro level by the racist and discriminatory actions adopted by employers, managers and workers. The strategies taken by the respondents in response to the structural constraints deriving from these two levels fall into eight general categories. The first, 'credentialization' is one of the most

frequently opted for. As outlined in chapter six there were respondents who found that qualifications they obtained in the Caribbean were not accepted by British employers on arrival in Britain. The excuse usually given was that their qualifications were not up to the British standards. In response many of the respondents chose to re-take the certificates they already possessed in order to obtain the British equivalent, and reapply for similar types of jobs. This usually meant that the respondents had to work, and study at the same time which was often difficult if they had a family to support. By the time they had attained the necessary certificates and in many instances acquired the desired job they found that they were usually significantly older than their White counterparts.

It is evident from the pattern of work and education that marked the careers of many of the respondents, the taking of more and more qualifications is a strategy that they employed not only on arrival in Britain, but throughout their occupational careers. This particular strategy was not always successful in securing for them immediate employment or promotion. Indeed a number of respondents having obtained a British degree found that they were unable to secure the types of jobs they applied for. This is in line with evidence produced by Rose et al (1970), Jowell and Prescott-Clarke (1970), Ballard and Holden (1975), which indicated that the real difficulties for Black workers begins when they compete for highly paid, high status jobs. On eventually attaining their desired jobs many pointed out that they soon realised that they had to be three or four times as good as their white colleagues in order to maintain equivalent positions.

Secondly, deliberate horizontal career moves. This strategy, which in most instances leads to promotion at a later stage, represents another option used by the respondents in an attempt to structure the path of their careers. This particular strategy was usually employed by those respondents who were

dissatisfied with the promotion procedures within the institutions they worked. In fact all except one were public sector employees (civil service and NHS employees). The main theme of the comments made by the respondents revolved around the way in which the promotion procedure within their organisations is structured. They argued that there was scope for a reporting officer(s) to abuse the procedures for promotion by playing out individual prejudices, so undermining the Black worker's career prospects. Jenkins (1982) when looking at institutional procedures for recruiting and promoting workers and the way in which workers, particularly Black workers, are conceptualised and treated by personnel specialists and line management, states that informal recruitment or promotion procedures usually take the form of the recruiters not formally standardising selection procedures. As such the criteria for selection generally tend to be informally specified, which leaves the way clear for idiosyncratic and taken-for-granted decisions, which are rarely made explicit. Jenkins suggests that such informality could act as a good barrier against investigation. He gives a quote from a personnel officer which he states is a good example of the implications this informal procedure might have for a Black applicant.

"....I can recall sitting in an interview situation where there has been a Black who has been the best candidate and you get this sort of attitude. 'The blokes won't like it'. Sometimes there's an accepted sort of silent acceptance that you'll share the same attitudes. You know we don't want him! Sometimes, for example, that candidate will be ignored and they'll discuss someone else instead". (Jenkins 1982:1)

Here we see that structural racism, operating at the micro level in the form of discrimination has been able to hide behind (using the personnel officer's own words) a 'silent acceptance' that they the recruiters shared the same views towards the Black applicant. This informal method of selection has become conventional practice for this firm and their discriminatory practices go unnoticed. In contrast formalisation of the recruitment procedure can as Jenkins points out result in constraints being exercised upon the scope of the

recruiters' idiosyncratic decision-making. There is a greater degree of accountability which may result from recording decisions on paper and the subsequent need to justify decisions made in terms of laid down procedural or judgemental criteria. However, Jenkins does point out that formal selection criteria cannot totally eliminate bias in recruitment decisions as there still remains scope for subjective decisions concerning personality etc. Even so the formalisation of selection criteria does make it less easy for discrimination to operate. Decisions become more meritocratic and are seen to be so; it becomes less easy for the 'silent acceptance' of tacit and taken-for-granted criteria of acceptability to effect the outcome.

Thirdly, some respondents on coming to terms with the fact that they were not really progressing in their careers decided to change course and begin a new career. This was done in all instances by returning to formal education in pursuit of further qualifications.

Fourthly, there were those respondents who argued that having encountered considerable levels of racism when seeking to establish their careers they felt that they would stand more of a chance of succeeding if they became self-employed. Just under a third (30%) of the respondents in population one have opted to be self-employed whether in business or as professionals. This is indicative of the fact that faced with limited career opportunity structures in the labour market they have opted to create their own avenues of mobility. Even so many of these respondents find that their opportunity structure is limited to what Collins (1983) would define as segregated (market their services or wares almost exclusively to Black consumer market) rather than generalised services.

Fifthly, some respondents decided to leave Britain and return home to the Caribbean, or to the United States. This option was in the main taken by male

respondents in population one, who came to Britain as adults. They accounted for 21% of this group of respondents. The reasons put forward for making this decision were twofold. Firstly, there were those who were disappointed with their level of progress in Britain and felt that returning home would prove beneficial in terms of their careers. Secondly, there were those who simply decided that they should return home because they had acquired their degrees and could make a life for themselves there. Their reasons for returning to Britain were varied, but in general terms it would seem that they were either unable to establish their careers or because they were unable to work within the prevailing political climate.

Sixthly, there were those who resolved to remain in and be satisfied with what they have achieved in their present jobs. This strategy or rather option is predominantly one taken by the women in population two, particularly those working in the nursing profession. These women work as either nursing sister or district nurse, and argue that they are satisfied with the positions they have achieved and do not intend to pursue promotion. It is significant that it is this very group of respondents who have argued that 'race' has not played a significant role in structuring their careers. It is argued here that because these women have chosen to remain at relatively low grade positions within their professions and have not sought to further their careers, they have not had to contend with the limits set for their progress, which for example their counterparts in population one have experienced. Those respondents who chose to further their careers became aware of the way in which racism operating within their professions began to structure the form which their careers took and the strategies they adopted in return.

9.2:4 Summary

The structural processes and constraints which have served to maintain the subordinate position of the majority of Black labour in the British labour market gain expression at both the macro and micro levels of analysis. The two levels are not separate but act so as to reinforce and compound the effects of the other upon the position of Black labour. The range of decisions taken and strategies employed by the respondents in this research in order to overcome the effects of the structural racism they experienced in the labour market, were successful to the extent that a significant proportion were able to attain certain occupational positions in the objectively defined labour market. However this, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, cannot be used as evidence to argue that barriers to the 'advancement' of Black labour within the labour market do not exist. It is argued here that middle class Blacks in Britain represent a small upwardly mobile group but it is debatable whether in fact they will form a permanent grouping in the British class structure. Middle class Blacks occupy a tenuous position within the labour market due to the fact that they do not seem to have been able to penetrate to any great extent the objectively defined middle class labour market. Those who are located in the private sector are usually the only Black employees working at that level within their firms, and some find that they have to be three times better than their White counterpart to maintain the same position. Others may find themselves marginalised within their particular professions, such as those working in the legal profession who find that having been forced by the system of constraints (racist procedures and practices) operating within the legal profession (Goulbourne 1985) in the form of exclusion, denial and isolation they are then labelled/regarded as being incompetent and as

having lower standards of behaviour. Those employed in local government positions, particularly those in certain policy created jobs (Section 11, Equal Opportunity Officers for example) may find their positions axed if there is a change of council leadership.

The current move by some private and public sector organisations to declaring themselves equal opportunity employers, may lead some to argue that a change of attitude is developing. Is this the case? For progressive Labour authorities this may be the case, but to what extent can this lead be said to be mirrored in the private sector in particular? It is argued here that many employers in the private sector merely pay lip service to their equal opportunity policies as there is little evidence to date which demonstrates that private sector companies go beyond establishing job specifications and person specifications when advertising for positions within their firms to actually monitoring the effectiveness of their policy, not only in terms of recruitment but also ascertaining what proportion of their workforce (in terms of race, gender and disablement) occupy managerial, supervisory or professional positions. The issue of monitoring is contentious, as demonstrated by the protracted argument concerning in particular 'ethnic' monitoring in the civil service in recent years. There seems little advantage in opting for a policy if no provision is made to monitor and assess its workability, unless of course the implementation of the policy is merely that of window dressing.

In order to form a permanent grouping in the labour market middle class Blacks would have to be able to transfer their class advantages (the term class in this context is used in very broad terms) to their children. The majority of the respondents in population one appeared to be satisfied with their children's academic progress, the parents in population two were less so. A significant number with children over eighteen years of age, have either seen their children through university or have children presently at university.

Only time will tell how they will fare in the labour market. Using the constraints their parents have had to face and are still facing, and the avenues of relative 'mobility' they have managed to achieve, may provide a fair indicator of the position they may come to occupy in the British labour market. As argued at the end of chapter six, the older generation of Black professionals, for example, have to an extent pushed back the original occupational ceilings to the benefit of the younger Black worker. However, when they as a 'new' generation begin to push for upward movement within their respective occupational fields they may have to come to terms with the limits set for their 'progress' (Ballard and Holden 1975)

Twenty percent of those respondents in population one who have children between the ages of five and eighteen years send their children to private day or boarding schools. The reason for sending their children to private schools usually put forward by these parents is that they have little faith in the 'state system', as its record has shown it to fail Black children. On the other hand they argued that within the private system their children have access to more resources (books, equipment) and receive more attention. A few of those respondents with children under the age of five stated that they were seriously contemplating sending their children to private schools. There were others however, who having sent their children to private school, decided to return them to the state school system, as they felt that their child was not benefiting academically within the private sector.

It is interesting to note that although many of the respondents who send their children to private school had espoused throughout their interviews a fairly radical stance towards the subordinate position which Black people occupy in Britain, arguing in many instances that structural change was the only way to achieve real change, that they did not regard sending their children to private school as being contradictory to those arguments. The arguments which they

put forward to rationalise their position, was that they wanted to give their children the best that they could afford, to enable them to achieve a good start in life. Many regard education as being an investment in their child's future.

It is here for the first time when speaking to the respondents that the issue of class consciousness and race consciousness emerged, and the complexity of middle class Blacks' position became apparent. Was sending their children to private sector schools contradictory? At first glance this may seem to be the case. However, on examining their statements more closely it can be argued that whilst being lost to the objectively defined working class they are not lost to the Black 'community'. The question for them was one of whether to keep their children in the state system and struggle for better education in what they regard as a racist education system, or to take them out and get what they perceived to be the best for their children in the private system whilst continuing to work to influence the structure of the state education system to provide more opportunities for Black children to achieve within it. Of those who provided the latter rationale when asked how they were going about instituting this change, only one respondent was able to offer any tangible evidence (for he operated/runs a supplementary school), but even so this operates outside of the state school system and is unlikely to have any real influence upon what is taking place within it.

9.3 MIDDLE CLASS AFRO-CARIBBEANS, PROVIDING A RATIONALE FOR THEIR OWN POSITION IN THE BRITISH CONTEXT

As stated earlier in chapter two the analysis of class position may begin by focusing upon the so-called objective realities of economic position, but one should acknowledge and give weight to the way in which the actor himself/herself makes sense of their world. The level of consciousness of race

and class revealed by the respondents in this research has been structured to a large extent by the structural constraints encountered at both the level of the 'macro' (in terms of the broad structural constraints of the economic and the political) and the 'micro' (through a set of racial discriminatory practices, procedures and policies operating within the labour market.¹ The articulation of consciousness and action on the part of the 'actors' in populations one and two serves as an indicator of the contradictory nature of their position vis-a-vis the British class structure. Using occupation as an objective indicator of class position, to mirror at a less abstract level of analysis the social division of labour in the concrete (for each occupational grouping is said to be characterised by the common function performed in the social division of labour) these respondents can be said to belong to the objectively defined middle class. However, it is evident that objective indicators of class position are not sufficient to assess the position of a minority Black population in a majority White society. Factors such as occupation, education and income do not represent for the majority of those interviewed the only measure of 'classness'. Other criteria they argue, namely 'race' are given prominence over and above that of occupation, education and income, and is used by White society to define the boundaries of Black people's existence in British society. This level of understanding was one which characterised the outlook of many of the respondents. Even so their outlook was not uniform for it became apparent that three broad categories of consciousness existed amongst the respondents. There are those respondents

¹ Within this research very little attention has been directed towards structures such as the housing market, education system and others. This should not be seen by the reader to mean that the author does not believe that the structural constraints which the Black population meet within these structures do not serve to influence their perceptions and level of class, race and political consciousness, but rather that the parameters set for this research was such that attention was focused primarily on the relationship between Black labour and the British labour market.

who can be said to identify with the British class structure, secondly those who identify themselves with the Black 'community' and thirdly, those respondents who are insular in their outlook and view themselves as individuals not wishing to identify or form alliances with either the Black 'community' or the White middle class, and do not employ the notion of class to mark out their position in Britain.

The first broad category of respondent are able to identify with the British class structure to the extent that they identify criteria such as occupation, education and income as being factors which serve to highlight class divisions within the Black population in Britain. Although some were aware of the way in which 'race' is used by White society to undermine the position of Black people in Britain, they argue that the existence of racism will be overcome with time. Little attention is focused on how they as Black people might be viewed by White society in terms of acceptance in class terms. In this way they were able to identify with the British class structure and see their place within it based upon what they perceived to be objective criteria. There were those however (in the majority of instances these tended to be the younger women in the twenty-five to early thirties age group) who also argued that occupation, education and income were not the only factors which linked them to the British middle class structure. Lifestyle, outlook, values, aspirations were also seen by those respondents as important indicators of their class position.

Although this first category of respondents are able to perceive themselves as being a part of the British class structure, particularly the middle class, it does not follow that this is their voting pattern. As tables 7.16 to 7.18 illustrate 61% (49 respondents) of all those respondents who voted in the 1983 general election voted Labour, a combined figure of 23% (19 respondents) voted for the Liberals, SDP or the Alliance, and only 15% (12 respondents) stated

that they voted for the Conservative Party. Of these, those respondents who can be said to identify with the British class structure represented 51% of those who voted Labour, 84% of those who voted for either Liberal, SDP or the Alliance Parties, and 41% of those who voted Conservative. The fact that such a large proportion of these respondents voted for the Labour Party can be explained by the fact that many when stating that they identified with the British class structure saw their allegiances lying with the British working classes, as they too were 'oppressed' or had experienced what they thought to be working class lifestyle. Consequently their voting behaviour reflected this. More interesting however are that group of respondents who, although identifying with the indigenous middle class, were unable to vote Conservative because of what they see as its 'hostile' attitude towards Black minorities. This serves to highlight the contradictory nature of middle class Blacks for it would seem that although able to acknowledge what they regard as their objective class position their consciousness of 'race' and racism in Britain has served to influence/determine 'political action' taken, and as such can be said to have placed their consciousness of 'race' and how it relates to their position, above that of their class interests.

The second broad category of respondents who identified themselves with the Black 'community' argued in the main that Black people in Britain, whether as migrant labour or Black labour born in Britain, stand outside of the British class structure and as such their position cannot be defined in terms of class. As stated in chapter seven, many found it difficult to resolve the issue of race and class vis-a-vis their positions. The main area of discussion tended to be related to the fact that although they as Black workers occupied professional positions or whatever within the labour market, possessed qualifications, those objective indices of class position are not the only indices used by the White majority when looking at them. Within their arguments 'race' was reified and seen to serve to determine the way in which

all Black workers are grouped together and relegated to a position below that of White society. For these respondents their consciousness of 'race' and racism enables them to acknowledge what they feel to be contradictions inherent in their positions. They as Black workers are able to attain positions in the objectively defined middle class, but are not accepted as such by the class of arrival. Awareness of the position they find themselves in would seem to be reflected not only in the limited political action taken (for example the majority vote for the Labour Party because they believe that if anything is to be done to ameliorate the position of the majority of Black people, the change will come through the Labour Party, if pressured), but also in their apparent concern for the internal development of the Black 'community', and particularly for the future of young Black people.

The third broad category of respondents who saw themselves as individuals, represented a fairly small grouping. This type of respondent made plain their awareness of the circumstances which mark out the position of Black labour in Britain. However, in viewing their own position it would seem that they chose to distance (rather than deny) themselves from this reality, by not aligning themselves with either the British class structure, or the Black 'community'. These respondents argued for their individuality but even so found it difficult to assess exactly how they saw their positions in British society.

Having identified these three broad categories of respondent it is necessary to point out that the boundaries between them are blurred. No clear distinctions of exactly how they make sense of their circumstances can be obtained as they would seem to be attempting to work through what they themselves regard as the contradictory nature of their positions, in terms of identifying their interests and forming allegiances.

9.4 RACE AND CLASS AND THE STRUCTURAL LOCATION OF MIDDLE CLASS BLACKS

The aim of this research has not been to discuss the pro's and con's of whether sections of Black labour have been able to achieve middleclassness in a structural context which has, and continues to, subordinate the majority of Black labour at the level, of the economic and political, but rather to consider the relationship between 'race' and class in terms of how these two concepts articulate in the overall structuring of class relationships in a situation which involves the incorporation of a Black minority into a homogeneous White society.

At this juncture it can be said that conclusions drawn from this research cannot be said to represent the totality of objectively defined middle class Blacks in Britain. Given that there is no objective profile of what this group would ~~look like~~ we believe that the range of occupational groups found are representative. They are representative to the extent that although not generalisable, their experiences can be said to be indicative of the position of other Black workers from similar occupational groups.

In general the respondents in both survey populations occupy what can be termed a common labour market position similar to that occupied by the White middle class in terms of occupation. It is apparent, however, that this can only be said to be the case within certain limited spheres of employment, such as that of social work, the teaching profession, legal profession and low level white collar work (clerical, secretarial work). Evidence from this research shows that even within these limited fields of employment Black labour can in many instances find itself marginalised to a position where in the main the Black professional is seen to exist to serve the non-white areas of interest

or clients; or is only able to achieve limited upward movement within their careers. The subordination of Black labour within the labour market has come about as a result of structural constraints operating through the mechanism of 'race' at both the level of the 'macro' and the 'micro'.

There is a certain homogeneity which marks out the position of Black labour vis-a-vis the British class structure which arises firstly from their common definition as immigrants and thus outsiders (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). In terms of occupation, income, education, however, one may argue that there is a division between the relatively small number of Afro-Caribbeans who have managed to attain a certain level of objective middleclassness and the majority of their counterparts. This division does not represent class division in the classic sense but represents a fragile division which when examined reveals it to be nothing more than mirage. The position of Afro-Caribbean labour is one of relative powerlessness in Britain, for they do not possess, and have been unable to harness to date the means to bargain for power (economic or political).

Black labour can be argued to be the victim of structural racism; however, as stated earlier, they are not a passive victim, and do not accept the constraints of structural racism without resistance (Bird 1978, Williams 1985). It is probably the form which this resistance takes which most usefully serves to highlight the potential differences between what can loosely be called middle class Blacks and the majority of Black labour in Britain.

Put simplistically it can be argued that in order to confront the 'system' middle class Blacks have sought to find a place within it by acquiring the qualifications which would enable them to compete for areas of work which have been the preserve of the White majority. This has been a slow and individualistic process which in many instances has not made it any easier for

others to follow, as in certain situations particularly in the private sector, their position as chartered accountant, draftsman, architect, appears to be little more than tokenism. Others found other avenues of employment where they work as community relations officers, in section 11 posts or race advisers. These represent areas of work which offer little resistance to employing Black labour; in fact it proved for some to be an advantage.

The majority of Black labour arriving in the 1950's and 1960's were channelled into low paid dirty jobs and were unable to 'free' themselves from these positions because of the pressures of structural racism operating initially to channel them into these positions and then to keep them there. Some were able to compete for better paid jobs which White labour sought to preserve for themselves, and as figures for the 1960's indicate (Rose et al 1969) a sizeable proportion were able to secure skilled manual work. With the recession, however, many found themselves acquiring a disproportionate share of unemployment (Smith 1976). The so-called second generation Black youth entered an education system unsympathetic to their needs, and as Hall et al (1978) argue they have experienced not only cultural expropriation through the school system, but found that although

"better equipped in terms of educational skills to take their place beside the White peers of their own class in the ranks of skilled and semi-skilled labour, they feel the closure of the occupational and opportunity structure to them - not on grounds of competence but on race". (1978:354)

Resistance to structural racism for this generation has taken on a higher profile than that of middle class Blacks, which Hall et al regard as the politicisation of Black youth

"The second generation simply is a Black generation, knows it and is not going to be anything else but Black.....It is most unlikely, then, that this generation would ever set its feet willingly on the path to assimilation. As a collective solution, the option of assimilation has not only been officially closed by White society, but Blacks have actively closed the door on it themselves, from inside and turned the key. What we have called an acceptance strategy no longer has much to recommend it either. Black youth

has come to see the infinite endurance of their parents as too quietist a solution.....The system which needed them as workers does not need them even for that any longer, so their objective position has deteriorated. But the dynamic factor is the change in the way this objective process is collectively understood and resisted. Thus, the social context and political meaning of 'worklessness' is being thoroughly transformed from inside. Those who cannot work are discovering that they do not want to work under those conditions. The unemployable are developing a new form of negative consciousness around the condition of being unemployable". (Hall et al 1978:355-356)

This negative consciousness Hall et al suggest may be a temporary situation and as such represents a transitional form of consciousness, even so they argue that they are developing and becoming a political force.

It would be too simplistic at this stage, in comparing the two broad types of resistance to structural racism mentioned above, to argue that the form of resistance which middle class Blacks opt for is assimilationist. The situation is more complex than this. Firstly, among the people interviewed it was evident that a considerable number were well versed in the experience of racism and discrimination, borne out of their early experiences of racism in the labour market and throughout their careers. It would seem that it was this type of middle class Black who was more prepared than others to 'fight' for the internal and collective development of the Black community. Secondly, there are those middle class Blacks who have, to use Sivanandan's words, developed "a common understanding of racial oppression" (1982:93), as a result of the widening disparity between their aspirations and achievement. As a result they have responded to their predicament with a "heightened sense of group identification" (Dillingham 1981:446). Thirdly, there are those middle class Blacks who have adopted a more 'conservative' stance because they have carved out a safe niche for themselves and as such may pursue their own individualistic tendencies which will tend to dissuade them from wishing to upset the status quo.

The type of consciousness generated by middle class Blacks and the way in which they make sense of their world is not uniform precisely because they as actors hold overlapping group membership. In this way their situation is typified by the interlacing of a consciousness of both race and a consciousness of class, which has been determined in the first instance by the structural constraints of racism they have experienced in Britain. It is argued here that set within the context of their being a Black minority within a majority White society where the concept of race represents a salient mode of division, middle class Blacks are not lost to their original group, for as Kuper (1975) points out, in contrast to the tendency in class mobility for the upwardly mobile to align themselves with the class of arrival, 'race' for upwardly mobile Black labour remains an extrinsic point of reference

"and upwardly mobile individuals may be readily drawn back into their racial group" (Kuper 1975:234 in Foner 1979:128)

By examining the relationship that exists between middle class Blacks' objective structural location and the type of consciousness of race and class which has developed as a result of their experience of structural racism, it can be argued that their perceived interests and actions are at odds with their structural location. This disjuncture between objective structural location in the objectively defined middle class (ODMC) and their perceived interests may be accounted for by the fact that their consciousness of 'race', and its effect upon their position, has served to highlight the fact that the structural positions they occupy are not determined objectively. Mechanisms such as that of exclusion, reservation, **marginalisation** (operating at both the levels of the 'macro' and the 'micro') have been effective because they have operated and continue to operate to the advantage of the indigenous population, who seek to prevent what they regard as encroachment of their resources by 'immigrant' labour.

Seen in this context 'race' can be said to cut across inter-class boundaries which characterise the indigenous population, as both the White working classes and White middle classes, on the basis of their perceived interests are able to transcend their traditional hostility towards one another as they acknowledge the similarities of their interests against that of the Black 'outsiders'. This is exemplified in the majority White support expressed by classes across the board for the restriction of Black migration to Britain since the 1960's.

Finally, the position of middle class Blacks in Britain has little real meaning in terms of them representing a 'racial fraction' of the British middle class, not merely because they are numerically a small grouping, but more importantly because they along with the majority of Black labour are not accepted as being a part of the British society let alone a part of the British class structure. It is possible, however, that if the relatively small gap that presently exists between the majority Black population, and the tiny minority of middle class Blacks in Britain widens (widens in terms of the latter being able to secure a firmer position in the ODMC, and at the same time experiencing natural increase in their numbers, as more join their ranks probably as a result of tokenism on the part of employers or limited government intervention), we may begin to see the development of class fractions within the Black populations. If this situation does emerge it is likely that we would begin to see a situation where (similar to that of the United States (Pinkney 1984)) the majority of those Black people who have managed to secure a relatively stable economic future for themselves and their children, will become more insular and seek to protect their own positions rather than being concerned about the lot of the majority of Black workers at the bottom of the labour market. The Black middle classes would come to represent a class fraction of a 'racial' group as opposed to a 'racial' fraction of the British middle class.

A P P E N D I X

Interview Questionnaire

Section One: Background history and migration history

- (1) How old are you
- (2) Are you married, when were you married
- (3) Do you have any children. How many
(get gender and age of children)
- (4) What is your country of origin
- (5) In what year did you arrive in Britain
- (6) How old were you when you came to Britain
- (7) What were your reasons for coming to Britain

Section Two: Residence

- (8) Where, ie town, city, did you go to when you first arrived in Britain
- (9) What sort of accommodation did you take up
- (10) How long did you remain there
(carry on in this vein until you reach their
present home situation)
- (11) How long have you been living in this area/district
- (12) Which of these descriptions would you say fits the area best:
- a very mixed area, a rather select area, a working class area,
a respectable area, other:
- (13) Why did you move to this area
(Probe for advantages and disadvantages especially social ones)
- (14) How long have you lived in this particular house
- (15) Have you ever thought of moving area. If yes: Why. If No: Why not

Section Three: Work History of Respondent

- (16) What was your first job in Britain
Name of Company/firm (year)
Where was it
Actual type of job
Skill level - responsibility etc
Qualifications needed
How long did you remain with this job
- (17) What was your next job (and so on to the present)

- (18) Do you think in your present job you are making the kind of progress that you would like to
- (19) Have you ever thought of leaving your present job. If yes: Why. If No: Why not
- (20) What was your father's occupation when you were 16 years of age
- (21) What was his occupation when you left to come to Britain
- (22) What was his occupation ten years after you had been in Britain
- (23) What was your occupation prior to coming to Britain
- (24) What was your wife's/husband's occupation
- (25) Are any of your children working.
If Yes: What is their occupation

Section Four: Education

- (26) What sort/type of schooling did you receive in your country of origin
- (27) How old were you when you left school
- (28) What was your highest qualification on leaving school
- (29) Did you receive any more education or training after that (ie college, university) If so: What (probe for part-time education)
- (30) Turning to your children's education now: If the respondent has children under the age of 16 years ask:
- What age do you expect 'X' to leave school
- If the respondent has children over the age of 16 ask: Did they leave school at the age of 16 or did they stay on at school/college to take 'O' Levels
- (31) What secondary school does/did 'X' go to
- What sort of school is that
 - Has/did/are 'X' taking (taken) any 'O' or 'A' levels at school
 - If yes, list subjects taking/passed and failed
 - Does/did any of them attend a fee-paying school
- (33) Do you know what 'X' wants to be
- What is it
 - Is this the kind of job you hope 'X' will eventually settle down in
 - Why is that

Where appropriate:

- (34) Would you be prepared for 'X' to spend 3 years at university if this was necessary for him to become a (preferred occupation)
- What sort of chance do you think there is that he/she will get that sort of job
 - Would you say it was more ^{or} less certain, about fifty-fifty, or not much of a chance

- Why do you think that
 - Have you discussed this with any of his/her teachers
- (35) How satisfied are/were you satisfied with the standard of education provided by the schools your child/children attended
- How easy do/did you find it to get information about your child's progress at school
 - Have you ever been to talk personally with the head teachers or class teacher about your child's schooling, including on open days
- (36) Do/did you discuss your children's education with your wife/husband
- If Yes: What sort of things do/did you talk about
 - Do you believe there is anything that parents can do to help their children do well in school
 - If Yes: What sort of things
 - Is there anything else besides what you do now that you would like to be able to do
 - If Yes: What sort of things

Section Five: Interests etc

- (37) What hours do you work
- Do you ever work 'after hours' or take work home
- (38) Do you socialise with your work colleagues outside working hours
- If not: Why not. If yes: Why
- (39) Who would you say were the two or three people that you most often spend your time with (make clear apart from spouse and children)
- are they (a) friends from work (b) neighbours (c) friends who belong to the same organisation, club, society as you (d) family (e) other - who
- (40) Do you belong to any clubs, voluntary associations, lodges, anything political (list and classify)
- How frequently do you attend
 - How many hours a week - for each
 - Do you hold any official positions within your clubs, organisation, association
- (41) Do you play any sport, who with
- (42) Do you go out to the pub or to wine bars, night clubs - How often
- (43) Do you spend most weekends at home
- If Yes: What do you do
- If Not: Where do you go, what do you do
- (44) Do you have any friends you see less often for some reason or other
- If Yes: Why is this
 - Where do they live
 - What sort of work do they do
 - How did you get to know them
- (45) How often do you see members of your family and of those which do you see most often:

- (46) Do you attend church regularly
- (a) Every Sunday
 - (b) Once a month
 - (c) A couple of times a year
 - (d) Never

(47) What sort of church is that

(48) Is that the church you attended as a child

Section Six: Class

(49) What do you understand by the term 'social class'

- What do you understand by the terms:

- (a) Middle class
- (b) Working class
- (c) Underclass

(50) Do you believe the Black Community (Afro-Caribbean) can be split/is split along class lines

- If Yes: Why, and where do they see most Blacks being located within this divide
- If no: Why not

(51) Do you ever think of your position within British society in terms of class

(52) Are you more inclined to think of yourself in terms of being a Black person as opposed to your class position

(53) What social class would you say you belonged to

(54) If you had to say middle or working class which would you say

- Why

(55) Do you think it is possible for Black people to be middle class

(56) How do you get on with Black people who think of themselves as middle class

Section Seven: Race

(57) How do you view your position in Britain as a Black man/woman

(58) How do you see the position of Black (Afro-Caribbean) people as a whole in Britain

(59) Do you see yourself primarily as an individual, as eg an accountant, or as part of the wider Black (A/C) community

(60) Do you believe that your white (a) colleagues and (b) neighbours, see you as an individual, as your work role or part of the wider Black community

- (61) Do you believe it is possible for a Black person to succeed in terms of their occupation/career prospects in Britain today (For example being able to take advantage of the various channels which are open to the White community)
- (62) How do you think the position of Blacks when you arrived in Britain compares to their position in Britain 1983

Section Eight: Politics

- (64) Did you vote in the General Election in June
- If Yes: Which political party did you vote for
- If no: Why didn't you vote
- (65) What Party did you vote for in the 1979 General Election
- Why
- If the same party was voted for in 1979 and 1983 ask whether they have always voted this way
- If Yes: Why. If No: Why did they change
- (66) Do you belong to any political organisations
- (67) Do you believe any of the three 'main' political parties - Labour, Liberal-Alliance, Conservative are/will do anything for Black and Asian people
- (68) A lot of people were involved in Black Civil Right campaigns concerning racial discrimination and immigration laws during 1960's and early 70's - were you involved in this
- (69) Have you ever been connected with community campaigns
- What part did you play
- What was it about
- Was it successful
- (70) Do you think there is any point in Black interest groups trying to bring pressure to bear on their local MP's in the hope that grievances will be listened to and acted upon
- (71) In a similar vein - Do you believe that politics at the local level and national level represent a viable avenue for Blacks to put forward the Black communities interests
- If so, do you believe Black people should try and enter the Party system via the main political Parties, or should they speak out for themselves, like some are trying to do in the 'Ethnic Minority Party'
- If No: Why not
- (72) Some Blacks have become regarded as spokesmen for the Black community at the local and national level - such as Paul Boeteng, Russell Profitt, Rudy Nayaran. How far do you feel they represent the Black community's views
- (73) Have you ever considered getting involved in politics yourself
- If Yes: Do you think your views are/would be representative of the Black community views

- (74) Do you think that there is a possibility that Afro-Caribbeans and Asians ^{will} come together over the issue of Racism in Britain

Section Nine: General Questions

- (75) What do you think about the CRE and local CRC's
- (76) What would you suggest were the prime causes of the 1981 riots
- (77) What thoughts do you have concerning the future of Black youth in Britain (ie say within the next 10-20 years)
- (78) Do you think there is anything that you and people like you can do to help our second generation and further generation of Black youth
- (79) The Rampton Report - which was an enquiry into the education of children from Ethnic minority groups, concluded that Afro-Caribbean children were under-achieving throughout the education system
- (a) What do you feel are the reasons for the underachievement of Black children in schools
- (b) What do you think can be done to remedy the situation
- (80) What do you think the current trend towards multi-cultural education in schools is all about
- (81) Do you believe multi-cultural education should be put onto the school curriculum
- If No: Why Not
 - If Yes: Why

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