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« British Civilization »

**Social and Cultural Black Adjustment of Afro-Caribbean
People in the United Kingdom from the Post World War II
up to the Present Time**

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Dedications

I dedicate this dissertation

To my family

My parents

My brothers and sisters

To my classmates

To my campus's friends

Abstract

The fact that Britain nowadays a multicultural and a multiracial society is an indisputable reality. This is mainly the outcome of successive waves of immigrants from the new Commonwealth countries. History has witnessed the extraordinary changes and development from slaves and mere 'accessories' and 'Chattel' to full British citizens. Their extraordinary journey in Britain has been full of suffering and hardship, their ever lasting struggle against persisting white racism has been the proof of their courage and greatness. In addition to old settled communities of black people who came as a result of the slave trade, other Caribbean and African people came to Britain during the wars to help for the war effort and to fight for their mother country. They were joined by greater waves of immigrants after the war to help Britain reconstruct its economy and to fill the acute labour shortage that it was facing. All of them came hoping for better lives and recognition, yet all they found was huge racism. Their disillusionment had been great indeed. They were given jobs with menial functions, low paid and night shifts that white people did not want. They faced daily discrimination in housing, education and work. They were frequently confronted to color bars in public places and were harassed in the streets. At different occasions, they had been the target of the racist attack performed by white youths in violent riots. Today, black people are integral part of the British society. They have completely changed the face of Britain, changing it from an exclusively white society to a multiracial one. Over time their communities have largely expanded. The successive waves of Afro-Caribbean people have brought about irreversible changes to the British culture, geography and society. Their presence has altered the meaning of 'Britishness'. Every aspect of British life, whether political, cultural or social, has been influenced by the black culture. In spite of the challenges that they are still facing, a great improvement has been made since the post war period. A number of them have managed to achieve great fame and success, and most of all recognition and are celebrated worldwide.

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General Introduction

The United Kingdom is a multicultural and multiracial society. Throughout history, people from different religions have immigrated and settled in Britain the fact that has resulted in the establishment of many ethnic minorities that have shaped the current British society and culture. The Black British community is one of these minority groups. It is mainly constituted of people from the West Indies and West Africa. The history of this community is a long a struggle against racism. Its members have been subjected to all the unimaginable horrors because of the colour of their skins. They have long suffered from British exploitation, ill-treatment, and racism.

Contrary to the general belief, the black British have a very long history in Britain. Their presence goes back to Roman times. Their number grew significant during Britain's involvement in the slave trade. Considered as mere merchandise, they were transported by force from their native lands to other continents where they were used as slaves, servants or decorative accessories. The number of black people in Britain was constantly increasing during the following centuries. Up to the end of the slave trade, many black people ended up in Britain carried by traders and ex-officers and used as servants, entertainers, prostitutes or simply as status symbols. They were joined by black loyalists after the American rulers to further their education. Most of them settled in slave port cities such as Liverpool, London, and Bristol. Nevertheless, Black presence in the British soil is due at first place to the massive immigration from former British colonies, mostly from the Caribbean countries and Africa. This large influx of Black people took place immediately after the end of the Second World War.

Because of the massive destruction caused by the war, Britain needed cheap labour force to rebuild its economy. In order to encourage workers to come to fulfill this labour shortage, the British government issued in 1948 the British Nationality Act that gave British citizenship to all people living in commonwealth countries, and full rights of entry and settlement in Britain. Attracted by this offer, and hoping for better living standards, immigrants came in large numbers, especially from the Caribbean.

Black immigrants were offered jobs, especially for the least desirable occupations. They worked in manufacturing industries as well as some public services like transport and the National Health Service. Soon after their arrival racial tensions emerged among local British citizens who felt that the new arrivals were competing with them in the job market. Although,

they were encouraged to come in Britain by the government, they had to suffer from intolerance and extreme racism from the local British citizens. In addition to that, they had to endure other problems such as low- paid jobs, educational disadvantage, decaying housing, isolation, discrimination, and ‘colour bars’ which prevented them from entering some pubs, clubs and other public places.

As early as 1958, many anti immigrants riots broke out in London district with a great concentration of West Indian settlers. The situation was aworsen during the next ten years. Many conservative politicians exploited these tensions to introduce restrictions on immigration starting by the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, voted in 1962 that restricted the number of all immigrants entering the country. Other restrictive measures were introduced in 1968, 1971, and later on during the Thatcher’s years, effectively putting an end to mass migration.

Nowadays, though their situation has significantly improved, Black British are still suffering from bad economic, educational and social conditions. As far as their educational attainment, consequence they drag behind other minority groups, the Chinese and the Indians being the most successful, followed by the Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils. Economically speaking, they earn significantly less than the whites, and they are the least likely to own their homes as a result of their education. Nevertheless, their situation is constantly improving during the 21st century. A number of black Britons have achieved prominence in public life. It is not uncommon to see some Black British figures in the literary, artistic, economic, and political scene. In television, for example,« the reporter and news reader Trevor MacDonald is one of the British most trusted television presenters who won more awards than any other British Broadcaster. Michael Fuller has been appointed Chief Constable of Kent since 2004. Damon Buffini, considered as the most powerful Black male in the United Kingdom, was recently appointed to Prime Minister Gordon Brown’s business advisory panel. Diane Abbott became the first black woman member of parliament, elected to the House of Commons in 1987». These are only very few instance of Black Britons who have managed to integrate the public scene in spite of the hundreds of obstacles which they face at every moment. They probably became more and more conscious that if they want to improve their situation they have to do it by themselves for no one will do it for them.

The current study focuses and investigates the experience of black people in the United Kingdom from the Second World War up to the present time. The aim of this research

work in three folds: it provides a detailed historical background concerning early black presence in this country. It attempts to give an analysis of the history of race and racism in Britain and investigates the origin of British policy in relation to race and immigration, specifically during the post Second World War, showing the different attitudes that white British citizens had towards white immigrants as compared to the Black one. Finally it looks at the current challenges that face that community and the efforts they made to adjust to the British culture displaying a number of great black figures who managed to achieve success in public life. The choice of this specific group is probably due to the growing interest of historians and researches evolution through time, for simple objects and accessories to a group making in integral part of the British society and culture.

The present dissertation is made up of three major chapters. As the main scope of the present research work is to investigate the Black people experience from the end of the Second World War, then the first chapter will also provides a historical survey about Black experience before the war. It will provide information about the first Blacks in Britain that goes back to Roman Times up to the Elizabethan era. Then, black experience during and after the slave trade, dealing with their participation in the abolitionist movement and later on during the anti-colonialist movement.

The second chapter will deal with the most prominent and significant wave of Black immigrants from the West Indies and West Africa in the twentieth century that gave rise to British Discrimination and racism as well as race riots, and hate crimes and brought about the British race policy consisting of a number of governmental restrictions aiming at limiting and giving an end to mass migration.

The third and last chapter will look at the current situation of the Black British. It will deal with the current challenges that they had to face in order to be fully accepted by their white counterparts. It will look at the improvements they realized at various levels whether at the cultural, the political, the social or the economical one. A number of great Black British figures, among which politicians, writers, artists, businessmen and so on, will be displayed, those who have succeeded to achieve prominence in public life.

1-Introduction

The Afro-Caribbean community has a very old history in Britain; it goes back to Roman times. Their number was negligible at the beginning, it increased somehow during the sixteenth century so as to cause the queen's annoyance, and it became largely visible during Britain's involvement in the slave trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These people, who settled during that period, formed the oldest black community in Britain. The following chapter provides details about their settlement, their political statutes, and the way they had been treated during the period of the slave trade. It also provides details concerning their long struggle to achieve emancipation. It attempts to understand how they achieved the first step towards their adjustment in the twenty first century; and how they managed to be move to undesirable black people.

2-Black people during the 16th century

The 16th century saw the establishment of the first black community in London. Many references could be found in the literature of that period. Thanks to records we find a number of traces of black people at that time, most of which were used as entertainers and musician, especially at the royal court. References are made in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber to John Blank who was a regular musician at the courts of *Henry VII and his successor Henry VIII*. In 1501, *Catherine of Aragon arrived in Deptford with five 'Black Moors'*¹. Queen Elizabeth I used to have a black maidservant and a group of black musicians and three dancers who entertained her courtiers and herself. Black characters also figured in the 16th century literature, such as Shakespeare plays and London place names such as Black boy Court or Blackmoors' Alley.

The first official mention of black presence was in 1555 when John Lok, a son of a prominent London merchant, decided to bring five West African slaves to London from a town called Shama on the coast of what we know nowadays as Ghana. His purpose was to

¹Black moors: Moor: originally, this term was applied to Muslims who conquered parts of Spain in the 18thc. However it appears in the Shakespearean literature with the association of the word Black, 'Blackmoor', was also used as a synonym of 'negroe' in the 15th, 16th, 17th centuries. Fom Network.

teach them English then to take them back to Africa as interpreters. Yet, it is not he but Sir. John Hawkyns, an English navigator, who is considered as the initiator of British slave trade.² At that time, black people were rather stared at as strange beasts, freaking creatures, or for the best as curiosities. English people were very little informed about African continents, images and descriptions of African people, most of the time exaggerated started to spread in England.

Explorers and travellers started to publish their findings and impressions in books which were read by English people. They were described and pictured to the reader as having no noses, no upper lips or tongues, or again without mouths. Some of them were said to be eight feet tall, others had a single eye in the forehead, and others without head at all with mouths and eyes on their breasts. They described as lustful people with weird sexual practices. It was not surprising, therefore, that the English society, once confronted to black people, had treated them as curiosities, or even animals.

By the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the next one, possessing black servants among the household became a fashionable thing among rich families as an evident symbol of their status. At first, they were rather considered as exotic objects, human curiosities, pets. This practice became more general by the end of the century and more black slaves were brought to England where they were for the majority used as household servants, prostitutes, or as entertainers. Their numbers increased so as to annoy Queen Elizabeth I who ordered them to be taken out of her realm.

3-Queen Elizabeth's Reaction to Black Presence

By the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century, the number of black people increased so as to reach several thousands. No exact records exist about how many colored people were there, for since slave trade was not yet a regular and organized one at that period, no taxes were levied. During that period, because of dramatic increase in population and to other economic problems, ten per cent of the population was unable to support itself³, and thus reduced to vagrancy and begging. Several acts were introduced to help the needy.

²In 1562- 63, Admiral John Hawkins acquired 300 inhabitants of the Guinea Coast, most of which he bought from African merchants and the others were from African merchants and the others were hijacked from Portuguese Slavers. Peter Fryer, op, cit, p.6-7.

³ Jeffrey L. Forgeng, *Daily Life in Elizabethan England*, (ABC-CLIO, 2009) p 21.

Even if the number of black people at that time was not very large, it was such so as to cause the Queen to be alarmed. Seeing them more and more present in her kingdom, she sent an opened letter to the lord mayor of London and to the mayors and sheriffs of other towns on July 1596, expressing her great displeasure, concerning the large number of blackmoors in her realm, and her desire to deport at least some of them from the land. (*Elizabeth's letter*).

A while after, a Lübeck merchant made her a proposal to arrange for the release of 89 English prisoners in Spain and Portugal but asked in return the permission to take as many blackmoors in her country. This proposal was highly welcomed by her majesty; first, because this clever arrangement would have allowed her to get rid of a number of black people whom she considered as already “to manie” and it would have saved her a lot of money at the same time.

A week after sending the first letter, an open warrant was sent to Lord Mayor of London and all-vice admirals, mayors and the other public officers where she informed them that a Lübeck merchant, called Casper van Senden, was licensed to take black people from the country and consequently required the local authorities to assist him to arrest them with consent of their masters who would, she was sure, they would rather prefer to be served by their Christian fellowmen.

However, this letter had a minimal effect as the first one, for no master was eager to part with his black servants, especially when no compensation was offered. If Queen Elisabeth's motives were to get rid of the coloured population present in her realm, then it had completely failed for she issued in 1601 a Royal Proclamation, expressing her great displeasure about the great number of ‘Blackmoores’ whom she blamed for the social problems that existed at time underlining that the fact that the great majority of them were infidels.

4- Black Presence from Slavery to Emancipation

Up from the seventeenth century there was an increasing of black people in the British soil. As the empire grew larger, the need for more slaves, as a cheap working hand, became more and more obvious. In 1660, the English company called the Royal adventurers⁴ was chartered to take part in the African slave trade. It was conferred complete and absolute monopoly over British trade from “*Cape Blanc (Southern Morocco)* to *Cape Bona*

⁴ The Royal Adventurers was the first English company to take part in the slave trade. It gave a group of English Aristocracy the monopoly in the British slave trade. It collapsed soon later and was replaced by the Royal African Company in 1672. In Junius P. Rodriguez, *the Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery, Volum 7, (1997), p. 557.*

Esperanza” in Western Coast of Africa “for buying and selling bartering and exchanging of for or with any negroes, slaves, wares and merchandises”⁵ According to p. Fryer(1984), it is the increasing demand for exotic goods such as sugar, tobacco, and rum that was the origins of Britain’s involvement in the lucrative tri-continental slave trade. Commodities such as muskets, ammunitions, cutlery and textiles were made in Britain and taken to African Coasts where they were bartered for young slaves who were shipped through the Atlantic to the Barbados, Jamaica, Surinam, or the Americas. There were exchanged for sugar, spices, and other much sought after goods which are carried back to Britain to be sold. As a result of this triangular trade, it is not much of surprise that a number of black people found their way to Britain, whether they wanted it or not.

By the mid-seventeenth century and the next one, the practice of having black servants became more general not only for wealthy and titled families but also for less privileged people; anyone who could afford it could have a slave. They worked as peddlers, laundry maids, butlers, coachmen, servants, or other domestic functions. Coloured people ended up in Britain by a multitude of ways. Most of them were brought against their will as servants by West Indians planters on their way back to England to spend the huge fortunes amassed there; by captains of ordinary merchant ships, ships of surgeons and even by common seamen. Nevertheless, a few of them came as free men, a number of which had been recruited as seamen in African coast, and others came to Britain seeking for education.

During the end of the seventeenth century, most of West Indian planters had become used to send their offspring, sons and even daughters, to England for their education, and these latter, obviously came with their black slaves. In the meantime, and up to the end of slavery, the number of colored people became significant, from several hundreds to several thousands. The great majority of them were concentrated in slave port cities and cities such as London, Bristol and Liverpool. They were slaves, servants or freemen. These latter were free black sailors, musicians, or men who managed to gain their freedom in one way or another. The great majority of these latter’s lives were full of hardship, frequently reduced to poverty and crime. Traces of their presence could be found in judicial cases records, church records about baptisms, marriages or burials⁶, in official and personal correspondence, or in literature. In 1764, the number of black people in England in 1770 was estimated approximately to

⁵ James A. Rawley Stephen D. Behrendt, *The transatlantic slave Trade: A History, Revisited Edition*,(U on Nebraska Press, 2005),p.132.

⁶These records represent a valuable source of information about black population domiciled in Britain. They were generally described as ‘negroe’, ‘negress’, ‘slave’.

15.000. The Gentleman's Magazine had estimated to more than 20.000 black slaves in London only.⁷This number was to be enlarged by the arrival of other black people after the end the Seven Years War in 1763, and the American war 1783.

In spite of the fact that the British planters were against deploying Black troops for the war effort, because of economic reasons, or for fear that they would lose their properties or simply because it undermined the idea of white superiority, black slaves and free blacks were recruited to fight for King George III during the seven years and again during the Revolutionary War. They served actively as soldiers, sailors, labourers and nurses. According to Edward Long thought that black should be rewarded by freedom as he stated:

*Before slaves are entrusted with arms, they should either receive their freedom or a conditional promise of it, as the reward of their good behavior.*⁸

In 1775, the Earl of Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia, issued as a proclamation in which he offered coloured people who would take arms in British army freedom. His proclamation made many of the African American enslaved people join to British army. Its aim was two folds: to reinforce the British forces and to frighten the Secondly, he hoped that such an action would create a fear of a general slave uprising amongst the colonists and would force them to abandon the revolution. Attracted by this appalling prospect, many of them joined the British ranks.

After the end of the revolutionary war, the defeat of the British army and its withdrawal, 14.000 black loyalists left with them, some of which chose to settle in England. Actually, they were free people, but after the British false promises of compensations, they found themselves completely destitute of any resource and hence condemned to live in a state of beggary, most of the time obliged to steal in London's the streets, thus enlarging the number of Black Poor Law. Being born abroad, they could not legally benefit from poor law assistance. In 1788, there were 5000 black people in London most of which were destitute people. Many English people felt concerned with the Black poor, especially those who had served loyally alongside the British during the American revolutionary war.

In 1786, Johnas Hanway, with a group of English philanthropists, established the committee for the Relief of Black Poor which aimed at helping the black people living in

⁷ Gomer Williams, *History of the Liverpool Privateers and Letters of Marque: with the Account of the Liverpool Slave Trade*, (Cambridge university press, 2010), p. 447

⁸ Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy, *An Empire divided : The American Revolution and the British Caribbean*. (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 178

absolute misery in London's streets. It was this body that first suggested taking as many of these people as possible to Africa to start a new life as free men. By the end of 1787, 350 black settlers, among whom were 41 black women and 59 white wives, embarked on board three ships with little provision. The passengers went through very hard and wretched conditions; they lacked beds, food and clothing. The Sierra Leone proved to be a complete disaster after they arrived; most of the settlers died during the voyage, others and some others were sold to French slave traders.

4.1- Slavery and the British Empire's Ascent

It is largely settled among historians that trading in slave was the real cause that brought about British industrialization in the eighteenth century and, consequently, boomed British economy, making of Britain one of the most important powers. According to a number of historians, it was the origin of modern capitalism. William Darty Jr. stated:

*Is it notorious to the whole World that the Business of planting in our British Colonies, as well as in the French, is carried on by the Labour of Negroes, imported thither from Africa? Are not we indebted to those valuable People, the Africans for our Sugars, Tobaccos, Rice, Rum, and all other Plantation Produce?*⁹

The first time when Britain realized the profits that it might amass from trading in slaves was in 1562 when John Hawkyns made his first triangular voyage, returning back to England with £10,000 worth of pearls, hides, sugar and ginger¹⁰. Although Queen Elisabeth I had described the trade as "detestable", she was eager to lend for his second voyage. Almost century later, Britain was trading officially in black slaves when the Royal Adventurers Company was established under a royal charter, competing with Spain, Portugal and France. Then, through wars and treaties, it managed to have more territories in the Atlantic and in the West Indies the fact that increased the demand for a cheap and hard-working labor force to work the land in the colonies.

At the middle of the eighteenth century, as a matter of fact, Britain managed to have supremacy over the transatlantic slave trade. During that period more than half of the African

⁹Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economic, Societies, and people in Africa, The Americas and Europe*, Duke University Press, 1992, p.247.

¹⁰Peter Fryer, *Op. Cit.*, P.8.

slaves taken to America and the West Indies were delivered by Britain. The proceeds gained by British merchants thanks to the purchase and sale of 2.500.000 African slaves, between 1630 and 1807, were estimated at about £12.000.000¹¹. The number of slaves imported by Britain to British America during the period ranging from 1619 to 1808 is very revealing about the wealth accumulated thanks to Britain's trading in slaves. During that period, the numbers of slaves carried by Britain to the Americas from the Barbados and Jamaica only were about 490.300 and 1.074.600 slaves, respectively.

British commodities were loaded on board ships to Africa coasts where they were bartered for African slaves who were crammed in the same ships, delivered to American and West Indian colonies. There, they were sold or exchanged for colonial goods for many times their purchase price. Dr. Ian Rice stated that a slave that had been bought with trade goods worth £3 could be sold in for £20 in America. The Royal Africa Company was able to make an average profit of 38% per voyage in 1680s. The goods were, then, shipped back to England, specifically in Bristol and Liverpool, and Manchester ports, to be sold. The ingenuity of that system laid in the fact that ships were always loaded by one commodity or another which was of great profit to all the parties involved in trade the most important of whom were the British slave owners and slave traders, factories owners, British bankers, and workers. In 1788, dealing with slave trade, the committee of the Company of Merchants to Africa, said:

*In its effect it employs about 150 Sail of shipping which carry annually from the country upward of a million of property the greatest part our own manufactures and it's more remote effects there is hardly any branch of commerce, in which this nation is concerned that does not derive some advantage from it.*¹²

Not only did the slave trade propel British economy and power, but it did also change the face of a number of English cities. In the mid-eighteenth century the slave port cities, Liverpool, Bristol, London and Manchester, changed from being mere fish ports to the most important slave ports in England and in the world. Their participation in the triangular slave trade grew more and more important in the early eighteenth century. Trading in slaves caused the development and prospers of the local industries of these towns as well as the enrichment

¹¹ Ibid, p. 36

¹² Peter Fryer, op.cit..p.15.

of many of their inhabitants. Thanks to the trade, many Bristolians and Liverpoolians managed to build huge fortunes and estates by owning shares in slave trading companies, by investing in slave voyages and in sugar or cotton plantation, or by supplying local goods to ships and plantations.

From a mere fish port in the seventeenth century, Bristol changed to be the most important slave port in the country by the 1720s, the fact that was the outcome of a number of factors. First, when the Royal African Company lost its monopoly over the trade in 1698, Bristol involvement in the trade witnessed a great leap forward. Its involvement grew even more important when, in 1713, the treaty of Utrecht was signed giving Britain the right to supply slaves to Spanish colonies in America. The other reason was that Bristolian merchants enlarged their activities by trading with hinterlands, proving goods needed for the slave trade both in African coast and in the colonies. As a matter of fact, its local manufactories and industries developed much as well.

Sugar being its primary and most important slave-produced good import, lots of industries were created to process it or to distil it into spirits, this latter being highly prized specifically by African traders. Consequently, many glasshouses were established to manufacture bottles for spirits, as well as other glassware. Gun powder, copper and brass wares, such as pans and wires, were used by British slave traders as a currency for slaves purchase in Africa, the fact that brought about the creation and the prosper of local works that manufactured pans, pots and other cutleries used by Africans for cooking, manillas¹³, iron rods and ammunitions. In addition to that, many of the ships used for the Atlantic voyages were built at place, within Bristol's shipyards. The outcome of all that was that Bristol trade grew more important, rising the city to the second place after London, in the 1720s. The number of voyages from Bristol, from 1698 to 1807, was estimated at 2062¹⁴. After 1720s, Bristol was outdistanced by her English rival, Liverpool.

The second town that profited greatly from its involvement in the trade of African slaves was Liverpool. It managed to boost its economy, to accumulate huge wealth, and to rise up to the prominent place before British slave ports. It managed to do so thanks to its

¹³Manillas are penannular armlets, mostly in bronze or copper which served as a form of commodity money (and, to a degree, ornamentation) among certain West African peoples (Aro Confederacy, Guinea Coast, Gold Coast, Calabar and other parts of Nigeria, etc. this form of African currency also became known as "slave trade money" after the Europeans started using them to acquire slaves for the slave trade into the Americas (as well as England prior to 1807).

¹⁴ James A. Rawley, Stephen D. Behrendt, op.cit, p.154;

huge mercantilist activity, to its trade with backland industries and to the safety of its geographical position.

At the beginning, Liverpool exported the goods made in its neighboring towns, such as coal from Lancashire and salt from Cheshire. In the meantime, its involvement in the slave trade expanded gradually during the seventeenth century to reach its height by the late eighteenth century. The increase in Liverpool's involvement in the trade brought about the development of local and hinterland's industries and manufactories.

Ship building companies were the first to benefit from the slave trade as more and more ships were needed for slave voyages. Liverpool counted about 144 shipwrights, and four times as much by the end of the century¹⁵, as opposed to London which did not develop as much. Between 1782 and 1807, 61 ships were built in Liverpool which was almost the fifth of all the ships built in England and that had been involved in the slave trade during the same period. The percentage of the slave ships that were dispatched from Liverpool was about 6 per cents in the period between 1720 and 1730. This percentage rose to 43 per cents by 1741-1750, then it increased, reaching 70 per cents in 1761-90 until Liverpool outstood its main rivals, Bristol and London¹⁶. During the period of Britain's involvement in slave trade, this 'metropolis of slavery' invested about £ 2.641.200 per year in the trade, and it carried about 1.171.171 slaves to America and the West Indies¹⁷.

The development of slave trade and ships building brought about the creation and the development of the British banking system and insurance companies. Plantation owners relied on credit and bills of credit to buy and expand their plantations and their production; whereas, traders, merchants, manufacturers, and the like needed Loans to develop, purchase, carry, slaves, goods, and organize transatlantic voyages which could sometimes take over eighteen months. Thanks to this fact, the Bank of England was established in 1694. However, it is during the eighteenth century that the British banking system flourished most. Other banks were set up in different parts of England during that period to face then growing demand for loans. Bankers and insurers invested and profited from the trade, which created for many of them opportunities to make money. Thanks to the Bank of England, Britain was able to

¹⁵ James A. Rawley. Stephen D. Behrendt.op.cit, p. 169

¹⁶ David Richardson, Anthony Tibbles, Suzan, Schwarz, *Liverpool and Transatlantic Slavery*,(Liverpool University Press, 2008), p. 14.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 15.

protect its overseas colonies. Because of the risks engendered by wars, insurance rates increased during the eighteenth century.

As a second impact of Liverpool's increasing involvement slave trade was the development and expansion of many other industries. During the eighteenth century the British demand for a number of slave grown items increased. Sugar, in addition to cotton and tobacco were Liverpool most important colonial import from the Americas and the West Indies. In 1700, Liverpool's import of sugar was about 11.600 metric tons¹⁸, and in 1800, it peaked to 25.395 metric tons. By the end of century, Liverpool came at the second place among sugar British centers, behind Bristol. Its import of tobacco increased from 771.800 kilograms in 1700 to 4.720.700 kilograms by the last decade of the eighteenth century¹⁹. From the mid-eighteenth century till its end, Liverpool was the third largest British port for tobacco import.

The imported goods that were in the form of raw material were processed either in Liverpool or transited through a chain of rivers and channels to the hinterland towns such as Manchester, Yorkshire, and Lancashire to be proceeded there, the fact that brought about the growth and development of their industries as well. In the other hand, these thriving hinterland industries transited their manufactured goods and products that slave traders and merchants needed so much for their trade in Africa were sold and exported through Liverpool ports.

Manufactures and merchants had a preference over the other English ports because of its safe waters. In fact, Liverpool, as well as Glasgow, were far from the sea routes frequented by French and Spanish privateers, specifically during the war time. It greatly profited from this geographical advantage to expand its transatlantic voyages, carrying more slaves than the other main slave trading ports. The percentage of slave voyages from the port of Liverpool during the period 1739-1907 was about 84, 7%, as compared London's 12% and Bristol's 3%.

Even merchants from other cities, such as London, preferred Liverpool's ports, in spite of their proximity and because of its safe waters. Thus, because of their strategic geographical situations, and its access to a variety of trade goods, Liverpool gained primacy over other British ports in the slave trade, and Glasgow in the tobacco trade.

¹⁸ 1 metric ton= 1000 kilograms.

¹⁹Op. cit. p. 17.

Indeed the slave trade brought much good to Britain's economy and enhanced the development and the prosperity of many of its cities. It was like a chain in which every part was tightly related to the other. The British started by investing money in slave voyages for the acquisition of African slaves. These latter were sold or exchanged for the so prized slave grown products were manufactured locally, and the re-exported to the Americas for the use of the colonies, or to Africa, in addition to a number of British goods.

For the fulfillment of that successful business, many vessels were needed to transport all these goods to the three directions of the slave trade, Britain, Africa and the Americas. In addition to that, the ships had to be built, fitted, and loaded by goods and provisions necessary for the voyage and for the crew (meat, butter, candles, ropes, medicines, etc.), boosting less important local commerce. Consequently, all the parts involved in the slave trade managed to make profit of it, slave traders, industrials and manufactures, plantation owners and bankers. Industries and manufactories were established everywhere in country creating employment and business opportunities for many people, among which laborers, carpenters, sailor, and many other craftsmen. It brought about economical and demographical growth. It completely changed the face of Britain, as many less important cities came to be major British centers such as Liverpool, Bristol and Manchester, as a consequence, brought about their population growth. For example, in the late eighteenth century, the population of Liverpool increased from 20.000 to 64.000 people and from 5.000 to 78.000 in Bristol²⁰.

4.2- British Black people Involvement in the Abolition of Slavery

By the second half of the eighteenth century many people started to question the legality of slavery in Britain and legitimacy of the slave trade as a whole. Although opposition to slave trade started, yet timidly, before the seventeenth century, however, it did not become popular and organized until the second half of the century. The movement had been influenced and stimulated by a number of factors. At that time, the ideas of the enlightenment movement²¹ were spreading all throughout Europe and America. This movement's main scope was the remolding of the society through reason; its leading thinkers promoted science, and opposed intolerance and abuses of human rights. Its ideas and principles had influenced a

²⁰Ibid.p. 37.

²¹The Enlightenment as a cultural movement which appeared in the eighteenth century. It was sparked by people such as Voltaire, Montesquieu, Rousseau and Jhon Lock. This latter's work which had been very influential in England, as in instance, claimed that all men, including the enslaved, were created with some natural right which were unimpeachable. These thinkers' works have largely changed people's way of thinking. It spread all over Europe then, American declaration of independence and the bill of rights

great many personalities everywhere in the world such as Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin shaped their way of thinking and to a farther extent brought about the American Revolution. During the same period, a number of evangelical religious groups started criticizing slavery for its unchristian and blasphemous aspect and its immorality.

The abolition movement arose in 1770, when a group of people petitioned the British Parliament against the slave trade in 1783. However it did not have great effects. In 1787, nine Quakers and three evangelicals formed the Society of Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade. This latter's mission was to inform the public about the atrocity of the slave trade through publications, pamphlets, images and artifacts. In Thomas Clarkson, the society found an extraordinary mediator who collected evidence of the appalling treatment that slaves had been subjected to, and traveled all over England and Scotland, popularizing and promoting abolition. The society's efforts peaked by the end of the eighteenth century when hundreds of petitions were presented to the House of Commons, 100 petitions in 1788 and 519 in 1792. These latter were used by William Wilberforce as means of pressure on the Parliament in order to abolish the slave trade. It was not until 1807 that the huge efforts of these extraordinary abolitionists bore fruits when the Abolition Act was finally passed, outlawing all British involvement in the Atlantic slave trade.

What must be now emphasized is that this great success would not have been achieved without the efforts of the black people themselves, although little is known about their contribution. In fact all throughout the fight against the slave trade and latter on against slavery, black people had worked hand with white abolitionists. From the beginning of the slave trade, they had resisted with the only way provided to them that was running away from their masters.

Solidarity was the second way afforded to them as a way of resisting slavery by assisting fugitive slaves, affording them food and shelters, and keeping the mob away from them. In 1778, Philip Thickness complained that "*London abounds with an incredible number of these black men, who have clubs to support those who are out of the place*"²² Peter Fryer reported the case of two black men, imprisoned in the Bridewell house of correction, who had been visited by 300 of their countrymen and who had been largely supported during their confinement by the black community there²³. The runaway black servants and slaves

²² Lindsey German, John Rees, *A people's History of London*, (Verso Books, 2012),p.87.

²³ Peter Fryer,op,cit,p.70.

encouraged, whether directly or indirectly, their fellowmen to do the same the fact that greatly annoyed many British people such as Edward Long who complained about the bad influence they had on the other black people.

During the Somerset case in 1772, there were many people from the British black community attending the hearings, and when the ruling was pronounced and Somerset released, about 200 blacks celebrated the victory at a Westminster public house. Music and sport were other domains where they could express their distinctiveness and their culture. However, the most effective way they had to fight and abolish the slave trade and slavery was through testimonies. Without these testimonies. Granville Sharp, for example, would probably not have completed his fight for the legal status and rights of Black people in Britain. Without them, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce would neither have been able to convince as many people as they did not do about the evil of slavery, nor would they have been able to lead the fight up to Parliament till the end of slavery.

During their campaign against slavery, abolitionists had realized the importance and the impact of vivid testimonies and graphic images on the public opinion. Thomas Clarkson moved all over England to gather evidence of the atrocities of the slave trade. A great number of black people were too eager to unveil the monstrosities they had been subjected to. Those who managed to learn to read and write published their autobiographies with the help of white people. They worked aside with their foreign black abolitionists and did their share of the fight, as Toussaint L'Ouverture and Phyllis Wheatley did. Their records had a huge impact on the advance of abolition movement. They made people in Britain conscious of the hidden side of the trade and had a beneficial effect in attracting more and more adherents to the abolitionists cause.

Among the most important British black voices of the eighteenth century was Olaudah Equiano, also known as Gustavus Vassa, a former black slave who was considered as the first political leader of the black community in Britain. He was born in 1745 in eastern Nigeria. At the age of eleven, he was kidnapped with his sister by slave traders, transported to the Barbados, and then to Virginia, in 1754, he was bought by a British naval officer who gave him the name of Gustavo Vassa and brought him to England. He was baptized with his master's consent in 1759, and spent the next seven years with him on board naval ships where he learnt to read and write with the help of some sailors. In 1763, he was sold to Captain James Doran, taken to Montserrat, and then resold to a merchant, Robert King. In 1766, he

finally managed to buy his freedom after which he traveled widely, and finally returned to London.

Equiano played a very important role, with Granville Sharp, in the movement for the abolition of the slave trade. In 1787, when he was appointed by the government to settle London's poor blacks in Sierra Leone, he denounced several times the treacheries and mismanagements that were occurring there the fact that caused his dismissal. As a spokesman of all the black community, he wrote letters to newspapers, abolitionist leaders as well as to Queen Charlotte of England pleading black slaves' cause. It was thanks to him that the *Zongmassacre*, where 130 black slaves had been drowned alive at sea so that the owners could have compensation, was mediated to the general public and brought to the knowledge of Granville sharp who tried unsuccessfully to bring the responsible for that massacre to court to be judged and punished. Even if the murderers remained unpunished, the case strongly shocked the British white society and brought new adherents to the abolition cause. In addition to that, it helped the passing of the Dolben Act in 1788 which limited the number of the enslaved people in proportion to the ship's size.

Another contributor to the anti- slavery movement was Ignatius Sancho, a self-educated black composer and writer known in his time as the 'extraordinary negro'. He was a slave born on board a ship in 1729. He was brought by his owner to England. In 1749, he ran away and sought refuge with the Montagu family who engaged him as a butler. During that period he taught himself to read and write. After her death, lady Montagu left him annuity and a year salary which, in 1774, enabled him and his wife to purchase and run a successful grocery shop in Westminster.

In spite of being a self educated man, he wrote poems, two stage plays, and 'a theory of Music', he composed and published several music compositions which he published anonymously. He was a well known figure in the literary and artistic circles of that time, was well acquainted with people such as Lawrence Sterne the Anglo-Irish novelist, David Garrick, the well known eighteenth century English actor, playwright and a producer. At this latter's suggestion he appeared on stage in attempt to act the role of black characters Othello and Orinooko, but he was not very successful. In 1768, he had his portrait painted by the worldwide known English artist painter Thomas Gainsborough, Sancho was also known for being the first black person of African origin to vote in Britain, he was qualified to vote in the parliamentary elections of 1774 and 1780.

These black heroes contributed immeasurably to their cause, their bibliographies and their accomplishments challenged these theories asserting the supremacy of the white race over the black one and it completely contradicted and destroyed those arguments used to justify the trade on black souls. In spite of the fact that these figures were among the most well known black leaders of that time, there were other black people fighting daily and actively to ameliorate their fellowmen's living condition and to end slavery in Britain and wherever it existed.

The above mentioned narratives are just few examples of black resistance and campaign against slavery. They are considered up to present day as highly valuable contribution that the anti-slavery causes. They fuelled the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of slaves, by making increasing numbers of people join the fight. Their autobiographies were among the first prototypes of slaves narratives and constituted the basis of the black literary tradition in Europe. History has long underlined the importance of their contribution until recently. Yet, people have to know that they had done a great deal and that they had worked alongside white abolitionists until their emancipation was achieved through the slavery Abolition Act which was passed in 1833.

5-Black Community after the End of Slavery

After 1833, the number of black settlers in Britain decreased as a direct consequence of the end of slave trade. However, few black people continued to come to England as seamen, entertainers, students, discharged officers, or political activists. Together with the already existing black community, they were about 20.000 who lived mainly in seaports. They endured continuous hardship because of lack of jobs and faced racism. The majority of those who managed to have a job were servants of wealthy families. Some of them married white women from the low working class and merged into the society.

It was during the nineteenth century that Pan-Africanism, a new political current, arose in Britain. It called for racial solidarity, African unity, fighting racial discrimination, and independence from white domination. Most of these principles and ideas had already been mentioned in the writings of the British black abolitionists Equiano and Cugoana. This political movement took forms mainly thanks to black people living in Britain. These latter worked alongside other Pan-African activists from Africa to the United States who chose London as the center for fighting racism and colonization, and established there their African

Association in 1897. They met, exchanged ideas and campaigned there until the first Pan-African Conference was held in London in 1900.

The movement reached its peaks when the fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester in 1945 and included many world leading scholars, intellectuals and political activists. It called for African economic and cultural unity and campaigned against colonization. As opposed to the other Pan-African Congress held consecutively in 1919 in Paris, 1921 in London and 1927 in New York, it was considered as the most important step that brought about the end of colonization during the twentieth century. During the following century, Britain witnessed the proliferation of black political organization such as the West African Student Union, the League of Colored Peoples.

Between the period ranging from the last nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, the local black community was enriched by new types of black immigrants; they were active in politics, medicine, law, business, theatre, music, dance, sport, journalism, local affairs, and included writers, men of God, orators and entertainers, two editors, a nurse, and a photographer²⁴. At that time, a number of black figures managed to gain fame and to single out within the black community living in England at that time among which were Mary Seacole, a mixed race nurse and heroine of the Crimean War. Daughter of a Scottish soldier and a Jamaican woman, she acquired her nursing knowledge from her mother. Later on, she enlarged her skills through her numerous travels in Britain, America and the Caribbean. In 1854, as she was refused by the War Office when she volunteered as an army nurse in the Crimean, she decided to make the journey by herself at her own expense. She marked herself out by nursing and taking care of the wounded, sometimes under fire. Although, she had never been rewarded by the military, she was highly praised, respected and admired by many officers and English people. At the end of her life, she wrote her memoirs entitled *The wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* which published in 1859 and was one of the earliest black writings.

This period saw also the appearance of two genius artists among the black community in England, namely Ira Aldridge and Samuel Coleridge Taylor. As far as the first one is concerned, he was born in New York in 1807. Because of his love theatre, and being fully conscious of the difficulties that he would face to realize his dream in America, he immigrated in England in 1824. When he first appeared on stage he so intensely criticized that

²⁴ Peter Fryer, op.cit,p,237.

he decided to leave England for a tour in Europe where he was greatly acclaimed. Honored as the Chevalier Ira Aldridge, knight of Saxony, recognized as ‘an actor of genius’ and celebrated as the ‘African Roscius’, he finally returned to England where his talent could no longer be ignored. He was lionized and received the Prussian Gold Medal for Arts and Science from king Frederick William III, the Golden Cross of Leopold from the Czar of Russia, and the Maltese cross from Berne, Switzerland.

Except from the minority of artists, educated people and activists, the remaining black majority faced a very hard live for most of them were refused jobs by white people who were not very keen to work alongside coloured people. By 1910, living conditions of poor coloured people, most of which were seamen and to lesser extent black servants who left their masters because of bad treatment had become so disastrous that parliament created the Committee on Distressed Colonial and Indian Subjects to Inquire about the situation. The report revealed that ‘three in five distressed black people were seamen’²⁵. Black seamen were specifically targeted by seamen’s unions who strongly campaigned against their recruitment was highly restricted whether ashore or at sea until the advent of the World War I.

6- Black British Efforts during the World Wars

Another factor responsible for black immigration to Britain was British military needs. After the outbreak of the First World War in 1914, Britain made extensive use of its colonial manpower in the West Indies and Africa. They were employed in war industries and the merchant navy. About 20,000 men came from the West Indies to fight Britain and joined the British West Indian Regiment, whereas black women came in smaller proportions to serve as nurses. Two thirds of them came from Jamaica while the other came from Trinidad, Tobago, Barbados, the Bahamas, British Honduras, Grenada, the Leeward Islands, St. Lucia and St. Vincent²⁶. The great majority was restricted to work in war industries and in the merchant navy. unemployment rate in their countries of origin, or seeking for glory and recognition.

Despite the fact that they had overwhelmingly volunteered to serve their mother land, offering their lives and material support, they were discriminated against and were refused by British officials to carry arms and take an active part to the war, for it was ‘not

²⁵ Diane Frost, *Work and Community among West African Migrant Workers since the Nineteenth Century* (Liverpool University Press, 1999), p.78.

²⁶ Spencer C. Tucker, Priscilla Mary Roberts, *World War I : Encyclopedia*, (ABC. CLIO.2005), p.817.

appropriated that blacks should fight white troops²⁷, and above all because they feared to lose white supremacy over the colonies at the end of the war. Hence, their employment was restricted mainly to low ranked functions such as digging trenches, and transporting supplies laying telephone wires and other guard duties. Nevertheless, when the need for manpower became urgent because of the huge human losses suffered by the Allies, black people were enrolled to fight alongside white officers, and the British West Indies Regiment was established in 1915. A total of 397 officers and 15.204 men from Caribbean colonies served in that regiment²⁸.

West Indies recruits were deployed in Europe and the Near East whereas those from African colonies fought almost exclusively in Africa. Black men were not allowed to hold a any higher rank than that of warrant officer or non-commissioned officer despite all their efforts in the war. Many of them were psychologically and physically crippled and others died in battle. After the end of the war, a significant number of black soldiers were demobilized in Britain.

As long as the war blowing up, black people were employed in war industries in Britain. Most of them established in northern industrial cities and sea ports. At the end of the war, there were over 20.000 black people in Britain²⁹. However, as soon as the war ended and white soldiers returned home, they were immediately thrown away of their jobs because of lack jobs. Accused of competing them for jobs, black people were targeted by white hostility, bringing about a wave of riots in Tyneside, Cardiff, Liverpool and London in 1919.

Black men's houses were set on fire. Huge mobs of white men hunted and savagely attacked, beat and stabbed every colored man they met in streets. As a result, the British government enacted a series of restrictive legislation such as the Aliens Order in 1920, which obliged all aliens seeking employment or residence to register with the police at the risk of being deported and gave the Home Secretary complete power to deport any alien whose presence was considered harmful to the community, and the Special Restriction (Colored Alien Seamen) Order in 1925 which purpose was limit the influx of colored seamen to the country. Under the order, police were empowered to arrest any alien without a warrant; this latter were obliged to register with the police and to carry an alien seaman registration certificate.

²⁷Ibid, p.817.

²⁸The British West Indies Regiment.

²⁹Peter Fryer , op.cit.p.296.

Much the same thing happened during the World War II; colonial servicemen were, rather reluctantly, needed to join and serve the motherland. They in fact volunteered to join the British armed forces and the RAF, but this time their motivation changed somehow; their purpose was to put Britain under pressure to achieve independence, especially in Africa. One thousand technicians and trainers were recruited for service in war factories on Merseyside and Lancashire; 1.200 British Honduras as foresters in Scotland, and an unspecified smaller numbers for the merchant marine. In one scheme 200 trainers were recruited from seven different territories in 1941 for work in munitions factories. The RAF recruited 1.350 men from Guiana, 10.270 from Jamaica, 800 from Trinidad and almost 1000 from other Caribbean islands for military service³⁰. Only part of them was demobilized in their respective countries of origin after the end of the war, the others preferred to stay in Britain.

7- Conclusion

From early times, Britain has always been a bastion of a racial diversity. It witnessed a succession of civilizations and cultures throughout time. Although its history had long been neglected by historians, it worldwide known today that there had always been a black presence in Britain, and according to some modern historians even long before the English came there, yet in a negligible proportion.

Their presence became more noticeable during the sixteenth century when it a black slave in rich families was considered as being highly fashionable and as exotic and an evident sign of wealth and prestige. This era saw the establishment of the earliest black community in England; their number increased such a point that Queen Elizabeth unsuccessfully, attempted to expel them from her realm.

With Britain's extensive involvement in the slave trade, the number of black people increased significantly. The majority of them were brought by their owners as slaves or household servants. Their status had been highly ambiguous until the Somerset case 1772 when it was settled by Lord Mansfield ruling when he advocated that the state of slavery was contrary to common laws; and those slaves once in England could not be removed from the country to serve as slaves in the colonies against their will. It was a turning point in the history of black British people and was considered as the first step that brought about the end of the British slave trade in 1807 and slavery in 1833.

³⁰ Ian R.G. Spencer, *British Immigration Policy Since 1993: The making of multi-racial Britain*, (Routledge, 1997), p.17

As opposed to the general belief, black people were not inactive witnesses during the abolition movement; on the contrary, they had an active part in the movement. In addition to white abolitionists, among the most important of whom were Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson and William Wilberforce, many black people campaigned tirelessly for the end of the slave trade and slavery. They wrote articles to newspapers, and organized meetings; they are up to the present day considered as the first black leaders and heroes among both white and black people.

After the end of slavery, small black communities were well established in Britain; black population in Britain was generally estimated at anything between 10.000 and 40.000 and at about 20.000 in London³¹. The major part of them established in seaports cities such as in Liverpool and Cardiff. Except from a few who managed to gain fame and recognition, the great majority faced hardship and racism. Because of lack of jobs, most of them were obliged to live in the streets deemed to robbery and beggary. They were refused jobs, unwelcome, and hardly tolerated even during the World Wars when hundreds of thousands of black people volunteered to serve the mother country.

They came numerous to Britain and worked in war industries, whereas those who joined the ranks were discriminated against and relegated to menial functions. Thousands of them died or were wounded for life. Current studies concerning war service of West Indians have stressed all the continuous racism they have experienced during and after the war, whether the British West Indies Regiment during the First World War or the West Indians who volunteered during the Second World War. After the end of the war, they were needed to supply for labor shortage and help reconstruct the country and its economy. Thousands of black people came from the colonies in hope of having a job and a better life. They constituted the largest wave of black immigrants to Britain which brought about the restrictive policy of immigration of the twentieth century.

³¹ Ibid.p.2

1-Introduction

The end of the Second World War saw the arrival of the largest wave of black immigrants to Britain. According to the 1999 census, the number of black Londoners was half a million. British subjects from the Empire or from the Commonwealth were free to enter Britain without any restrictions. These latter changed the face of Britain and marked the beginning of its transformation from an almost homogeneous society to a multicultural one. It marked also the beginning of the most restrictive immigration policy in Britain and in Europe.

During the first half of twentieth century, Britain had maintained a very liberal migration, this period had been characterized by an absence of migration control. The situation; nevertheless, has completely changed from the second half of the century. Under public pressures, the British government issued a series of harsh and discriminatory, bringing it almost to an end. These acts, on the other hand had been more liberal with white immigrants who did not encounter the same difficulties as the black ones did. This thought immigration policy was a highly controversial one, causing heated debates among population and the press for many years. In spite of the fact that these immigrants were now an integrant part of society, they had to face continuous and increasing racism and prejudice.

2- Black Britons and the Policy of Immigration since WWII

Immediately after the Second World War, Britain found it-self confronted to a dramatic labour shortage that it so much needed working hand welcoming white workers without reserve. Soon after the war, substantial new settlers started to come from Europe among which many refugees from communists regimes. Many Hungarians and Poles, In addition to Irish and Italians came to rebuilt the country and fill the gap created by lack of working hand especially in textiles and metal manufactures and transport. However, they were far from meeting the high rate of labour shortage in Britain.

On the other hand, the West Indies were facing a dramatic economic situation caused by the war as well. West Indies people were enduring a very serious unemployment crises. Once they heard about the job availability in Britain, they pressed their respective governments to make them share these opportunities. Under the pressure, these governments made their best, yet unsuccessfully, to convince the British government to use its available and quiet eager working hand rather than the European one, actually, those people who have

actively participated during the war were no longer desirable during peace time. According to Spencer:

*The colonial Office has been pressed to so (lobby government) by the Governors of officers Administrating in Barbados, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Jamaica each of whom wrote to London in 1947 advertising the needs of their surplus, skilled and often ex-service labour. The demands of the governors of Trinidad and Jamaica were provoked by and they referred directly to the use of labour imported from continental Europe in reconstruction in the United Kingdom....In 1948, at the behest of the colonial office, an Interdepartmental Working Party on the employment in the United Kingdom of surplus colonial labour chaired by the Under-Secretary of state for the colonies, was set up to inquire into the issues raised by the Caribbean authorities.*³²

Reluctant as it might have been at the beginning, Britain finally realized that its desperate need for labour could only be fulfilled through colonial and ex-colonial immigration. The work force shortage after the war was estimated between one million and a million and a half people.³³ Once this was admitted, Britain let its doors wide open to waves of Commonwealth immigrants. They were especially needed for the menial, dirty, badly-paid and night shift work that white Britons did not want. Thousands of Barbadians and Jamaicans were recruited by Hotels and Restaurants Associations, and Industries such as British Rail, the National Health Service (NHS) and London transport.

The first consistent wave of black immigrants arrived to Britain on board the SS Windrush. The boat docked at Tilbury on June 22nd 1948 with 292 passengers coming from Jamaica³⁴. This is very often considered as a turning point in the history of Britain, since it marked the beginning of a multicultural society since then. Ten years after the Empire Windrush, 125.000 West Indians had come since the end of the war.³⁵ They established themselves rather in Greater London, the West Midlands, Manchester, Merseyside and Yorkshire where the best job opportunities were available. Immigration from African countries started rather later than the one from the Caribbean; Owen stated that it was about 5000 African a year until 1988s.³⁶

³² Spencer I.R.G, *British Immigration Policy sine 1939: The making of Multi-Racial Britain*, (Routledge, 1997), p. 39.

³³ Spencer I.R.G ,op,cit,p. 38.

³⁴ Peter Fryer,op,cit, 372.

³⁵ Ibid,p.372.

³⁶ David Owen, *African migration to the UK*, (University of Warwick,2008),p.5

The greatest majority of African Caribbean immigrants suffered terrible conditions in work and great hardship outside work. They suffered from discrimination in housing, education, 'color bars' in public places, and were sometimes even attacked in streets. The number of Afro-Caribbean people who settled in Britain after the war is estimated at a quarter of a million. All arrived full of hope for a better life for them and for their families.

Since then, the number of black immigrants has been continuous. In addition to the availability of job opportunities, this increase was mainly due to two other major factors. The first one was the passing of the McCarran-Walter Act Immigration (INA) in the United States in 1952 which allotted each country an annual quota of immigrants, based on the proportion of people from that country present in the United States in 1920. Consequently, the INA "ended the system under which 'British West Indians' could enter the USA under the quota available for British citizens,"³⁷ And instead allotted West Indians small quota on their own, causing these latter to turn their attention to Britain. The second factor which brought about the increase in black immigration to Britain was the passing of the British Nationality Act of 1948 (BNA) which gave free entry to British soil to all commonwealth citizens.

2.1- The British Nationality Act of 1948

Before 1948, all Britons, residents of independent dominions and British colonies were 'British subjects'. However, two years after the end of the Second World War, the Attlee's Labour government passed the BNA giving all citizens of the British Commonwealth, colonies and protectorates the same status of '*Citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies*'. Consequently; any person who could prove that he wished, and enjoy the same political, civic and social privileges as white Britons. This was mainly what encouraged thousands of people, specifically West Indians; to come to settle and work in Britain. This might be contradictory when confronted to the fact British government and population reluctance against colonial immigration. This contradiction might be understood once put within the wider context of a series of other events under which the act was passed.

The BNA was the by-product of dominions nationalism, it came, more specifically, as a response to the Canadian Government intention to introduce its own citizenship legislation through the Citizenship Act of 1946 which made Canadian people's primary allegiance to Canada; hence, reducing their status of British subjects to the second place. It was a real

³⁷ David Mason, *Race and Ethnicity in Modern Britain*, (Oxford University Press, 2000), p.24.

shock to the British government which was not only confronted to the great destruction resulted from the war, but it was also faced with the loss of most of its former territories. Therefore, the status attributed by the BNA to all Commonwealth citizens, though less important, 'was seen as contributing to the unity of the Commonwealth and to Britain's leading role'³⁸.

Rather unintentionally, the act had entitled and encouraged huge numbers of people, specifically from the West Indies, to immigrate and settle in Britain. By the late of 1955, the flow of immigrants from the Caribbean, only, had reached the unprecedented peak of 20.000 immigrants every year. There was a disproportional concentration of black settlement in areas with a declining white presence because these latter had moved out³⁹. For instance, about 80 per cent of all West Indians were conurbation dwellers⁴⁰.

By passing the BNA, the British government created the legal basis for massive coloured immigration to the United Kingdom. In addition to those workers who come thanks to national recruitments schemes by NHS and London Transport, a great majority of black immigrants came to Britain on their own initiative. These waves of immigrants created in their turn waves of racist attacks towards black settlers and brought about social unrest within Britain. Black workers were harassed and discriminated against. They had the least remunerated jobs. Colour bars were hung everywhere in houses and other public places; as a result, finding a place where to live became highly difficult and some property owners, such as the famous Paul Rachman, greatly profited from West Indian migrants.

During the following decades this open door policy was maintained by both political parties despite public pressure to introduce immediate restrictions on immigration. According to Hansen, this policy was 'conditioned by an ideological commitment, in both parties, but especially among conservatives, to a previous century's colonies: the 'Old Commonwealth' of Canada, New Zealand, and Australia'⁴¹. However, after the significant increase of non-white immigration in the 1950s, discussions concerning the introduction of immigration control exclusively to the new Commonwealth population the fact that brought about the Colonial

³⁸ Atsushi Kondo, *citizenship in A Global World: Comparing Citizenship Rights for Aliens*,p.120

³⁹ Christina Julios, *contemporary British Immigration Identity: English Language, Migrants, and Public Discourse*,LTD, (2008),p,91; Colin Bock, *The Caribbean in Europe: Aspects of the West Indies Experience in Britain, France and Netherland*, (Routledge,1986),pp.71-72.

⁴⁰ Op.cit,p.91

⁴¹ Hansen Randall,op,cit,p.17.

Secretary's objection who was for migration controls on both the Old and New Commonwealth or no controls at all. Thus government chose the second option.

Attempts were; nevertheless, made to dissuade black immigrants to come in a form of propaganda warning them of bad work and housing conditions, and by other indirect and sometimes illegal means. They dispatched a film in the Caribbean showing the deplorable conditions they would face, such the cold weather. Committees were set up to report on the problems caused by coloured immigration, yet they failed to constitute the required evidence. On the contrary, the reports showed, to their great displeasure, that these black immigrants had found jobs where they had made favorable impressions and were greatly contributing to the reconstruction of the country.

The major factors that made the British government radically change its policy and introduce restrictions over immigration in 1962 were public pressures on government to take quick measures to stop immigrant' flows to Britain, housing shortage, education problems and the social unrest that manifested itself in a number of violent racial riots the worst of which occurred in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958.

2.2- Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962

Up to 1962, the successive governments had adopted a '*laissez-faire*' policy towards immigration because of their commitment TO Old Commonwealth countries and because they were afraid that such restrictions would probably disturb the remaining colonies. However, because of the continuous public campaign against immigration waves, and the number of black settlers which reached its peak in 1961, the government changed radically its policy in 1962 by setting up the first legislation that was to restrict British subjects and more specifically, though undeclared. Non-white settlement in Britain.

Though exact estimates are not available, it seems that the number of people born in the West Indies and settled in Britain rose from 15.000 in 1951 to 172.000 in 1961.⁴² Echoes of immigration restrictions spread abroad making greater numbers of immigrants come to Britain before doors were definitely closed. This had made their presence more visually apparent. When introducing the legislation to the House of Commons.

⁴² Colin Brock, *the Caribbean in Europe : Aspects of the West Indies Experience in Britain. France and the Netherland*, (Routledge, 1968),p.65.

A Gallup poll conducted in May 1961 had shown a white British majority in favour of controls. Respondents had to answer questions such as: ‘do you think that coloured people from the Commonwealth should have the right to completely free entry into Britain, should there be restrictions on entry, or should they be kept out completely?’ , to which the majority (67 per cent) was in favour of restrictions, another minority (21 per cent) was for free entry, six per cent were for complete exclusion of ‘blacks’, and the last six per cent were undecided⁴³.

Public anxieties were partly and reinforced by media campaign. In 1958, for example, the *Daily Sketch* wrote: “the government must introduce legislation quickly to end the tremendous influx of people from the commonwealth...Overcrowding has festered vice, drugs, prostitution and the use of knives. For years, the white people have been tolerant know their tempers are up” (*Daily Sketch*, 2 September 1958).⁴⁴The charges of resentment against black people were, according to an article published by *The Times* in September 1958, the facts that “they were alleged to do no work and to collect a rich sum from Assistance Board. They are said to find housing when white residents cannot. And they are charged with all kinds of misbehavior, especially sexual.”(*The Times*,3 September 1958).⁴⁵

The Conservative’s Commonwealth Immigration Act (CIA) was introduced as a Bill in the Queen’s speech in October 1961, passed through various stages of Parliamentary procedures and received Royal Assent on 18 April 1968.

Under the Act, all holders of Commonwealth passports were now subject to immigration control, excluding those who were born in the UK or Ireland, or holding passports issued by the governments of these countries. Entry was limited to family members who were closely related to those who were already established in the country. The would-be immigrants needed to apply for work vouchers issued by the Ministry of Labour. Three categories of employment vouchers were provided under the CIA: (A) for Commonwealth citizens with a specific to come to; (B) those possessing specific skills, training or qualifications which were useful to the country’s economy or in short supply: and (C) unskilled persons without any specific employment or skill with priority given to those with

⁴³ Christina Julios, op.cit, p.91.

⁴⁴Benjamine Bowling, *Violent Racism: Victimization, Policing and Social Context*, (Oxford University Press, 2001),p.33. Randall Hansen, *Citizenship and Immigration in post-war Britain*.(Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.114-115.

⁴⁵JhonSolomos, *The politics of immigration since 1945*, in: Peter Braham, Ali Rattansi, Richard Skellington. *Racism and Antiracism: Inequalities, Opportunities and Policies*, (SAGE, 1992)p. 13.

war service.⁴⁶ The quota for (A) and (B) together was set at 20.800 vouchers per year while the one for (C) was 10.000.

The CIA made temporary provision for controlling the immigration of into the United Kingdom of Commonwealth Citizens; it authorized the deportation from the UK of certain Commonwealth citizens convicted of offences and recommended by the courts for deportation, and it also modified and established the qualifications for citizenship required by Commonwealth citizens applying under the British Nationality Act of 1948. Thus, the Act limited entry to the country to the holders of the above mentioned employment vouchers, students, veterans, family members who were already established in the country(wives, unmarried partners, and children under sixteen), and those independently wealthy who were able to support themselves and their dependents without working. On the other hand, it refused entry to those who were suffering from mental disorder or who were undesirable for medical reasons; those convicted for a crime subjected to extradition, and any person considered by the Secretary of State as threatening for national security.

The fact that conditions of entry, which were based on requirement of birth in the UK or the possession of a passport issued by the UK government, would actually be fulfilled for the majority by white entrants made many people consider it as a racist piece of legislation which targeted New Commonwealth immigrants. This was in fact confirmed by the exclusion of Irish citizens from control. Although. The Act was intended to halt immigration flows, it did not plan the large scale of secondary immigration that occurred after its enactment. It actually missed its target, for it was followed by a substantial drop in the number of immigrants who entered Britain under the family reunification provision granted by the Act. The Ministry of Labour's relaxed application of the Act allowed wives, children (even up to 18 years), and even grand parents over sixty-five to come to join their relatives in Britain.

2.3- Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1968

In 1968, the labour government went still further by issuing the highly controversial Commonwealth Immigration Act which came as immediate response to the Kenyan Asian crises and aimed at stopping the flow of the 20.000 Kenyan Asians fleeing their country and claiming their right to reside as holders of passports issued by the British Government. Their arrival coincided with a campaign against immigration led by conservative leader such as

⁴⁶ James Patrick Lynch, Rita James Simon, *Immigration the World Over : Statutes. Policies and Practices* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2003),p. 125.

Duncan Sandys and Enoch Powell asking for closing the doors to immigrants and the repatriation of those already settled in the country; in addition to that, public opinion polls showed a majority of about 70 per cent for further controls to prevent their entry. In the end, the government capitulated to public pressure and opted for stricter measures. The Commonwealth Immigration Bill was introduced precipitately on 27 February 1968 by James Callaghan, the new Home Secretary, and rushed through parliament; it was passed in just three days on 1 March 1968.

The Act amended sections of the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962, removed CUKCs' right to enter the country in spite of having a passport issued in UK. Under the Act, all British citizens were subjected to immigration control, at the exception of those who were, or whose parents and grand parents were, born, adopted or naturalized in the UK. It distinguished between those who were 'belonging' and those who were not. As a consequent, thousands of Asian Kenyans who had chosen to keep their British nationality after the independence of Kenya became stateless. On the other hand, it made a little concession of an annual quota for Kenyan Asians of about 6000 to 7000 people. Although it was first intended for Asian Kenyans, it prevented hundreds of coloured people from entering the country.

The Act was the culmination of restrictive measures against coloured immigration and a betrayal to Britain's old commitment to Commonwealth countries. Once again, the British government issued a legislation which on racial bases targeted more specifically coloured immigration since it clearly privileged white immigrants from the old Commonwealth such Canada, Australia or New Zealand, for they would more likely fulfill the requested conditions of entry. Four years later, on 4 August 1972, the same crises repeated itself with the Ugandans' Asians when Idi Amin expelled all Asians who were Citizens of the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

2.4- The Immigration Act of 1971

The 1971 Immigration Act repealed and replaced almost all previous legislation on immigration. It aimed at providing a clear definition of the legal position of the CUKCs abroad. It also introduced the 'Patrial'⁴⁷ clause, giving people who were 'UK CUKCs and other CUKCs resident in the UK for more than five years and their wives' the right to

⁴⁷Patrials are those citizens who possess identifiable ancestors in the British Isles.

abode⁴⁸. Furthermore, employment vouchers were replaced by work permits. However, work permits holders would no longer have the right to permanent settlement as with vouchers; instead, they will be given work permits to a specific job in a specific area and for a limited period, no longer than twelve months; then they would have to register with the police.

Under the Act, the police and immigration officers were given power to arrest suspected illegal immigrants without a warrant; whereas the Home Secretary could deport immigrant workers provided that could be ‘conductive to the public good’. Furthermore, travel expenses would be paid for those who wish to be repatriated. Like other immigration legislations, the Immigration Act of 1971, exclusively targeted non-white immigration and was actually very effective in stopping primary immigration. Once under application, the act prevented some of its citizens from entering their country of nationality which was contrary to international law.

3- Race Riots, Disorder and Urban Unrest in Britain

Throughout its history, Britain has witnessed a series of recurrent urban disturbances mainly due to a number of racially motivated riots that occurred during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In addition to being targeted by unfair and tough immigration measures, black immigrants, clustered in squalid slums, had to endure disastrous housing conditions. They were exploited by unscrupulous landlords such as Paul Rashman. They were subjected to continuous discrimination, verbal abuses and collective attacks in the streets and even in their homes. Their properties were often vandalized or completely destroyed by angry white mobs. Their children and they were continuously threatened, intimidated and terrorized. In spite of the fact that they did their best to defend themselves, many were injured and some killed in the confrontations.

Actually, the first kind of these disturbances occurred as early as 1919 and lasted for eight months. The hostilities burst following the end of WWI, when white soldiers returned home and found that their jobs had been ‘usurped’ in times of depression. White mobs attacked black people at different places of Britain; Liverpool, Cardiff, Newport, Barry, London, Glasgow and South Shields. The rioters poured their accumulated frustration and rage on black workers due to all the social problems that they were facing during that time such as unemployment and housing sh

⁴⁸ Randal Hansen, op.cit., p.149 .

ortage. Several thousands of pounds' worth of property was damaged during the riots (Jacqueline Jenkinson, 2009) and five men were killed. Nevertheless, the Notting Hill race riots that occurred in the 1950s are often referred to and commonly remembered as the first and worst race disturbances that occurred in Britain's history. It is during that period that the belief and conviction that black immigrants were the real cause for social problem and that black immigration should be restricted was established.

3.1- Nottingham and Notting Hill Race Riots in 1950s

During the middle of twentieth and up to the twenty-first century, different parts of London had been convulsed by a series of serious anti-black riots. These latter had been the result of a culmination of public and racial tensions due to the social malaise that semouldered because of poor living conditions during that period. At that time poor white families lived along side black immigrants in overcrowded slums and squalid conditions, competing each others for job and housing. Consequently, black immigrants turned to be the cause of the troubles for white Britons, especially middle class workers who were seeking scapegoats for these social problems.

The tensions kept growing since the passing of the (CIA) of 1948, when several hundreds of West Indian people became entitled to come to Britain and settle and work there. As the number of Caribbean migrants became more noticeable and their presence more visible, especially in areas such as Notting hill where the presence of Caribbean community had growing up, the hostility of white working class' Teddy boys kept growing as well as their xenophobic feeling. In the beginning, the hostility towards black presence in Britain was 'only' expressed through verbal abuses and colour bars in public places. At that time, police did not intervene a lot to settle black were undergoing. On the contrary, it rather supported the white riots.

According to Edward Pilkington, the prime cause for the Notting Hill and the Nottingham riots was the resentment that white Britons felt towards interracial relations, i.e. coloured men's relation with local white women. The precipitating event that had trigged the civil disorder in Nottingham on the 23rd of August 1958 was a dispute in the chase tavern, one among the very few pubs in St. Ann's where coloured people were admitted. The dispute sparked because a West Indian was seen discussing and having a drink with a white British woman. This had unveiled the resentment that white people had towards black people and the way interracial rampage. Black people were besieged in their homes, lynched, kicked and

erstabbed in streets by angry white mobs about 1500 to 4000 youths⁴⁹ “West Indians were ambushed down back-alleys and severely beaten”. For other black men, the only way they found to save their life was to jump into their cars and to drive at high speed at the crowd. (Pilkington, 1988).

After incidents began to calm down in Nottingham, other riots erupted again in Notting Hill on 30 August and kept raging for a week. The confrontations were of such violence and ferocity that they are still remembered today by a great many people as the worst racial clashes ever witnessed in Britain.

Groups of white youths numbering in the hundreds were joined by other working class people from neighbouring parts of the city, armed with iron bars and knives, chased coloured people in streets shouting racist slogans such as “lynch him!”, “let’s get the blacks!”, “Down with the niggers” and “Go home you black bastards”⁵⁰. They vandalised their properties and threw milk bottles in their houses. They smashed several windows of black people using bottles and bricks. Black youth, in their turn, counterattacked in self defence. A lot of people were badly hurt; many others arrested most of whom were white. According to Greenslade “the worst struggles were between white youths (teddy boys) and the police.”⁵¹ However, extraordinarily, no one was killed.

The Nottingham and most importantly the Notting Hill riots had unveiled the hidden face of Britain, revealing the racist character of the British people. One year later, the Notting Hill carnival was established by the black activist Claudia Jones as a direct response to the riots; it is still celebrated in the streets of West London every year. The tensions between white Britons and black immigrants kept rising, fuelled by media propaganda and racist political discourse of people such as Oswald Mosely and Enoch Powell. Nevertheless, these incidents would not be the last. In fact in the 1980s, Britain was again to be shaken by a series of serious uprising in Toxteth and Brixton in 1981 and in Handsworth and Tottenham in 1985.

4- The Roots of Racism and Urban Unrest in Britain

Negative images and racist attitudes towards dark skinned people are deeply rooted in Britain’s colonial past. They go back to the late eighteenth century when it had been largely agreed upon the fact that humanity was classified into different races according to physical

⁴⁹Randall Hansen, op.cit.p.81.

⁵⁰Mark Olden(2008), ‘white riot : The week Notting Hill exploded’, *The Independent* , 21 August.

⁵¹Roy Greenslade, *Seeking Scapegoats : The Coverage of Asylum in the UK Press*, p. 17.

characteristics in addition to mental and moral capacities (Edward Long. 1774, Vol.II; Carl Linnaeus, 1758). During the nineteenth century, this idea of natural selection was developed into the Darwinian theories of scientific racism which preached the savagery and the inferiority of the black race, justifying slavery and white colonialism. However, racism as an ideology and flourished as a direct outcome of capitalism and turned to be a justification for imperialism. It advocated white biological and moral superiority and accounted for their dominance over the other races of the world and honorably justified all the unspeakable atrocities that black people had been subjected to. These, altogether, with earlier stereotypes developed and spread in the western world thanks to a number of historical and anthropological accounts and descriptions of black peoples and cultures, had largely shaped current racial attitudes. The media had, too, a major role in the distribution and the acceptance of racial and racist ideologies, particularly during recent years.

Several studies had been conducted concerning race and racism in Britain during the twentieth century, one among which was designed by the Political and Economic Planning (PEP) in 1966. White British employers, landlords and many other persons who had the power to discriminate or have restrictive practices on the basis of race had been interviewed in addition to people belonging to minority groups who were likely to be discriminated against. These latter had been interrogated about the way they had been treated and the problems they had faced. Reactions to applications of people from different ethnic origins had been observed definitely demonstrating that:

The experience of white immigrants [...], compared to brown or black immigrants,[...], leave no doubt that the major component in the discrimination in colour...Of all groups the experience of West Indians was consequently the worst...(Daniel,1968,209).⁵²

A number of theories had been drawn during the middle of the twentieth century as why riots had occurred. Some put the blame on the massive immigration, other on the fact that black immigrants were competing white Britons for jobs and housing and that they were responsible for the rise in crime. Some maintained that immigrants were mainly attracted by and relied on welfare state; and they were said to be “likely to indulge in all kinds of misbehavior, especially sexual” (The Times, 3 September 1958). Indisputably, race was the catalyst of the riots and tensions that burst in Britain.

⁵²Ibid, p.37.

Up to 1955, the majority of immigrants to Britain were male (about 85%)⁵³, and this, inevitably, brought about miscegenation due to interracial relations and marriages with white working class women the fact that was very badly considered, specifically at that time. The Nottingham and the Notting Hill riots were irrefutable proofs of that reality. Neil Evans had observed that even in 1919 race riots, competition for women and interracial liaisons were primary factors⁵⁴. Bill Schwarz attests that “all pretence of English civility collapsed at the point when black men were seen to with white women”⁵⁵ John Steel, the leader of the National Labour Party, went much farther stating that “we [the British] will be a nation of half-castes. The result is that the nation will possess neither the rhythm of the coloured man, nor the scientific genius of the European. The only thing we will ever produce is riots, just as do the mixed races of the world.”⁵⁶ Lead and Young, on the other hand argue that these factors are not sufficient; they suggest that “the lack of adequate means of political representation of young ethnic minority resident in the inner city is also important”.

Obviously, political discourse and media coverage of the events had greatly participated to the radicalization of the events by spreading, and sometimes building up, stereotypes and prejudices among the population, the fact that participated legislation for commonwealth immigration control. Newspapers reports made things even worst by exaggeration, over stating, and dramatizing the impact and the danger of unrestricted coloured immigration on the British society. Their role had been central in perpetuating racism and xenophobia within the British society through overstatements and stereotyping, especially during special periods of extreme tensions. They portrayed black people in a very negative way suggesting they are a threat to the British race and way of life, that they are criminals. Black immigrants, especially youths, are represented as being the responsible for the increase of crime, prostitution, drugs, and violence in the inner cities. Statements such as “the flood of coloured immigrants” were reported by the Daily Express.

⁵³ Ashley Dawson, *Mongrel Nation : Diasporic Culture And the Making of Postcolonial Britain*, (University of Michigan Press, 2007), p.28;

⁵⁴ Neil Evans, *Across the Universe : Racial Violence and the Post-War Crisis in Imperial Britain, 1919-25*, in Diane Frost (ed), *Ethnic Labour and British Imperial Trade: A History of Ethnic Seafarers in the UK*, (Routledge, 1995),p. 70.

⁵⁵ Mica Nava, Alan O’Shea, *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*,(Routledge, 1996).p. 197.

⁵⁶ Ashley Dawson, *Mongrel Natio :Diasporic Culture And the Making of Postcolonial Britain*, (University of Michigan Press, 2007), p.28.

5- Race Relation Policy in Britain

The post- Second World War period saw the toughest and the most restrictive immigration policy in Britain. This period was also characterised by the British government's desire to tackle racial inequality and to ensure the same rights for all British citizens no matter what their race religion or nationality.

After the enactment of BNA, the British ethnic minority kept rising particularly since the 1950s, the fact that brought about unprecedented racial tensions within the population, engendering a series of riots among the most serious of which were those of Notting Hill and Nottingham in 1958. Since their arrivals, black immigrants were discriminated against and were denied equal job and housing opportunities as white natives. The situation worsened with the economic recession by the mid-twentieth century for black workers were the first to lose their jobs. They also faced great discrimination in housing, employment, education and were subjected to colour bars.

Consequently, successive government committed themselves to take necessary measures to tackle the problem of racism in order to help the process of minority groups' integration and to create cohesion among the whole population. Actually, the idea of introducing legislation that would outlaw and prevent discrimination was first taken up by the Labour Party while in opposition in 1958. The Race Relation Bill had been regularly presented by Fenner Brockway, a labour bencher, to parliament since 1956 but had been defeated each time. It was pursued later on when the party came into office in 1964 with the enactment of three Race Relations Acts in 1965, 1968 and 1976.

5.1- Race Relations Act of 1965

In 1965, the first Race Relation Act into, operation under the Labour government, outlawing discrimination on the grounds of colour, race, or ethnic or national origins in public places such as restaurants, bars, cinemas, and other creation places, in addition to public transport. Furthermore, it penalized oral and written incitement to hatred. It also set up the Race Relations Board with local committees whose function was to deal with complains.

The act was described as a poor piece of legislation since it considered discrimination as a civil rather than a criminal offence, contrary to what had been intended when the Labour government first published its Race Relation Bill on April 1965. It was also considered

extend to Northern Ireland. Its effectiveness was also reduced, for the provisions that were undertaken by the committees to deal with acts of discrimination were based on reconciliation and long administrative processes. In case of complaints of discrimination, the committees had, in the first place, to settle the dissension between the two opposed parties. If reconciliation was not achieved, then, the case had to be submitted to the Race Relations Board and, as a last resort, to Attorney-General. As a matter of fact, very few acts of racism had been penalized under the act. Nevertheless, in spite of its limited actions, the 1965 Race Relations Act was considered, and in fact it was, as the first step towards racial equality.

5.2- Race Relations Act of 1968

The 1968 Race Relations Act was also prompted thanks to the Political and Economic Planning's report commissioned by the Race Relations Board. The report, published in 1966, revealed widespread discrimination, specifically in employment and housing and mostly targeting West Indians and Asians; and called for the extensions of the powers of the Race Relations Act.⁵⁷

In his 'River of Blood' speech, Collin Powell opposed to the Race Relations Bill, too before it was presented to the parliament, for according to him it placed immigrants in a privileged position, further stating. That "his speech, made just before the act was passed, represented a last opportunity for an Englishman to speak".⁵⁸ Under such circumstances, when the act was received in parliament, it was not warmly welcomed.

The second Race Relations Act came into force on 26 November 1968. It superseded the previous one and was rather modeled on the American anti-discrimination law. It strengthened and expanded the legal scope of the previous act to housing, employment and the provision of goods and services and advertisement and notices. It also enlarged the powers of the Race Relations Board giving it the authority to investigate complaints and when necessary to instigate court proceedings against discriminators. In addition to that, it set up the Community Relations Commission which task was to promote harmonious community relations thanks to Community Relations Officers. However, once again, the race relations act made little impact. Sanctions against discriminators remained weak and very difficult to achieve, and, most importantly, it did not cover discrimination in government services such as

⁵⁷ Pat Thane, *Unequal Britain : Equalities in Britain Since 1945*, (Continuum International Publishing Groups, 2010), p.36.

⁵⁸ John Rex, *Colonial immigrants in a British city : a class analysis*, (Routledge, 1979), p.57.

the police and forms of indirect racism, these two factors being the triggering factors of the most destructive uprisings of that period. Its weakness concerned also its broad definition of racism.

5.3- Race Relations Act 1976

In July 1975, the committee on Race Relations published a report demonstrating the weakness of the 1968 Act and government's failure to legislate for racial equality. It replaced both the Race Relations Board, and the Community Relations Commission by a common body, that is, the Commission for Racial Equality whose task was to get rid of racial discrimination by investigating and prosecuting the offenders and whose duty was to achieve racial equality.

After the Labour Party took office in 1974, with Roy Jenkins as Home Secretary, they introduced the Race Relations Act in 1976 which completely repealed and replaced the previous acts. It defined and prohibited both direct and indirect discrimination as well as harassment and victimization on grounds of race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origin in field of housing, provision of goods, facilities and services, education and public functions. It was also extended to cover training, recruitment and promotion. Under the act, complainants could take their cases of access racism directly to civil courts.⁵⁹ As far as racism within the policy is concerned, the act still failed to protect victims of such a type of racism. It was not until the Stephen Lawrence murder, the subsequent disturbances in the 1990s, and the enquiry made by Sir William Macpherson, that it was finally recognized that institutional racism in fact exist within the metropolitan police and that measures had to be taken.

The act was finally strengthened through the Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 which came into force in April 2001. It was extended to cover some government functions that were out of the scope of the previous acts. It enforced the Commission for Racial Equality, set up under the 1976 Act, with over one hundred Local Racial Equality Councils funded by the Commission for Racial Equality.

The various attempts to irradiate racism from the british society had not been sufficient to protect black citizens from other form of racism and discrimination is still black people daily lot. Thought a great deal has still to be made, nonetheless, the government

⁵⁹ Erik Bleich, Race Politics in Britain and France : Ideas and Policy making Since the 1960s,p.99.

laudable efforts have greatly improved the situation and the lives of black communities in Britain as compared to the past.

6- Conclusion

During the period following the Second World War, Britain encouraged people from abroad to come in order to fulfill the labour shortage caused by the war and to help reconstruct the economy of the country. Although Britain would have preferred workers from European countries, it was soon admitted, albeit with great reluctance, that the latter would not meet the labour shortage finally resorted to people from its former and remaining colonies. The first who answered the call were the West Indians. This was mainly due to two major reasons: firstly, they were stimulated by job opportunities that Britain offered, for their countries of origins faced critical unemployment problems; secondly, they had more than any other British colonial people a sense of patriotism towards their 'mother land' which they had proved several times during the Wars, and which was acquired because of their isolation from their ancestral land, in addition to an exclusively British education. They were joined by many Africans and settled mainly in seaport cities. All of them arrived there with the hope to have a better living standard.

In 1948, the first group of black immigrants, mainly Jamaicans and Barbadians, arrived near London on board the SS Windrush. This marked the beginning of a large influx of black immigrants in Britain as well as the development of a multicultural and multiracial Britain. In spite of the fact that they came to help for the reconstruction of Britain, they were hardly tolerated by the local white population. They were discriminated against and given the most undesirable and the least remunerated occupations, such as low-paid jobs and night shifts, despite their skills and their educational assessment. The great majority of them were employed in public services like transport and National Health Service, Restaurants Associations and British Railway. They suffered from 'colour bars', discrimination in housing, work and education, as well as public harassment.

During the decade following the arrival of the Windrush Empire, thousands of other black workers settled in Britain, enflaming the anger of the local white population. The main factors that caused the increase in coloured immigration were, the British government's passing of the 1948 BNA. Actually intended primarily for Old Commonwealth, that gave all citizens of British Commonwealth, colonies and protectorates full British citizenship: and the

United States Government' passing of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act in 1952 which prevented them from entering the country, making them turn their attention to Britain.

Continuous and increasing waves of black immigrants generated frictions with white native population which in their turn brought about serious urban unrest. Yet, the government maintained an open door policy in spite of public pressures to introduce restrictions on immigration, although various attempts were made to dissuade black immigrants from coming to Britain thanks to various forms of propaganda, or via unbiased and sometimes even illegal means. Soon after, a number of serious race riots arose in different parts of Britain, specifically in Liverpool, London and Cardiff. Black people were hunted, beaten, and their houses were burnt to fire. The government was urged to take measures to deal with the problems of immigration. In fact, a number of acts were introduced from 1962 to 1981 that highly restricted black immigration from colonial and commonwealth countries almost to its end. On the other hand, the government counterbalanced these restrictions by adopting an anti- discrimination policy since the 1965 in order to appease the population and protect the already settled black communities.

From the outset of black immigration to Britain, various cities of the country had been the scene of violent racial uprisings the most notorious of which were the 1958 Notting Hill riots that opposed black people to white Britons, and the Brixton riots in 1981 and opposed this time black people to the police. Since the 1960s, when it erupted into a massive and destructive violence, due principally to institutional racism within the metropolitan police. As a result, the labour government in 1960 and subsequent government, issued a series of race relations acts in 1965, 1968 and 1976 that prohibited all forms of discrimination on the ground of race, colour, nationality or ethnic or national origin in field of housing, provision of goods, facilities and services, education and public functions, in addition to training, recruitment and promotion.

In spite of all the measures that have been taken by successive government, they have not succeeded in completely eradicating racism and to establish peace and equality, for racial discrimination still persists in the British society, and much action has still to be done. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the consecutive race relations legislations marked a turning point in the history of British minority groups and Britain's evolution towards a multi racial and a multicultural society.

1- Introduction

The twenty first century has brought about the emergence of Britain as a multicultural and a multiracial society. Large waves of African Caribbean and African immigrants, in addition to other ethnic groups, have settled in Britain. During the period from 1960 to 1962, Britain witnessed the arrival of the largest wave of immigrants to Britain. According to the Home of Office statistics, of the half million Asian and black immigrants who come to Britain after the Second World War and up to 1962, a quarter of a million came during the two years between 1969-1962. If their intention had been to stay for a while until to save some money

then return home, the majority of them decided to stay definitely for fear that they would not have other occasion to return later on. Consequently, draconian measures had been taken by successive government to restrict, as far and as possible, the entry of new commonwealth immigrants by the introduction of a number of tough immigration laws. From the second half of the century, the number of black immigrants coming from the Caribbean decreased significantly, while more immigrants came from Africa countries.

Restrictive immigration policy was, nevertheless, counterbalanced by a race relations policy since the 1950s, via the enactment of the 1965, the 1968 and the 1976 race relations acts. In spite of the fact that these latter did not effectively end discrimination in Britain, yet it represented a recognition of black community rights as citizens, and a starting point towards the acceptance of minority groups in the one hand and towards the development of Britain into a multicultural and a multi ethnic society.

Post Second World War immigration to Britain has had non reversible consequences on the British society that are becoming more and more blatant nowadays. The various ethnic communities have impacted the British society in all sectors of life. They have brought with them their cultures, music, religion and traditions which greatly influenced the native one. Their contribution to Britain's economy and society in general is undeniable. Their situation has improved since the first immigrants arrived to the British soil, they made lot of achievements, yet great challenges have still to be overcome.

The following chapter gives accounts of the socio economical situation of the black community in Britain (housing, education and work) during the twenty first century, it deals with the rise of Britain as a multicultural society with a well settled black community, in addition to other ethnic communities, which had a great impact upon the British society and the British way life in general in all the sectors of life. Furthermore it will deal with contemporary issues concerning black struggle for equality, as well as black immigration during the 21st century; and shed the light to the main achievements of black Britons and challenges that they are facing.

2- Black Immigration and Multiculturalism in Britain

The concept of multiculturalism is generally associated with the post-World War immigration; although it had existed since the 19th century. It became very popular among British Elite during the beginning of the twentieth century. Debating on immigration policy,

the Conservative Minister for colonial affairs, Henry Hopkins commented the principles of multiculturalism stating:

*“ In a world in which restrictions on personal movement and immigration have increased we can still take pride in the fact that a man can say Civis Britannicus sum whatever his colour may be, and we take pride in the fact that he wants and can come to the Mother Country”*⁶⁰

After the WWII, black immigrants came from the New Commonwealth countries in great numbers, especially from the West Indies and Africa. Most of them found it hard to assimilate to the British society, especially when no effort was made to facilitate the process, as a result, some of them preferred to cut themselves from the main stream society and keep their culture and their religions. Without measuring the consequences of such a situation, the local government did nothing to prevent them from doing so. In the 1980s, Bradford city council adopted a policy that declared that every section of the “multicultural, multiracial city” had “an equal right to maintain its own identity, culture, language, religion and customs”⁶¹. Ray Honeyford, headmaster at Drummond Middle School in Bradford, was among the first to raise the impact that multiculturalism might have on the British society, stating that it would create division and conflicts among the British society and, out of his teaching experience, he thought that it would highly diminish pupil’s opportunity for success.

Nevertheless, from the twenty-first century, it has become clear for every body that multiculturalism has had a deep impact on the British society and it has turned to be highly criticized by the local population and the media the fact that has made the current government shift again towards the policy of integration, British unity and a common commitment to Britain. This policy was even more stressed on after the July 2005 terrorist bomb attacks.

Today, it is generally agreed upon the fact that these immigrants’ settlement has had many ethnic, social and cultural implications. They have participated in changing the face of Britain and many aspects of British way of life. They made British life more diverse and had a great impact on its culture. People from afro-Caribbean origins have helped develop popular music in Britain and have changed the eating habits of white Britons. In the end, Britain turned to be a multiracial and a multicultural society with significant non-white communities against the will of the successive governments whether labours or conservatives.

⁶⁰ Hansard, 5 November 1954, Col. 827

⁶¹ Alasdair Palmer, *Multiculturalism has left Britain with ataxic legacy*, (The Telegraph, 12 February 2012)

Various attempts have been made to make them assimilate to the local culture, yet it has not been of much success. According to some race relations experts such as John Rex (1986-1988) and Michael Banton (1967-1977-1988), immigrants would achieve a complete assimilation to the mainstream society through time and education. However, reality has proved the opposite and denied such assumptions, for immigrants have shown a resistance to assimilation by creating and reproducing, as much as possible, their new world within Britain. The result is rather a 'salad bowl' model of society in which both ingredients, native and foreign, are present.

In the political scene, immigration became a major and central theme within the British policy. Immigration policy issues have evolved from primary immigration and family reunification to asylum seekers during recent years. Black immigration to Britain has had major implications that are lately becoming more visible and evident. Black minorities are physically distinct from other immigrants, and because of this distinctiveness, they are denied equal rights and opportunities, and consequently they face huge difficulties to assimilate. In the long run, these communities are gradually reproducing their original and own cultures in the host society, and might lead to a new form of racism in reverse, that is minority racism.

The current situation in Britain has proved that what is actually happening is a two ways mutation; these ethnic minorities have let their imprint in the local society; and in other hand, they have been influenced by the local culture as well. Both of them are no longer what they used to be. Multicultural Britain accounts currently a diversity of nationalities from different races and cultures. According to the 2001 National Statistics census, 7, 9% of the British population was non-white. These latter were forced to learn about Britain's language, culture and traditions as part of the process of assimilation which has never been achieved. Nowadays, the reverse is happening: it is their host country that is gradually compelled to learn about their culture. Classical research works about immigration and race relations, though useful, are now outdated; Britain has to know more about its minority communities in order to deal with their problems and their needs.

3- Socio-Economic Situation of the Black British Community

Ethnic identification has undergone great changes through time. In the past, the word 'black' encompassed the majority of people from ethnic backgrounds, other than white, whether they were Asians, Arabs, black Caribbean or black Africans. In 1991, censuses recorded race in the United Kingdom according to five main categories without including a

separate 'mixed' ethnic group within the census. In 2001, a new ethnicity classification was issued modifying the 1991 classification. It includes mixed categories, and added white sub-categories. Finally, in the most up to date census in 2011, two other subcategories have been added, namely Gypsy or Irish Traveller and Arab.

In spite of the fact that nowadays Britain remains still a predominantly white society, yet the situation is constantly changing because of the increase of ethnic minority groups. According to Population Census data, the British population has witnessed an increase of 4% in the 1990s, 73% of which were mainly due to the growth of ethnic minorities, the fastest one being the Black African which has almost doubled in a decade⁶². In general, minority groups grew more noticeably in areas with already well-established minority population which is a quite normal phenomenon since newly arrived people prefer to settle in areas where their families and acquaintance have established.

Currently, Britain has a well-established black community with second and third generations born there, the oldest one being the Caribbean one. According to the 2001 date Census of Population, the black community accounted for 1.15 million of UK population. More than half a million were black Caribbean. These latter came since the Second World War in increasing numbers, making of the Caribbean community the oldest and the longest established community. However, by middle of the twentieth century, black immigration from the Caribbean almost ceased and black immigrants arrived from African countries in increasing numbers, mostly as refugees, asylum seekers, or students. Nowadays, the African community has grown so rapidly so as to almost equal the Caribbean one. Other second generation black people are classified under the Mixed Parentage ethnic groups and account for 677 thousand people (see **Table 1.1**). In 2001, the British black Caribbean population counted for 566,000 and the black African for 485,000, in addition to 674,000 other who identified themselves as mixed race.⁶³

In 2001, the white population has decreased of about a seven percentage point since 2001. Within the black, black/ African/Caribbean / black British category, the African sub group has some of the largest increase between the 2001 and 2011 Census due to natural change and to an increasing number of asylum seekers' immigration from African countries such as Zimbabwe, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The decrease

⁶² Ruth Lupton and Anne Power, (November, 2004) 'Minority Ethnic Groups in Britain'. *CASE- Brookings Census Brief*. No.2 [Online], p.1.

⁶³ *Ibid*, p.4

has been from 0, 9% in 2001 to 1, 8% in 2011. The proportion of Black people in the Other Black groups has also increased between 2001 and 2011. The Black Caribbean group, on the other hand, has remained almost unchanged probably because primary immigration from the Caribbean had been halted by the 1980s due to the successive immigration legislations, and because members of this community have gradually been absorbed by the host society through intermarriages most of their progenies identify themselves to the mixed (white and black Caribbean) group the fact that may explain as well as the increase within that group.

According to the 2011 census concerning the ethnic population of England and Wales by age and sex (See Table 1.2), the estimates show an interesting change in sex ratios within the Black Caribbean group as compared to the past when the percentage of women was higher than the one of males. As far as the structure of ethnic minority populations and their family patterns, Black Caribbean, as compared to other black and mixed groups, display very low marriage rates and a great number of one-parent families, the largest majority being lone mothers.

As far as the age of members of black minority groups in England and Wales, the current age structure of the Black ethnic minority groups displayed in 3.2 concurs with past trends in immigration. Immigration from the Caribbean peaked in the early 1960s, whereas the highest point of immigration from African countries was in the 1990s. These facts may explain the relatively high proportion of people aged about 50 years among Black Caribbean and those of 30 years within the African group today. The statistics also reveal specific fertility patterns though current high birth rates within the African group as compared to other black groups and to a lesser extent within the white and Caribbean mixed group.

3.1- The Spatial Distribution of Black Minorities

Research and government understanding of any evolution in special distribution and concentration of population is central in order to deal with problems of economic decline, poverty, housing, work opportunities, social exclusion, educational achievements and race relations, specifically in urban areas. Due to natural change (births and deaths) and population movement, the special distribution of black ethnic communities in general and black communities in particular in Britain has changed considerably during the last decades.

There is a noticeable increase in ethnic communities in declining urban areas with a large concentration of minority population. During the last decades, there has been a two

ways population movement phenomenon that completely changed the geographical distribution of the British population and that was mainly due to population concentration and dispersal. While there is an increasing tendency towards minority groups' population growth and concentration, white communities, on the other hand, tend to disperse to least urban areas, the process that is known as counter urbanization.

Immigration from the Caribbean reached its peak in the 1960s. Most of them settled in London and major cities and were joined by other groups during the subsequent decades, largely and rapidly expanding UK ethnic communities. Black Africans did not arrive in Britain in consequent numbers until the end of the twentieth century. Most of them settled principally in London. The greatest concentrations of black communities are in inner city areas. They are located in Greater London with the remaining part living in the West and East Midlands, and East of London, where they worked in service industries (such as: transport, National Health Service , Restaurants and hotels), textile or metal manufacturing industries. Half of the afro-Caribbean community is concentrated Greater London. According to the Office of National Statistics, London had the largest proportion of minority groups in 2011 with 7.0% from African origin and 4.2% from Caribbean origin.

The demographic growth that has taken place during recent decades within these communities is not solely due to immigration but is also the outcome of the expansion among the already established ethnic minority groups, who established in industrial areas. This increasing geographical concentration in already strained inner cities makes most of the members of black communities suffer from racial discrimination and disadvantage in all sectors of life.

Overall, censuses show a long established pattern of black population's tendency to be more spatially concentrated in some specific areas. In fact, there has always been a general propensity among newly arrived black immigrants to settle where their families and acquaintance are already established. The fact that these latter are likely to assist them in entering the labour market and in finding accommodation might explain this tendency. In this respect, Simpson and Finney argue that "Extended family relationships, participation in religious and other group-related activities and opportunities for work within ethnic enclaves

may each provide benefits from clustering, whether in settlement areas or in new locations.”⁶⁴
These variables have an important impact in population dynamics.

3.2- Educational Attainment of Black Ethnic Groups

An extraordinary wealth of documentation and researches had been carried out during the last decades concerning the intellectual aptitudes, the educational achievements of children from the various minority ethnic groups in Britain, and the reality of racism within the English education system. Under the New Labour government, educational attainment being a key to success in the modern world has become a major issue in the Government policy.

3.3- Labour Market Activity of Black British People

Ethnic minority economic conditions are greatly interrelated with the previous parameter that is education. The types of employment and incomes of people from ethnic minority background depend greatly on their educational attainments. Available data show that ethnic minorities, in spite of marked improvement, still face high unemployment rates as compared to white British people. People from a number of ethnic backgrounds are likely to face unequal opportunities in the labour market

Initially when the first black immigrants arrived in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s, they came to fulfill particular functions in the labour market. British recruitment schemes brought about “economic specialisation and geographical concentration”⁶⁵. They were mainly recruited in public service employment and in industrial jobs such as hotels, restaurants, transport, and hospitals and manufacturing industries with low pays, night shifts, hard conditions. The majority worked rather in skilled and semi-skilled manual jobs rather than white collar jobs where they were under represented.

In the 1970s, Black Caribbean women were more likely to be employed in white collar occupations while men from the same group were the least represented within white collar work and were rather compressed in skilled manual occupations. This still the case in 2004, for census data of that year showed that 54% of black Caribbean women were employed in

⁶⁴Ludi Simpson and Nissa Finney, *Spatial Patterns of Internal Migration: Evidence for Ethnic Groups in Britain*, (University of Manchester, 2009), p.38

⁶⁵ Vaughan Robinson and Rina Vanely, Ethnic Minorities, Employment, Self-employment, and Social Mobility in postwar Britain, in: Glenn C. Loury, Tariq Modood, Steven M. Teles, *Ethnicity, Social Mobility, and Public Policy: Comparing the USA and UK*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.414.

public administration, education or health⁶⁶. This pattern of recruitment lasted for the subsequent decades, and though it has changed a little, it did not completely disappear.

With the decline of manufacturing in throughout the 1980-90s, a number of industrial sectors were hardly hit, making a great number of manual workers lose their jobs. Moreover, most of the tasks they had been initially recruited to do were now performed by technology. The people who were the most likely to be concerned by the effect of economic recession and reconstruction were from black Caribbean ethnic background. (this fact had great impact on these people income which in its turn impacted on their education attainment, a sort of vicious circle that is still at work today, albeit with lesser impact than in the past.

In 2007, Joseph Rowntree Foundation Findings had revealed that ethnic minorities in general and black ones in particular faced discrimination and job opportunity inequalities within the British labour market. According to them, “once age, education and other characteristics had been controlled for, persistent differences remained in social class as measured by occupational status between the white group and other ethnic groups in 2001”⁶⁷. The same study demonstrated also inequalities in earnings of men from ethnic groups as compared to white people having in the same professional and managerial jobs. Research’s findings showed that Black Africans together with Bangladeshis earn up to 25 per cent less than white men in similar positions⁶⁸

African students with high education attainment and qualification reported having faced institutional discrimination. Waite and Aigner have reported that this discrimination was due to the fact that

*“...their previously acquired university education was not respected in the UK labour market which led to institutional entry barriers. African accents were said to be a barrier to employment and training opportunities, specifically in the experiences of first generation migrants.”*⁶⁹

This was particularly true within first generation African immigrants, nevertheless, according to the same authors, even second generation Africans face the same process of ‘de-

⁶⁶ Joy Dobbs, Hazel Green and Linda Zealey, *Ethnicity and Religion*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p.34.

⁶⁷ Ken Clark and Stephen Drinkwater, *Ethnic minorities in the labour market: dynamics and diversity*, (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2007) p.3

⁶⁸Ibid, p.3.

⁶⁹ Louis Waite and Petra Aigner, Country Monograph: Britain. In: Claudine Attias-Donfut, and al., *Citizenship, Belonging and Intergenerational Relations in African Migration*, (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), p.29.

skilling' despite their large qualification for the same reasons that is their cultural background⁷⁰. The share of black Africans who work in managerial or professional occupations in 2001 was about 26% and 23% in routine or manual occupations⁷¹.

The ONS estimates of Labour Market status by ethnic groups ranging from July 2010 to September 2012, revealed that unemployment rates among people of 16 to 64 years old from Black ethnic background (Black/ African/ Caribbean groups) had been the highest during all the period covered by the study. Furthermore, the number of unemployment males among the population of black background, estimated at 75.000, was higher than the number of unemployed women belonging to the same groups which was Estimated at 58.000 in 2012.

Recent findings reveal a marked progress within the Black Caribbean group an increasing number of men accessing to managerial jobs which is mainly due to improvement in levels of education. A longitudinal study concerning Labour market trajectories of minority ethnic groups within the labour market in Britain from 1972 to 2005 conducted by Li and Health revealed that though second generation Black Caribbean men are doing better than first generation, they remain still among the most disadvantaged within the labour market.

Inequalities in labour market are inevitably related to disparities of income within ethnic groups. The family Resources Survey shows that the major part of income of Black minority household derives from wages and salaries and that a high proportion of their income, just like the one of Pakistan and Bangladeshi, is derived from social security benefits – other than those for disability or state retirement pension. Furthermore, evidence has been provided by Greater London Authority about the existence of a pay gap between ethnic minorities in London in, and that it has significantly widened during the period covered by the research since, according to the collected results, Black people's median pay was found to be lower than the one of all white groups from 2006 up to 2009.

Overall researches and available data, show an increase in median earning within all ethnic groups have increased during the last two decades of persisting inequalities in the labourmarket and the presence of earning gap between the different ethnic groups that has considerably narrowed during the last decade due, probably, to the introduction of the national

⁷⁰ Ibid.,p.112.

⁷¹ Jacques Barou, Petra Aigner and Bernard Mbenga, African Migration in its National and Global Context. In: (Palgrave Macmillan,2012),p.29.

minimum wage.⁷² Men from black ethnic background continue to undergo higher unemployment rates, with Pakistani and Bangladeshi, and to display a, important concentration in a number of specific occupations.

In addition to that, too many black people in Britain today are being denied the opportunity to start their own business and get on in life. Being the least likely to be given bank loans to start, (about four times than their white counterparts). They are denied equal opportunities as other groups.

4. Black Immigration during the 21st Century

Black Immigration to UK has began after the end of the Second World War and peaked during the 1950-1960s. Most of them were originated from the West Indies. They came to fill labour shortage caused by the war and were greatly encouraged by labour availability and by their statuses as British subjects that were conferred to them by the British Nationality Act of 1948.

With the dramatic increase of coloured immigrants in Britain and the unrest due to racial tensions between them and the white British population, consecutive governments begun to take up harsh measures to halt primary black immigration to Britain. The Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962 was introduced to which uncovered aim was to prevent non white immigrants from settling in Britain. Further pieces of legislation aimed at non-white immigrants were introduced in 1968, 1971 and 1981. The latter was considered as a turning point in the history of British Immigration policy, for it created for the first time since centuries, a separate citizenship for the UK. The aim of these legislation was according to Hansen to equate the status of non-UK Commonwealth citizens with that of aliens⁷³. The government also expressed its will to tackle racial discrimination issue experienced by black immigrants by introducing a number of race relation acts facilities and promote their integration within the society.

During the subsequent years political and media concern about immigration weakened greatly until 1990s when it came again into the public and political arena. The estimates of the Office of National Statistics on Long Term International Migration (LTIM) have revealed that, since the 1990s, overall migration has undergone a continuous rise with a peak of

⁷²Diana Kasparova, and al., Pay : *Who were the winners and losers of the New Labour era ?*, (The Good Work Commission, 2010),p.26.

⁷³ Hansen, op.cit, p. 180.

252,000 in 2010⁷⁴. White migration peaked due to growing numbers of both European immigrants after the enlargement of the EU in the 2000s, and to economic workers after Britain opened its labour market to Accession 8(A8) countries⁷⁵; it has turned to be, the second issue for British voters, just behind economy. As for Black population increase in UK, it is, primarily, the outcome in increasing numbers of people from African countries who came as part of family formation or reunification, to study as for Kenyans who “have a long-standing pattern of migration to the UK for educational purposes”⁷⁶, to work, or most importantly to seek refuge.

The increase of the number of UK black non-British born people during current times is mainly due to the waves of asylum seekers and refugees from a number of African countries such as Somalia, Zimbabwe and the Congo. While most African immigrants came for reunification reasons in 1980s, from 1990 and up to 2002, they arrived mostly as asylum seekers⁷⁷ from countries that have displayed warfare, political repression, or devastating economic and ecological situations. By the last decade of the twentieth century, a number of conflicts erupted in different parts of Africa; and Britain, in accordance with the 1951 United Nations Convention and 1967 protocol, started to accept substantial numbers of refugees who were seeking asylum due to their fear of persecution in their home lands for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion. This fact has caused public discontent which intensified during the 1980s, the fact that brought about government concern.

African asylum migration kept increasing until it peaked in 2002, with 30.5 thousands applications, again declining during the subsequent years. Between 1998 and up to 2007, there were not less than 171.5 thousands asylum applications from African principal applicants.

The highest share for asylum applications to UK in the period between 1998 and 2007 was for Somalia with 43 thousands applications. Migration applications from this country kept rising during the 1990s; they peaked in 2002, and then have declined. It was followed by Zimbabwe with 21 thousand applications, Congo and DR Congo both with 11.5 thousands,

⁷⁴ Carlos Varcas-Silva, *Briefing: long-Term International Migration Flows and from the UK*. (The Migration Observatory, University of Oxford, 2013), p.3.

⁷⁵ The Accession 8 countries are Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia)

⁷⁶ Jacques Barou, Petra Aigner and Bernard Mbenga, op.cit.p.26.

⁷⁷ Ibid, p.25.

these latter reaching peaks in 2002 while Nigeria asylum applications during the covered period were about 9.8 thousand.

Because of public and media greatest concern about increasing numbers of asylum seekers and refugees particularly during the early 1990s, successive governments have set about tightening immigration controls and restricting the rights of asylum seekers in UK by introducing a plethora of legislation. Policy makers began by restricting access to asylum procedures by preventing people first from reaching UK. This could be achieved by tightening visas controls. Effectively, the Immigration (Carriers' Liability) Act in 1987 imposed civil and financial penalties on carriers who bring passengers to UK without the UK borders beyond the existing physical borders of sea sharing the responsibility for control with carriers⁷⁸ For each illegal passenger, carriers had to pay were about £1.000 which was doubled in 1991 and extended do cover passengers without transit visas. Those not retained had the right to appeal as stated in the 1969 Immigration Appeal Act, however, appeals right have been greatly restricted since 1993.

The role of the media has been crucial during that period and up to 1990s, when they particularly targeted Asylum seekers and refugees who were alleged to be 'illegal refuge', 'queue jumpers', 'asylum cheat' or 'bogus asylum seekers'. Heated debates have arisen as to the reason of such increase of asylum seekers and refugees and the most accepted interpretation have been that most of these applicants were 'bogus' and that they were seeking for welfare rather than asylum. In 1993, John Major's government made further reforms, introducing the Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act 1993 which prevented asylum seekers from enjoying the social services (housing and welfare benefits) like other citizens. As an example, they were denied homeless accommodations if they had a place where to stay 'however temporary', even a church floor. On the one hand, the Act introduced a 'fast track' procedure that greatly limited the period for appeals of applications considered to be 'without foundation', empowered immigration authorities to detain asylum seekers while their cases were being decided. On the other hand, it abolished the right of appeal to students, short term visitors and tourists, and those seeking the expansion of their duration of stay provided their applications had been refused.⁷⁹ It was "largely criticized as an 'anti-black' family measure

⁷⁸ Will Somerville, *Immigration under New Labour*, (The Policy Press, 2007), p.19

⁷⁹ See Linda McDowell, *Working Lives : Gender, Migration and Employment in Britain, 1945-2007*, (Wiley, 2013), p. 254

that further curtailed family reunion rights of Britain's settled migrants".⁸⁰ As an example of the impact on family reunification was the initiative of immigration officers to detain and deport a whole plane-load of Jamaicans who had come to visit their relatives on Christmas Eve in 1993. The act was particularly effective in terms of increasing the rate of refused asylum applications which slumped from 16% in 1993 to 57% in 1994. Those whose appeals were rejected were either deported or detained in immigration detentions centres where they were badly treated the fact that brought about hunger strikers and various riots. Despite all these measures, asylum applications kept rising.

The conservative government's next legislative measure aiming at reducing asylum claims was via the introduction of the 1996 Immigration and Asylum Act. The act empowered the immigration authorities to "expel immediately people claiming asylum at ports of entry to the 'safe third' country through which they had arrived,"⁸¹ It extended the denial of statutory housing to every one subject to immigration control. Under the act, the Home Secretary set up a 'white list' of a number of countries which were judged as safe, thus all asylum applicants from these countries were refused entry to the UK. It also restricted the rights of refugees and asylum seekers to employment, housing and welfare benefits by limiting these rights to in-country asylum applicants and removed it for the others. It made it an offence for any employer to employ any person who is not able to provide eligibility to live and work in the UK, in which case he would be fined up to £5,000 for each illegal worker⁸². This latter provision had the dramatic effect of intensifying already existing employment inequalities, for employers became even more reluctant to employ people from ethnic minorities. Furthermore, civil and criminal sanctions related to immigration were greatly extended.

5. The Political Participation of Black Ethnic Groups

Since the beginning of their settlement in Britain, black people have faced racism and discrimination in all ranges of life (housing, education, employment). The host population have welcomed them with great suspicion while the government hardly tolerated them at times when they were desperately needed and targeted them with a number of pieces of legislation once they became more visible blaming them for all the social and economic

⁸⁰ Christina Joppke, *Challenge to the Nation-state: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States*, (Oxford University Press, 1998), p.137.

⁸¹ Sylvie da Lomba, *The right to seek refugee status in the European Union*, p.158.

⁸² Op.cit. Linda McDowell, p.255.

problems the country was facing. Black people's consciousness of increasing racism and unions. Nevertheless, their impact had not been much effect, for according to Kalbir Shukra

*Organisation everywhere remained local responding to particular incidents of racial harassment or exclusion. No political party emanated from the campaigns to pull the energy and debate together. Instead, the black movement remained small, isolated and fragile.*⁸³

Yet black people, and youth particularly, organized significant demonstrations in the major cities which, even if they had not completely eliminated racism, they had the effect of attracting the attention of political officials who improved somehow their situation by introducing a number of Race Relation Acts.

To counter balance the effect of racism, a number of organisations and unions, whether social, political or religious, have been set up to fight for their rights and to oppose discrimination. Their major aim was to facilitate settlement processes for their black fellow citizens and to help promote better opportunities for future generations so as they would not encounter the same difficulties as their predecessors. Some of them disappeared, while others are still active nowadays. They came as a reaction to public and political leaders' racist discourse in addition to police brutality and combated for the welfare of black people. In the respect, Teri Sewell argued that "the campaign for black Section was an important sign that black people were no longer content with being passive observers of the political process.

Currently, though the situation has improved, black participation in mainstream politics remains symbolic, for black people are still greatly underrepresented in parliament. The fact that black people are the most underrepresented in political participation is due to their conviction that action through pressure groups is more effective than voting or lobbying.⁸⁴

The 2010 Ethnic Minority British Election Study shows that black African and black Caribbean people's political participation in general and electoral elections were the least as compared to the other minority ethnic groups: 22% of black Africans reported being engaged in a civic or political organization or association while 20 to 23% of black Caribbean reported having signed petitions and boycotted products and companies.⁸⁵ As far as people from African background, Nigerians and Ghanaians display higher rates of political participation in

⁸³ Kalbir Shukra, *The changing Pattern of Black Politics in Britain*, (Pluto Press, 1998), p.27

⁸⁴ James Jennings, *Race and Politics: New Challenges and Responses for Black Activism*, (Vero, 1997) p.119.

⁸⁵ Maria Sobolewska, *Religion and Politics among Ethnic Minorities in Britain*, British Religion in Numbers, 2011

general and local elections while Zimbabweans tend to be more involved in non electoral activities as compared to people from other African origins. Differences in political engagement among black African groups are explained by Silvia Galandini in terms of “divergent immigration experiences and socio-cultural backgrounds”.⁸⁶ She argues that these differences are due to the fact that some recently arrived groups are facing unemployment and difficulties with the English language such as the Somalis while the other well settled groups with higher educational attainment such as the Ghanaians who consider their political involvement as part of their British citizens’ duties.⁸⁷

Black Caribbeans’ lack of community mobilisation and political participation is due to their distrust in the willingness and the ability of politicians to represent the interests of their community. Campbell and McLean relate African Caribbeans’ under representation in politics to these latter’s “negative experiences of marginalisation”⁸⁸ which stands for their former negative experiences at schools and in workplaces. To these reasons, they have also added black Caribbean lack of unity. In fact, internal divisions within their community make political mobilization hard to achieve and when fractions of the community manage to gather in a group or organization, there is a little chance that its impact be of greater effect because of lack of general mobilization.

So far, current studies and data statistics have proved black minority groups under representation in the British political scene as a reaction to former negative experiences. This is specifically the case for African Caribbean as compared to most Africans who feel a little more integrated than the former due to their higher educational achievements and consequently feel more concerned.

Currently, it became clear among black communities’ leaders as well as British politicians that measures have to be taken so as to make them more concerned and more involved in the political activities both at the local and the national levels. Black communities have to comprehend the fact that only through higher political participation and thus greater representation will it be possible for them to improve their lives and most importantly provide equal opportunities for themselves and their children. However, we should not lose sight of the fact that, despite the great changes that have still to be made, huge improvements have

⁸⁶ Silvia Galandini, *Political Participation of Black Africans*.

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Catherine Campbell and Carl McLean, *Ethnic Identity, Social Capital and Health Inequalities : Factors, Shaping African-Caribbean in Local Community Network*, (Elsevier Science Ltd, 2002), p.18.

been achieved up to now as compared to the past and that the situation is progressing, albeit slowly, from one generation to another.

6- Black British Impact on British Culture and Society

The successive waves of immigrants to Britain, whether self-determined or forced, have had great dramatic impact on the British society and brought about irreversible changes to the British culture, politics and geography. Black people from African and Caribbean descent are among those who have greatly impacted on the British society and culture. Their presence has irreversibly altered the meaning of 'Britishness'. The major impact they had may be reflected in UK's development from an almost homogeneous society to a multi racial and multi cultural one. Every aspect of British life whether political, cultural, or social (food, music, literature, art, etc...) has been influenced by black culture. African-Caribbean's diverse features have become a common and established aspect of the British society.

The Notting Hill Carnival is one example of black culture which asserts black people's right to in the UK. It has been set up for the first time in 1959, a year after the Notting Hill riots. It came as a reaction to the riots and was intended to celebrate and preserve the black cultural unity. Initially celebrated indoors with a few West Indians, it ended to be held outdoors since 1966. It has become, nowadays, the second biggest street festival in the world and one of the major annual celebrations in Britain which lasts for three days and hundreds of thousands of people every year.

Economically, black immigrants, contrary to popular and media assumptions, is greatly beneficial to UK economy. They are vital to British economy. They fill employment gaps, perform professions that are undesirable for white workers and pay taxes. Those self employed in their own business are offering employment to hundreds of people little helping to tackle unemployment. Some sectors would undoubtedly collapse without their presence and efforts, such as health and social care services, in addition to the cleaning and transport industries.

Food, too, is one of the features of the Caribbean, and to a lesser extent African, culture that may be found in current Britain. As an instance, white Britons have become familiar with the Caribbean salt fish, salted pork, yam and peppers. Nevertheless, the African Caribbean food is not as spread within the white British society as is the Asian one.

African Caribbean artists on the other hand have had a great impact, perhaps the greatest, on the British culture thanks to their numerous and estimable contributions in all aspects of artistic expressions such as music, art and all types of writing. The Jamaican Sculptor Ronald Moody, the Trinidadian Dramatist John Errol and the Guinean conductor Rudolph Dunbar are but few examples of black people who managed to achieve success and fame in Britain and the world

Music, too, is another field where Africans and Caribbeans have left their distinctive print and contributed to the development of popular music. When the first black immigrants came to settle in Britain, they brought in their luggage their musical styles, such as gospel, the calypso, the reggae, the ska and the 2 Tone which have since then greatly influenced Britain's popular music.

In the world of media, the Trinidad born Trevor MacDonald is Britain's favourite newscaster and "almost a British institutional in himself."⁸⁹ He was knighted in 1999 for his valuable contributions to journalism. Won more awards than any other British broadcaster⁹⁰ and as such he represents a model of success for the black community. In addition to that, the black community have managed to set up a number of publications, radio stations and TV channels. Examples of these latter are *The Voice*, a leading Afro-Caribbean newspaper, and *Pride Magazine*, a successful publication for Afro-Caribbean women.

Steve R. McQueen, the artists and filmmaker of Grenadian Descent, most well known for his film *Hunger*, and whose talent has been nationality and internationality recognized when he received the Turner Prize in 1999 and the CaméraD'or in Cannes Festival in 2008 is among those whose works have contributed to British artistic expression. Another example of black British artists is Dame Shirley Veronica Bassey, a Welsh singer of African descent, was recognized as "one of the most popular female vocalists in Britain during the last half of the 20th century"⁹¹, and is well known for her worldwide successful songs 'Gold Finger', 'Diamonds are Forever' and 'Moonraker', James Bond's themes. She was made a Dame by the queen in 2001.

Although black people are still under represented in Britain politics, yet a number of individuals have managed to find a way to the restricted political milieu. Among these are

⁸⁹ Ian Bradely, *Believing in Britain: The Spiritual Identity of 'Britishness'*, (I.B.Tauris, 2007), p.172.

⁹⁰ BBC News, *Sir Trevor reads final bulletin*.

⁹¹ BBC Music, Shirley Bassey.

Diane Abbott, the first black woman Member of Parliament and “one of Labour’s best front bench performers”⁹², Baroness Amos, the first black woman to be elected to the Cabinet of the United Kingdom Bernie Grant, Paul Boateng, he is the first black cabinet minister in the UK and was appointed Chief Secretary to the Treasury.

However, the field where black Britons have made boundless contributions is in sports and literature. Numerous are those who have represented the UK in international competitions, such as the Olympic Games. Black people are over represented in British boxing. Kelly Holmes, the Jamaican born athlete and winner of two golden medals in the 2004 Olympic Games, had proudly honoured the colours of the UK. Jason Robinson has been an icon in British rugby who became the first black man to be the captain of the British rugby team.

In regards to black British literature, it may be traced back to the 18th century with writers and-biographers such as OlaudahEquiano and Ignatius Sancho whose aims where to cry out the abuses black peoples have underwent for centuries and to fight for their liberty. Afro-Trinidadian historian, journalist, socialist theories and essayist, Cyril lionel Robert James is considered as an eminent scholar who has left an indelible mark on his time and whose numerous works have been invaluable contributions to British literature. The Guyanese born, ER Braithwaite, is another example of per war writer who settled in Britain. The Windrush generation of the 1950s brought also with it African Caribbean intellectuals who wrote about the history of their immigration to a changing post-war Britain such as Edward KamauBrathwaite, Jamaican poet James Berry, the Trinidadians Samuel Selvon and the Jamaican Staurt Hall, to list but a few. Drawing their inspiration from the American civil right movement, they, like a great many others, campaigned against bigotry and fought to “address the issues of lack housing, racial discrimination, the search for dignified jobs and the open hostility of their new hosts”.⁹³ They brought about the emergence of a new literary genre known as postcolonial literature and expressed their frustration of being treated as aliens in spite of their being British. More recently, a number of book store publishing houses have emerged to promote black writing in Britain.

The above cited examples are but few examples of black Britons who have managed to achieve, Britain’s and worldwide fame, success and above all recognition. They represent

⁹² The Telegraph, *The Top 100 Most Influential People on the Left 2011*: 25-51.

⁹³ OnyekachiWambu, *Black British Literature since Windrush*, BBC History.

good examples and indisputable proof of that black Britons is beneficial to UK and that they may carry positive image of their communities and of Britain as a whole.

7- Conclusion

The fact that Britain nowadays is a multiracial and a multicultural society is an undisputable reality. Various waves of immigrants came all throughout the twentieth and the twenty-first century and have brought various races, religions and cultures which have greatly impacted the former homogeneous society.

The twentieth century's largest waves of immigration stemmed mainly from the New Commonwealth countries. With time, their presence became increasingly visible the fact that brought about number of highly restrictive pieces of legislation which aimed at restricting coloured people's settlement in the UK. In fact, since the 1960s, primary immigration, specifically from the West Indies, began to decrease and came almost to an end by the 1980s. Albeit greater difficulties, fewer numbers of secondary immigrants continued to arrive under family reunification process. Yet, despite a continuous flow of immigrants Britain, successive had managed to counterbalance rates of incoming immigration.

By the late 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century, Britain has experienced once again a revival of primary immigration of a different kind. Recent waves of black immigrants are mainly consisting of economic workers, students and above all asylum seekers. White immigration increase is due to Britain access to the European Union and to opening the British market to the Accession 8 countries (A8). The increase of Black immigrants, on the other hand, is mostly due, in addition to students and economic workers, to asylum seekers. As a signatory of the 1951 United Nations Convention and following the 1967 protocol, Britain is under the obligation to accept those who seek protection and refuge due to natural disasters, political conflicts or persecution in their homelands. Black asylum seekers have come from different parts of Africa, such as Somalia, Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Uganda. The number, the period and the origin of asylum seekers have been related to the different natural disaster and conflicts that have burst in different parts of world.

The increasing waves of immigration and asylum seekers have brought about public and media concern which in their turn caused the successive governments to react in order to limit as much as possible. The dilemma of the British officials was comprehensible. In the one hand, they had to respect their engagement vis a vis the European Union and the 1951

Convention, and in the other hand they had to limit the flows of immigrants that poured within the country.

The rise to power of Blair brought a new approach to immigration, that was a commitment to economic labour and greater firmness towards 'bogus' asylum seekers. Under the assumption that most of these latter were cheating on the British government, for they were more attracted by welfare and other social and housing benefits, different pieces of legislation have been introduced preventing them from the state benefits, and taking harsh and controversial measures to dissuade them from applying asylum in the UK.

Over time the black community have greatly expanded because of the already settled black people, those newly arrived and the second and third generations black people. Most of them, especially those from Caribbean background, became absorbed in the society because of interracial marriages, the children of whom identify themselves under the mixed group. Geographically, they tend to be concentrated in London inner cities where there are long established black communities. Educationally, the African people do much better than the Caribbean people who, despite great improvements, keep lagging behind the other groups the fact that have serious repercussion on their income and decreases their opportunities for work.

Recently greater action is undertaken to integrate black communities to the British society and to offer black people equal opportunities as compared to the past in respect to education, job opportunities and combating discrimination. Undoubtedly, a great deal has still to be changed and improved, nonetheless, in comparison to the first immigrants and even farther to the first slaves in Britain, extraordinary progress has been made.

Today numerous black Britons are celebrated for their great achievements in different fields such as art, sport, literature and music. They have achieved fame and success in their respective disciplines. Thanks to their positive and valuable contribution, they are certainly contributing to changing the settled negative images that white British have always had towards them and are promoting the idea that black communities may be beneficial to Britain.

General Conclusion

The present study was set out to investigate the political, economic and social condition of the black communities in the United Kingdom since the post World War period. It has given an account of early presence of black people in the country. It has attempted to analyse the origins of British racism, and British immigration policy towards coloured immigrants in the twentieth and the twenty-first century. In addition to that, it has looked at the current situation of the settled black communities, as well as to their achievements and the challenges that have still to overcome.

Black presence dates back to Roman times when Black soldiers were sent by the Roman army to the province of Britannia, some of which stayed when the Roman legions left Britain. As Paul Edwards have noticed, the ironical side of this fact is that Black communities, albeit very small, might have settled in England long before English invaders came from Europe centuries ago. However, they were not numerous; their number started to rise gradually during the sixteenth century to such a point that Queen Elizabeth I soon expressed her disapproval and ordered their deportation, yet unsuccessfully. This was in fact the first manifestation of racism towards black people in Britain, and the first attempt to repatriate them.

Significant rise of black settlement occurred during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries due to Britain's intensive involvement in the transatlantic slave trade. During that era, Britain carried thousands of slaves from the African coast to its colonies in America and the Caribbean, some of whom ended in Britain. They were transported there by traders, captains and ex-officers and used as servants in households, labourers, prostitutes, entertainers or simply as fashion accessories and status symbols used to flaunt their wealth. In fact, this was the first factor responsible for the development of black communities, especially in London, Liverpool and Bristol. They were joined by seamen and freed slaves who worked in a variety of occupations and some intermarried with white women.

Despite the great achievement that black emancipation was, actually it did not make a great change for black Britons. Life was still hard and they were constantly targeted by white racism, encouraged by the pseudo-scientific theories about black inferiority. Later on, with the outbreak of WWI and the WWII, black immigrants came from British colonies to join the arm forces. In spite of their commitment and their readiness to sacrifice their lives for their mother country, they were nonetheless not treated the same way as white soldiers. They were used as porters, worked mainly in arms industries, and had no chance of being promoted.

By the late twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century, Britain has witnessed a revival of primary immigration from different parts of the world. Black immigrants nowadays are mainly coming from African countries seeking asylum in Britain and fleeing conflicts and persecution in their home lands. This has caused the British governments to legislate once again to restrict the flows. A number of acts have been issued during the late decades targeting asylum seekers while economic immigrants were granted entry.

Nowadays, black communities constitute more than 2% of the total population. They are still facing a great number of difficulties as in all sectors of life. Although their situation has greatly improved, black British are still suffering from bad economic, educational and social conditions. The study has shown that though some have high qualifications, such as British Africans, they do not receive the same rewards as their white counterparts. As far as educational attainment is concerned, the findings have shown the black pupils, specifically British Caribbean, drag behind minority children. Consequently, they do not have the equal job opportunities which impacted on their income.

Nevertheless, the different improvements and achievements accomplished by the population in all sectors of life should not be minimized. A number of associations have been created to improve the living of British ethnic minorities. The main issues of these latter are police harassment, housing problems and employment difficulties. Their role is also to organize social manifestation such as carnivals and festival in order to celebrate African-Caribbean cultures. Recently, the labour government has done a great deal to encourage ethnic minority's in education, police and the army.

In the public life, a great number of African Caribbean people managed to achieve fame, success and above all recognition in politics, business, show business, literature and all forms of artistic expression.

Table 1.1 Ethnic Composition of the UK, 2001

<i>Ethnic group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Males per 1000 Females</i>	<i>Meanage in years</i>	
				Males	Females
<i>White</i>	54153898	92.1	944	38.2	40.9
<i>Minority ethnic groups</i>	4635296	7.9	968	28.2	28.8
<i>Mixed parentage</i>	677117	1.2	968	20.1	21.3
<i>Asian and Asian British</i>	2083759	3.5	1008	28.7	28.7
Indian	1053411	1.8	990	32.0	32.4
Pakistani	747285	1.3	1028	25.8	25.5
Bangladeshi	283063	0.5	1021	24.3	23.2
<i>Black and Black</i>	1148738	2.0	896	30.6	31.3
<i>BritishBlack Caribbean</i>	565876	1.0	864	35.4	35.8
Black African	485277	0.8	932	26.6	27.1

<i>Chinese and other</i>	97585	0.2	907	23.8	25.3
Chinese	725682	1.2	974	30.7	31.8
Other Asian	247403	0.4	929	30.7	32.2
Other ethnic groups	247664	0.4	1212	31.5	31.1
	230615	0.4	808	29.7	32.1
All ethnic groups	58789194	100.0	946	37.4	39.9

Source: David Owen, Profile of Black and Minority ethnic groups in the UK, (University of Warwick), p.2

Table 1.2 Ethnic Groups by Age (DC210EW) England and Wales

Age	Mixed/ Multiple Ethnic group: total	Mixed/ Ethnic Group: White And black Caribbean	Mixed/ Ethnic Group White And Black African	Mixed/ Multiple Ethnic Group: Other mixed	Black/ African/ Caribbean/ Black British: total	Black/ African/ Caribbean/ Ck British: African	Black/ African/ Caribbean/ Black British: Caribbean	Black/ African/&& Caribbean/ Black British: other Black	Other Ethnic Group: Total
All categories: Age	1224400	426715	165974	289984	1864890	989628	594437	280437	563696
Age 0 to4	219796	66477	36345	50142	176849	108767	29508	38574	50178
Age 5to7	104261	34272	15791	22753	98516	58527	18764	21225	26555
Age 8to9	58335	20833	8169	12331	57849	32575	12464	12810	15209
Age 10to14	141390	55325	18091	29077	145649	81626	35071	28952	35478
Age 15	26952	11200	3131	5376	29930	16740	7864	5326	6931
Age 16to17	52662	22260	5887	10476	58290	32227	15795	10218	15079
Age 18to19	50845	21949	5381	9944	57428	32768	16095	8565	16871

Age 20to24	116281	46088	12679	25632	139893	80115	40082	19696	51121
Age25to 29	98861	33214	12070	27187	146941	87133	38519	21289	64297
Age 30to34	79486	23292	11439	23656	158230	102496	36504	19257	65207
Age 35to39	63413	19471	9432	17823	153117	96330	38806	17981	54276
Age 40to44	59251	20242	8103	14965	170155	89839	56821	23495	42902
Age 45to49	50245	18145	6714	12198	159252	66305	69141	23806	33417
Age 50 to54	32391	10870	4848	8387	104540	42966	49502	12072	26013
Age 55to59	19970	5582	3074	5754	57825	23183	29408	5234	19885
Age 60to64	14886	4352	1737	4513	34876	14033	17645	3198	14365
Age 65to69	11574	3625	1283	3580	32032	9348	19947	2737	9331
Age 70to74	8782	3329	762	2438	35590	7870	25085	2635	6800
Age 78to79	6816	2741	478	1772	26074	4091	20060	1923	4687
Age 80to84	4578	1932	341	1133	14236	1740	11577	919	3045
Age 85to and over	3625	1516	210	847	7618	926	6167	525	2049

Source: Adapted from NOMIS Data about ethnic Groups by Sex and Age (DC210EW) England and Wales, 2011.

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