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THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS

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

VOL 1

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Doctor of Philosophy

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October 1987

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## ABSTRACT

This research examines the relationship between 'race' and class in Britain. This is achieved by considering how these two concepts articulate in the overall structuring of class relationships in a society which is typified by the incorporation of black labour into a majority white society. This relationship is examined through an investigation of those black workers who occupy a position in the objectively defined middle class.

The basic theme underlying this research is that 'race', in the form of structural racism, plays a significant role at two levels. Firstly, it serves to structure the class position of black labour in Britain. Secondly, it serves to determine the type of race, class and political consciousness generated by black labour.

The study was carried out in the London area. Occupation was used as an indicator of 'objective' class position when selecting respondents to be included in the two survey populations required for the research. A 'network' approach was used to actually locate the respondents. In-depth interviews were carried out with all the respondents.

The study concludes that the concepts of 'race' and class are not independent of each other in the overall structuring of class relationships between black and white labour. It is argued that the inter-relationship identified between these two concepts serves to highlight the fact that the structural position of black labour, the type of consciousness generated and the type of decisions taken by those who took part in the research are to a large extent a result of the structural constraints deriving from the effects of structural racism in Britain.

### Acknowledgements

Many people have provided support for this study. It would not be possible to name them all individually, but their help is nonetheless appreciated and acknowledged. In particular I should like to thank Dr Mark Johnson, my research supervisor at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations, Warwick University for not only his guidance, comments and valuable criticisms but also for his support and encouragement throughout the research. I would also like to thank Dr Robin Ward, now of the Trent Polytechnic but formerly at Aston University, for his comments on my drafts which provided an invaluable perspective.

I also owe a debt to the rest of the staff at the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations and the postgraduate research students. The former for providing a critical yet constructive and stimulating atmosphere for work and advice on many issues. The latter for sitting with me on many occasions to have long discussions about my work, particularly in its earlier stages.

Deep appreciation is also extended to all those people who in allowing me to interview them gave up their time and on many occasions offered me the hospitality of their homes. It is not possible to name them all individually but I would in particular like to thank Mr Willis Wilkey. I am also grateful to Mrs Dorothy Allen who has worked so hard in typing the text.

Finally, I would like to say a special thank you to my mother and father (Lezline and Clive) and my aunties (Nashie and Lena) for putting up with me when I was writing up the dissertation at home.

MEMORANDUM

I declare that this dissertation is based on my own independent work and that it is the result of my own research except where acknowledged in the text.

S J Daye

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CHAPTER ONE

WHY LOOK AT MIDDLE CLASS AFRO-CARIBBEANS?

## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of 'race' has forced itself into the forefront of debate concerning the social structure of western societies and has come to be regarded by some (Hall 1978, Rex 1979) as a structuring factor as important as the traditional elements of class, ownership or interest groups. Most of the debate has tended to focus upon the position of Black workers as a proletariat and as such tends to assume the homogeneity of the structural location of Black workers in Britain. However, from the political/policy side of the debate there has been an interest in the possibility that certain sections of the Black population will adopt a leadership role. The aim of this research is to consider the intersection of these issues.

## 1.2 THE RACE CLASS DEBATE

Until relatively recently the theoretical debate concerning class theory regarded 'race' and the 'racial dimension' of stratification as exogenous to the development of mainstream social theory (Lockwood 1970, Blauner 1972, Parkin 1979). Blauner (1972) argues that the most significant assumption held by the pioneers of European social theory (Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Toennies, and Simmel) was the notion that as industrial societies develop and mature, race and ethnicity become increasingly irrelevant as principles of group formation, collective identity, and political action emerge:

Rather than race, ethnicity, and nationality, the characteristic features of modern industrial societies were the centrality of classes and social stratification (Marx, Weber), the growth and ubiquity of large-scale bureaucratic organizations (Weber, Robert Michels), the trend toward occupational and professional specialization (Durkheim), and the dominance of the metropolis and its distinctive patterns and problems over less urban areas and concerns (Simmel, Toennies, and Durkheim). (Blauner 1972:4)

Blauner suggests that, diverse as these theories were, the central intellectual priority for each was that of interpreting the new bourgeois industrial order which had replaced a more traditional feudal society. Consequently:

In analyzing the modern world and the social forces that gave rise to it, they devoted relatively scant attention to ethnic and racial division and conflict. They saw such social bonds as essentially parochial survivals from preindustrial societies, and fundamentally opposed to the logic of modernity. (Blauner 1972:3)

This, he argues, is strikingly at odds with contemporary realities, not only in the United States but in the modern world as a whole. He thus concludes that:

With little room for ethnic and racial phenomena in the macroscopic models of social structure and process, the field was isolated from general sociological theory and particularly from those leading conceptual themes that might have provided coherence and useful lines of inquiry: stratification, culture, community. (Blauner 1972:5)

As previously stated 'race' as a relevant 'factor' had been excluded from the formulation of general theories of social inequality and it is only relatively recently that social theory has begun to broaden its conceptual parameters and we begin to see the development of an awareness that there can be no simple separation of 'race' and class. Each (race and class) are different aspects of the same power structure of dominance and subordination which serve to influence the economic, political and social dimensions of individual existence. With this emerging 'awareness' of the complex interlocking movement which characterises the relationship between race and class in advanced capitalist societies, various debates have arisen concerning whether theories of 'racial stratification' are reducible to more general theories of class structure (Gorz 1970, Castles and Kosack 1973, Allen and Smith 1974, Hall et al 1978, Miles and Phizacklea 1980, Miles 1982). In the latter third of the following chapter an attempt is made to examine some of the approaches that have been developed by those theorists who have focussed attention upon those western

capitalist societies in which they believe 'race' does or does not represent a salient feature in the structural location of Black migrant workers.

Although at this stage no attempt is made to provide a precise working definition of either the concept of race or that of class (this will be broached in subsequent chapters) an attempt is made to outline in broad terms the basis of the argument to be developed.

As some have argued, Britain's historical base is rooted in its colonial past in which a variety of forms of colonial social structure came into being. This social structure was characterised by specific types of relationship between social groups on the basis of skin colour (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). Zubaida (1970) argues that the historical legacy of colonialism had a part to play in the shaping of what he terms 'relationships' between Black minorities and White majorities in Europe and the United States in the present day.

Phases in the development of Western Capitalism gave rise to different types of relationship with the colonial peoples: early conquest and trading relationships accompanied and closely followed enslavement and extensive use of slave labour in production of raw materials. British colonial administration and military presence in many areas of the colonial world for over a century and finally with the need for labour after the second world war for industrial expansion in Britain the importation of labour from ex-colonial territories. (Zubaida 1970)

It is from this historical backdrop that structural ambiguities for class formation involving Black minorities can be said to have derived. However, with specific reference to Britain (a society which has been largely ethnically and culturally homogeneous) it can be argued that the arrival of former Black colonials, as migrant workers, in the post second world war period did not represent a new departure in terms of stratification for, although class had been the salient mode of division, the notion of 'race' already had a place in the ideological, cultural, social and economic underpinnings of British society (Rich 1986). As Hall et al (1978) point out:

The period of commercial colonial exploitation, followed by the period of military and economic imperialism, served an important function in securing Britain's past and present economic position. It also imprinted the inscription of racial supremacy across the surface of English social life, within and outside the sphere of production and the expropriation of surplus value. The debate as to whether the British working class as a whole, or, if not, then at least an 'aristocracy of labour' benefitted economically out of 'high imperialism' continues. It is certainly the case that colonialism, as well as establishing internal relations of opposition and competition within the British working class, also set in motion relations of opposition between the British metropolitan working class as a whole and the colonial work-forces. (Hall et al 1978:345)

Thus to summarise 'race' as a factor had already been of significance within the social structure of empire in that it served to reinforce the class position of the indigenous population of Britain.

the imperial period provided the dominant classes with one of the most effective and penetrating ideological weapons with which, in the divisive period of class conflict leading up to the first world war, they sought to extend their hegemony over an increasingly strong, united and confident proletariat especially through the ideologies of popular imperialism and race superiority. (Hall et al 1976:345)

Thus even in the period when Britain was ethnically homogeneous it can be said that class and the notion of 'race' interacted to promote the stability of the class system as a whole.

The position of Black (Afro-Caribbean) workers in present day Britain is that of a racialised minority group and as such they can be said to represent a population whose physical attributes have been given meaning on the basis of differentness. This notion of differentness has gained expression at a practical/empirical level through, as Sivanandan states:

the differential power exercised by some groups over others by virtue of, and on the basis of the differences which in turn engender the belief that such differences are material. (1981:163)



Bearing this in mind one becomes attuned to the problematic involved in attempting to analyse the position of Black labour in the class structure of a society which is majority White, in addition to using class theories which were borne out of notions of ethnically and culturally homogeneous societies. One has to acknowledge the possible limitations of employing a 'pure class model' to analyse the position of Black labour in a majority White society. 'Race' adds another dimension to the picture and one cannot ignore its capacity to determine the class position of Black labour in Britain. The critical link that exists between race and class, however, is that race has what one might term 'class effects', which may result in some observers interpreting the situation which Black labour finds itself in as a class situation - thus overlooking the complexity of the articulation between class and race as it relates to the position of Black labour, (for example, confusing the position of very poor Whites with the inequalities and discriminations that Blacks face, and as such failing to acknowledge the contrasting ways in which each have been incorporated into the class structure). 'Race' can be said to be related to but at the same time separate from class. Within this framework then it will be argued that although 'race' is not a scientifically valid category it represents an ideological construct which has gained expression at an empirical level and served to determine the 'class position' of Black labour in Britain.

### 1.3 AIM OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research then will be to consider the relationship between 'race' and class in terms of how these two concepts articulate in the overall structuring of class relationships in a situation which involves the incorporation of a Black minority into a homogeneous White society. This relationship will be examined via an investigation of those Afro-Caribbeans in Britain objectively defined as middle class in terms of their structural

position within the British labour market. It should be stressed, however, that this research is not a study of mobility and social class per se, for to do a satisfactory study of social mobility would require a longer time period than less than one generation (1950 - 1980) and a larger base number of respondents, which would probably have to be constructed from a sampling frame that does not as yet exist. Instead it represents an investigation of the issue of 'race' and its impact upon Black actors who occupy positions in the objectively defined middle class. In this way the research attempts to follow on the analysis of other writers investigating the class position of Black migrant labour.

#### 1.4 WHY LOOK AT MIDDLE CLASS AFRO-CARIBBEANS

The subordinate position of Black (the word Black is used interchangeably in this context to refer to those migrant workers and their children who are of Afro-Caribbean origin or parentage) labour in comparison to the indigenous White population, particularly within the labour market has been documented both theoretically (Castles and Kosack 1973, Hall et al 1978, Green 1979, Morgan 1981) and empirically (Smith 1976, Braham, Pearn and Rhodes 1981, Brown 1984). This research does not attempt to refute the well documented conclusions of this body of work that the majority of Black labour (both migrant and British born) is only grasping at the bottom of the occupational ladder - that is if they have any employment at all. If one looks at the employment of Black labour since the 1950s one sees that they were channelled and contained into the least favourable segments of the economy and movement out of these segments of the economy has been retarded by structural racism. (The term/concept structural racism, and the various aspects of the incorporation of Black labour into the British labour market since the post-war period will be examined in more detail in chapters three and four respectively.) Set within this context, interest in the position of middle

class Afro-Caribbeans may be seen firstly as flying in the face of more pressing theoretical and indeed political issues concerning the economic, political and social inequalities, which continue to mark out the position of Black labour in Britain. Secondly, it can be argued that the issue of class differentiation is secondary to a grouping whose structural position and treatment are to a large extent determined by their 'racial membership' (ie their Blackness) and who essentially constitute a single group - an underclass. (R Staples 1976) Objections such as these are valid, and are acknowledged here. However it is argued here that, due to the lack of attention directed towards the existence of what one might tentatively call a Black 'grouping' who occupy a middle class position, judged in terms of occupational position, sufficient attention is not given to the heterogeneity of circumstances amongst Black labour and more importantly the diverse effects of structural racism as it operates to determine the position of Black labour in both the labour market and the British class structure.

#### 1.4.1 What has been written about middle class Afro-Caribbeans in Britain?

Most of what has been written about the unfamiliar territory of middle class Black people in Britain can be divided into two groups. Firstly, there are small scale empirical studies which are concerned with examining specific areas where a sizeable Afro-Caribbean 'community' has developed, for example Pryce's (1979) study of Afro-Caribbean life styles in Bristol, (principally those of Jamaican migrants and their children). Foner's 1979 study of Jamaicans in Brixton or Pearson's (1981) study.

The work carried out by these writers was not aimed specifically at providing a detailed appraisal of middle class Afro-Caribbeans, but rather reference was made to them in passing, in the form of a few paragraphs or so.

Within these studies members of the group under study were ascribed middle class status according to their occupation. The occupational groups identified include professionals, managers and white-collar workers. Pryce's description of what he calls 'mainliners' is typical:

Occupationally, mainliners are distinguished from other West Indians by the typically white-collar or official nature of their jobs ... mainliners have been employed as youth workers, community relations officers, race relations officers, health visitors and child care officers ... . The mainliner group comprises mostly literate, middle aged, well-established West Indian residents, as well as some younger people ... who because of their better education as students, nurses, teachers, etc, are constantly sought out by social workers and other mainliners to assist in local community activities. Together these people form a very small but self-conscious and elitist sub-group in the community. (Pryce 1979:219)

Hill (1970) on the other hand does not define middle class Black people in terms of occupation or education but rather in terms of consumption patterns.

The major determinants here are home ownership and possibly the additional ownership of other house property, the possession of a car and the wearing of smart European clothes. (Hill 1970:50)

One of the main themes to emerge from Pryce's, Pearson's and Foner's 'observation' of middle class Afro-Caribbeans is the argument that they tend to occupy a marginal position vis-a-vis the rest of the Black 'community' and the indigenous White population. They suggest that, in the main, the allegiance of middle class Afro-Caribbeans is usually to the English lower middle class, and as such they seek to anglicise themselves in an attempt to become an undifferentiated part of the White middle class. This argument is exemplified in comments made by Pryce (1979) when he states:

Mainliners tend to view themselves as individuals who are free from the 'immigrant problem'. This, together with the mainstream character of their jobs, causes them to hold different values and to pursue ideals which are essentially middle class and assimilationist. All these life-style characteristics have the effect of cutting off the elitist mainliner group from the mass of the people they are supposed to represent". (1979:220)

Coupled with the argument concerning the marginal position of middle class Afro-Caribbians they also suggest that, as a result of attempting to accommodate themselves to the desires of the White middle class they wish to emulate, middle class Blacks suffer a form of status inconsistency firstly because they do not receive deference from lower status/working class Afro-Caribbians or acknowledgement of their position by middle class Whites.

In most cases, local Whites would not accept any West Indian as middle class because of his colour. Other West Indians might also refuse to acknowledge the higher class position of a fellow migrant because transfer to Britain is often seen as altering the class distinctions that were used in the Caribbean. (Pearson 1981:159)

The second approach within the available literature on middle class Blacks focuses upon the role of middle class Blacks in terms of politics and policy in Britain. (Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Ratcliffe 1981, Scarman 1982, Sivanandan 1982, 1985, Howe 1985)

The arguments developed by these writers (who occupy varying political and academic standpoints) fall within three broad inter-connected categories and share similarities with the American literature on Black Middle Class. (Frazier 1958, Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, Blauner 1972, Marable 1983, Pickney 1984) Firstly there is the argument which puts forward the view that middle class Blacks are 'sell-outs', token Blacks', 'compradors', 'Uncle Toms', 'careerists' or Black radicals who have been creamed off into 'fat salaried positions' to keep them quiet. These terms are generally reserved for those Black workers who occupy positions within the 'race relations industry' and these Black people tend to be used as the most obvious source of common knowledge about middle class Blacks. (Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Pryce 1979, Ratcliffe 1981, Sivanandan 1982, 1985) These writers suggest that the race relations industry, which employs many hundreds of workers, has within its fold a considerable number of well paid Black collaborators who are conscious

of the fact that the apparatus within which they work is of little use to their own community.

There have been protestations that the (race relations) Board has failed. Failed for the masses of Blacks yes. But it has succeeded in what the state meant to do: to justify the ways of the state to local and sectional interests and to create, in the process, a class of collaborators who would in time justify the ways of the state to the Blacks. (Sivanandan 1982:118)

This line of argument can be said to stem from the term co-optation, a term employed by American theorists (Frazier 1958, Blauner 1972, Staples 1976, Marable 1983) (if not using the exact term, the arguments presented are similar). Staples (1976) states that co-optation is a process similar to that of assimilation, as it represents:

a procedure whereby the ruling class non-violently brings into its fold and thus controls, an entire minority group or individual members of that group who have challenged the dominance of the majority ... . Usually the co-opted Blacks are the more competent members who have demonstrated leadership qualities. (1976:254)

Staples does however go on to suggest that this process of co-optation is distinguishable from assimilation precisely because it is a more deliberate strategy of the ruling elites and is not in essence as pervasive as structural assimilation since "it may involve only working within the dominant institutions and accepting their values". (1976:254) The situation in Britain is not directly comparable to that of the United States - given their history of civil rights movements, 'ghetto rebellions' and the resultant rights 'won' in political struggle, such as "civil rights legislation, positive discrimination and affirmative employment". (Rex and Tomlinson 1979:58). Similar debates have emerged within the British context concerning those Blacks located within the race relations industry. It is argued that a layer of potential Afro-Caribbean leaders has been creamed off into salaried positions (Rex and Tomlinson 1979) following events such as the dissolution of C A R D (Campaign Against Racial Discrimination) in the late 1960s and more

recently through recruitment into the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) and associated bodies (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). These potential leaders were seen to be more concerned with their career prospects than with attempting to influence the various 'race' bodies to ameliorate the position of Blacks in Britain (Sivanandan 1982). In this sense the role of the 'comprador' is seen to be effective as Ashcroft; (1983) points out, various political and academic observers felt that:

it was the deliberate intention of those who initiated the race relations industry to create a Black middle class who accepted the status quo, and who would attempt (not necessarily effectively) to justify the status quo to the masses in the Black "communities". (Ashcroft 1983:1)

The role which middle class Blacks/the Black bourgeoisie are seen to adopt is thus one of a buffer between the state and the remainder of Britain's Black population. In this way the state, through the establishment of 'race bodies' such as the Race Relations Board and latterly the Commission for Racial Equality, is seen to be able to divide and weaken Black political movements and as such prevent them from developing their full revolutionary potential. As Baran and Sweezy (1966) state when looking at the process of tokenism (a concept which runs parallel to that of co-optation) in relation to the position of the Black American middle class during the civil rights era:

The Black bourgeoisie is the decisive element in the Negro community. It contains the intellectual and political elite, the people with education and leadership ability and experience. It already had a material stake in the existing social order, but this loyalty is doubtful because of the special disabilities imposed upon it solely because of its colour. If this loyalty can be made secure, the potential revolutionising of the Black protest movement can be forestalled and the world can be given palpable evidence - through the placing of loyal Blacks in prominent positions. (1966:266-267)

Baran and Sweezy go on to argue that the strategy of tokenism thus requires that the Black bourgeoisie are kept dependent on favours and financial support from the White oligarchy (funding various associations and bodies they are involved in), which serves to minimise any potential threat coming from that

particular quarter. Similar observations have been made of the British context:

No organisation could effectively deal with immigrant problems if its salary came from, and its loyalty belonged to, the Government ... the process whereby money is set aside for community self-help only makes matters worse. Fast talking operators become skilled at knowing how to apply for the money and a further stratum of the immigrant community finds itself effectively bribed into silence. (Rex and Tomlinson 1979:58, see also Sivanandan 1982).

The intention here is not to disagree with the above arguments which serve to highlight the role of middle-class Blacks vis-a-vis the various processes and rationalizations which typify the development of the race relations industry in Britain, and the degradation of Black political struggle. However, it is important to point out that the role of 'collaborator' or comprador has not been demonstrated empirically in that the arguments put forward present implicit and or explicit conclusions which may not necessarily be substantiated by empirical research - for example, pointing out the various potential political leaders who were incorporated into the race relations industry to undermine Black political struggle. This type of evidence is provided by Manning Marable (1983) for the American content when he successfully demonstrates the rise of what he calls Black neoconservatism, with its core of followers headed by the Black economist Thomas Sowell. Secondly, most of what is known about middle-class Blacks within the race relations industry is not necessarily representative of all middle-class Blacks in Britain and as such represents a dangerous basis for generalization. Middle-class Blacks within the race relations industry are taken as typical of middle-class Blacks in general and sweeping statements made about them may serve to drive middle-class Blacks who occupy other professions which may be objectively defined as middle-class (such as accountants, solicitors, nursing officers, teachers) underground as they become sensitive to these types of stereotypes. As such they may remain an anonymous 'grouping' and all that will be said to be known about them will be assumed rather than factual.



The second category of argument concerning the 'role' of middle-class Blacks is closely linked to the preceding one and suggests that the existence of a Black middle-class is regarded by the White power structure as a mechanism which will serve to divide Black struggle on the basis of class divisions (ie, Black professionals, managers and entrepreneurs are separated from the mass of Black workers). (C.C.C.S 1982, Sivanandan 1982). It is thus argued that class division within the Black population serves to create and maintain Black factionalism along class lines and as such encourage:

disunity in a group that is systematically exploited by the ... ruling class. Individuals who subjectively set themselves apart from other Blacks because of a belief that they have antagonistic class interests weakens the Black community's ability to forge a group identity to combat the exploitation to which all Blacks are subjected. (Staples 1976:201)

Evidence of support for the creation of a Black middle-class is evident in the comments made by the Conservative government in 1982 following the recommendations of the Scarman Inquiry (Scarman 1982:167-168) in its attempts to put into action projects which would not only create a small but prosperous Black middle-class, to secure future social stability, but also to create 'moderate leaders' for the Black community. As Sir George Young (who was accorded special ministerial responsibility for all matters concerning race relations at the Department of the Environment at the time) stated:

We've got to back the good 'guys' the sensible moderate, responsible leaders of the ethnic groups ... . If they are seen to deliver, to get financial support from central government for urban projects then it reinforces their standing and credibility in the community. If they don't deliver people will turn to the militants. (Sunday Times 10.10.1982)

Here the aim of creating a Black middle-class can be argued to be not only an attempt to foster class divisions within the Black population but also an attempt to deny the legitimacy of those Blacks (whom the government label 'militants') who attempt to engender Black consciousness and organisation.

The third category of argument refers to the role of middle class Blacks as that of a 'self interest group' (Howe 1985, Sivanandan 1985). The main focus of this argument revolves around the view that the Black bourgeoisie appropriate the Black struggle in order to further their own positions:

It was only when there was a white blockage in the system, preventing them from going up further, that the ethnics turned 'Black' and pulled out all their oppressed 'Black' history to beat the Whites with. Hence the demand for Black Sections in the Labour Party; the rise and fall of the Black Media Workers' Association (BMWA) (the fall coming after the White media made room for them in ethnic slots - since when, they have gone back to being Afro-Caribbeans and Asians respectively); and the emergence of a Black trade union aristocracy, the Black Trade Union Solidarity Movement (BTUSM). None of these give a fart for ordinary Black people, but use them and their struggles as cynically as any other bourgeoisie class or sub-class. (Sivanandan 1985:15)

A similar argument is put forward by Darcus Howe (1985) and is exemplified in his assessment of the quest for Black sections in the Labour Party. Howe argues that the quest for Black sections in the Labour party is really about the quest of the Black, professional middle class for power-sharing with its White counterpart:

I do take objection, though, when Black sections' activists present their case otherwise. They need not, for their cause is a just one. For instance, they claim that they are organised to represent 'the Black masses', when in fact all they can do is to represent themselves and their aspirations ... . Once they remain shut out from the centres of power, they will continue to confuse, deform and corrupt the issues facing the Black working classes with their own preoccupations. (Howe 1985:15-16)

#### 1.4:2 Positive factors for the Study of Middle-Class Blacks

From the brief resumé of the available literature on middle-class Blacks in Britain provided in the preceding section, the picture emerges of a group who, in striving to accommodate themselves to the wishes of the White middle class, have managed to work their way into a position where they are seen to occupy

the role of self-interest group and comprador who will collaborate with the White power structure in order to achieve their own ends. It will be argued here that it is possible that this composite picture of middle-class Blacks in Britain (formulated on the basis of arguments about Black workers in the race relations industry and high profile Blacks such as Black Sections' Activists, Black Media Workers' Association) is one which is applicable to only a section of those Black workers who occupy 'middle class occupations' and is not necessarily applicable to all of them. As Staples (1976) points out when assessing the functions of class divisions amongst Black Americans:

These colonial elites constitute a small minority of the Black population and should not be confused with most Blacks regarded as middle class. Proctor (1971) puts it quite well in his statement that 'the gap that is alleged to exist between the Black masses and the bourgeoisie is largely a myth and a lazy description of a complicated phenomenon'. Most of the Black middle class, he notes, are first generation arrivals from city slums and only a bachelor's degree away from squalor and welfare. Very few Black families are deeply entrenched in the middle class and in many cases the wife's employment is the only thing that keeps them out of poverty." (R Staples 1976:202)

Although the boundaries of this research do not extend to the investigation of on the one hand the strategies adopted by the white power structure in order to artificially create and manipulate a section of the Black population in order to subvert Black political organisation, or on the other hand to provide evidence of what has been called middle-class Black collaborators, an attempt will be made to examine the argument that upwardly mobile Black workers are not necessarily lost to their original group (the mass of Black workers), as 'race' may in terms of consciousness and political action remain an extrinsic point of reference for them.

Middle class Blacks occupy a somewhat contradictory position within the social division of labour, for unlike the vast majority of their Black counterparts (see Brown (1984), Johnson and Cross (1985) for recent figures on the proportion of the Afro-Caribbean working population who occupy manual-work

categories compared to the 'professional, employer manager category) they have managed to avoid being channelled and kept in the least favourable segments of the economy. What implications does their structural location hold for the overall position of Black workers in British society, and what implications does their existence hold for social theory, particularly the thorny area of race and class in Western capitalist societies? To evaluate the significance of middle class Blacks firstly in terms of a theory of race and class presents us with the task of having to examine the kind of relationship that exists between their objective structural location (ie their position in the social division of labour) and the type of consciousness produced by the actors who occupy those positions.

If one focuses on how middle class Black workers experience and perceive their situation, and how their perceptions may or may not influence the way in which they respond to constraints faced in Britain (particularly within the labour market) it may be possible to see whether their perceptions are translated into race or class action. The advantage of such an approach is related to the fact that it is more than feasible that subjective feelings of 'racial' identification may be a more powerful determinant of action than is the objective assessment of social class. (Dillingham 1981). For the actor's perceived interests at the level of the political or economic may prove to be at odds with his/her structural location. In other words class determination can be said to be more complex than simply locating the actor's position in the social division of labour, in that the actor's actions and perceived interests may represent an additional factor which runs counter to his/her position at the level of the economic. In this way his/her perceptions of the structure of society may be as significant as the objective reality. In the light of this argument, allowing middle class Blacks to speak of their perceptions and how they interpret their situation may illustrate the possible cleavages that exist between their perception of the situation and that

perceived to be the case by social theorists. Secondly, in focusing upon the area of barriers to occupational achievement, it is possible that an analysis of the position of middle class Blacks may lead to a more accurate understanding of those constraints that have forced the majority of Blacks into an underclass position.

### 1.5 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

For this research it was decided that there would not be any comparative analysis between middle class Afro-Caribbeans and middle class Asians, or between middle class Afro-Caribbeans and middle class Whites. However, a few paragraphs have been set aside in order to briefly outline issues specific to both groups (the Asian and White middle class) as they relate to this research and to justify the approach adopted.

#### 1.5:1 The Asian Middle Class

Evidence from various studies and surveys reveals that there is a relatively high proportion of Indian and African Asian workers who occupy professional, administrative, white collar and petite bourgeoisie positions in Britain (Allen and Smith 1974, Smith 1976, Nowikowski and Ward 1979, Brown 1984). It is argued that this is significant not only because their numbers in these positions are weightier in comparison to those of other Black migrants and British born Black workers (namely Afro-Caribbean workers) but also in terms of their potential development (Allen and Smith 1974). The evidence concerning the development of an Asian middle class is significant in the context of this research for it has been argued in preceding paragraphs that the effects of 'race' and racism have served to confine the majority of Black labour to the lower reaches of the labour market. Yet, as stated, various surveys and studies reveal that there is a significant proportion of Asians

who occupy professional, administrative and white collar positions in the labour market, as well as setting up businesses to supply goods and services. In addition there is a proportion of the Asian petite bourgeoisie who have

built up overtime large sums of capital through international trading and/or multiple shop/restaurant ownership and probably now constitute a fraction of the capitalist class proper in Britain. (Miles and Phizacklea 1984:162)

In the light of this evidence one could ask 'is it still plausible to argue that 'race' determines class position, for if it does, it should also affect other ethnic minorities. It will be argued here that the presence of an Asian middle class does not negate the argument presented. This is based on four factors. First of all, if one takes a closer look at the structure of Asian migration in broad terms, it is evident that the effects of immigration laws passed in the 1960s did much to structure not only the type of Asian migrant labour arriving in Britain, in comparison to that of migration from the Caribbean a decade or so earlier, but also the class composition of Britain's present Black (Afro-Caribbean and Asian) population.

When migrant labour from the Caribbean began arriving in Britain in the post world war two period there was a great demand for labour (particularly unskilled manual labour) to fill those gaps in the labour market created not only by the effects of war which resulted in the loss of its active population (either killed or incapacitated) but also by the upward movement of a significant proportion of the indigenous work-force, as a result of the period of economic growth following the war. (Castles and Kosack 1973, Allen and Smith 1974 Green 1979) As argued in chapter four, the large scale movement of semi-skilled and unskilled labour from the Caribbean during the 1950s to early 1960s was never matched or followed by a similar inflow of middle class migrants (Thomas-Hope 1982). A decade or so later a significant movement of middle class workers did occur with migration of this type of worker from the

Caribbean to North America. (Palmer 1974, De Freitas 1981, Boodhoo and Baksh 1982, Arnaud et al 1983, Foner 1983)

During the 1960s Britain consciously began to reduce the inward flow of Black migrant labour with a sequence of immigration legislation which was in effect biased towards the entry of highly skilled and professional labour (Rees 1982). This process of limitation and structuring of incoming New Commonwealth migrant labour coincided with the rise in the inward movement of labour from the Indian Sub-continent. Between the middle of 1962 and the end of 1964 vouchers issued to prospective migrants were heavily weighted towards Indians and Pakistanis who were awarded sixty-two per cent of available vouchers as against only twelve per cent for migrants from the Caribbean (Smith 1981). With regard to the issue of 'B' vouchers (which covered occupations such as doctors, dentists, trained nurses, qualified teachers and graduates in science and technology who did not have a specific job to come to) Rose et al (1969) point out that in the five and a half years up to the end of 1967, only five hundred and twenty of these vouchers, or less than an average of one hundred a year in the whole period, were made available to the West Indies. In the light of the very small proportion of 'B' vouchers allocated to the West Indies it is significant that even so there was still no rush to take the available vouchers for skilled or professional workers to come to Britain; instead they chose to migrate to the United States and Canada who had opened their doors to this type of labour (Smith 1981). The significance of this in terms of the composition of Britain's present Asian middle class lies in the fact that many of these workers came to Britain as middle class migrants and were able to find ready employment, not because the British labour market was open to them and free of racism, but because the skills they possessed as doctors, dentists, teachers, etc were much needed at the time (as qualified British labour was leaving for North America, drawn by the prospect of higher wages).

Even so, and this leads on to the second factor, although Asians may occupy professional occupations, their position within these professions tends to be different from that of their white counterparts (Allen and Smith 1974). Their prospects for promotion and their ability to penetrate the decision making levels of organisations are limited. As Allen and Smith state:

one survey showed a wide discrepancy at the age of thirty between white indigenous holders of bachelor degrees or diplomas in business studies and 'foreigners' (mostly Indians) with postgraduate qualifications in commerce and economics. The Indians on average earned less than half the income of the indigenous man. Similarly, a comparison of those qualified in chemistry ... showed the indigenous earnings to be one third higher. The discrepancies appeared to rise with age and experience (Sunday Times 1968). (Allen and Smith 1974:44).

The 1984 Policy Studies Institute report also reveals that Asians with 'A' level and higher standard qualifications had lower earnings than equivalently qualified White workers. Examples such as these can be said to illustrate the possibility that 'race' has a significant effect on the position of, and the economic rewards received by Black labour in the British labour market, regardless of ethnic origin.

Thirdly, although relatively recent reports such as that produced by the Swann Committee in 1985, indicate that Asian children are over-achieving in the British education system in comparison to their Afro-Caribbean and White counterparts, are they in fact able to translate their academic achievement into being able to gain access to professional jobs/occupations? The study carried out by Ballard and Holden (1975) which examined discrimination against Black workers at the upper end of the job market (using a survey of applications for jobs made by a sample of Black (Asian) final-year degree level students and comparing their success in getting jobs with that of a matched White sample), concluded that they doubted

whether educational success alone could be a justification for optimism. While the educational system may be relatively open for coloured students, the real difficulties begin when they compete for



highly paid, high status jobs: we knew several such graduates who had been forced to take semi-skilled jobs. (1975:133)

Similar evidence of discrimination against Black workers for jobs at the upper end of the labour market is presented by Firth (1981) when looking at discrimination in the British job market for accountants and financial executives and Jowell and Prescott-Clarke (1970) and Smith (1976) when looking at the employment of white collar workers. Even if 'second generation' British born Asians gain access to professional or white collar occupations they may still experience some form of occupational ceiling as outlined in factor two.

Fourthly, in turning to look at the position of Asian businesses vis-a-vis that of Afro-Caribbean business, there is room to place emphasis on the argument that differential treatment on the part of bank managers and other financial institutions in favour of Asian entrepreneurs (Wilson 1983, Brooks 1983, Ward and Reeves 1980, Kazuka 1980) (see chapter six, part two for discussion), has a significant affect upon the development of an Afro-Caribbean business sector. The significance of this differential 'treatment' is related to the fact that it emphasises the possibility that mechanisms of racism operating within various structures such as banking and financial institutions operate in such a way that it highlights the diverse effects of 'race' in determining the class position of Black minorities.

#### 1.5:2 White Norms, Black Deviations

In the early stages of the formulation of the research strategy it was suggested that we should include into the survey population a matched White survey population. However it is argued here that this approach would not have been productive for the research intended for two major reasons. Firstly, no substantive research has been done on middle class Black people and as such the research was seen partly as an attempt to obtain a level of

understanding of a group about which little is known but a lot assumed. It is important that an attempt is made to try and understand the norms, values and perceptions of middle class Blacks because to a certain extent they can be said to determine some of the actions and choices they make, particularly in the realm of employment. It is also important to understand how middle class Blacks themselves perceive their situation in Britain: are they a self oriented grouping or are they concerned with the internal development of the Black 'communities'. Are they politically motivated in terms of articulating the Black communities' interests as potential leaders or are they motivated in terms of furthering their middle class class interests?

Secondly, various studies which have set out to analyse the position of ethnic minorities within the British class structure have typically taken the form of comparisons of the indigenous population with the migrant population, and in the majority of instances the indigenous social construction of reality is seen as the dominant one, constituting the institutional and cultural context within which the migrant labour must manoeuvre (Johnson, Ward and Jenkins 1982). However as some have pointed out

such studies do also carry the implication that to some extent, in terms of aspirations and goals the definition of the situation embraced by ethnic minorities may be treated as the same or as similar to that of the White natives. (Johnson, Ward and Jenkins 1982:14)

This approach is somewhat problematic in that it overlooks the possibility that Black migrant labour has a unique relationship to the economic, social and political levels of existence in the British context, which can be said to be shaped to a certain extent by the constraints of racial discrimination.

By employing the use of a matched White sample when attempting to understand the values, norms and perceptions held by middle class Blacks one would inevitably run the risk of measuring the middle class Blacks against the

yardstick of the cultural patterns, social norms and values held in middle class White culture. It is rare that such comparisons do not eventually lead into a framework in which if middle class Blacks still hold the normative values, behavioural patterns etc which are particular to their culture - this would be tantamount to confirming that they had not truly become middle class. The perfect situation would be one in which, as Staples (1976) points out, both Black and White cultures could be seen as different without being categorized into inferior or superior divisions; however this is far from the case. If one takes the somewhat crude example of research into the under-achievement of Afro-Caribbean children in British schools, comparisons are often made between White, Asian and Afro-Caribbean children and more often than not the structure of the Afro-Caribbean family unit (ie one parent families) is cited as being deviant when compared to the structure of White and Asian families. Here we see that in seeking to account for the under-achievement of Afro-Caribbean children in schools a correlation is made between family structure and under-achievement. Consequently a negative value is attached to the home background of Afro-Caribbean children by virtue of the fact that it is not seen to mirror the structure of White and Asian families, while neglecting to observe that the patterns of those communities are themselves changing.

The question may also be asked "If the research is also looking at the possible barriers to achievement which middle class Blacks face in the labour market, why then not have a matched White survey population to see whether they face similar barriers?" Initially this seemed to be a viable proposition; however, on closer inspection one had to ask oneself "Would we be judging like with like?" How would one go about matching a fifty two year Afro-Caribbean male who began his working life in Britain as a conductor but went on to take twelve years to complete a course in architecture? Even within his own place of work those men who work at a similar level to him are in most instances fifteen years his junior. And those within his age bracket have moved up

through promotion many years before. In this instance use of a matched White survey population superficially may appear to be more 'scientifically' valid; however, this does not detract from the fact that we may not be judging like with like.

Finally the demands of establishing a large enough matched survey population of white respondents would have very much reduced the richness of the interviews obtained from the Black middle class respondents, as many of the interviews had been extended in order to highlight attitudes and perceptions and this sometimes took up to four hours. In this sense the value of being able to adopt what can loosely be termed an exploratory ethnographic approach in order to gain an understanding of a group of workers of which little is known, far outweighed the need to establish a matched white survey population so as to carry out formal comparisons.

## METHODOLOGY

### 1.5:3 Operationalizing the Concept Middle Class

The abstract definition of the middle class which Carchedi (1975) provides in his article on the economic identification of the middle class, is employed in this research. A more detailed resumé of Carchedi's thesis and analysis of the debate concerning 'the middle classes' is developed in chapter two. As such only a brief working definition is provided at this stage.

One's relationship to the means of production can be said to outline the objective conditions of class location. In crudely outlining the fundamental criteria of Marxist class categories one can assume that 'relation to the means of production' can be divided into two major categories. The first - the Capitalist class - is defined by the fact that it (a) owns the means of production (b) is able to buy the labour power of others and (c) is a non-

producer of surplus value. The second category (the working class) is defined by the fact that (a) they do not own the means of production (b) are not able to buy the labour power of others and (c) are the producer of surplus value. However, there is a third class location which in its present form came into existence at a later stage in the development of capitalism. This class is characterised by the fact that its members (a) do not own the means of production (b) do not buy the labour power of others and (c) neither do they produce surplus value - although some (Carchedi 1975) have argued that they produce surplus labour in kind. Using Carchedi's (1975) definition of middle class (this is discussed in more detail in chapter two) it is argued that this class performs collectively what under private capitalism was the function of the individual capitalist. The role of capital has now become sub-divided into fractional operations which are dispersed to agents (in this instance the agents are the members of the middle class)

As such the middle class perform the function of control and surveillance for capital in addition to bringing their specific expertise as lawyers, teachers, doctors, etc which some theorists (Noble 1979) have suggested serve in the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations. In addition to performing the global function of capital the middle class also performs the function of the collective worker (ie the working class). In this way the middle class can be seen to represent a combination of the elements which characterise the two primary classes (capitalist class and the working class) in their pure state.

Methodological difficulties arise when one attempts to operationalise the concept class using theoretical criteria such as 'the function performed'. Criteria such as this are not readily transferable into quantitative/empirical categories. However, in order to make the transference from theoretical to empirical I have chosen to use occupational groupings as an indicator of class

position/location. Those who criticize the use of occupational groupings as an indicator of class position state that

The term 'occupation' designates position within the technical division of labour, ie an occupation represents a set of activities fulfilling certain technically defined functions ... . Class, on the other hand, designates positions within the social relations of production, i.e. it designates the social relationship between actors. (Wright and Perrone 1977:35)

In the context of this research occupational grouping is not regarded merely as a set of technically defined functions in the labour market. Occupational groupings are here seen as 'mirroring' at a less abstract level of analysis the social division of labour in the concrete. For each occupational grouping can be said to be characterised by the common function performed in the social division of labour.

As such the capitalist class is characterised by those who own significant amounts of capital, and are able to employ the labour power of others firstly to produce surplus value and secondly to perform the function of control and surveillance for capital.

The Middle Class who perform both the global function of capital and the function of the collective worker include three categories of worker: firstly the executive, managerial category, who perform predominantly the global function of capital. Secondly, the Intermediate white-collar category, who perform partly the global function of capital such as supervision, and partly the function of the collective worker - performing various routinised tasks. Thirdly, the Routine white-collar category who perform predominantly the function of the collective worker by virtue of the fact that much of their work has been proletarianised/routinised. However they do not produce surplus value. All three categories of middle class share a common relation to the means of production; however, they are not a homogeneous entity due to the

various degrees of function performed; for example at one end there are those who perform the function of the authoritative representative of capital (Executive, Managerial Category of Workers) and at the 'lower' end of the middle class those who perform routinised tasks such as clerical work.

The Working Class who perform the function of the collective worker include two broad categories of worker: Firstly the skilled manual workers and secondly the unskilled manual workers. Both categories of workers produce surplus value.

The Petty Bourgeoisie such as the owners of small businesses, and own account workers, occupy an ambiguous position, in that they own capital (albeit small amounts) and in some instances they employ labour power. However, within this context this grouping have been located within the middle reaches of the middle class between categories two and three - that being the 'intermediate white-collar workers' (teachers, architects etc) and the 'routine white-collar workers' (clerical workers, copy-typists etc).

Outside the three broad categories of the working class, middle class and the capitalists are the unemployed and housewives who have not been included in this schema.

#### 1.5:4 The Survey Populations

##### (1) Occupation as an indicator of class position

Using occupation as an indicator of class position the two survey populations were selected accordingly. In this way the criteria needed to fulfil the definition 'middle class' meant that the respondents had to perform both the global function of capital and the function of the collective worker. Those respondents located in survey population One (this population includes eighty respondents - fifty three men and twenty seven women) include those who could

be located in (a) the executive, managerial category, (b) those who could be located in the upper end of the Intermediate white collar category and (c) those who could be included in the petite bourgeoisie category. As such the respondents in this survey population work in professional, managerial or administrative positions such as regional manager for a commercial company, a barrister, doctor, headmaster, senior nursing officer, chartered accountant, lecturer, and also those who own their own businesses.

Those respondents located in survey population Two (this population consists of forty respondents - sixteen men and twenty four women) includes those who could be located in (a) the middle ranges of the Intermediate white-collar category (b) the routine white-collar category and (c) the petty bourgeoisie. As such the respondents in this survey population work as teachers, nurses, sisters, secretaries, copy typists, clerks, trainee accountants and own account workers.

Survey population Two was included in the research design because it was believed that their presence would go some way towards highlighting those Black (Afro-Caribbean) workers who firstly, may be at the beginning of their move up the 'occupational ladder'. Secondly, those who may be at the end of their occupational careers, and thirdly, those who may be unable to make any further career moves. (Stewart, Prandy and Blackburn 1980). It is hoped that analysis of this group vis-a-vis survey population One, in terms of career patterns, academic achievement and associated structural factors faced within the British labour market may reveal any undermining processes which forces some to remain in low-level occupational positions and permits others to slip through and gain access to jobs higher up the hierarchy of occupations.



(ii) Reasons for choosing London as the area of study:

During the formulation of the research strategy it was decided that the survey populations would be taken solely from the London area. We were aware that the structure of the London area labour market was different in composition to that of the other major British conurbations where Black workers are located, and the possibility of taking the survey population from several conurbations had been considered. For in this way we would have been able to highlight the contrasting opportunity structures available in these areas. However the relatively small survey population that had been set (a total of one hundred and twenty respondents - eighty in survey population One, and forty in population Two - was regarded as a manageable size given the time allocated to the fieldwork) made this idea problematic for two basic reasons. Firstly it was felt that the process of sub-dividing the survey populations across several 'labour markets' (ie in terms of different conurbations) would only serve to bring about technical difficulties in terms of how many respondents would have to be taken from each area to make the data relevant. Secondly, the idea of dividing the survey populations over three or more areas also made obvious the pitfalls which would lie ahead in terms of attempting to make assumptions from such a limited number of respondents for each area.

Another reason for basing the research in the London area was related to the fact that

the concentration of the Black middle class in the South East is more marked than that of the White population whose middle class are more widely distributed elsewhere in the country ... . The South East it seems, has offered substantial employment opportunities for the educated immigrant, but more often at the lower status white collar level than at the level of professional/management employment. (Nowikowski 1980:133) (See also Smith 1976:72).

As such it was felt that the likelihood of being able to obtain middle class Black respondents would be increased.

(iii) Locating the Respondents:

It was necessary to obtain a survey population which matched the criteria set, in terms of occupation and age. (As regards age, a decision was made during the design of the research to control for age, as there was a need to ensure that respondents would be relatively established in their careers. As such all the respondents in both survey populations One and Two are aged between twenty five and sixty four years of age. This age range thus covers those respondents at the beginning, middle and end of their careers). But this was problematic, in that there was no adequate sampling frame available. It was decided that if we used the electoral register as a sampling frame there would be difficulties in terms of being able to determine someone's 'racial origin' from their surname for Afro-Caribbean surnames are, in the majority of instances, indistinguishable from those of the indigenous population. As such it was felt that this would hinder any method of random sampling using this particular sampling frame. It was thus decided at the most practical level (in terms of time) that the method of locating the respondents to be employed would be that of 'networking'.

As such we wrote (outlining the aim of the research) to several individuals, both male and female (no attempt was made to control for the number of men and women within the survey population, for as the 'networking process' gained momentum it became a self-selecting process) who we felt matched the required criteria of being middle class (using occupation as an indicator of class position) and age range, and asked them whether they would be willing to take part in the research. Those who answered in the affirmative were interviewed, and afterwards were asked to nominate the names and addresses of other Afro-Caribbeans who matched the required criteria and would be willing to take part in the research. One hundred and sixty one people were contacted and just under a quarter of this number indicated either that they did not wish to be

or were unable to be interviewed for a variety of reasons; the remaining one hundred and twenty respondents were interviewed.

No claim is made here to indicate that the survey population obtained for this research is representative in a rigorous sense; however, due to the lack of an adequate sampling frame it was felt that this was the only viable approach to adopt in order to locate the respondents.

(iv) The Interview:

In-depth recorded interviews were carried out with the respondents, with the use of a questionnaire. On average the interviews lasted between two and four hours, depending upon the amount of time the respondents needed to answer the questions posed. Quite a few of the respondents refused to give taped interviews and as such their answers were handwritten by the researcher. The questionnaire (see appendix for questionnaire used) was divided into nine sections: (a) Background history and migration history of the respondent (b) Residence (c) Work history (d) Education (e) Interests (f) Class (g) Race (h) Politics (i) General questions. The questionnaire was structured so as to locate not only basic information such as country of origin, educational background, but also (i) their attitudes to certain topics such as class, race, politics, education; (ii) their life style; (iii) their aspirations, values etc.

The first few interviews were regarded as pilot interviews and the aim here was firstly to determine whether the questions asked were meaningful to the respondents; secondly, to estimate how long the interview would last and thirdly, to ascertain whether additional questions should be asked or whether certain questions should be left out of the questionnaire altogether.

There were certain instances (particularly those which involved interviews with respondents who owned their own businesses or those professionals who decided to be interviewed at their place of work) when not all of the questions were able to be dealt with given the time limit set by the respondent. In such cases only basic information concerning career, education, children was obtained and where possible certain central attitudinal questions such as those included in the sections dealing with politics, class and race.

## 1.6 THESIS OUTLINE

In the chapters that follow an attempt is made to follow through and develop the argument that 'race' plays a significant role in serving to structure the objective class position of Black labour in Britain, but also serves to determine the type of consciousness (and/or awareness) generated by Black labour.

In chapter two we look at the area of class and race. In the first half of the chapter attention is focussed on the debate concerning the notion of middle classes in contemporary capitalism, so as to provide a theoretical backdrop to the subsequent discussion of middle class Blacks in Britain. In the second and more substantial section of the chapter the emphasis changes as attention is directed towards looking at six approaches to the topic of race and class in the literature that deals with the position of Black/migrant labour in Western capitalist societies. Chapter Three goes on to develop issues raised at the end of chapter two, and attempts to further develop the thesis that 'race' in the form of structural racism structures the class formation of Black labour. Chapter four then goes on to contextualise the present position of Black labour in the British labour market by examining the movement of Afro-Caribbean labour to Britain since the 1950s and its incorporation into the British labour market. Chapters five, six and seven

present the empirical data based on survey populations one and two, in which firstly evidence of career history and examination of strategies developed by the respondents in order to overcome barriers faced within the labour market is looked at. Secondly, the respondents' perceptions and attitudinal responses to the indexes of class, race and politics are looked at. The last two chapters attempt to pull together the central aspects of the empirical evidence and the thesis presented. In so doing it is hoped that this serves to highlight the role which it is believed 'race' has to play in the structuring of the class position (and perceptions) of Black labour in Britain using middle class Blacks as an example.

CHAPTER TWO

CLASS AND RACE IN THE BRITISH CLASS STRUCTURE

## CLASS AND RACE IN THE BRITISH CLASS STRUCTURE

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the following sections of this chapter an attempt is made to tease out the varying theoretical approaches to the race, class debate. In section two a close look is taken at the concepts of race and class and the implications arising from various theoretical approaches to them when analysing the structural placement of Black labour within the British class structure. In the preceding section (section one) an attempt is made to look at and discuss that intermediate stratum which occupies a position somewhere between the bourgeoisie and the working class. Occupants of this intermediate strata have been grouped together by theorists and generally referred to as the middle class(es). The controversy which surrounds this particular aspect of class analysis will provide the basis of the discussion in this section of the chapter. Given the theme of this study - middle class Blacks in the British class structure - this section will be of particular relevance when we go on to assess the position of this tiny proportion of the Black (Afro-Caribbean) population in Britain. Before going on to a discussion of the middle classes it is necessary at this stage to further define what is here meant by the concept class. This will provide a basic frame of reference on which to base discussions of class in the sections to follow.

### 2.2 THE CONCEPT OF CLASS

There is much to agree with in the basic Marxist perspective: that it is at the level of the relation to the means of production that class analysis has to begin, if one is to develop an analysis which is dynamic in terms of outlining the various lines of cleavage which arise in Western capitalist societies. However, to remain at this level of analysis is not sufficient in

that it remains within the realms of high abstraction. In order to concretise class analysis it may prove useful to take into account the determinant actions and perceptions/consciousness of the actors themselves in the class process. A useful corrective may be found in the work of Carchedi (1975a, 1975b, 1976) in which he attempts to define the new middle class from an economic standpoint, with particular reference to the capitalist mode of production relations. Reasons for choosing this particular approach are related to the fact that Carchedi's approach to identifying the middle class allows the relations of production to be distinguished as a combination of distinct but unified relationships. Despite criticisms of its inherent economic determinism/essentialism, his thesis has scope to be developed at a 'lower level' of abstraction - in terms of an analysis which takes into account the level of the social division of labour.

Carchedi (1975a) begins his analysis by stating that he sees capitalist production relations as a factor which serves to bind three elements of the capitalist production process: firstly, the non-owner of the means of production/the producer/the labourer, secondly, the owner of the means of production/the non-producer/the non-labourer and thirdly, the means of production. In outlining these three fundamental elements of the production process Carchedi suggests that he has introduced the element of the actual *function performed* within the capitalist production relations. The function performed revolves around an analysis of the meaning of performing the function of labour (that is to be the labourer) and of performing the function of capital (to be the non-labourer). Thus he states:

Once this has been done the working class and the Capitalist class are identified in terms of correspondence between the three aspects of the production relations while the middle class is identified in terms of non-correspondence. (Carchedi 1975a:abstract)



His use of the concept of 'function performed' represents an attempt on his part to avoid the trap (as he puts it) of:

mistaken interpretations associated with Marxist analysis which always resolve themselves into one of the following positions: (a) the concept of middle class(es) as unproductive labour or (b) the concept of middle class(es) as non-wage labourers. (Carchedi 1975:2-3)

Returning to the three elements of the capitalist production process - the labourer (producer), the means of production, and the non-labourer (non-producer), Carchedi states that all three in order to participate in the production process have to enter into relation with each other giving rise to relations between the agents of the production process and the means of production. Within these relations, the producer (of surplus value) does not own the means of production and as such has to sell his labour power in order to obtain the culturally determined necessities of life. The non-producer owns the means of production, the labour power of the producer and he also owns the product. Consequently he is able to appropriate the surplus labour incorporated in it. This surplus value is achieved via the transformation of the product in money (through the sale of the product) which realises the surplus labour incorporated in the product/commodity. To clarify the point Carchedi states:

The capitalist's income derives from surplus value while the labourer's income is tendentially given by the value of his labour power. (1975a:5)

In an attempt to broaden/extend the analysis to incorporate a definition of classes on the level of pure capitalist mode of production, Carchedi chooses the definition of class put forward by Lenin.

He argues that Lenin defines classes as large groups of people differing from each other: firstly, by the place they occupy in a historically determined system of social production, secondly, by their relation (in most cases fixed

and formulated in law) to the means of production, thirdly by their role in the social organization of labour and fourthly by the dimensions of the share of social wealth of which they dispose and the mode of acquiring it. This latter criterion Carchedi suggests should be made to include: (a) the share of social wealth going to a class (b) the mode of acquiring it and (c) the origin. In outlining this definition of classes Carchedi states that it represents the definition of class on the highest level of abstraction. However, he goes on to suggest that such a definition is purely economic and as a result:

disregards important changes undergone by the capitalist economic structure during its various stages of development. (1975a:13)

He feels that these changes can be successfully analysed by obtaining a precise definition of what it means to perform the function of the collective worker and the global function of capital, which will in turn provide a precise economic definition of the 'new middle class'. (The evolution of the middle he saw representing a *change* undergone by the capitalist economic structure).

Terence Johnson (1979) in looking at Carchedi's complex analysis outlines Carchedi's argument quite succinctly:

The first stage of capitalist development - which need not delay us here - is the formal subordination of labour to capital, which involves the subordination of the labour process to the surplus value process without any accompanying revolution in the technical conditions of production. The second stage ... entails the adaptation of the labour process to the surplus value producing process through a continuous revolution in the technical division of labour associated with the application of science and technology. The product is no longer that of individual activity but of a developing complex labour process referred to by Carchedi as the collective labourer. The increasingly co-operative nature of the labour process is then the social division of labour which necessarily involves an extension of productive labour, for within the developing framework of the collective labourer it is no longer necessary that all productive agents do manual work but that they are agents of the collective labourer. This stage in the formation of capitalism, Carchedi argues, involves a double qualification of the concept productive labour (resulting from the unity of the dual processes of capitalism). (1977:102-103)

In discussing the double qualification of the concept productive labour, Carchedi introduces the term economic oppression, which he suggests is

different from economic exploitation which is used to describe the position of productive workers. The non-productive worker (for example the commercial worker) does not produce and therefore cannot be expropriated of surplus value. However, if one was to imagine that the value of the commercial worker's labour power was equivalent of five out of a seven hour working day in the remaining two hours he does not produce value but instead makes available to the capitalist unpaid labour. Thus in this instance the unproductive worker is subject to direct expropriation of labour. Whilst in comparison the productive worker is expropriated of his labour in the form of value. He goes on to say:

No surplus value is created in the commercial sphere. The commercial capitalist only participates in the sharing of the surplus value produced in the industrial and other productive spheres. The commercial worker, creates no direct surplus value, but adds to the capitalist's income by helping him to reduce the cost of realising surplus value, inasmuch as he performs partly unpaid labour. (1975a:19)

This notion of economic oppression is particularly interesting in that it presents a useful approach to analysing the ambiguous position of those who lie between the true non-producer (capitalist) and the producer (collective labour). Carchedi pinpoints the ambiguity of their position by drawing our attention to the fact that they do give up something in the 'labour process', - that being direct expropriation of their labour power in kind. This is not equivalent to the position of the producer of surplus value nor that of the 'total' non-producer (capitalist). As such Carchedi makes a subtle but fundamental distinction.

In continuing with Carchedi's analysis of the change undergone by the capitalist economic structure we reach his third stage - Monopoly Capitalism. Here the role of the capitalist becomes sub-divided into fractional operations in which the functions associated with the appropriation of surplus value are

similarly collectivised in the global functions of Capital. Running alongside this Carchedi identifies;

a dissociation of the legal and economic ownership in the power to dispose of the means of production. Consequently, just as productive labour encompasses a wide range of work activities within the collective labourer so the global functions of capital are dispersed to agents who are not themselves owners of the means of production. This dispersal involves the development of a complex organizational structure which performs collectively what under private capitalism was the function of the individual capitalist. (Johnson 1977:103)

As such the development of bureaucratic organizations is not simply the outcome of the co-operative nature of the labour process determining the co-ordination of the social division of labour, but it also concerns the function of capital. In this instance function of capital refers to the degree to which;

the work of control and surveillance in respect of the surplus value producing process is now performed by a large number of agents'<sup>4</sup>

Carchedi sees the emergence of the new middle class arriving only with the advent of monopoly capitalism. However he does state that - in terms of the fundamental elements of class - the new middle class are a spurious class. The reason for this is that it is a grouping which represents a combination of the elements which characterise the two primary classes in their pure state. Their position he describes as follows:

This class performs both the functions of collective worker and the global function of capital. They do not own (either legally or economically) the means of production and yet part of their time is devoted to performing the function of capital. Therefore, their income is made up of two components: the wage component (connected with performing the function of the collective worker) and the revenue component (connected with performing the global function of capital). In other words the income is only partly determined by the value of their labour power, the other parts being connected with a position of privilege vis-a-vis the working class and thus explaining the variance with the wages of the working class. (1975a:4)

Given Carchedi's statement above outlining the economic identification of the new middle class it is interesting to draw attention to an exception to the rule which he himself puts forward, concerning the position of Managers. He suggests that managers rather than the capitalist rentier are capital personified. In so saying, he states that he does not mean to suggest that they have replaced the capitalist class - but rather that they are a part of the capitalist class when viewed in terms of production relations. This seems somewhat at odds - given the thesis outlined above - for instead of maintaining the view that managers perform both the global function of capital and the function of collective worker/labour, Carchedi apparently suggests that they perform only the global function of capital. If we return to his outline of the three fundamental elements of the capitalist production process (first, the non-owner of the means of production/the producer/the labourer, secondly, the owner of the means of production/the non-producer/the non-labourer and thirdly, the means of production), we see that in terms of these three elements the manager's position importantly does not equate with element two - owner of the means of production. This is the principal factor which excludes managers from this class. In so saying we do not mean to disregard the notion of proprietorial spectatorship, which Carchedi seems to be suggesting (in this sense we are referring to the situation where those who actually provide capital for a firm need not necessarily be the same as those determining the uses of that capital). Alternatively he may also be considering the situation where occasionally managers are shareholders in companies that employ them. Granted, managers can be said to be in operational control of a corporation and this can be seen as their source of power and as such their inclusion into the capitalist class. However, it is totally another matter to suggest that they also:

exercise strategic corporate control. (King and Raynor 1981:83)

for they as managers are in the final analysis subject to commands as employees.

Carchedi's approach has been criticised in the main for ignoring the level of politics and ideology. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983) This they say occurs because his analysis is conducted:

on the two highest levels of abstraction of the 'pure capitalist structure' of the 'capitalist socio-economic system', the latter being the totality of social relations and structures corresponding to a given economic structure. No analysis is provided at the level of social formation. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:60-61)

This criticism is well founded; however; to enter into a discussion/debate on it would be very lengthy and complex and would detract from the purpose of introducing Carchedi's thesis, in the first instance. For in introducing Carchedi's thesis we originally stated that despite its inherent economic determinism his thesis had scope to be developed at a lower level of abstraction, in terms of an analysis which is primarily concerned with the level of the social division of labour.

Speaking in general terms Carchedi begins his analysis of class by obtaining a:

definition of class on the highest level of abstraction as a prelude to its application to more concrete levels (Carchedi 1975a:13)

of analysis. Put somewhat simplistically, this abstraction operates by focusing on an analysis of the capitalist mode of production and the relations that take place firstly between the agent and the means of production, and secondly the relation between agent and agent (ie capitalist and productive worker). In attempting to extend the latter - the relations between the agents of production/social relations - we may put forward the view that at some point in class analysis an attempt can be made to give leverage to the level of the

social division of labour. By this we mean to suggest that an analysis of class approached via the highest level of abstraction which is translated through to a 'lower' level, could provide the basis for an analysis which reveals the complexities of social formation in the 'concrete' rather than the abstract. An analysis of class at this level will not deny the agents' common relation to the economic foundations of society, but it will however, allow an analysis of the types of 'market positions' (not in the Weberian sense) held by the agents and the possible bases of conflict between the agents. In using the term 'position' we wish to convey a similar meaning to that held by Carchedi when he stated:

By using the term position we want to emphasise that an agent in performing one or more functions is never only doing a technical job: at the same time *his activity has also a social significance, a social function ie he either performs the function of the (collective) worker or the (global) function of capital.* (1975a:23)

The agents' 'position' is of significance not only in terms of his relationship to other agents in the production process, but also in terms of the function he performs within the market in terms of his relation to the means of production in the production process. In referring to the 'function performed' by the agents in the production process it is important to return to the point which Carchedi makes, in which he states that the new middle class perform both the functions of the collective worker and the global function of capital. If one takes this statement at another level one sees that this dual function performed by the middle class can be interpreted as giving rise to intra-class differences based on the various combination<sup>B</sup>/<sub>A</sub> degrees of function performed, yet in general terms they can be said to share a common relation to the economic foundations of society. For example, the position of those agents who occupy 'top level' management positions, which means the function they perform is predominantly that of the global function of capital, and on the other hand clerical workers who due to progressive proletarianisation and routinization of work tasks increasingly perform the function of collective

worker, must give rise to a clash of interests at the level of the social division of labour.

Given the diversity of function performed within the middle class, it could be argued that Carchedi's concept of 'function performed' (which implies that a commonality of function or a common relation to the mode of production is sufficient for determining class as a real phenomenon) is in fact inappropriate as a model constructed to locate/identify class locations. The reason for this (particularly if one takes his new middle class as an example) is that due to the obvious intra-class diversity of function performed, there is little hope of generating a:

uniform action orienting class interest. (Howard 1979:77)

This type of argument it would seem is working on the assumption that each class identified generates a set of shared interests and beliefs which are specific to and distinct from those of other classes. However, these perceived interests identified by theorists as representing the objective interests which 'members' of a given class hold are not necessarily what the members of the class themselves perceive their interests to be. Consequently some theorists identify these interests held by the class under study as being false consciousness. This can be compared to what can loosely be termed 'race consciousness' experienced on the part of Black workers in Britain as an intervening variable which can be of relevance to the type of class consciousness generated by Black workers.

The notion of perceived interests should be one of the focal points in the analysis of the social division of labour - for it is here that antagonisms are generated, alliances formed and processes of closure operated on the basis of the actors' perceived interests, which bring to life the complexities of the capitalist social formation. The perceived interests of the actors within the



social division of labour can fire conflict not only on an inter-class basis but also in terms of intra-class conflict. One could look at the situation which exists for example between those sections of the middle class who have consistently appropriated knowledge and skills from those who occupy positions within the middle class (clerical workers) which have gradually become routinized as a consequence. In this sense conflict of interests can arise due to some white-collar workers' continued proletarianisation, which results in them feeling that their position is threatened by members of their own class. Significantly it is on the basis of this type of 'intra-class interest' conflict that the traditional hostility felt by the 'lower-middle class' in the social division of labour toward the working class may under these circumstances as they 'realise' the similarities of their position.

Class consciousness (which can be referred to as the subjective counterpart of class interest) it has been suggested involves the:

gradual formation of distinctive ideologies and political organizations which have as their object the promotion of particular class interests in a general conflict between classes. (Bottomore 1965:64)

These interests one could say represent the perceptions which the actors form of their own situation, which makes clear to them the type(s) of social and political action available to them. In this way dominant groups within the social division of labour seek to ameliorate their position by adopting an instrumental attitude towards political parties who themselves represent particular class interests. These dominant groups are also able to assert their own class interests via strategies of exclusion within the social division of labour which restricts the access of other interest groups - this can take place on both an inter-class and intra-class basis. The process of exclusion based on perceived economic/political interests at the level of the social division of labour is germane to the subject of 'race and class'. The

concept of race has been used within capitalist formations as an ideological 'tool' which has brought about the subordination of perceived ineligibles, based on the colour of skin.

Here we see another interesting aspect of a class analysis which uses as its frame of reference (at a lower level of abstraction) the level of the social division of labour. It allows us to look at other forms of domination at this level - other than domination of capital over labour - which can be channelled along the lines of race, ethnicity, gender, and the subsequent repercussions such domination can have within the social division of labour. A lot of attention has been paid to the economic basis of 'racial' antagonism in which problems of 'race' in historical situations are related to the more general problems of economic class conflict. It has been suggested by some theorists (Hall et al 1978, Castles and Kosack 1973) that the use of migrant labour takes place under conditions of an expanding economy - usually to take up positions within the labour market which the indigenous workforce will no longer do. Thus it has been suggested that the:

general way in which class position and the division of labour is reproduced for the working class as a whole assumes a specific and differentiated form in relation to the stratum of Black labour

for:

There are specific mechanisms which serve to reproduce what almost appears to be a racial division of labour. (Hall et al 1978:345)

One of these mechanisms which serve to reproduce 'what almost appears to be racial division of labour' can be said to be repressive government policies (such as immigration and nationality legislation) which came about as a result of pressure from effective lobbying on the part of anti-immigrant interests, (expressed by classes across the board but notably the working class). The position of Black workers in relation to the capitalist mode of production can

be said to coincide with the indigenous labour force, for both occupy similar structural locations in terms of relation to means of production. However, at the level of the social division of labour the actions of the semi-autonomous political structure (which predominantly reflects the interests of the indigenous population who view Blacks as threatening their class interests) and the economic imperatives of a capitalist based economy provide the basis for an essentially racialised workforce within the social division of labour.

### 2.3 THE MIDDLE CLASS(ES)

The term middle class although a convenient shorthand description of a particular segment of society, and of heuristic value for the illumination of certain sociological problems, it lacks the analytical precision necessary for considering issues which cannot be posed in terms of class polarization. The concept of the middle class is useful mainly in making contrasts with other social strata, particularly of course the working class. However, it is obviously of little help when the focus of attention shifts to questions concerning differences within the non-manual stratum itself. It then becomes an inconvenient blanket term concealing certain distinctions between white-collar groups which it is necessary to make in handling some kinds of problems. (Parkin 1968:175)

The quotation above epitomises the theoretical discontent in the field of social theory which can be said to surround the term middle class. Social theorists have come to admit that it is a 'blanket term which encompasses a 'grouping' which is characterised by a considerable diversity of condition of its members. It has been suggested that the middle class(es) cannot be regarded as a coherent economic category due firstly to the fact that it is very large and exceedingly complex and secondly, because the diverse occupational group located within this 'category' each possess their own identifiable interests. The scenario becomes even more complex when one has to take into account the differences between private and public sector employment.

What of the origin of the 'middle class'? This in itself provides a bone of contention. Some theorists regard the middle class as direct descendants of the eighteenth/nineteenth century middle class, others see them as evolving out of the monopoly stage of capitalism and there are yet others who do not view them as a class at all. In essence it can be said that the nineteenth century middle class was characterised mainly as a largely entrepreneurial class who were located somewhere between on the one hand the landowners and on the other the urban industrial workers and agricultural labourers. The contemporary middle class is generally seen as 'white collar' (a term which Braverman finds "absolutely meaningless" (Braverman, 1974:29), workers whose occupations range from higher professionals and administrators to relatively routine clerical workers - who are seen as being positioned between the working class and the capitalist class.

Marxist theorists for obvious reasons have tried to account for the existence of a grouping who according to Marx would gradually disappear with the development of modern societies, leaving behind a simplified class structure of two clearly defined major classes - the capitalist and the proletariat classes. Many of their critics regard Marxists as gradually coming to see the problems of the two class model but nonetheless being bound to it and they state:

... for the truly open-minded Marxist, it would seem obvious that the appearance of new social strata, unforeseen and indeed impossible for classical Marxism would call for a self-critique of Marxian class theory.

but

... the class theory is not re-examined but directly imposed onto the new social groups. (Howard and Cohen 1979:76-77)

Thus the Marxists have been accused of trying to squeeze disparate strata into the straight jacket of class. In the paragraphs that follow, an attempt will be made to look at some of the various Marxist approaches to the middle-class

problematic to see whether such criticisms as those above are borne out. Following on from this an attempt is made to examine one particular Weberian approach to the analysis of the middle class in order to see how the subject area has been approached.

2.3:1 Nicos Poulantzas, in attempting to set out a theory of structural determination, which he hoped would account for the existence of the middle class in contemporary capitalist societies, (Poulantzas 1973 ) argued that previous attempts to understand the 'middle strata' inside Marxist theory had failed, due to the fact that they had been crippled by a base-superstructure framework which made the 'economic' the final determinant of class position. He argued that if the base-superstructure idea was overturned the political and ideological elements/levels would be allowed their proper structurally determined role, in relation to class formation. In other words his aim was to maintain the economic definition of class, whilst at the same time giving a place to the level of ideology and the political, which would not be reducible to the economic.

Poulantzas based his analysis of social class on three fundamental areas. In the first he states that classes cannot be defined outside of class struggle, although class struggle in this context:

does not refer to the conscious self-organization of a class as a social force, but rather to the antagonistic, contradictory quality of the social relations which comprise the social division of labour. (Wright 1976:5)

Secondly, he suggested that classes are to be seen as objective positions in the social division of labour, which are independent of the will of the agents and that the reproduction of these objective positions within the social division of labour is to be seen as the structural determination of class.

Thirdly, he stated that social classes are structurally determined not only at the level of the economic (ie relation of production/exploitation) but also by

relations of political domination/subordination, and relations of ideological domination/subordination. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:70)

This third point proves to be the most problematic aspect of Poulantzas' approach, for in attempting to apply the three levels of structural determination mentioned to what he terms the 'new petty bourgeoisie', he argues that the traditional petty bourgeoisie has declined to be replaced by the middle income group of petty bourgeois white-collar workers, supervisors, technicians etc. The problem lies in successfully defining the 'boundary' between the working class and the 'new' petty bourgeoisie. In attempting to demarcate the position of the boundary Poulantzas employs the three levels of structural determination - the economic, political and ideological. He argues that at the level of the *economic* the distinction between productive and unproductive labour (productive labour being labour that produces surplus value) defines the boundary between the working class and the new petty bourgeoisie. He argues that the unproductive wage earners (new petty bourgeoisie) should be excluded from the working class because they lie outside of the basic capitalist relation of production. He goes on to suggest that although surplus labour is extracted from wage earners in commerce, they are not:

directly exploited in the form of the dominant capitalist relation of exploitation, the creation of surplus value. (1973:212)

In contrast the working class is characterised by basic class antagonisms which exist within capitalism between them as direct producers and the bourgeoisie who appropriate surplus value. However the non-productive wage earners are also not members of the bourgeoisie. At the level of the *Political* Poulantzas makes the distinction between non-supervisory and supervisory

positions and concludes that those involved in the supervision of productive labour are not members of the working class, as their function is that of extracting surplus labour on behalf of capital. At the level of *ideology* he focuses upon the division between mental and manual labour within the social division of labour and argues that:

the mental/manual division excludes the working class from the 'secret knowledge' of the production process, and that this exclusion is necessary for the reproduction of capitalist social relations. The division between mental and manual labour thus represents the ideological prop for the exclusion of workers from the planning and direction of the production process. Experts are direct carriers of this ideological domination; thus, like supervisors, they are excluded from the working class. (Wright 1976:9)

In making the distinction between the new petty bourgeoisie and the working class Poulantzas is careful to point out that even as mental workers, as a class they are subordinate to capital. For, even though the 'experts' may

participate in 'secrete knowledge' necessary for production and hence make it seem that workers cannot control the labour process, that knowledge is in fact fragmented and dominated by the requirements of capitalist production. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:71)

This then provides the basis for Poulantzas' contention that the 'new petty bourgeoisie' is analogous to and in fact forms a single class with the traditional petty bourgeoisie (he argues this point even whilst taking into account the fact that the traditional bourgeoisie does not belong to the capitalist mode of production but to 'simple' commodity production). Poulantzas sees both the 'new petty bourgeoisie and the traditional bourgeoisie as being polarized in their relationship to the capitalist class and the working class. He suggests that this common polarization - in relation to the working class and the capitalists - results in the forging of a rough ideological unity between the new petty bourgeoisie and the traditional petty bourgeoisie.

It is this ideological unity, Poulantzas maintains, which justifies placing both the traditional and the new petty bourgeoisie in the same class. (Wright 1976:10)

Poulantzas' approach has been criticised from varying angles (Wright 1976, Johnson 1977, Urry and Abercrombie 1983) but in the main the criticisms have focused firstly on his assertion that the traditional bourgeoisie and the 'new petty bourgeoisie form a single class and secondly, on his definition of the structural determination of the 'new' petty bourgeoisie'. The former has been criticised by virtue of the fact that the new petty bourgeoisie is regarded by some as occupying a position that has evolved with the growth of monopoly capital and the expansion of the State, whereas a distinct mode of production was seen to mark the development of the traditional bourgeoisie. As such his critics have stated that the two distinct modes of production cannot be reduced one to the other. It is also argued that the positions of the traditional bourgeoisie and the new petty bourgeoisie are basically opposed to each other in many ways given that the traditional petty bourgeoisie is:

constantly threatened by the growth of monopoly capitalism, while the new petty bourgeoisie is clearly dependent upon monopoly capital for its reproduction. (Wright 1976:24)

Politically it is argued that their positions/interests are opposed because in general the 'new petty bourgeoisie' has valid interests in the expansion of the State, whereas the traditional petty bourgeoisie is generally in opposition to large government and state budgets. In referring to Poulantzas' suggestion that the 'new petty bourgeoisie' and the traditional petty bourgeoisie share a rough ideological unity Wright states:

ideological divisions between the two categories are at least as profound as the commonalities and secondly, while ideological relations may play a part in the determination of class positions, they cannot neutralize divergent class positions determined at the economic level. (Wright 1976:13)

With respect to the latter criticism - concerning his perception of the structural determination of the 'new petty bourgeoisie' Poulantzas' critics accuse him of relying far too heavily on determinations within the sphere of



production - given the anti-economistic conception of class which he adopts and the support he gives to structural determination by relations of political domination/subordination, ideological domination/subordination and relations of production/exploitation. As Urry and Abercrombie (1983) state:

... . It is not clear whether the 'political' dimension is really relevant at all, except to foremen and supervisors. Yet if he does consider it so significant, this is at considerable cost, namely, that of dissolving the specificity of the political and the State and viewing them as characteristic of all human interactions. In addition, the ideological is reduced to the division between mental and manual labour. This means the neglect of many other ideological determinations (of nationality, sexism, racism, for example), and the treatment of ideology merely as an aspect of the social division of labour ... . Hence Poulantzas does not avoid economism. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:73)

Poulantzas' definition of the working class has also come under close scrutiny. His critics have pointed out that if his definition were to be strictly adhered to one would end up with a very small working class. This would be due it is argued to the restrictive criteria which he identifies for inclusion into the working class. It is argued that if we look at the mental/manual division Poulantzas does not appear to reason very clearly why this division should be regarded as a determinant of an actual class boundary. As a result the distinction between the petty bourgeoisie and the working class is not entirely clear. If one takes the example of skilled workers we see that they are in possession of knowledge which is incorporated within a variety of symbols and rituals which excludes those who are not in possession of 'knowledge' and in some instances possession of this form of knowledge is reliant upon acquiring the appropriate credential. Thus:

given also that there is a division between mental/manual labour within the mental labour component, it would also seem that there is no strong divide between mental and manual labour, unless of course it coincides with the distinction in orthodox sociology between headwork and handwork. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:74)

Poulantzas challenges this criticism and argues that he does not regard the division between manual and mental labour as a physiological or biological

division between those who work with their hands and those who work with the brains. He states:

It has to do with the social conditions under which the division between mental and manual labour exists, which as Gramsci pointed out concerns the whole series of rituals, know-how and symbols. (Poulantzas 1973:60)

By approaching the analysis from this angle he suggests that one is better equipped to define the division between manual and mental labour as being the concrete manifestation of the political and ideological factors in the structural determination of class. He goes on to say that the divisions between productive and unproductive labour and between manual and mental labour are tendential divisions and are:

not models to be used to determine the position within the class structure of every individual agent. (Poulantzas 1973:60)

Rather he sees it as being concerned with the whole process of class struggle and thus asserts that it is necessary to illustrate why even the lower strata of the new petty bourgeoisie are on the side of intellectual or mental labour as regards their relation with the working class:

The new petty bourgeoisie interiorises the social division of labour imposed by the bourgeoisie throughout the whole of the society. Each level of the new petty bourgeoisie exercises specific authority and ideological domination over the working class, which takes on particular characteristics within the factory division of labour since the workers do not exert any kind of authority or ideological dominance over other workers, for example, over unskilled workers, that has even remotely the same characteristics as that exercised by the different levels of the new petty bourgeoisie over the working class. These are the political and ideological elements in the social division of labour that I have taken to show the class specificity of the new petty bourgeoisie. (Poulantzas 1973:60)

In looking at his discussion of productive and non-productive labour it is apparent that Poulantzas presents a deviant definition when he states that productive labour in the capitalist mode of production, is labour that produces surplus value while directly reproducing the material elements that serve as

the substratum of the relation of exploitation. (Or put another way, productive labour is that which is directly involved in material production by producing use values that increase material wealth.) This definition of 'productive' labour would seem to conflict with that held by fellow marxist theorists. Their definition of productive labour does not necessitate 'material' production as Poulantzas' definition would seem to suggest. As a result, when he begins his analysis of class positions using his definition productive/non-productive labour, the sectors which he chooses to be included in the 'productive' category are very much limited to those individuals producing material commodities.

Remaining with the productive/non-productive distinction Poulantzas is seen as not paying sufficient attention to important divisions within the unproductive worker category: such divisions between the dominant and subordinate categories which take the form of those who possess credentials and those who do not, the division between male and female workers, and between those who work within the State and those employed in capitalist enterprises. If one takes as an example the latter division between State employed and those employed by private capital, it is evident that the State-employed workers have particular interest in maintaining the State and also in supporting the idea that the State can act neutrally. Urry and Abercrombie (1983) state that a greater degree of collective political orientation exists amongst organisations of such groups within State bureaucracies than that of their counterparts within capitalist enterprises. Thus they argue that the latter have a tendency to be:

... more individualistic, respectable and moderate; and more willing to oppose working class trade unions. Increasingly, then, the unproductive new petty bourgeoisie will be found outside private capital and within the State. No account of the middle class will be adequate which does not take this fully into account. (1983:75)

2.3:2 Erik Olin WRIGHT Wright (1976) puts forward an alternative conceptualisation of class boundaries which focuses upon the notion that within advanced capitalist societies certain class positions occupy 'contradictory locations'. He suggests that instead of trying to eradicate the ambiguities of class by artificially classifying each 'sector' within the social division of labour into either one of the main classes, bourgeoisie or proletariat, one should try to study the contradictory locations (meaning the middle class(es)) in their own right.

This then forms the basis of Wright's alternative approach. He begins by outlining three contradictory class locations: firstly, the position of managers and supervisors (he sees both these 'categories' lying between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat), secondly, the small employers (who he argued stand between the bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeoisie), and thirdly, the semi-autonomous wage earner, such as professionals, high level technical workers, academics, etc. (Wright conceived of their role to be that of playing a small part in the supervisory structures of capitalist societies - they therefore stand between the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat). In order to 'discover' exactly how these contradictory locations developed out of the dynamics of class relations in advanced capitalist society Wright set about examining three inter-connected structural changes in the development of capitalism. Wright suggests that the first structural change was represented by the progressive loss of control over the labour process on the part of the direct producers. This deprived skilled workers of much of their skill and the power to affect the power of production. With the second change came the:

elaboration of complex authority hierarchies within capitalist enterprises and organizations, generally the necessity of which is caused by evasion of control by direct producers. (Wright 1976:28)

The third structural change was the differentiation of the various functions originally embodied in entrepreneurial capitalism. Wright argues that these

three structural changes are significant to the extent that they represent the three fundamental processes upon which basic capital/labour relationship is based. Consequently he argues that they are not to be seen as being merely:

analytic dimensions derived from a priori reasoning. (1976:30)

as the polarisation and class antagonisms that exist between capitalists and workers are based on the three underlying processes. In order to elucidate his argument he states:

The capitalist class has control over the entire apparatus of production, over the authority structure as a whole and over the overall investment process: the proletariat is excluded from each of these. These two particular combinations of the three processes of class relations thus constitute the two unambiguous locations within class relations in the capitalist mode of production. The petty bourgeoisie on the other hand, constitutes the unambiguous location within simple commodity production: they have full economic ownership and full control over the physical means of production, but control no labour power. (1976:30-31)

Moving on from here Wright focuses his attention on the relationship between the contradictory class locations and political and ideological determinants of class. He suggests that it is the indeterminacy of class determination at the level of the economic which allows the political and ideological spheres to become determinants of class position. Significantly he argues that:

the extent to which political and ideological relations enter the determination of class position is itself determined by the degree to which those positions occupy a contradictory location at the level of social relations of production. (1976:39-40)

From this stance he then suggests that ideological and political relations could possibly intensify or counteract the contradictory nature of locations that are not completely determined at the economic level. To clarify the point he gives the example of such positions as the police, the prison system in general functioning as repressive apparatus. They are affected by their relation to the State with its ideological and political apparatus. As such, their role in reproducing bourgeois domination through the capitalist State is

of basic importance and pushes their class position towards the bourgeoisie. In this situation however, this relationship cannot be understood simply at the level of the economic - for at the level of the economic alone, they are simply wage labourers.

In conclusion Wright suggests that the real determinant of whether a certain social sector belongs to the working class, for example, is whether or not they have the same fundamental outlook/view and class interests as the working class. He argues that those contradictory locations which exist around the perimeter of the working classes do in fact represent:

social positions which do have a real interest in socialism, yet simultaneously gain certain privileges from capitalist social relations of production (this is another way of defining them as occupying contradictory locations. (1976:41)

In comparing the two approaches to the analysis of the middle class, one can say that in general it would seem that Wright presents a more adequate account (in terms of theoretical clarity) of the relation of the political and ideological in relation to class positioning than does Poulantzas. Wright would seem to suggest that the economic level of the economic sphere is the principal determinant of class, which in broad terms runs counter to Poulantzas' apparent anti-economistic view of class positions. Wright does, however, acknowledge that he is aware of the importance of the ideological and the political determinants of class position. However, he suggests that they do not take a primary stance in the final analysis. Wright outlines the fact that under some circumstances the economic is not sufficient when attempting to look at class positions - particularly the contradictory class locations of the middle sector, as he calls it, for it is here that the political and ideological enter the analysis. Thus whereas Poulantzas in sometimes a less clearly defined framework attempts to bring politics and ideology up to the level of the economic - in terms of class determination, Wright argues in

favour of the importance of both the political and ideological, but identifies the economic as being the principal determinant.

At this general level Wright appears to have put forward a much more plausible approach to the middle class problematic. Unlike Poulantzas, who attempts to 'fit' the new petty bourgeoisie/middle class into the 'mould' of the traditional petty bourgeoisie, Wright attempts to advance the Marxist effort in order to gain a better understanding of the middle positions in several fundamental ways. In broad terms one can suggest that he demonstrated that the existence of contradictory class positions must be accepted and that the emergence was rooted in capitalist development. Further he illustrates that even the occupants of the uppermost positions in the managerial hierarchies must be regarded as the occupants of contradictory class locations.

Wright's approach has also come under criticism. Urry and Abercrombie (1983) focus on what they regard as being Wright's preoccupation with 'forms and amounts of control that an individual agent possesses'. They suggest that his approach is gradational and as such becomes a matter of 'ranking' the agent as regards the three dimensions of control - control over the physical means of production, control over labour power and control over investments. They state:

Because the only categories of analysis which we can employ are those which are isomorphic with individual agents, we are prevented from analysing agents as bearers of specific functions, for example, of capital and labour and of their transformations. Furthermore ... it is difficult to maintain a clear division between the two aspects of possession, of control over the physical means of production and control over the labour power. In practice, they will go together. Indeed, it is not clear that control over the physical means of production is particularly significant. (1983:84)

An example they use to illustrate the latter - control over the physical means of production' - is that of craftworkers. They argue that due to the fact that they have a certain degree of control over their immediate instruments of

production it does not necessarily follow that they are any less workers. As such they argue that it seems just as strange to claim that semi-autonomous workers are marginal between the petty-bourgeoisie and the proletariat because they possess at least minimal control over the means of production. Urry and Abercrombie argue that Wright's thesis faces this sort of difficulty mainly because he assumes that all individuals can be unequivocally defined either as possessing a class membership, or as possessing a contradictory class location as defined by the economy.

2.3:3 Barbara and John Ehrenreich In their article 'The Professional Managerial Class' (1979) the Ehrenreichs put forward a somewhat different analysis to that of Poulantzas and Wright which provides a new slant in the 'middle class' debate. The Ehrenreichs state that they chose the term 'professional middle class' (PMC) because they felt that the more obvious term 'new middle class' already had a variety of definitions attributed to it which consequently would lead to confusion. In addition they stated that the term 'new middle class'

obscures the fact that the class we are identifying is not part of some broader middle class, which includes both 'old' and 'new' strata, but rather is a distinct class, separate from the old middle class. (1979:10)

The distinction between 'old' and 'new' middle class in their analysis relates to the older petty bourgeoisie in the former instance and both sales and clerical workers in the latter.

Before outlining their argument it might prove useful at this point to mention their definition of the concept class. The Ehrenreichs argue that their definition of class has two major characteristics. First, in its historical development they see a class as being characterised by a common relation to the economic foundations of society. By the term 'common relation' they are



not referring to a purely juridical relationship of say legal ownership or non-ownership of the means of production, but rather the actual relations between groups of people, not formal relations between people and objects. As such:

the relations which define class arise from the place occupied by groups in the broad social division of labour, and from the basic patterns of control over access to the means of production and of appropriation of the social surplus. (1979:11)

Secondly the Ehrenreichs do not regard the relation to the economic foundations of society as being sufficient to specify a class as a real social entity. They suggest that after its formation period a class is characterised by a 'coherent, social and cultural existence'. The members have a common life style, educational background, kinship networks, work habits, consumption patterns. beliefs.

These cultural and social patterns cannot be derived in any simple fashion from the concurrently existing relationships to the means of production of the members of the class. (1979:11)

This second characteristic the Ehrenreichs suggest represents class as a real social existence.

The Ehrenreichs begin their PMC thesis by stating that the PMC should be seen as composing a distinct class in monopoly capitalism. Thus they see the PMC as being composed of salaried managers and professionals with a wide range of occupations, income, skill, power and prestige. They are seen as sharing a common function in the overall division of labour and a common relation to the economic foundations of society.

The emergence of the PMC in the twentieth century they suggest reflects the evolution of working class/capitalist class relations in monopoly capitalist

society. Thus their emergence was seen to be marked by a particular historical condition and need:

the existence of sufficient social surplus to support a new 'non-productive' class of functionaries and the demand of the bourgeoisie to find ways of ameliorating the intensifying class struggle and to secure capitalist control over the process of production. (Noble 1979:124)

As such they viewed the PMC's emergence not as a natural or automatic product of the increasing scale or complexity of capitalism, but as part of the transformation in the relations between capital and labour. The PMC existed only as a result of the expropriation of the 'skills' and culture which was once indigenous to the working classes. The function of the PMC in monopoly capitalism they described as:

the reproduction of capitalist culture and capitalist class relations. Specialising in the reproduction of capitalist class relationships. (Noble 1979:123)

The Ehrenreichs make a further qualification by stating that the PMC is also divided into:

... those who carry out their function explicitly (teachers, advertising copy writers, social workers, psychologists, propagandists, entertainers, etc) and those who do so implicitly, through the performance of those technical roles in the production process which exist as a reflection of, and the means of furthering, this reproduction function, (engineers, college-educated technical workers, managers and administrators). (Noble 1979:123-124)

Thus the Ehrenreichs view the PMC as being comprised of a 'single coherent class' which is no less variegated than the working class which is itself made up of agents as diverse as mineworkers and secretaries. Interestingly in acknowledging the PMC's function of 'serving' capital against the working classes they suggest that the PMC identifies its interests, in general, with that of society and progress. Consequently theirs is an ideology based on the concept of:

professional autonomy, scientific rationality, and the disinterested political objectivity of expertise. (Noble 1979:124)

As such, they suggest that the PMC do not regard themselves as serving capital nor robbing the artisans of their skills - but as furthering 'scientific' progress. Having said this they still view the PMC as standing in an objectively antagonistic relationship to the working class, and the capitalist:

the technocratic and/or cultural domination by the PMC has the following effects on the working class; (a) to deprive it of the effective means to resistance, (b) to lead it to see the PMC as the 'main enemy' since that is the class which generally deals directly with the working class, (c) to encourage anti-intellectualism, anti-liberalism, sexism, and racism, since the opposites of these are thought to be embodied to some degree at least, within the PMC. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:81)

The Ehrenreichs suggest that the PMC's antagonism to the capitalists comes about as a result of the very ideals which justified their role to the capitalist in the first place - those being ideals of autonomy, objectivity, rationality.

These then are the basic elements of the Ehrenreich argument. Their critics have focused on two main theoretical stumbling blocks within their thesis. Noble (1979) suggests that the Ehrenreichs' Professional Managerial Class (PMC) is a 'phantom class' in that its members do not have any substance independent of the other classes, (the bourgeoisie and the proletariat). He puts forward the argument that the Ehrenreichs, in attempting to make their point about class being a historical relationship, quote from E P Thompson (1968) when he states:

We cannot have two distinct classes each with an independent being, and then bring them into relationship with each other. We cannot have love without lovers, nor deference without squires and labourers. And class happens when some men feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs. (Noble 1979:127)

Noble suggests that for Thompson class is a historical relation which means that it is not merely a place in society but a time in history. It is also not simply a thing but a relation - in particular the relation of opposites. As such he argues that it is;

precisely the fact that class is the relation between dialectical opposites that gives its tension and it is this tension that makes history move. Thus, neither class (nor history) can be comprehended by looking only at a single class, any class is defined, and defines itself, in terms of the 'other' class. (1979:127)

Consequently Noble regards the Ehrenreichs' use of class as having drained it of the meanings given to it by Thompson. He states that the Ehrenreichs' PMC has relations with other classes but this merely results in ambiguity concerning what the PMC is, as there is no 'tension' between it and something else. In this sense any relations the PMC has with the capitalist class and the proletariat seem to dissolve it rather than clarify its position. He goes on:

On the one hand, it exists 'only by virtue of the expropriation of the skills and culture once indigenous to the working class', that is, its existence vis a vis the working class is 'derivative'. The PMC has no real substance of its own. On the other hand, the PMC has established itself as 'a major class' but has done so only in terms set by the 'capitalist class'. Here too, it has no 'terms' of its own, no claims to separate identity, other than a fanciful, wrong headed ideology of expertise. (1979:128-129)

A related criticism of the Ehrenreichs' thesis (Urry and Abercrombie 1983) concerns the suggestion that they do not demonstrate in their analysis that the PMC actually constitute a class. It is argued that they put forward two criteria as a basis for class inclusion, the first criteria being a common function of reproducing capitalist relations and second a common educational experience. It has been said that the Ehrenreichs do not show that there is a systematic overlap between these two criteria. As such they are not able to demonstrate that they are not simply a large number of;

non-propertyied labourers bearing different educational credentials, and performing quite diverse tasks in the social division of labour. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:84)

Consequently it appears that attempting to maintain the above two criteria as indicators of class membership only serves to introduce a market conception based on educational credentials. In looking at the first criterion - a common function of reproducing capitalist relation and culture - one may concede that with the development of monopoly capitalism there has been an expansion of agents whose primary function is reproducing capitalist relations and capitalist culture; however as Al Szymanski (1979) points out this 'social function' cannot adequately be considered as a defining characteristic of a class for:

To do so would artificially divide people with identical relations of production, common culture and life styles, and overlapping marriage patterns, falsely placing them in different classes, namely, a class 1, composed of all lower level managers and the minority of the professionals whose primary function is to reproduce capitalist culture or class 2 composed of the majority of professionals whose primary social function is to add to productivity, develop or teach knowledge, lubricate relations amongst capitalists, health care etc. (Szymanski 1979:53)

The fact that the Ehrenreichs choose not to identify the PMC with the 'broader middle class', as they put it (which includes both 'old' and 'new' middle class) means that they have tended to overlook the basic economic position of the middle class, (given the diversity of their 'occupational situations'), that being their common relation to the means of production and at a more general level their similar positions in relation to capital and the working class. This represents one of the reasons why Carchedi's thesis remains the most useful approach to analysis of the middle class. Instead of attempting to separate out from the middle class various separate entities based on specific/limited functions, he has developed a 'fluid approach' which is able to take account of the social function of the agent. Thus for the new middle class there are varying 'degrees' of function which range from the global

function of capital through to the function of the collective worker. At the same time he maintains the unity between these functions by not losing sight of the important unifying factor - their common relation in the capitalist mode of production.;

2.3:4 Frank Parkin Although not dealing directly with the topic of the middle class(es) Parkin (1979) puts forward a thesis which is applicable to the present discussion. Parkin's thesis is one of 'social closure' (an essentially Weberian notion) which is defined by the attempts of:

one group to secure for itself a privileged position at the expense of some other group through a process of subordination. That is to say, it is a form of collective social action which, intentionally or otherwise, gives rise to a social category of ineligible or outsiders. Expressed metaphorically, exclusionary closure represents the use of power in a 'downward' direction because it necessarily entails the creation of a group, class, or stratum of legally defined inferiors. (1979:45)

In general terms one could say that Parkin attempts to put forward the notion of social closure as an alternative approach to that put forward by the Marxists and - as he put it - that offered by 'academic sociology'. Parkin suggests that for many theorists the Marxist class theory appears very attractive given the uninspiring alternative put forward by 'academic sociology'. He further suggests that the sociological models which 'academic sociology' offer do not fulfil even the:

minimal Weberian claim that relations between classes are to be understood as aspects of the distribution of power. Instead of a theoretical framework organised around the central ideas of mutual antagonism and the incompatibility of interests we find one organised around the recorded facts of mere social differentiation. (1979:13)

Parkin puts forward the view that the argument for social differentiation is weaker than it has been. Originally he states that theorists argued that the lower white-collar groups enjoyed, what they called, a protected economic and social status as a result of their proximity to managerial elites. As such the

prerogatives of the managerial elites filtered down into the lower reaches of the white-collar sector in the form of incremental salary scales, security of employment, career prospects, etc, etc. This was seen then to more than compensate for what seemed to be similarity in actual earnings of the lower white-collar and manual workers and as such place the:

status pretensions of the former on a sound material foundation.  
(1979:13)

However, Parkin felt it was pertinent to ask (of this sociological model) whether under conditions of chronic inflation these benefits can be thought to weigh heavily in the balance against the benefits of immediate income, particularly as it is only under stable economic conditions rather than during an era of rising inflation that the attractions of lower white-collar life associated with security of tenure, promotion opportunities, pension rights etc are of any real value. Parkin consequently views any model of class based on distinctions between white-collar and blue-collar as being theoretically deficient. The basis of this deficiency he sees principally lying in the fact that their class analysis is almost entirely focused on inequalities stemming from the division of labour; thus the 'role of private property is relegated to a theoretical limbo'. He suggests that this state of affairs has arisen partly as a result of sociology's reaction to classical Marxist categories, in particular the rejection of an all-inclusive category of propertyless labour. He goes on to state that:

Such a blanket term patently failed to capture the variety of market conditions of those who sold their services, glossing over crucial differences between the industrial proletariat and the newly emergent salaried middle class. (1979:14)

As such sociology responded by becoming preoccupied with the division of labour itself. Mainstream sociologists treated the labour market as the main arena in which the observable realities of class played themselves out. As such he suggests the non-manual/manual model is basically the most

'formalised' expression of this theoretical approach. Parkin continues by arguing that in attempting to breakdown the portemanteau concept of labour:

the sociological model of class has succeeded, unwittingly or otherwise, in defining out of existence the sister concept of capital. The powers and privileges emanating from the ownership of productive property are of a very different order of things from those resulting from the division of labour. A model of class relations that addresses itself exclusively to inequalities surrounding the occupational order is therefore bound to be defective. (1979:14-15)

Parkin asserts that the association between property ownership and certain class interests needs to be explained theoretically - but he states that he finds it difficult to see how the issue could even be raised, let alone resolved within the confines of a model from which property has been thought away.

He is equally critical of the Marxist approach and in his critique he suggests that the Marxist's concept of mode of production does not possess specific explanatory powers, and consequently he feels it is unable firstly, to give adequate reasons for the complex social divisions within contemporary society and secondly, to a lesser extent he does not believe that distributive arrangements can be read of from the characteristics of a productive system. Even so,, in observing the basis of Marxist class analysis - ownership of productive property - Parkin does not suggest that property has lost its significance; rather he argues that property goes on playing a crucial but not a fundamental role in class analysis. Thus his thesis revolves around the notion that in contemporary society the dominant class constructs and maintains itself principally by exclusion, that is exclusion on the basis of ownership of property and the possession of credentials or educational qualifications. In this sense property does not take primacy, it represents one way in which the process of exclusion can be achieved. Property ownership and credentialism represent a set of legal arrangements for restricting access





to rewards and privileges. The former for Parkin is a type of closure which is constructed so as to preclude general access to the means of production and its rewards. The latter he sees as a form of closure designed to control and monitor entry to key positions in the social division of labour. Thus he states:

The two sets of beneficiaries of these state-enforced exclusionary practices may thus be thought of as the core components of the dominant class under modern capitalism. (1979:48)

Parkin begins his thesis by arguing that it is necessary to distinguish between property as possessions and property as capital; in so saying he argues that only the latter is relevant to the analysis of class systems. In this instance property as capital represents that which bestows legal powers upon a restricted few to grant or deny general access to the means of production and the distribution of its fruit as Parkin puts it. He goes on to state that the exclusionary rights established within property as capital have important consequences for the life chances and social condition of those who are excluded. Thus in his analysis:

to speak of property in the context of class analysis is then, to speak of capital only, and not possessions. (1979:53)

If exclusionary powers of denying access to the means of life and labour are legally guaranteed and enforced, he suggests that an exploitative relationship prevails as a matter of definition. Parkin stresses that it is not of any particular importance to know whether or not these exclusionary powers are exercised by the formal/legal owners of property or by their appointed agents, as the social consequences of exclusion are not significantly different in the two instances. At this juncture he acknowledges his agreement with Carchedi and other neo-Marxists who he suggests may well be correct in suggesting that the 'manager is capital personified', but qualifies this, by stating that:

this dictum holds good not only for monopoly capitalism but for all, including socialist systems in which access to property and its

beneficiaries is in the legal gift of a select few, and second, that it squares far more comfortably with the assumptions of bourgeois, or at least Weberian, sociology than with classical Marxist theory. (1979:53-54)

Parkin regards credentialism as being of equal importance to the exclusionary rights of property for class formation. As previously stated he views credentialism as the use of educational certificates as a means of monitoring entry to key positions in the division of labour. To lend support to his argument he points out that Weber had referred to the growing use of credentials as a means of effecting exclusionary closure. He states:

When we hear from all sides the demand for an introduction of regular curricula and special examinations, the reason behind it is, of course, not a suddenly awakened thirst for education but the desire for restricting the supply of these positions and their monopolization by the owners of educational certificates. Today the examination is the universal means of this monopolization, and therefore examinations irresistably advance. (1979:54)

Parkin suggests that this use of credentials has been accompanied by a growing number of white-collar occupations who are trying to acquire professional status. Consequently the process of professionalization may itself be seen in terms of a strategy designed amongst other things, to limit and control the supply of incomers to an occupation, in order to protect or enhance its market value - and as a result simplifies and legitimises the exclusionary process. One of the major advantages of occupational closure based upon credentialism which Parkin outlines is that all those agents/individuals who possess a given qualification are seen to be competent and able to provide the relevant skills and services for the remainder of their professional lives, for their abilities are never retested. (This proves interesting in the light of Sir Keith Joseph's proposed programme for retesting the skills of teachers in British schools).

It would seem then that within Parkin's thesis:

credentialism stands out as a doubly effective device for protecting the learned professions from the hazards of the market place. Not merely does it serve the convenient purpose of monitoring and restricting the supply of labour, but also effectively masks all but the most extreme variations in the level of ability of professional members, thereby shielding the least competent from ruinous economic punishment. (1979:56)

It should be noted at this juncture that Parkin does concede that it is not only white-collar professions that employ systematic restrictions upon occupational entry as certain skilled manual trades are known to have adopted similar techniques in order to regulate the supply of incomers - for example the system of apprenticeship or certain forms of the closed shop. He qualified this, however, by stating that the critical difference between attempts at occupational exclusion by manual trades and those adopted by the professions is that the manual trade attempt with less success to establish a legal monopoly over the 'provision' of services through licensure by the State, while the professionals have successfully won for themselves the status of legally privileged groups. He goes on to state that:

it has been far less common for the manual trades to secure the blessing of the state for the exclusionary tactics. Indeed, the resort to rest practices on the part of organised labour is commonly condemned as a breach of industrial morality that should be curbed rather than sanctified by law. (1979:57)

For Parkin then:

the dominant class under modern capitalism can be thought of as comprising those who possess or control productive capital and those who possess a legal monopoly of professional services. (1979:58)

In essence then these groups represent within Parkin's thesis the core body of the dominant/exploiting class as a result of their exclusionary powers which he states:

necessarily have the effect of creating a reciprocal class of social inferiors and subordinates. (1979:58)

Parkin's thesis thus brings together the principal beneficiaries of the exclusionary process (based on property as capital and credentialism) as a single dominant class. He favours this approach firstly in relation to those approaches which define the dominant class exclusively in terms of the rights of property and secondly those who define the dominant class in terms of the power of the new technical and professional experts. According to Parkin:

the dominant or exclusionary class of modern capitalism is a fusion of both these elements. (1979:58)

In his thesis Parkin appears to identify two social classes - presumably a dominant class and a subordinate class - based on the exclusionary elements of property and credentialism. In looking at the former it would seem that Parkin views the excluded as those who do not possess property as capital, and as such are the subordinate class. However this model surely categorises professionals, intermediate and lower white-collar workers and manual workers as members of the subordinate class. For it is only the bourgeois/dominant class which has possession of property as capital. In this sense Parkin would seem to have fallen into the trap similar to that of Marxism which he himself criticises. In order to rectify this state of affairs he introduces a second exclusionary factor (which he insists is of equal importance to the former, in terms of class determination) credentialism. Those who possess credentials or educational qualifications, which he identifies as professionals and top level managers, are thus brought within the folds of the dominant class. However, he is still left with a problem, for he does not adequately account for the position of the intermediate and low level white-collar workers in relation to working class in terms of class position. The implication would seem to be that by virtue of the fact that neither group has possession of property as capital or the required credentials for 'entrance' into the dominant/ruling class they are therefore members of a single subordinate working class.

Parkin's model would seem not to provide sufficient scope for the analysis of a middle class. He implies that white-collar workers can be effectively split into two groups, those who possess credentials and those who do not - but this is not sufficient. His model/thesis does not attempt to develop an analysis of a middle class comprised of intermediate and low-level white-collar workers whose political, ideological and economic interests are not necessarily in line on the one hand with the working class, nor on the other with the professionals immediately above them - who try to exclude them in terms of attempting to limit entry to key positions in the division of labour, in order to safeguard the market value of their position against encroachment by the intermediate and low-level white collar workers. This represents an additional reason to why Carchedi's thesis of 'function performed' in the social division of labour is important to analysis of the middle class. For Carchedi's thesis is able to take into account the varying 'degrees' of function performed within the middle class, whilst at the same time acknowledging/keeping in view their common/shared relation to the economic base.

Parkin's approach in a very broad sense approximates that of the Ehrenreichs (1979) in that, on the basis of credentialism, he identifies a professional managerial class who are separate from the remainder of the 'broader middle class. However, in contrast to the Ehrenreichs, he sees these professionals as coming under the umbrella category of the dominant/ruling class. Parkin appears to overlook the fact that although those in possession of credentials may, using their acquired expertise, exercise powers on behalf of the formal/legal owners of property (which is not in any significant sense demonstrably different if the owners carried out the commands themselves), the fact still remains that as employees of capital they themselves are subject to command, for ultimately their power derives from the ownership of property as capital.

2.3:5 Anthony Giddens Giddens' (1973) approach to the analysis of class structure as a whole has been labelled Weberian (Urry and Abercrombie 1983), mainly because of his emphasis on market capacity as representing the fundamental determinant of class position and secondly his support for the view that the major variable influencing market capacity is the possession or non-possession of recognised skills.

Giddens begins his thesis by identifying three types of market capacity: firstly, ownership of property in the means of production, secondly, the possession of educational or technical qualifications, and thirdly the possession of manual labour-power. Giddens suggests that these three types of market capacity provide the basis for the three-class system which characterises capitalist society. However he states that the creation/evolution of discrete classes with well defined boundaries is not automatic due to the fact that market capacities vary from one capitalist society to the next. Giddens is thus aware of the fact that his model has the potential to 'create' numerous varieties of class positions. Consequently, in order to limit the number of classes based on differing market positions Giddens introduces a method of analysis which enables him to make the theoretical transition from the variety of positions carrying different market capacities to classes as 'structured forms'. For Giddens this transition is effected by the concept of structuration. Giddens makes the distinction between proximate and mediate structuration. In the former he identifies three sources of proximate structuration: firstly, the division of labour within an enterprise, secondly, the authority relationships within the enterprise, and thirdly, the influence of distributive grouping - which he defines as those groups created by neighbourhood segregation and who lead a common way of life. Mediate structuration on the other hand Giddens applies to the distribution of mobility chances in a given society. In general terms he suggests that:

the more open mobility chances are, the less clearly demarcated classes will be, for mobility makes any homogenisation of experiences within a class less likely. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:23)

A combination of proximate and mediate structuration results in a class structure founded on market capacity. Giddens suggests that if this model is applied to capitalist societies these two structuration factors would systematically give rise to a three-class structure.

In turning to an analysis of the position of the middle <sup>Class</sup> within the class structure, he identifies their position as those whose market capacity is determined by possession of educational and technical qualification. This market capacity then generates certain economic differences between the white-collar workers and the working class, which he suggests gives rise to well-defined class differences. He goes on to state that those in middle class occupations, for example, experience better income, fringe benefits and better job security. Class positions based on this particular market capacity (possession of educational and technical qualifications) are structured both by proximate and mediate factors. Thus in terms of proximate structuration the white-collar workers can be demonstrated to be distinguishable from the manual workers. Firstly in terms of the division of labour:

Office work involved little contact with the shop floor, being usually physically quite separate. Communication between the two groups is usually via the foremen. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:24)

Secondly, in relation to the authority relationship, within enterprises, management in the majority of instances is hierarchical and as a result white-collar workers become subject to that hierarchy and as such participate in the delegation of authority, whilst manual workers (as a group) confront management. Thirdly, in relation to the influence of distributive groupings, Giddens argues that:

Neighbourhood segregation further reinforces class differences, a factor partly produced by the access to mortgage funds given to white-collar workers by their greater job security and higher overall earnings. (Urry and Abercrombie 1983:24)

In relation to mediate structuration (which structures chances of mobility) Giddens argues that there is a 'buffer zone' between the middle and working class within which most mobility occurs, and which serves to keep them apart. In this instance then there is potential for homogenisation of experiences within the middle class on the one hand and the working class on the other.

Giddens' approach has been criticised (Urry and Abercrombie 1983) mainly from the standpoint that his critics find it difficult to understand exactly how he views all members of the middle class as sharing the market capacity of educational and technical qualifications. This is in the light of the fact that many routine office workers are not in possession of any particularly high qualifications in comparison to many manual workers. Urry and Abercrombie (1983) state that this may once have been true, in that office workers did have a skill (literacy), which at one time commanded a premium, but they argue that this can hardly be said to be the case now. Additionally, numerous white-collar occupations do not require educational or technical qualifications; consequently there may be a systematic mismatch between the skills required for their work and the credentials the white-collar workers possess. Urry and Abercrombie also suggest that Giddens does not pay adequate attention to arguments of middle class proletarianisation. They suggest that Giddens, in looking at the automation and mechanisation of office tasks, argues that this does not totally transform the labour process in the same way that the introduction of machines into factory production transforms manual work. His argument they state is that office machines represent adjuncts to clerical labour and not substitutes for it. Set within this context Giddens argues that the introduction of computers may in effect reorganise office work, but that this does not represent proletarianisation of middle class occupations. Thus



he argues that computerisation usually results in routine workers being replaced by computers but this acts so as to increase the demand for skilled personnel to deal with the computers. Braverman (1974) in looking at the rationalization/increased mechanisation of office work argues effectively in favour of the proletarianisation thesis. Briefly, he argues that the 'functions of thought and planning' become concentrated in an ever smaller group within the office. Consequently:

for the mass of those employed there the office becomes just as much a site of manual labour as the factory floor ... . The mental processes are rendered repetitious and routine, or they are reduced to so small a factor in the work process that the speed and dexterity with which the manual portion of the operation can be performed dominates the labour process as a whole. (Braverman 1974:325)

Thus even taking into account Giddens' argument, that the demand for skilled personnel is increased by the introduction of computers, he overlooks the fact that a polarisation has taken place within office employment in which at one end there are the authoritative executives representing capital and at the other end as Braverman puts it:

the creation of a large proletariat in a new form. In its conditions of employment this working population has lost all former superiorities over workers in industry and in its scales of pay it has sunk ... . But beneath them in this latter respect at least, are the workers in service occupations and the retail trade. (Braverman 1974:355)

### 2.3:6 OVERVIEW

Analysis of the middle class in contemporary capitalism has been tackled from varying standpoints of the 'theoretical spectrum'. The list of possible approaches to looking at and discussing the subject is sizeable and lengthy. The five approaches outlined above go some way towards illustrating the various ways in which the problem has been handled in both Marxist and Weberian analyses.

In viewing the position of the middle class in the light of the preceding examples one can ask: what are the factors which determine an individual's class position? In general, Marxists tend to put forward the view that the individual's position in the production process/relation to the means of production determines class position. The Weberians, generally speaking, have a diverse list of criteria in which any number of criteria may take prominence depending upon their particular theoretical slant. These criteria usually cover occupation, income, education which represent broadly the basic factors which enable them to separate out the capitalist/ruling class from the white-collar middle class and the working class/manual workers. Interestingly enough (given that it is not always granted theoretical primacy in terms of class determination within their perspective), occupation is one particular criterion which seems to be employed again and again in Weberian schemas. Parkin quoting from Blau and Duncan commented:

The backbone of the class structure and indeed of the entire reward system of modern Western society, is the occupational order. Other sources of economic and symbolic advantage do co-exist alongside the occupational order but for the vast majority of the population these tend, at best, to be secondary to those deriving from the division of labour ... . The occupational structure in modern industrial society not only constitutes an important foundation for the main dimensions of social stratification but also serves as the connecting link between different institutions and spheres of social life, and therein lies its great significance. The hierarchy of prestige strata and the hierarchy of economic classes have their roots in the occupational structure; so does the hierarchy of economic classes have their roots in the occupational structure; so does the hierarchy of the political power and authority, for political authority, in modern society is largely exercised as a full-time occupation. (1973:18-19)

The division of labour is the operative term in the above quotation. When Parkin states that occupation is the backbone of class structure, he is correct to the extent that it is the individual's economic position which continues to be at the base of class determination. However, the fundamental basis of class does not rest at this level, as some Weberians seem to indicate. Occupation represents what one can loosely term the 'end product' of a process which has

as its base the relation of the individual to the means of production, which fundamentally outlines the individual's position within the capitalist mode of production. This statement may seem to many as being an economic determinist stance, and this may be so to the extent that here we are attempting to look at class determinism from what Carchedi jargonistically calls a 'high level of abstraction'. However, this should not be viewed in a theoretical vacuum for class analysis does not end here; what it does provide is a basis on which to build. Carchedi's thesis illustrates the way in which a theory of class grounded in an analysis of the relation of the individual to the means of production can be brought to a lower level of abstraction, with an analysis of the function of the individual in the social division of labour. This he states results in the economic identification of class position. It is this approach/stance which has led to him being labelled as an economic determinist.

It would seem sufficient attention has not been paid to the fact that at the level of the social division of labour one has to take into account the 'social relations of production' - which in this instance takes place not only at the level of the economic but also the political and ideological. This is not to suggest that everything which takes place at the level of the social division of labour is determined by the economic but that initially the economic has a fundamental role to play. However, at the level of the social relations of production the actors may be able to rationalise their situation for themselves and as such various lines of cleavage and alliance may be formed. This takes place against a backdrop of their perceived political and ideological interests in the form of antagonisms which are not consciously perceived as economic antagonism - and indeed may not be. This line of argument may seem more plausible if one argues that the members of each class need not and do not act in the same way, do not have identical interests for they are not a "faceless military uniformity". (Millar 1966:171)

Concretely classes are not unified or homogenous either organizationally, politically or ideologically, but exist in factured and fractured forms. The unity of a social class as a social force is always problematic. A more or less extensive unity may be brought about (for example politically) but only through the articulation of different organisations and interests within that class. To argue otherwise implies that the concept of class carries with it into concrete reality a unitary and pre-given consciousness such that each class has a unique and necessary consciousness. (Wolpe 1984:3)

This is particularly true of the middle class for example - who range from authoritative representatives of capital through to the routinised work of the clerical worker. Carchedi's thesis suggests that the new middle class performs both the function of the collective worker and the global function of capital in varying degrees and combinations. This then to an extent reflects the possible combinations of intra class interests which can be generated within the social relations of production, based on the individual's perceived ideological and political interests. The individual's function within the division of labour, whether it be either global function of capital or function of the collective worker, remains the same but their perceived interests at the level of the political and ideological may be contradictory to their position in terms of their relation to the means of production. As such class determination can be said to take on a more complex form in which; the individual's actions and perceived interests may represent an additional deterministic factor, which may run counter to their position at the level of the economic.

Consequently class analysis may begin from an analysis of the 'objective realities' - such as relations to the means of production, but one must not however be deceived into thinking that the individuals/groups/classes involved at the level of the social relations of production do not in some sense determine their own class position at other levels, outside of the 'production process', in terms of political, ideological and social factors. As such class

determination may be seen as a complex interplay between levels of the objective and the non-objective.

#### 2.4 Race and Class

Until relatively recently little attention has been paid to the analysis of social structures and conflict in capitalist societies in which 'race' (as an ideological construct) has been a salient feature. (Lockwood 1970, Blauner 1972, Parkin 1979) Taking Britain as an example, some support the view that immigration from Black countries of the Commonwealth has brought with it a significant new dimension to the pattern of stratification in Britain. (Allen 1973, Allen and Smith 1974) It can be said that prior to this situation social theorists had looked at the class structure of metropolitan societies such as Britain in terms of ethnic homogeneity, and as such the concept of 'race' occupied a position of secondary importance, a:

complicating feature that simply disturbed the pure class model rather than as an integral element of the system. (Parkin 1979:32)

In an article entitled 'Race, Conflict and Plural Society', Lockwood (1970) discusses this very point and states that:

Despite the dominating importance of the racial problem in both national and international affairs, the concept of race has not played a central role in the development of modern social theory. The fact that the study of race (relations) has been relatively isolated from the mainstream of sociological analysis is regarded as a grave disadvantage for the subject by some scholars who attribute this shortcoming to a lack of concern with race on the part of the founders of the sociological tradition. (1970:57)

Lockwood suggests that the creators of modern social theory adopted the stance that some lines of division could be found in all societies, but that they are of little importance as the focal point of group conflict - such as age and sex/gender. Alternatively other lines of cleavage could be of significance in this respect, yet are not universally present, such as racial, ethnic and some

religious differences. Lockwood states that from this point of view theorists argued that:

by ignoring the necessary but the unimportant, and the important but contingent, lines of division, the theorist is better placed to construct simple general propositions about the structure and functions of those inequalities of power and deference which are present in all societies and in relation to which the 'complicating' features of ethnic, racial, or religious bases of stratification can be introduced at a later stage in the analysis. From this viewpoint then ... the category of race is excluded from the formulation of general theories of social inequality. (1970:58)

With the awareness that race has been overlooked as an essential factor in the wider social structure of capitalist societies, some (Hall 1980) have focused on the historical approach and neglect of structural factors by previous sociological studies of race. This is accompanied by discussions of whether theories of racial stratification can be reducible to more general theories of class structure. In order to overcome the shortcomings of their predecessors, attempts have been made to understand the capacity of both race and class to act as structuring factors in terms of class positioning. (Hall et al 1978, Sivanandan 1982, Miles 1982) In so doing an attempt is made to give an account of the mechanisms which determine the position of Black people in capitalist societies. As such, attention is focused firstly on analysis of the historical outcome of capitalism and colonialism, and the structural ambiguities for class analysis stemming from that base. As Hall for example states:

One must deal with the historical specificity of race in the modern world. Here one is then obliged to agree that race relations are directly linked with economic processes: historically, with the epochs of conquest, colonisation and mercantilist domination and currently, with the 'inequal exchanges' which characterise the economic relations, between developed metropolitan and underdeveloped satellite economic regions of the world economy. (Hall et al 1980:308)

Secondly, attempts are made to investigate whether the class positioning of Black people is mediated by political, economic, social and racially specific

ideological structures, which to some extent define their class experience and determine their/the structural locations within the class structure.

There is now a relatively large and varied set of literature written by theorists who have attempted an analysis of societies in which 'race' is a salient feature. For brevity's sake this literature can be said to fall roughly into two broad theoretical camps - taking into account the range and variety of approaches taken in each. Thus at a generalised level the first can be identified as a Marxist perspective and the second a broad Weberian perspective. Hall (1980) more cautiously and wisely identifies these perspectives - for simplicity's sake - as 'economic' and 'sociological' respectively. Hall sees the two perspectives as representing inverted mirror images of one another:

Each tries to supplement the weaknesses of the opposing paradigm by stressing the so-called 'neglect element'. In doing so, each points to real weaknesses of conceptualisation ... Each, however, I suggest is inadequate within the operative terms of its present theorization. (1980:305)

In general terms it can be argued that the broad Marxist perspectives attempt to reduce issues of race to issues of class. In this sense then they can be said to regard economic relations and economic structures as representing the principal determining factor even within those social structures which take on a distinctive 'racial character'. As such they imply that those adopting the Weberian perspective mistakenly analyse what they feel are manifestations of deeper economic contradictions - such as racial conflict. For within the broad Marxist frame of reference it is argued that racial structures cannot adequately be understood:

outside the framework of quite specific sets of economic relations.  
(Hall 1980:308)

Much of the Marxist difficulty in dealing with race arises in part as a result of what they - as Katznelson (1973) suggests - regard as the deflection of class consciousness and conflict to one of racial consciousness and conflict. They thus defend their position by arguing that anyone who assumes race exists is playing the racialist game. Thus Katznelson states:

These Marxist sentiments are noble, but not rooted in reality. Colour has been a mark of oppression related to, yet independent of class. (1973:6)

This notion of 'playing the racialist game' surfaced in Miles' book 'Racism and Migrant Labour' (1982). Miles begins by stating that:

Concepts serve to filter action and belief into categories which are then deemed to stand in some sort of 'causal' relationship to each other. This process is not restricted to academic discourse but is, as Gramsci so cogently observed, evident in the everyday world of 'common sense': in this sense, everyone is a philosopher or intellectual. Hence, I acknowledge that the world of everyday/political discourse identifies a race/race relations situation/problem. What I wish to question is the way in which common sense discourse has come to structure and determine academic discourse so that it too admits to the existence of 'races' and 'relations between races', with the consequence that a distinct and separate field of study is deemed to exist - ie the sociology of race relations. In other words I shall argue that the notions of 'race' and 'race relations' have no descriptive or explanatory utility and should not therefore be carried into academic discourse from the every-day world. Indeed - I could go further and argue that their continued academic utilisation serves to legitimate their continued utilisation in the every-day world. (1982:3)

Put very simplistically - and probably in the process doing Miles' argument an injustice - it would seem that Miles is suggesting that reinterpreting the concept race to that of 'migrant labour' (in this sense changing the mode of analysis to examine the position of New Commonwealth workers in terms of labour migration and its function in relation to the economy) would enable academic discourse to make redundant the term 'race' because it does not as he put it, possess the descriptive and analytical potential of the former - 'migrant labour'.



We may reject Miles' argument on two counts. Firstly one is aware that 'race' does not 'exist'. The term 'race' is a common sense word rather than:

a valid scientific term, and that the use of the word wrongly assumes the existence, on the human level, of racial differences corresponding to genus and species in plants and animals ... . Modern science has established, above all, that the various races belong to a single unique species - homo sapiens - whose individuals share a basic inner structure and a single gene pool. (Catholic Commission for Racial Justice 1983:1-2)

However, what theorists have to contend with is the fact that in common sense discourse (or call it out there in 'the real world') race has been reified and it does have meaning (whether it exists as a social construct/ideological construct or not) and it has consequences. As Sivanandan points out:

... it is action which gives meaning to a word - it is in the act that the word is made flesh. In the beginning it was the act not the word ... you cannot do away with racism by using different terminology ... what is material, however, is neither the term nor the group differences it implies, but the differential power exercised by some groups over others by virtue of, and on the basis of, these differences - which in turn engenders the belief that such differences are material. (1982:163-164)

In this sense the differences may serve to justify or rationalise economic, political or indeed social interests and consequently take on an autonomous reality of their own. It is on the basis of this that the analysis of the concept of race has to be understood. For, secondly, 'actors' in society have chosen to make sense of their world with the use of what one might call 'social constructs' - race being one of them. Miles rejects the idea that 'race' as a concept should be carried into academic discourse from the everyday world. He argues that its academic utilization would only serve to legitimate its continued use in the everyday world. A question which can be put to Miles is 'is it not possible that at some level theoretical concepts may be grounded in the real/empirical world?' If one wishes to exorcize 'race' out of academic discourse it will have to be handled in such a way that analysis of the concept brings one closer to identifying the 'structures' which lie behind it.

These 'structures' do not exist in a vacuum. They emerged from specific social formations which themselves were generated from various historical epochs. Thus it is a contextual analysis from which theorists can hope to get at the objective (as opposed to common sense) meaning and reality of a ideological/social construct which as Miles puts it created a 'racialised' set of people. However in suggesting that by asking whether at some level theoretical concepts may be grounded in the real/empirical world, it is important to state that one has to decide which aspects of the real/empirical world to abstract away from. Problems begin to emerge when we try to understand whether the 'social facts' we are working with are social constructs which are created by the perceptions of the actors themselves or alternatively are structures of which the actors are not necessarily aware.

Both class and race are socially constructed to the extent that there are social actors who hold varying perceptions of class and 'race' who act out their lives differently because they have these perceptions. However, a deeper historical argument indicates that class and race have been socially constructed in significantly different ways. The former as a social construct has to an extent become a 'given'; it has shifted from being a tool for understanding to one of 'natures givens'. Class is not something that one can see or touch, but it is a concept which has meaning both in academic and common sense discourse, and as such it has been attributed with explanatory and descriptive powers. No society is viewed as being classless or unstratified; efforts are made to explain in functional terms:

the universal necessity which calls forth stratification in any social system. (Davis and Moore 1945:242)

Thus class is in some sense 'real' regardless of whether or not the individuals in a class situation have a concept of class. The latter only becomes real in a context where generally a sufficient proportion of the society believe it to

be real and more importantly have the power to impose this definition on the rest. Unlike the Marxists/the economic approach, which attempts to reduce issues of race to issues of class the Weberian/sociological perspective argues that race as a social feature is autonomous and non-reductive and exhibits its own types of structuration, has its own particular effects which:

cannot be explained away as mere surface forms of appearance of economic relations, nor adequately theorized by reducing them to the economic level of determination. (Hall 1980:306-307)

The Weberian/sociological perspective is an inversion of the first and as such attempts to introduce, as Hall puts it, a necessary complexity into the simplifying schemas of an economic explanation. This perspective follows Weber's lead and subsumes racial groups under the rubric of 'status' and consequently distinguishes them from classes. Katznelson (1973) suggests that for Weber himself 'status' has a dual, and partially contradictory set of meanings. Firstly, it designates groups with non-economic origins, and secondly, it designates groups which share a style of culture and consumption. As such Katznelson argues that any attempt to make a distinction between racial groups - seen as status groups - and classes is flawed in either sense, given that racial groups function as economic, status, and political levels/features of the social structure concurrently.

Remaining with the theme of race as a status group, Parkin (1973) when discussing the various dimensions of inequality occurring in multi-racial societies, states that status positions (in this instance, the system of social honour is based on ethnic or racial difference) are not necessarily in alignment with occupational or class positions. He suggests that the negative social honour attached to Black minorities in the British context cannot be explained in class terms. Instead one has to take account of a complex set of cultural and historical factors such as the institution of slavery and White colonial conquest. He thus argues that contrary to being dissolved by the

forces of modern industrialism, powerful historical influences of this kind have persisted to create a distinct source of status inequality. He goes on to state that status ranking associated with historically rooted race factors is functionally *unrelated* to the occupational reward system, and as a result there are discrepancies between class and status positions. Thus he states:

Expressed somewhat differently, we would say that members of these 'mixed' societies have two quite different sources of social honour, one deriving from the occupational order and the other from some historically based system of evaluation. The former rests primarily upon achievement criteria, and the latter upon ascriptive criteria, consequently, they need not necessarily be in close alignment. (1973:37)

This particular line of argument ignores the possibility that race may in fact have an effect on the position of Black workers in the labour market. In this sense one would be attributing race with the 'power' to act as a structuring influence and in a sense determinant of Black workers' position in the occupational reward system. In arguing that race (as status position) is unrelated to occupational position and consequently class position, Parkin like some approaches within the 'economic' perspective still regards race as an exogenous factor which in terms of class determination occupies a lower level of analytical utility.

2.4:1      Approaches to the issue of Race and Class Some theorists have made progress developing the race, class debate *however* they are not essentially concerned with Black workers in the British context but principally with the employment/structural position of migrant workers in Western Europe (that is to say the position of migrant workers in the class structure of European societies).

André Gorz

Writing in the late 1960s and early 1970s some theorists resolved to analyse the position of migrant labour by utilizing the concept 'underclass'. (Gorz 1970, Rex and Tomlinson 1979). A protagonist of this thesis - *Andre Gorz (1970)* suggests that immigrant workers in Western Europe (this in general terms included New Commonwealth workers in Britain) occupy the position of an underclass, in which they hold the worst paid jobs and experience the worst social conditions in terms of housing etc. Gorz substantiated his argument by suggesting that the various functions which immigrants serve, and the advantages which the capitalists accrue from the immigrants can be viewed at two levels - that of the political and the economic.

At the level of the political Gorz suggests that the presence of immigrant labour enables:

... a basic modification in the social and political structure of the indigenous population to be artificially produced. (1970:28)

For in most instances the immigrant worker is excluded from trade union action and this in turn leads to a considerable reduction in the political and electoral weight of the working class which achieves for the capitalist class a:

denationalization of decisive sectors of the working class, by replacing the indigenous proletariat with an imported proletariat which leads a marginal and cultural existence deprived of political, trade-union and civil rights.(1970:28)

Gorz however, does not simply see the position of immigrant labour as merely that of helping to neutralise certain sectors of the working class, for in addition he argues that their presence has made more effective the translation of some sectors of the indigenous workforce from manual jobs into tertiary and technical activities which acts so as to further diminish the national working

class by 20%. As Gorz sees it, these two 'strategies' serve to depreciate the social and economic value of manual work, and manual workers as a whole, and therefore they act so as to deepen the separation between manual work and technical, intellectual and tertiary work.

At the level of the economic, Gorz argues that the advantage of an immigrant underclass lies in the fact that immigrant labour in Western European countries comes as 'ready-made' workers, which amounts to a substantial saving, as the receiving countries are able to save on housing, schools, hospitals and other infra-structural facilities, for a large proportion of migrant labourers do not bring their families with them. They are also placed in tiring, dirty and repugnant jobs which are underpaid and as such Gorz argues they are a 'super-exploited' sector and source of additional surplus value for the Capitalist class.

It would seem from Gorz's discussion of the position of migrant workers in Western Europe that he regards their position as functioning as an elaborate tool for the capitalist class, which (put simplistically) they use to subordinate the indigenous working class. As he states:

The absence of immigrant workers would not simply provoke an increase in wages and the political weight of the 'national' working class it would detonate a general crisis of capitalist society at every level, by modifying the whole set of historical conditions on the basis of which the price of labour-power and the wage structure are determined. (Gorz 1970:31)

Can this account of the position of migrant labour in Western Europe be usefully applied to that of the position of New Commonwealth workers in Britain? It is apparent that some adjustment would have to be made. It is necessary to point out before continuing that the structural position of New Commonwealth workers in Britain has progressively become more similar to that of the migrant workers in Western Europe. This is related to the fact that

New Commonwealth immigration is typified by increasing restrictive legislation which highlights interestingly the role played by government. The 1971 Immigration Act (surrounded as following Acts were, by open racial debate and open racist intent) effectively placed the New Commonwealth migrant in some important ways on the same level as the European foreign worker. The New Commonwealth worker who entered Britain after the 1971 Act came into force had to possess a work permit and came to Britain under contract to a specific job. As such they did not possess full labour market rights. Sivanandan aptly sums up the situation when he states:

The immigrant was finally a migrant, the citizen an alien. There is no such thing as a Commonwealth immigrant anymore. There are those who came from the Commonwealth before the 1971 Act came into force (January 1973) but these are not immigrants; they are settlers, Black settlers. There are others who have come after the Act, they are neither settlers nor immigrants, they are simply migrant workers. Black migrant workers. (1982:111)

However, given the above, if one observes New Commonwealth immigration to Britain, it is evident that the majority came as British citizens and as such had certain rights which in the majority of instances the migrant workers in other Western European countries have been denied. Furthermore, the migrant workers who came to Britain from the New Commonwealth were allowed to take up permanent residence in Britain, unlike their counterparts in Europe - who were usually employed on a contract basis and were expected to return to their country of origin once it expired. However, the fact that Britain's New Commonwealth workers are Black adds another factor which serves to complicate the issue. New Commonwealth workers in Britain and migrant workers in Western Europe do share a number of features - in terms of impediments to life chances - at the level of the economic, political and social. However, and this is to put the argument somewhat simplistically, the relation of migrant labour to the class structure of Western European countries is underlined by the 'temporary nature' of their situation in the receiving countries. The New

Commonwealth worker's position in Britain on the other hand up until the enforcement of the 1971 Act, was of a more permanent nature.

As mentioned above, they as British citizens are granted certain civil rights which should entitle them to the same access to rights as the indigenous White population. However, additional structural mechanisms have been at work which have greatly eroded any rights which they (New Commonwealth workers) may have had. They have entered and remained within a 'niche' of uneven development, within the labour market. Gorz's thesis does not fully explain how this niche has been created.

If the New Commonwealth workers came to Britain as migrants from Australia, Canada or New Zealand would their fate be the same? The Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders come just as the New Commonwealth workers - as British citizens. However, the difference lies in the fact that more than likely the former would be able to merge into the British way of life at the level of the economic, political and social. The New Commonwealth worker on the other hand is rendered 'different' by virtue of the colour of his/her skin and significance is attached to this notion of differentness. So much so that they are relegated to the bottom of the economic political and social structures of British society. It would seem that readily visible phenotypical differences, have been given 'socio-economic' significance. Thus in terms of the class determination of New Commonwealth workers, a purely economic reductionist argument such as that put forward by Gorz only goes part of the way in unravelling the complexities of the position of the Black worker - for his/her position is unique. In specific reference to the British context one has to begin as some do (Rex and Tomlinson 1979) from the stance that:

... Britain emerged from a historical process in which a variety of forms of colonial social structure came into being. (1979:236)



and gave rise to specific types of relations between social groups based on 'colour'. As Zubaida (1970) points out:

the historical legacy of colonialism enters in important ways into shaping relationships between Black or coloured minorities and White majorities in Europe and the U S. Phases in the development of Western capitalism gave rise to different types of relationship with the colonial peoples: early conquest and trading relationship accompanied and closely followed by enslavement and the extensive use of slave labour in production of raw materials, British colonial administration and military presence in many areas of the colonial world for over a century and finally with the need for labour after the second world war for industrial expansion in Britain, the importation of labour from ex-colonial territories, leading to the present immigrant problem. (1970:3-4)

Following on from this perspective Zubaida puts forward the thesis that it was from this background (which has its roots in the historical development of capitalism and colonialism) that Black ex-colonial groups became regarded as inferior and under-privileged. In his thesis Gorz fails to take into account this historical perspective. One is very aware that the economic situation of the post-colonial world determined to a great extent the patterns and conditions of labour migration, but what Gorz fails to illustrate by grouping all migrant labour in Western Europe under the general rubric of 'underclass', is that in the British context the migrants are Black. Their position within the British labour market and their relation to the indigenous working class and institutional structures cannot be analysed solely in 'economic' terms for their place within the historical development of capitalism and colonialism is of significance.

#### Castles and Kosack

A modified version of Gorz's underclass thesis has been put forward by *Castles and Kosack* (1973). In much the same way as Gorz they focus on the economic and political advantage which the presence of immigrant labour poses for organised capital in Western European countries. Castles and Kosack's

approach differs from that of Gorz to the extent that they do not regard migrant workers as representing a sub-proletariat class or an underclass. They adopt the stance that both migrant workers and the indigenous working class come together to form part of a single working class. The criteria they employ for identifying the migrant workers' class position within Western European societies is their position in the production process in that they do not own or control the means of production, they work under the direction and in the interests of others and they do not have any control over the product of their work. As such Castles and Kosack argue that low income, insecurity, social problems, are insufficient justification for classifying migrant workers as a separate class, a 'new proletariat', an underclass, or a sub-proletariat. Indeed they state that the term new-proletariat:

postulates that immigrant workers have a different relationship to the means of production from that traditionally characteristic of the proletariat. (1973:476)

Having argued for the similar positions which migrant labour and the indigenous workforce occupy in the production process Castles and Kosack go on to acknowledge the fact that it is migrant labour who become concentrated in the unskilled occupational positions and therefore occupy the lower stratum, and the indigenous workers who form the higher stratum of the working class.

The structural positions occupied by both New Commonwealth workers in Britain and migrant workers in Western Europe seem to be very similar, by virtue of the fact that they consistently hold the worst paid jobs and experience the worst social conditions in terms of housing and infrastructural facilities. Some theorists seem to use this fact as an excuse to suggest that, due to the similarity of experience between White migrant workers on the continent and New Commonwealth workers in Britain, race is not a significant factor in terms of the determination of the class position of New Commonwealth labour in Britain. To reiterate, the justification for this line of argument is that even

though the 'race factor' is not present in the Western European context (because the migrants are mostly White) migrant workers in Western Europe still occupy a similar structural position to that of New Commonwealth workers in Britain. Although their structural positions may be roughly the same, the route taken to reach their respective positions is significantly different. Within the Western European context (excluding Britain) the position of the migrant worker in the economic class structure is determined in essence by the restrictive mechanisms which are legally imposed and built into the dominant institutions - resulting in the denial of full citizenship rights and all the disadvantages that accompany such status. In this sense then the receiving countries are able to regulate the nature and size of migration into their country - with the majority of migrants being imported on a temporary basis, whether as contract workers or seasonal workers. This not surprisingly must have an effect on access to employment - which in their case is severely limited and legally supported by restrictive state mechanisms. This then in broad terms outlines the nature of the structural position of migrant workers in Western European countries.

The position of New Commonwealth workers in the British class structure is closely related to the type of employment to which they are able to gain access. New Commonwealth workers began entering Britain during the late 1940s and the early 1950s. Initially migrant labour came from the Caribbean, but by the early 1960s migrants began to arrive from the Indian sub-continent. These migrants came to Britain mainly to enter the bottom of the labour market where their labour was in demand. The sectors of employment which they entered were those characterised by the fact that they were low-paid, unskilled, dirty jobs to which the employers found difficulty in attracting indigenous labour. As such it would be fair to hypothesise that initially the recruitment and placement of these migrant workers into certain sectors of employment was based on the economic needs of the employers. It is also fair

to hypothesise however, that having made adjustments to living in Britain (for example in terms of industrial work and urban life) one would expect that many of these New Commonwealth workers would be able to secure better jobs than the ones they originally started off with. This however has not been the case, in the majority of instances, as Lea (1980) points out:

... Blacks who came say 21 years ago are in similar positions to those who came more recently. (1980:131)

The Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Group (1980) in their study of 'Discrimination and Disadvantage', as well as various PEP Reports (Daniel 1968, Smith 1976) state that movement out of this type of employment is retarded by structural racism at both the macro and micro levels of analysis. Its effects act so as to prevent, in the majority of cases, the entry and movement of individuals within the labour market due to the significance attached to their differentness - based on colour of skin. This situation could not persist through the actions of racist individuals in isolation. Structural racism in the labour market can be said to represent an aspect of a complex set of 'structural barriers' which have evolved in British society - whether unintentionally or not - which have disadvantageous effects for Black people not only in employment, but in all aspects of their economic, political and social existence - resulting in their political, economic and social marginalisation. A discussion of structural racism will take place in the following chapter.

To summarise the discussion so far, it can be said that the structural position of the migrant worker in Western Europe is determined within a framework of legal restriction on entry and placement which is underlined by the temporary nature of their position. The structural position of the New Commonwealth worker in Britain may be equated, to an extent, with that of the former - however, the fact which underlies the latter's position is the notion

of 'race' (and its effects) which places New Commonwealth workers at a distinct disadvantage in the spheres of their economic, political and social existence, in relation to the indigenous workforce.

### Miles and Phizacklea

One perspective which might take issue with the argument advanced here so far, is that put forward by Miles and Phizacklea (1980). Chapter one of their book 'Labour and Racism' is particularly pertinent in this context. Miles and Phizacklea begin their analysis of capitalism, class and migrant labour in Britain by usefully stating that in assessing the presence, the position, and circumstances of Black workers in Britain one has to begin by recognising the fact that Britain is a capitalist social formation with a history of colonialism and imperialism. Having said this they then go on to state that:

an explanation for the presence, position and circumstances of Black people in Britain is not completely or ultimately reducible to class relations in the sense that Black workers are only workers. That is to say, we maintain that there are structures and processes in the British social formation which must be comprehended as real phenomena 'in themselves' and not as being only the reflection of some broader and more important structure or process. (1980:1)

In referring to the 'concept race' Miles and Phizacklea state that 'race' for them has no reality other than as a social construction. Thus it was their intention to discuss 'race' as a social process rather than 'race-in-itself'. Having clarified this point they went on to state that they did not regard this social process as representing an inevitable or universal feature of social formations but more as an occurrence which needs to be traced and explained in an historically specific framework for each formation.

In order to contextualise the position of the Black workers in Britain Miles and Phizacklea employ the use of the term migrant labour, arguing that this term served to highlight the fact that the intention of Black workers was

temporary settlement for the purpose of material and social advancement in the home country upon return. In outlining their understanding of the concepts of capitalism and class they argue that classes within capitalist formations are structurally determined in relation to the productive forces and the capitalist mode of production which produces and reproduces two 'unambiguous classes', the working class and the bourgeoisie and following Wright (1976) they argue for the existence of certain contradictory locations between these two classes. Fundamental to their schema is the concept 'class fraction' - which they regard as a means of identifying the base of stratification within classes, and which as an *objective position* within a class boundary is able to determine both economic and politico-ideological relations.

In looking at migrant labour and capitalism in the Western European context we see that Miles and Phizacklea first make the distinction between forms of migrant labour, firstly, internal migrant labour (which refers to movement within a national boundary), and secondly, international migrant labour (which involves movement across national boundaries). Miles and Phizacklea suggest that international migrant labour itself takes two forms - colonial or proximate. They state:

In both historical instances there is a relationship between the two main nations of economic domination/dependence but the nature of the related politico - ideological domination/dependence is different. The colonisation process has had as one of its features the direct politico-ideological domination of the colonised social formation such that there was direct or indirect political rule and the development of an ideology alleging the inferiority of the dominated ... . In the case of proximate international migrant labour, there is, or has been, no direct politico - ideological domination of the economically dependent formation, although economic domination will also entail aspects of politico-ideological domination, particularly when dependent formation is predominantly rural with only small industrial centres. (1980:10)

Remaining with the discussion of proximate international migrant labour Miles and Phizacklea state that for a variety of historical reasons two formations have entered into an unequal economic relationship and proximate geographical

relationship makes it possible for the 'inequality' between the countries to progress a step further with the movement of labour from the dependent formation to the dominant formation. An example of this form of international migrant labour they suggest is represented by migration from Turkey and Greece to Germany. Given the relationship between the international migrant labour and the dominant formation Miles and Phizacklea maintain that migrant labour does have a specific and objective place in both economic and politico-ideological relations which constituted a class fraction. However this relationship they argue does not in any way alter the class determination of the migrant labourers, for within the context of the working class they represent a class fraction which occupies a distinct economic political and ideological position - which is subordinate to that of the indigenous labour(er). Interestingly they go on to suggest that:

both capital and labour have, in certain circumstances, concluded that it is in their mutual interests to maintain migrant labour in certain sectors of the labour market, both consequently ascribing inferior characteristics to migrant labour as justification for their action. (1980:14)

Thus Miles and Phizacklea conclude that the actions, policies and practices of both labour and capital confine the migrant labour to those sectors of the economy which are low-wage and socially undesirable.

With specific reference to Black migrant labour in Britain Miles and Phizacklea point out that New Commonwealth citizens share with citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies (prior to large scale immigration beginning in the 1950s) the right to live and work in Britain. Consequently when the problem of labour shortage in certain sectors of the economy developed - they found:

it was much easier for Commonwealth citizens to come to Britain to sell their labour power than for, say, Southern Europeans who were legally aliens and were obliged to obtain a work permit. (1980:14)

As stated in the previous discussion of New Commonwealth migrant labour to Britain earlier in this section, Miles and Phizacklea state that the rights of residence and access to employment for New Commonwealth citizens have gradually been removed. They argue that, since the 1971 Immigration Act, Britain now has a contract labour system similar to that pertaining in the rest of the EEC. However despite the provisions of the Act, Britain is still unable to deport on a significant scale the vast majority of Black workers who arrived during the 1950s and 1960s in an attempt to eliminate unemployment. They go on:

Thus, by virtue of the legal status of Commonwealth citizens prior to the legislative changes of the 1960s migrant labour from the New Commonwealth, given its specificity as a fraction of the working class, is reproducing itself as part of the working class, not as migrant labour, but as Black indigenous labour. (1980:16)

Miles and Phizacklea regard Black migrant labour as having the right of full political participation in the formal sphere of electoral politics (something denied to migrants in other Western Europe formations). However they qualify this statement by pointing out that in political relations they do occupy a subordinate position (although not formally) in terms of discrimination against Black workers in employment, housing and the provision of services.

In looking at Black migrant labour in terms of their place in economic relations Miles and Phizacklea state that they do not constitute an underclass and that 'stratification by colour' has not replaced 'stratification by class'. However they argue that although the majority of Black workers are not concentrated in the unskilled sector, neither are they randomly distributed throughout the working class. That is, although the majority of Black migrants are structurally a part of the working class, there is also a systematic pattern of economic 'stratification' within that class - of which they concede that:



... there is now evidence to suggest that the concentration of Black labour in the manual working class is being reproduced, partly because of racial discrimination. (1980:19)

In order to account for the systematic pattern of economic stratification of Black labour within the working class they argue that this is to be expected given that migrant labour was attracted to Britain specifically to fill labour shortage in certain sectors of the economy; and that the recent decline of British capitalism has made them unable to move out of the undesirable sectors of the economy. They go on to argue that some theories fail to acknowledge that:

Black labour is migrant labour and that its presence and position in the British economy must therefore be evaluated in the context of the structural demand of the capitalist mode of production for migrant labour. (1980:20)

This argument seems somewhat contradictory. Previously Miles and Phizacklea stated that the position of migrant labour in Western European formations is formally maintained by legal-political subordination and consequently they are defined as migrant labour. Alternatively they stated that Black migrant labour in Britain reproduces itself as part of the working class, and not as migrant labour (they represent them as a *Black indigenous* labour force). In so saying how is it possible that Black workers can at the same time be regarded as reproducing itself as part of the working class and *not* migrant labour. Yet we find that Miles and Phizacklea argue that analysis of their position:

must be evaluated in the context of the structural demand of the capitalist mode of production for migrant labour. (1980:20)

What Miles and Phizacklea fail to acknowledge within their analysis is that colour of skin is of significance. (Significance is attached to it via racist beliefs operating at the level of ideology which can be articulated at the level of economic relations). The concept 'race' meaning the possession of supposed characteristics which justify exclusion - is an important factor not

only in ideological relations, for it ensures that the position of Black workers in Britain is made to be synonymous with the concept migrant labour - and the status attached to it. Consequently they occupy a particular position within the structure of economic relations on the basis of that status.

Miles and Phizacklea's argument that the frame of reference for analysing the position of Black workers in Britain should be that of migrant worker is still unable in the final analysis to take primacy in the British context where race does play a part in class determination. Due to the obvious eurocentric nature of the analysis - one wonders how their theory of race and class could be used to look at the American context. The majority of Black Americans occupy similar structural positions to that of Black workers in Britain. If their position cannot be evaluated in migrant labour terms, what other frame of reference is there, which can be said to determine their structural position in the American economy - after all one cannot deny that they are an indigenous workforce.

Miles and Phizacklea provide an interesting analysis and support is given here to particular facets of their analysis, for example their discussion of the legal, political, and ideological subordination of Black workers. However they fail to give sufficient acknowledgement of the capacity 'race' has to structure the structural position of Black labour.

#### Hall et al

Hall et al (1978) examine the race class debate by assessing the position of Black youth/second generation Blacks in Britain. In summarising their approach one could say that Hall et al argue that Black youth can only be properly understood as a class fraction which is defined by age, generation, and importantly by its position in the history of post-war Black migration. Hall et al begin their argument by stating that with the growing economic

recession the structural position of Black workers in the labour force, particularly that of the young Black school leavers, has progressively come to resemble that of an ethnically distinct class fraction.

They suggest that there are '*structural forces*' and '*mechanisms*' which have been operating throughout the entire post-war migration period. These '*structural forces*' and '*mechanisms*' they argue are usually measured in terms of discrimination against Blacks labour. However, they themselves do not feel that this type of analysis of Black people's position is adequate. They suggest that inherent within this type of analysis is the proposition that Black men and women occupy similar positions to that of their White counterparts, in terms of relation to the key structures of British society. Thus although this line of analysis concedes that a significant number of Black people do encounter discriminatory practices in housing, education, employment for example, Hall et al suggest that it provides a deceptive picture, in that racism and discriminatory practices are treated as:

individual exceptions to an otherwise satisfactory 'rule'.  
(1978:340)

Hall et al suggest that the starting point should be to examine what are the regular and routine structures, and the effects they have had over the post-war period of migration with particular reference to Black youth.

Using the reference point of Black youth they begin by looking at the school and education system which they regard as being one of the structural forces operating within society. They state:

It is above all the school and the education system which has the principal function of '*skilling*' the different sectors of the working class selectively, and assigning Blacks to their rough positions in the hierarchy of occupations. It is the education system which reproduces the wage-earner within the class structured division of labour, distributes the cultural skills roughly appropriate to each sector within the technical division of labour, and attempts to construct that collective cultural identity and disposition

appropriate to the positions of subordination and secondariness for which the majority are destined. (1978:340)

Hall et al see the education system as having to a large extent depressed Black youths' opportunity for employment and educational advancement. In this sense they state that the young Black worker is reproduced as labour destined for the lower end of the employment scale.

This process of reproduction Hall et al see as being accomplished, in part, through a variety of racially specific mechanisms. One such mechanism is cultural expropriation of Black youth. In this sense it can take on various forms, such as basic misrecognition of history and culture through syllabuses and textbooks.

In turning to look at the links between school, educational achievement and occupational position Hall et al suggest that the linkages between these three stages are well established. As such they have operated in general to position Black school leavers substantially in certain distinctive locations within the work force - that being the unskilled sectors and semi-skilled sectors. They state that in the British context Black labour stand in:

precisely the relation to modern international capital as cheap 'White' migrant labour from the Southern half of Europe stands to the workers of the 'golden triangle' (thriving Northern European Capitalist countries). (1978:342)

Hall et al then move on to suggest that within the British context two processes have been at work resulting in the double effect of a major decomposition and recomposition of Black labour. Firstly the process of decomposition. This process they state occurs as a result of recession and unemployment - which has an immediate impact on Black labour in that they take the brunt of the recession by being forced further down the hierarchy of skilled occupations and into unemployment.

Secondly, the process of 'recomposition'. This process Hall et al see as long-term and more significant in its effects. They state that during the 1950s when British industry was expanding and found itself undermanned, labour was introduced into the labour force from the Caribbean and Asian sub-continent. However, during periods of recession the process is altered, as incoming immigrants become fewer and those already resident in Britain are pushed into unemployment. Hall et al state that:

in short, the supply of Black labour in employment has risen and fallen in direct relation to the needs of British capital. Black labour has literally been sucked in and expelled in direct relation to the swings and dips in capital accumulation. (1978:343)

It is at this stage that Hall et al see the economic, political and ideological factors converging. In this sense the economic, in terms of the underlying requirements of British capital, has governed the 'flow' of Black labour. At the level of the political, the flow has been regulated by legislative action. And at the level of ideology the ground has been prepared:

for the use of Black labour as a fluid and endlessly 'variable' factor in British industry is the growth of racism. (1978:343)

They then go on to place the analysis of Black labour in a much wider framework of analysis and suggest that their position should be seen within the context of the recomposition of sectors of capitalism itself. Thus they argue that there are specific structural features which outline the way in which Black labour has been subsumed into metropolitan capital in the post-war period - which they suggest cannot be attributed entirely to discriminatory attitudes on the part of particular employers or individuals. They go on:

As has happened before, the conditions of economic recession are being used to drive through a major recomposition of Black labour by capital itself, through the political and ideological forces aligned with its long-term 'needs'. There is therefore no point in trying to understand the position of Black workers and their labour in terms of the immediate contingencies of discrimination. (1978:344)

Hall et al suggest that these *structural mechanisms* serve to reproduce what appears to be a racial division of labour (a theme which Miles (1982) develops in his thesis of racialisation of Black labour) which occurs as a structural feature of the general division of labour. In tracing the ideological underpinnings of racism in the British context they acknowledge the historical legacy of commercial colonial exploitation and economic imperialism - which not only helped to secure Britain's past and present economic position but also:

imprinted the inscription of racial supremacy across the surface of English social life, within and outside the sphere of production and the expropriation of the surplus. (1978:345)

They argue that colonialism initiated antagonistic relations between the British working class as a whole and the colonial work-forces. The development of the imperial period at a later stage they argue served to provide the dominant classes with what Hall et al felt to be the most effective and penetrating ideological weapon (with which they attempted to extend their hegemony over an ever stronger and more united proletariat), the ideology of popular imperialism and race superiority. With the importation of immigrant workers, the variegated structure of class interests between the British and the colonial working classes they argue was then reproduced in an internally divided form. For the colonial working class were positioned within those sectors of the market which had been vacated by the indigenous working class. Here again Hall et al assert the capacity of race to act as one of the mechanisms by which - inside and outside the place of work - the reproduction of an internally divided labour force has been accomplished. Miles whose work in 'Racism and Migrant Labour (1982) approximates - in terms of its basic assumptions and concepts concerning the class reproduction of Black workers in the British context - that of Hall et al, criticises Hall et al's approach for the reification of the concept 'race'. He states:

Hall et al here construct 'race' as an active force which has its own, real effects, in this instance, at the level of the reproduction of classes. Yet no attempt is made to define what precisely 'race' is or refers to. The authors seem to be trading on 'common sense' because these and other claims imply that the concept is being used to refer to biological difference, as when they claim (1978, p355): the second generation simply is a Black generation, knows it is Black and is not going to be anything else but Black. (Miles 1982:177)

He suggests that the latter claim indicates that Hall et al have constructed a 'biological deus ex machina (ie, blackness)' which he feels obscures what is essentially an ideological construction which has significant repercussions for both intra and inter-class relations, due to the fact that it is being reproduced in the context of a certain form of production relations. This criticism seems somewhat peripheral to the fundamental point which Hall et al were trying to get across. However, although implicit in their work it is apparent that in referring to the concept of 'race' as representing a key constituent of the reproduction of class relations Hall et al, from the outset, appear to be working within the framework of viewing 'race' as a social construction. In fact on various occasions they refer to 'race' as an ideological weapon used against certain sectors of the work force - not as a biological fact. In this sense it is erroneous of Miles to suggest that Hall et al equate race with biological connotations/differences. In fact Miles' basic argument differs very little from that of Hall et al except that he employs the use of the term racialisation (which he states indicates the existence of a social process in which human subjects articulate and reproduce the ideology of racism and engage in the practice of racial discrimination, but always in a context which they themselves have not determined).

This basically falls in line with the two processes which Hall et al outline - those being the decomposition and recomposition of Black labour which determines the way in which they as a class fraction have been subsumed into metropolitan capital.

### Gabriel and Ben-Tovim

Gabriel and Ben-Tovim (1978) develop a specific Marxist approach to the analysis of race and class in which their mode of analysis focuses more on the origins of racism as being located within ideology and ideological practices and in this sense put forward a number of critical observations in reference to the issue of race and class in capitalist formations. It is evident that their analysis begins with the premise that their approach would not follow the well trodden path of economism and class reductionism. As such Gabriel and Ben-Tovim's approach leads them to start the debate from the ideological level of social formation - viewing it in terms of its relative *autonomy* and its complex interactions with other levels of the social totality. Gabriel and Ben-Tovim suggest that the concepts of race and racism must be seen as concepts whose objects are ideological. In this sense the concept of race and racism:

must be considered as primarily the product not of economic exigencies or purposive human activity, but of determinate ideological practices, with their own theoretical ideological conditions of existence and their own irreducible contradictions. Only subsequent to this process of ideological production do specific racial ideologies intervene at the level of political practice and economy. (Gabriel and Ben-Tovim 1978:139)

From this premise Gabriel and Ben-Tovim attempt to highlight two sets of arguments presented in Marx's analysis of the capitalist mode of production which they feel form the basis of current economic argument put forward by Marxists who attempt to develop an economic variant of the race, class debate. They identify the first by stating that it suggests that the capitalist mode of production requires stratification based on racist lines, due to a series of specific economic requirements or exigencies. Gabriel and Ben-Tovim see this particular argument as being characterised by the fact that the production of a surplus population/reserve army of labour is seen as the necessary outcome of:



Capital accumulation and transformations in the organic composition of capital and its constituent elements. (1978:133)

in which:

The centralisation of capital ... and the conflict that ensues as a result of this process provides the basis for racial conflict, assuming the various fractions of capital coincide with racial categories. (1978:133)

The second argument concerns as they put it:

the inevitability of a declining rate of profit as a consequence of the decline in the ratio of constant to variable capital. Amongst a series of counteracting tendencies designed to offset this process is the mechanism of reinforced exploitation. (1978:133)

This they suggest provides, in principle, the basis for the super exploitation of certain groups in the economy. They then go on to suggest that the common denominator in Marxist approaches which employ these two arguments, is the fact that they attempt to create the necessity for racial categorisation in terms of a set of economic exigencies. In this framework then Gabriel and Ben-Tovim argue that race is not regarded as being a 'false ideal representation' but real economic categories, or more specifically classes or fractions of a class. Consequently they go on to argue that whether Marxist theorists are looking at the position of Black migrant labour, or immigrants, they will argue that the position of these three 'groupings' is a consequence of those tendencies to be found in all capitalist societies based on the two sets of argument outlined above.

In looking at what they call the relationship assumed to exist between changes in the composition of capital and changes in levels of employment, Gabriel and Ben-Tovim state that the assumption that changes in the level of employment always exist as a function of changes in the composition of capital cannot be sustained. This seems a somewhat curious statement to make given the economic

events which surround (taking the British context as an example) the migration of New Commonwealth workers to Britain during the early 1950s. As Hall et al state:

In the early 1950s when British industry was expanding and undermanned, labour was sucked in from the surplus labour of the Caribbean and Asian sub-continent. The correlation in this period (and indeed throughout the whole cycle) between numbers of immigrant workers and employment vacancies is uncannily close. In periods of recession, and especially in the present phase, the numbers of immigrants have fallen; fewer are coming in and a higher proportion of those already here are shunted into unemployment. In short, the supply of Black labour in employment has risen and fallen in direct relation to the needs of British capital. (1978:343)

Another criticism which they make of the 'pure economic arguments' concerns those theorists who attempt to reduce racial categories to specific economic groups. Gabriel and Ben-Tovim suggest that an analysis which takes this form leaves no option for diversity of circumstances within immigrant categories, Thus they state:

It is simply not the case, empirically, that all members of a particular group to whom a common racial designation is socially imputed can be considered members of one class. In the cases we have considered there is ... a significant structural variation within particular 'Black', 'coloured' or immigrant categories. Thus sweeping references to the 'Black sub-proletariat' or the 'Black underclass' obscure the differentiation amongst Britain's Black population. (1978:134-135)

They suggest that the tendency for economic arguments to develop the notion of a Black underclass is based upon inaccurate generalizations which are necessarily related to the general theoretical looseness with which such arguments are discussed within the context of race relations. Thus in looking at the notion 'reserve army of workers' (which is seen by the economic argument to be a 'tool' created by the capitalists) Gabriel and Ben-Tovim state that no distinction is made between the various types of surplus population, and only a limited attempt is made to distinguish:

the underclass/sub-proletariat from the working class/proletariat in terms of the Marxist conceptualisations of class at either theoretical or substantive levels of analysis. (1978:135)

As such they state that these arguments would seem to suggest that there is a one-to-one correlation of race and class or class fraction. In one sense one can agree with Gabriel and Ben-Tovim's criticism, for it throws light upon an additional dimension which adds to the complexity of the race-class debate - that of the diversity of circumstances which outline the structural position of Black migrants. This is of particular relevance here in that it is directed in essence at an analysis of those Black workers who (in broad terms) occupy a structural position equating that of the middle class judged in terms of their position in the social division of labour (ie do not produce surplus value and do not own the means of production). The position of this grouping poses an interesting problematic in that in terms of the race and class issue, their position at a generalised level of analysis runs contrary to the various economic based arguments. As such a pertinent question to ask would be whether their existence represents a temporary aberration to be rectified by the race specific mechanisms which are said to exist in contemporary capitalist formations. Alternatively does their existence (as small in numbers as they may be) signify a significant departure from the notion that capitalism has an economic need for racial stratification? In another sense Gabriel and Ben-Tovim's criticism of the economic arguments which attempt to reduce racial categories to specific economic groups gives the impression that they only take this type of analysis at face value and criticise it for being reductionist. It is equally plausible to argue however, that the economic argument goes some way towards highlighting in a broad sense that the structural position of Black workers in the British formation is fundamentally different to that of their White counterparts. This is a useful step in that it enables one to be more critical of the mechanisms operating within the capitalist economy which might have differing effects on certain sectors of the workforce - resulting in these sectors occupying a subordinate (structural)

position. Consequently it is analysis of these mechanisms which enables theorists to attempt to look not solely at the concept of race and racism within the ideological context, but at the structural mechanisms which are able to articulate the belief that differences based on the notion of race are significant and consequently have their effect at the level of the economic.

Gabriel and Ben-Tovim's basic argument suggests that in starting primarily from the level of the economic there is as a result only one possible type of relationship that can be established and consequently ideological and political structures are reduced to mere artefacts of the economy. This is a valid criticism and one can well understand their reservations concerning the economic argument. However, if one accepts the argument for the autonomy of ideology in which struggles between Black and White workers are struggles over the social definition of race, which does not have to be related to the broader system of capitalism as a whole, one would be viewing the debate purely from the level of ideology. If as they say they wish to work from the ideological level of social formation and view it in terms of its relative autonomy and its complex interaction with other levels of the social totality, then they will have to take into account the linkage between the level of ideology and the economy as part of the social totality, (in this sense ideology thus yields its autonomy). This linkage should be analysed in terms of a 'dualness' so that the ideological linkages that exist between the historical development of capitalism and colonialism and race as a concept are underlined when viewing their position in terms of social formation. If one uses the colonial period as an example, it can be said that colonialism and its accompanying racism was not simply linked to the ideological plane. It extended beyond that to the economic context and the 'needs' of capital. Capitalists in the metropolitan countries needed to maintain industrial development; thus their need for raw material at the lowest possible price and cheap labour was greater than ever. Consequently:

... the plantation system of the New World composed an integral part of the international market relation of the growing capitalist system. The demand for slaves subject to mercantile calculations regarding production costs and market prices. (Baron 1971:3)

It was obvious that the:

economics of slavery could not have existed over an extended period as just a set of shrewd market oriented operations. (Baron 1971:6)

As Baron (1971) states, the maintenance of the slave system could only persist if the Black man was set apart; he had to be seen as different if slavery were to continue to exist. Thus Blacks were set apart by the fact that any rights which low-status groups within the metropolitan countries may have had, they as slaves did not. It is at this level that ideology realises its effects at the level of the economy and the economy in turn realises its effect at the level of ideology, and the linkages become apparent.

Frank Parkin (1979) criticised both Marxism and bourgeois social theory for failing to take ethnic divisions seriously. He states:

In defining the chief characteristics of capitalist society they selectively emphasized those features such as the schism between labour and capital that were common to all capitalist societies irrespective of their cultural and historical differences. Whereas class could be presented as a universal and inherent attribute of capitalism, the same could not be said of ethnic divisions. The split between religious, racial or linguistic sections of the population appeared to owe more to the peculiarities of history than to the logic of any productive system. The proper theoretical strategy was therefore to treat ethnic factors as complicating features that simply disturbed the pure class model, rather than as integral elements of the system. (1979:32)

Given the above, Parkin's criticisms are basically aimed at Marxist theories of class, which he feels wrongly place their emphasis upon structural factors, (meaning in this sense the position the actor occupies in production relations). In so doing he argues that they are unable to take account of the

saliency of the cultural and social characteristics of the actors who occupy those positions in production relations. As Miles (1982) states:

Parkin thereby locates the major analytical problem as being the need to specify the connection between class divisions and 'ethnic/communal relations'. (1982:153)

As noted earlier in section two, Parkin employs the concept of 'social closure' which he borrows from Weber. In interpreting Weber's concept Parkin argues that social closure refers to the process by which social collectivities seek to maximise rewards by restricting access to resources and opportunities to a limited circle of eligibles. This has the effect of singling out certain social or physical attributes as the justificatory basis of exclusion (in this context 'race' represents the justificatory basis for exclusion). Parkin identifies two main generic types of 'social closure' - *exclusion* and *usurpation*. The former - which he states is the predominant mode of closure in all stratified systems - represents an attempt by one group to secure for itself a privileged position at the expense of some other group through a process of subordination. In other words:

it is a form of collective social action which intentionally or otherwise gives rise to a social category of eligibles or outsiders. Expressed metaphorically, exclusionary closure represents the use of power in a 'downward' direction because it necessarily entails the creation of a group, class or stratum of legally defined inferiors. (1979:45)

Usurpation represents action taken by the 'negatively privileged' who employ the use of power in an upward direction. In this instance collective attempts are made by the excluded to obtain a larger share of resources. (Consequently they represent a threat to the legally defined superiors).

Parkin then goes on to extend the concept of 'social closure' by suggesting that *exclusionary* forms of closure in any social system display a certain mix of 'collectivist' and 'individualist' criteria. Collectivist criteria exclude

individuals by reference to characteristics that are integral to their identification as a member of a group (Miles 1982:154) such as race, religion and ethnicity which are negatively defined. This process produces a subordinate group of a communal character, one defined in terms of a total all-encompassing negative status. An example of this is Black people under apartheid. Individualist criteria represent the polar archetypal case and it is a process which excludes individuals from gaining access to rewards and opportunities. This process gives rise to a subordinate group marked by intense social fragmentation and incorporateness. The example here would be the case of a pure meritocracy in which class is almost entirely replaced by a form of discrete segmental statuses, which never quite reach the point of coalescence. Parkin states, however, that:

in non-fictional societies of course, individualist and collectivist criteria are usually applied in some combination or other, so producing stratified systems located at various points between these two extremes. (1979:60)

He demonstrates this by stating in a simplified form that three major types of subordination emerge, first, communal groups (which arise out of collectivist exclusion) secondly segmental status groups (which arise out of individualist exclusion), thirdly, social classes which are presented as a combination of both collectivist and individualist criteria.

Although not a theory of class - as Parkin is first to admit - his approach represents a way of conceptualising it. It allows for an analysis of intra-class relations which is of particular significance when analysing the 'tensions' that exist between members of the same class. His approach is also able to take into account not only the pattern of structured inequality which outlines the tensions between classes but it also takes into account other forms of social ordering - such as race. That is to say, exclusionary closure can be used by the indigenous working class against Black workers. This,

however, takes place against the background of exclusionary strategies employed by the dominant class against both the indigenous working class and Black migrant labour.

In addition, Parkin states that social classes could be defined by reference to their mode of collective action, rather than to their place in the productive process or the division of labour. He states:

The reason for this is that incumbence of position in a formally defined structure does not normally correspond to class alignment where it really counts - at the level of organised political sentiment and conduct. This serious lack of fit between all positional or systemic definitions of class and the actual behaviour of classes in the course of distributive struggle, is not due to any lack of refinement in the categories employed. It arises from the initial theoretical decision to discount the significance and effect of variations in the cultural and social make-up of the groups assigned to the categories in question (1979:113)

This statement is of particular interest in relation to the survey population of Black professionals and business people who have been interviewed for this research. In 'formal' Marxist terms their structural position/location would be defined as that of middle class - based on their relation to the means of production. However, in terms of class consciousness and political sentiment they can in broad terms be argued to be more aligned with the perceptions of the working class. Or more specifically they experience their situation in terms of race and identify in the majority of instances with their fellow Blacks - who are positioned predominantly at the bottom of the labour market. This must be of relevance in terms of determining the actual subjective awareness of their position. At this stage one would ask the question how much significance in analytical terms, should be attributed to that subjective consciousness? Class need not necessarily be defined solely at the level of the economic for there is the possibility that it can be identified at a more specific level in which class consciousness is taken into account. This is



particularly relevant when dealing with race and class, for it is only by analysis of the personal/lived experience of the actors that an understanding can be reached concerning the political character of any group(ing) of individuals who share similar experiences. These experiences should not be written off as false consciousness.

Parkin's social closure thesis has come under criticism. It has been stated that in reacting against what he sees as the structural determinism of Marxism he goes to the other extreme and rejects any form of structural explanation and plumps for an analysis based on the social processes of distributing resources and opportunities. Miles (1982) levels three major criticisms at Parkin. Firstly Miles argues that Parkin operates analytically only at the level of phenomenal relations and as such operates with a reified notion of 'race'. Miles states:

'Race' 'racial divisions' and 'racial conflict' are all posited as real phenomena which are either produced by other processes or are factors/influences in their own right (1982:1)

To an extent one can defend Parkin by arguing that 'race' and 'racial conflict' are real phenomena. Race is an ideological construction. However, ideology should not be regarded, as Hall (1980) states, as a simple form of false consciousness:

to be explained as a set of myths or simple false constructions in the head. All societies require specific ideologies, which provide those systems of meaning concepts, categories and representations which make sense of the world and through which men come to live (albeit unconsciously, and through a series of 'misrecognitions') in an imaginary way, their relation to the real, material conditions of their existence (which are only representable to them as modes of consciousness, in and through ideology) (Hall 1980:334)

We have to :

begin by investigating the different ways in which racist ideologies have been constructed and made operative under different historical conditions the racisms of mercantilist theory and of chattel slavery of conquest and colonialism; of trade and high imperialism, of

'popular imperialism' and of so-called 'post imperialism'. (Hall 1980:341-342)

Thus when Miles argues against what he calls the reification of 'race' and 'race relations' he can be said to obscure the fact that although in essence 'race' is an ideological construction, it is important to acknowledge that beliefs (shared by sections of a given formation) grounded in racist ideologies may serve to rationalise or indeed justify economic and political interests and as such take on an autonomous reality of its own which has real material effects. So in this sense 'race' can be said to be real for it is a lived experience for those who are subordinated on the basis of racist beliefs.

Miles' second criticism is justified. He argues that it is not clear whether the different communal groups identified by Parkin are 'allowed' to occupy a class position. This is due to the fact that the dualistic type of exclusion (ie collectivist and individualist) which Parkin identifies, obviously concludes that there are different types of subordinate group which are presented as being mutually exclusive. Miles suggests that one is forced to conclude from this that the identification of a communal group excludes its members from having a class position (class position being one of the three main types of subordinate group that Parkin identifies). Yet Miles points out that elsewhere in the text Parkin makes clear references to a subordinate class having distinct segments with one segment using exclusion strategies based upon collectivist criteria against another.

Miles' third criticism focuses on the way in which Parkin overlooks colonialism and the internationalisation of the labour market. He argues that this is as a result of the fact that Parkin refuses to consider production relations. Miles sees this as relevant given that it is by beginning with factors such as group relations to the productive process/the division of labour that one is able to build the foundations upon which to analyse within

a Marxist framework the relationship between class structure and migration.

Thus he states:

in the process of so doing it is necessary to reject the notions of racial/ethnic conflict/divisions as being equivalent to class conflict/divisions (1982:156)

#### 2.4:2 SUMMARY

The race and class debate is a very complex and contentious issue which writers and theorists have tried to contend with in order to construct workable theoretical models in which they attempt to integrate both race and class relations within Western Capitalist formations. Hall (1980) states:

There is as yet no adequate theory of racism which is capable of dealing with both the economic and the superstructural features of such societies, while at the same time giving a historically concrete and sociologically specific account of distinctive racial aspects. (Hall 1980:336)

It is difficult to disagree with this statement, as it obviously 'rings true'. As stated at the beginning of this section the various theoretical approaches to the race, class debate (or the analysis of societies in which race is a salient feature) fall into two broad theoretical camps - the 'marxist' and 'sociological'. Broadly speaking the former category attempts to reduce issues of race to issues of class - in which economic relations and economic structures are seen as representing the principal determining factor. The sociological approach on the other hand argues that race as a social feature is autonomous and non-reductionist and exhibits its own forms of structuration, has its own particular effects which 'cannot be explained away as mere surface forms of appearance of economic relations, nor adequately theorised by reducing them to the economic level of determination' (Hall 1980:306-307)

Hall's 'ideal' theory of racism which he suggests should be capable of dealing with both the economic and superstructural features of societies in which

'race' is a salient feature while at the same time giving a historically concrete and sociologically specific account of distinctive racial aspects, would seem to fall somewhere in between the two broad camps outlined above. This is a useful approach, and indeed it is reflected in the work of some Marxists (in their own internal critique of economic reductionism) who have tried to move away from too deterministic a framework to possibly one which as Hall puts it appropriates some aspects of the Weberian framework:

It has been noticed recently that some Marxist theorists, when required to integrate political and ideological structures into an economic analysis of a Marxist kind, sometimes also attempt to deal with themselves by a somewhat untheorized appropriation of Weberianism. (Hall 1980:314)

This, what can loosely be termed as convergence of approaches (the convergence not being in any sense total) can be productive analytically, in that it avoids the polarisation of stances concerning race and class, which theorists on the one hand such as Castles and Kosack hold and that of Frank Parkin on the other.

With specific reference to the British context one can begin by asking: "Does Black labour stand in exactly the same relation to the means of production as the indigenous workers?" If one adopts the view that 'race' is not a salient feature in the analysis of the structural position of Black workers - then the answer may be yes. However, such a view would have to be able to account for the reasons why since Black labour began arriving in Britain in significant numbers during the 1950s and 1960s to fill positions at the bottom of the labour market, characterised by low pay and insecurity, and why they are still to be found in the same structural position. Not only that but their children who were born and educated in Britain can now be seen to occupy similar structural/economic positions (although as Hall et al (1978) and Miles (1982) rightly point out in terms of class reproduction the emerging generations of Black workers do not face the same set of circumstances as their parents

faced. One of the reasons for this is their different position in political/legal relations to that of their parents). (Brown 1984)

Those who argue that race is not a salient feature in relation to the class structuration of Black workers in the British context, often argue that one cannot unequivocally state that within the British context the major institutions are regulated by racist ideology. This sort of statement implies that those who share the view that 'race' does have the capacity to determine class position are arguing that British Capital and the State have consciously:

pursued a policy of actively encouraging the articulation of racism in order either to better exploit Black labour and/or to divide politically the working class. (Miles 1982:174)

In such an instance the economic class position of Black workers would be heavily influenced by race. Or to put it another way, the life chances of Black workers would essentially be more a function of 'race' than of class - such as that in the South African context. The situation in Britain takes on a more 'sophisticated' form in which one would find it difficult to prove unequivocally that the major institutions are regulated by racist ideology, even with <sup>empirical</sup> evidence which highlight the principal role which, for example the State has taken in legitimising racism in Britain by virtue of its implementation of racist immigration control. Miles states that:

there is no inevitable logic which supports the claim that racism is functional to capital. (Miles 1982:1974)

This line of argument is easily appealing to those who do not wish to commit themselves to an analysis which argues for the view that 'race' has the capacity to determine class position. It is at this juncture that the need for what some (Rex 1979, Hall 1980) regard as historical specificity becomes apparant.

During the periods of conquest and colonialism, they argue, there was great demand for labour, which was needed to exploit the natural resources of the Americas. Earlier attempts to use the indigenous Indian populations were not successful. The 'planters' came to realise that there was another source of labour to be had in the African continent. This began the transportation of African people to the Americas. However the exploitation of these Black people as slaves had to be justified, and the rationalizations put forward often took the form of powerful myths and ideologies of White supremacy. One of the earliest rationalisations was that the African was a heathen and a savage. Thus, it was believed, in order to save him from himself he had to be christianised. Popular notions of Christian mission served conveniently to justify their enslavement. Social Darwinism also played its part in providing the rational for the persistence of slavery. As Knowles and Prewitt (1969) state:

the evolutionary process was characterised by struggle and conflict in which the stronger, more 'civilized' would naturally triumph over the inferior weaker, backward and uncivilized peoples ... . Survival of the fittest became lingua franca and Whites had a full blown ideology to explain their treatment of the inferior race. (1969:9)

Exploitation and oppression of peoples has been with mankind prior to notions of 'race' or nationality providing a basis for that exploitation. The specific phenomenon of White racism towards Black people is a more recent phenomenon out of which has developed the notion of a:

racial order dominated by Whites in which much of this exploitation and brutality has been channelled along the dimension of colour. (Blauner 1972:21)

It is evident that (colonial) racism was not merely linked to the level of ideology - it extended specifically to the level of the economic and the needs of capital. Capitalists needed to maintain industrial development, and as such their need for raw materials at the lowest possible price and cheap labour was greater than ever:

the plantation system of the New World composed an integral part of the international market relations of the growing capitalist system. The demand for slaves subject to mercantile calculations regarding production costs and market prices. (Baron 1971:3)

However, as Baron (1971) points out, it is obvious that:

the economics of slavery could not have existed over an extended period as just a set of shrewd market oriented operations. (1971:3)

What took place was the development of a whole system of control based <sup>on</sup> ideological, political, economic and social underpinnings. This system of control developed around a colour oriented racism. Baron goes on to suggest that the maintenance of the slave system was able to persist because the Black man was set apart, he had to be seen as different if slavery were to continue to exist. The 'setting apart' of the slave was achieved by the fact that any rights which low-status groups within the metropolitan countries may have had, they as slaves did not.

The idea that the ordinary working man in the street of metropolitan countries such as Britain was not in most instances interested in what was taking place in the colonies, may be true to a point. However, even if he was not, notions of White supremacy and Black inferiority did filter down and eventually become common currency. For, as some have pointed out:

attitudes of racial and cultural superiority were reinforced by the particularly acute sense of class consciousness which emanated from the industrial revolution in Britain. People were allocated a particular place in British society not only as a result of wealth and economic class, but also by family background, education, speech and acquaintance of social mores.<sup>122</sup> (Catholic Commission for Racial Justice 1983:4)

In this context then Black people as a result of their slave status were allocated a place at the bottom of the social order. Thus as Hall et al (1978) point out the dominant classes within capitalist formations such as Britain

during the imperial period were provided with one of the most effective and penetrating ideological weapons:

with which in the divisive period of class conflict leading up to the first world war they sought to extend their hegemony over an increasingly strong and united and confident (1978:345)

working class. In this sense racism can be said to be functional to capital.

It is important to note that it was not only the economic and ideological structures within metropolitan countries that were 'affected' by the colonial experience; the structures of political and legal politics, the legal system (see Lester and Bindman 1972), education and mass media, all in some way served to justify and legitimise a 'race rationale' which perpetuated colonialism.

If one takes a leap forward in time the racism which was inherent in the structures noted above becomes more apparent once New Commonwealth citizens from the Caribbean and Indian sub-continent begin arriving in Britain during the 1950s and 1960s. Prior to New Commonwealth immigration to Britain, Britain was able to view those 'dark skinned brothers' in the colonies as citizens of the commonwealth. As such, under the British Nationality Act of 1948 they were permitted entry into Britain to find work, settle and bring their families. The scene was set for the emergence of a form of racist ideology which diverged from the previous phase on two counts. First, and most importantly, the stage was set in Britain itself, not out there somewhere in the Caribbean or Indian sub-continent, but Britain. Secondly the ideology which was to emerge was not driven by overtly racist notions of White supremacy etc as were the earlier forms of overt racism as expressed during the colonial and imperial periods. This was not necessary for what one could call the persistence of a racist social structure. Racist ideology which was



fostered and developed in Britain's colonial and imperial history had permeated deep into the structure of British Society.

This form of racism we may call *structural racism*. The concept of structural racism can be used as an analytical tool which may go some way towards helping one to understand the nature of group relationships involved in a class analysis of an ethnically homogeneous society with a 'minority race' element. This shall be discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Taking into account the origin and development of racist ideologies, once they become embedded into governmental, legal and economic structures, it can be argued that they become the principal factors within the class structure of which they form a part. In this sense the group relations between Black and White cannot simply be seen as:

stratification plus racialist ideologies and ascription, but the very dynamics of the stratification system become profoundly influenced by its racial elements. Zubaida (1970:7)

It is possible that structural racism acts as a 'structuring force'. If one examines the relationship of Black workers to the level of the economic, political and social one can argue that their relationship to these levels of existence differs from that of the indigenous workers. For operating within Britain whether intended or not are a complex set of 'barriers', 'barriers' which work to the detriment of the majority of Black workers, in every aspect of their economic, political and social existence. The social processes of 'race' (given it is an ideological construction) distort the 'system', so that a pure class analysis is rendered inappropriate to deal with the effects of structural racism. Race cuts across class divisions - however difficulties arise from the fact that the effects of race can be interpreted as class effects. As Dummett (1973) points out:

What is true is that institutionalized inequalities between classes have provided a ready framework for institutionalized inequalities between races, because institutions that work to the disadvantage of

groups regarded as socially undesirable or unimportant obviously will work to the disadvantage of those who are thought racially unacceptable. (1973:36)

The effects of structural racism may act so as to incorporate Black workers into the social structure in under-privileged low-status positions. If one takes the example of the employment of Black workers since the 1950s one sees that they were channelled (and contained) into the least favourable segments of the economy. Movement out of the segments of the economy have been retarded by racial discrimination (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Group 1981) and other associated factors. Black workers' position within the labour market is determined by various structural processes which result in their 'low-level' structural position within the market. Its effects act so as to prevent in the majority of instances the entry and movement of Black workers within the labour market. In the following chapter there will be a more detailed discussion of this concept since the 1960s.

Finally, in returning to Miles' statement:

there is no inevitable logic which supports the claim that racism is functional to capital. (Miles 1982:174)

one can argue that although this statement - taken in its strict sense - reads as true, it cannot be denied that British capitalism today has deeply rooted within it the legacy of a form of racist ideology forged in its own colonial and imperial history. 'Race' may not be functional to capital as it has been, but one cannot deny that it is deeply implicated in the capitalist process, and whether directly or not serves capitalism in terms of for example, the post world war two recovery of the British economy, which in the process:

reproduced within the domestic economy the differentiated structure of class interests between the British and the colonial working class. (Hall et al 1978:345)

It is evident that the issue of race and class has provided the staple for a considerable degree of discussion among theorists. An attempt is made in subsequent chapters to discuss further the relationship that exists between race and class in Britain, and more specifically how the two interrelate in terms of positioning Black labour within the class structure.

CHAPTER THREE

STRUCTURAL RACISM AND CLASS FORMATION

STRUCTURAL RACISM AND CLASS FORMATION

This chapter is closely related to the preceding chapter in that the emphasis remains upon the notion of class determination. An attempt will thus be made by employing the use of the concept structural racism to put into 'theoretical context' the discussion of the structural location of those Black workers who occupy a position within the objectively defined middle class.

Racial discrimination appears more in sorting people into class positions in the first place than in giving them lower income from given levels of education and skills (Wright and Perrone 1977: 32-55)

The above quotation goes some way towards underlining the basic theme of this chapter - that the economic class position of Black labour in Britain is largely determined by the structural constraints of racism; not merely by the actions of individuals which can be described as reflecting racial prejudice but, put at its most basic and simplistic, a form of subordination which in Western capitalist formations serves to incorporate certain sections of labour consistently into the least favourable sectors of the economy. The question of Who, Why and How has provided the staple for various theoretical approaches and non-academic debate concerning the position of Black minority workers in predominantly White capitalist social formations, (Dummett 1973, Hall 1978, Parkin 1979, Rex 1979, Miles and Phizacklea 1980, CCCS 1982, Sivanandan 1982) Much of the debate (particularly Marxist debate) has focused upon the nature of capital, the State and White labour which are seen to represent the axle upon which the wheel of racism revolves and which serves to reproduce Black labour as a specific 'class category' at the bottom of the economic order.

In order to delimit the boundaries of this chapter the aim will be to direct attention towards a specific conceptual framework. This conceptual framework had its basis in the American Black power struggles, but has subsequently been

appropriated by academic and political discourse. The concept in this instance is that of Institutional Racism. The concept of institutional racism has, in one form or another, been employed by various theorists both in America and latterly Britain as an analytical tool to analyse the position of Black minorities and their incorporation into majority White capitalist societies. Running parallel to these debates are the arguments of those who ask 'is the concept of institutional racism basically a rhetorical expression or does it, as a concept, reflect actual sociological realities? (Mason 1982, Solomos 1983, Williams and Carter 1985) More specifically advocates of this concept have been criticised for being imprecise and, as such, giving spurious strength to arguments which are theoretically weak or which lack adequate supporting evidence (Mason 1982) Or, as Williams (1985) states:

... the present use of the concept fails to provide a theoretically adequate account of the creation and perpetration of racial inequality; it does not provide a guide to empirical research and most importantly, it allows policy developments ostensibly attempting to remedy racial inequalities to remain at the level of rhetoric (1985:1)

The remainder of this chapter is divided in two sections. Section one is subdivided; the first half looks briefly at the development of the concept institutional racism in the United States and its subsequent theoretical and analytical usage. The second half traces the appropriation of the concept by British/European theorists and attempts to assess the degree of fit between concept and reality in relation to the British context. Section two outlines how the concept institutional racism is defined within this research and attempts to examine whether, at an abstract level, the concept can be utilized as an analytical tool when looking at the class determination of Black labour in Britain.

### 3.1 Institutional Racism - The American Context

In general terms the theories to be viewed within this section all share a broad consensus in that they all consider there to be a process of racial discrimination/racial marginalization built into the structure of American society. As a result there is a clear emphasis upon social structure and the discriminatory patterns which they see as being institutionalized within that structure. The concept institutional racism, as others have pointed out (Barrera 1979), has been popularized in recent years. The notion of institutional racism (although the term was not actually used, its meaning was implicit in their analysis) first appeared in a much less cogent form during the first two or three decades of this century and was encapsulated within the notion of the suppressed nation.

The Communist Party (in America) was the first to develop a systematic presentation of the thesis which viewed Blacks as an exploited people within American Society. This thesis was developed to explain the circumstances of a Black population that was to a large extent southern rural and engaged in quasi-peasant agriculture. (Geschwender 1978) It was not until Kenneth Clark (1965) put forward a somewhat basic form of what came to be known as the internal-colonialism thesis that the focus was shifted from that of the Southern Black Americans to Black Americans in largely northern urban ghettos. The notion of institutional racism was beginning to be developed as Geschwender (1978) states when outlining Clark's thesis:

Clark's analysis predicates a deliberate policy of segregation designed and implemented by Whites for White advantage: (1978:90)

However, it was largely:

political events and trends rather than developments in social theory (Barrera 1979:15)

itself which led to the 'popularization' of the internal colonialism thesis by the theoreticians Carmichael and Hamilton in 1967. Carmichael and Hamilton were a part of the Black Power Movement and went on to develop further the colonial model in which racism was defined as the:

predication of decisions and policies on consideration of race, for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over that group: (Carmichael & Hamilton 1967: 19-20)

They went on to draw a distinction between individual racism, which they defined as the acts of individual Whites directed against individual Blacks, and what they termed institutional racism: acts committed by the total White community against the total Black community. They stated that institutional racism is:

less overt, far more subtle, less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the acts. But is no less destructive of human life "it" originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation. (1967:20)

Within their analysis institutional racism is synonymous with the term 'internal colonialism'. In attempting to outline the mechanisms of the 'colonial' relationship which they felt determined the position of Blacks in America, Carmichael and Hamilton argue that the process of institutional racism has its focus in three principal areas - the political, the economic and the social. At the level of the political they identify three factors - firstly they state that the decisions which affect Black people's lives have always been made by the 'White power structure'. They acknowledge that they are aware of the view that the 'body politic' is regarded as having a pluralistic character commensurate with the "many centers of power", and many different forces making decisions" (1967:23). However, they suggest that American pluralism quickly becomes a monolithic structure when confronted by issues of



race. The White power structure is thus seen as 'solidifying' in order to protect their vested interests. Carmichael and Hamilton state:

An established system of vested interests is a powerful thing perhaps especially when differences in power, wealth and prestige coincide with relatively indelible symbols of collective membership, such as shared hereditary, physical traits, a distinctive religion, or a persistently held culture. The holders of an advantaged position see themselves as a group and reinforce one another in their attitudes; any qualms about the justice of the status quo seem to be diminished by the character of the arrangements. (Carmichael & Hamilton: 1967:24)

Secondly, Carmichael and Hamilton refer to a process of 'indirect rule' in which they see the white power structure as ruling over the Black community via "local Blacks who are responsive to the White leaders". (1967:26) They state:

These Black politicians do not exercise effective power. They cannot be relied upon to make forceful demands on behalf of their Black constituents, and they become no more than puppets. They put loyalty to a political party before loyalty to their constituents and thus nullify any bargaining power the Black community might develop. (1967:26)

This is similar to the types of criticism levelled at middle class Blacks in Britain who have gone into the race relations industry and are seen to function as nothing more than compradors because they are said to have undermined the effectiveness of Black political struggle by acting as a buffer between the State and the Black population.

The third aspect of 'political colonialism' which they go on to identify is what they see as the manipulation of political boundaries and the devising of restrictive electoral systems. They state that although the Black population of America makes up only 10% of the population it is evident that they are:

geographically located so as to create potential majority blocs - that strategic location being an ironic side effect of segregation. (1967:32)

The strategy which the White political machines utilize to undermine this possible voting strength is the gerrymandering of Black neighbourhoods so that their true voting strength is not reflected in political representation. Thus Carmichael and Hamilton see a combination of the key factors operating to maintain the hegemony of White interests over the political process through the use of their power.

At the level of the economic Carmichael and Hamilton identify Black America's relationship to the larger society as reflecting their colonial status, and they effectively point out that the:

political power exercised over those (Black) communities goes hand in glove with the economic deprivation experienced by the Black citizens. (1967:32)

Carrying through the colonial analogy they state that:

... exploiters come into the ghetto from outside, bleed it dry, and leave it economically dependent on the larger society. (1967:33)

The basic needs of these 'exploiters' are their own personal profit and the basic impact is the maintenance and perpetuation of a racism which leaves the Black communities economically depressed. They go on to cite additional factors which compound Black America's position: denied jobs they are faced with their disproportionate unemployment figures, their low returns for education, the exploitative system of credit:

people pay 'a dollar down, a dollar a week' literally for years. (1967:36),

and

out of a substandard income, the Black man pays exorbitant prices for cheap goods, he must pay more for his housing than Whites. (1967:37)

In identifying one of the linkages between political and economic colonialism Carmichael and Hamilton state that the White power structure has had a significant part to play in the economic subordination of Blacks, precisely because of its reluctance to give loans and insurance to Black businesses. (For a detailed discussion of the historical inter-relationship between capital, political power structure, and Black entrepreneurship see M Marable (1983) How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America). In viewing these factors Carmichael and Hamilton state that White society will not do anything substantial to change the process of institutional racism due to the fact that the Black community:

has been the creation of, and dominated by a combination of oppressive forces and special interests in the White community. (1967:38)

It is the groups which have gained access to the essential resources, and who have the ability to effect change who in fact benefit both politically and economically from the maintenance of the subordination of Black America. They qualify this statement however by stating that:

This is not to say that every single White American consciously oppresses Black people. He does not need to. Institutional racism has been maintained deliberately by the power structure and through indifference, inertia and lack of courage on the part of White masses as well as petty officials. Whenever Black demands for change become loud and strong, indifference is replaced by active opposition based on fear and self-interest. The line between purposeful suppression and indifference blurs. One way or another, most Whites participate in economic colonialism. (1967:38)

Finally, in looking at the level of what they term social colonialism, Carmichael and Hamilton argue that the operation of political and economic colonialism in the United States has had social repercussions which have persisted and thrived long after the emancipation proclamation. As they state, colonialism:

relegated the Black man to a subordinated, inferior status in the society. The individual was considered and treated as a lowly

animal, not to be housed properly, or given adequate medical services, and by no means a decent education. (1967:23)

Carmichael and Hamilton highlight the human and psychological results of social colonialism, and the way in which it served to affect not only White attitudes towards the Black man, but also how this attitude of superior group position then affected the attitudes of Black people towards themselves.

At roughly the same time as Carmichael and Hamilton were employing the use of the term 'institutional racism' to assess the position of Black Americans in the United States, the concept began to be taken on board by social scientists. As Barrera (1979) and Williams (1985) state it was to be used for various explanatory and descriptive purposes. Robert Allen (1970) employed the use of the internal colonial model in his analysis of Black politics. However, as Barrera (1979) points out it was in the writings of Robert Blauner (1969) (1972) that the concept received its first systematic exposition. Blauner argued that Black Americans have been subjected to a system of discrimination which is *structurally* rooted. As such he stated that institutional racism is 'obscured' by the fact that it is more sophisticated, subtle, and gains expression in indirect forms which:

might be better termed neo-racism. (1972:141)

This form of racism is seen to replace the 'traditional' overt forms of racism which were characteristic in the 'Old South'. He goes on:

The centrality of racism is manifest in two key characteristics of our social structure. First, the division based upon colour is the single most important split within the society, the body politic, and the national psyche. Second, various processes and practices of exclusion, rejection, and subjection based on colour are built into the major public institutions (labour market, education, politics, and law enforcement) with the effect of maintaining special privileges, power, and values for the benefit of the White majority (1972:141)

Having said this Blauner then goes on to state that the notion of privilege lies at the heart of racial oppression. In order to generate privilege certain social factors have to be exploited and in order to maintain the process of exploitation there must be *control* - whether it be direct or indirect. Blauner states that the mechanisms of control range from:

force and violence to legal restrictions to cultural beliefs, ideologies, and modes of socio-economic integration (1972:22)

and all are central to an understanding of oppression. Blauner correctly points out that the notion of 'social privilege' is not limited to racist societies, for like hierarchy and exploitation:

it is a universal feature of all class societies, including those in which ethnic and racial division are insignificant. The values which people seek are never distributed equally, in the struggle for subsistence and social rewards there are always obstacles that impede some groups more than others. Thus systematic inequality and systematic injustice are built into the very nature of stratified societies (1972:22)

However, the process of institutional racism becomes apparent when these injustices and inequities fall predominantly upon those social actors who differ in colour or national origin:

because race and ethnicity are primary principles upon which people are excluded or blocked in the pursuit of their goals (1972:22)

Blauner argues that institutional racism is 'expressed most strategically' within the labour market and the structure of occupations. The reason for its centrality revolves around the fact that within capitalist societies economic institutions are central and occupational position is a principal determinant of social status and life style. He states:

If there is any one key to the systematic privilege that undergirds a racial capitalist society, it is the special advantage of the White population in the labour market. (1972:23)

The position Blacks occupy within the labour market is thus seen as that of an industrial reserve army which fits the system's need for an elastic pool of labour. Alternatively the White workers are regarded as having almost a monopoly on secure, highly skilled jobs which involve authority and carry with them the possibility of promotion. He goes on to discuss the role played by both public and private employers and unions in perpetuating the subordination of Black workers in the labour market. Finally, Blauner unlike the many whose rhetoric suggests that the high living standards of White America can be "attributed in toto to racial oppression and privilege" believes that the widespread affluence has come about mainly as a result of the:

organizational and technological capacities of American capitalism and the historically high productivity of the "rural and urban workforce". (1972:25)

Both Carmichael and Hamilton and Robert Blauner have employed the use of the term institutional racism in order to go some way towards explaining how it is that Blacks within American society have been restricted to socio-economic positions which are characterised by large scale economic imbalances and 'social problems'. Within both approaches the notion of privilege (mainly economic and status privilege) is seen to represent, to use Blauner's words, the "bulwarks of racial stratification". (1972:28) Blacks are subject to exclusion and rejection based on a concept of race which functions as an ideological rationalization for the exploitation of one section of the population. This is not achieved through practices, policies or laws which are explicitly regulated by racist ideology such as those that characterised the 'Deep South' (ie share cropping, debt peonage, and the Jim Crow Laws). Instead the socio-economic incorporation of Blacks (as highlighted by both approaches) has been restricted by processes which have been built into the structural features of American society and serve to exclude them from obtaining access to power and privilege.

The disjuncture between the two approaches concerns the issue of who 'benefits' from the Black American's subordinate structural location. Blauner argues that few Whites have a direct interest in Black exploitation, although he acknowledges that White workers do have something to lose by the elimination of racial privilege. However, he suggests that the principal White 'gains' are to be found in the area of political power and bureaucratic security, where a large minority of Whites have occupational and professional interests in seeing the maintenance of institutional racist procedures exercised, for example within the labour market through the discriminate practices of management or unions. Carmichael and Hamilton on the other hand argue that all White America benefits. Although neither approach attempts to incorporate a rigid class analysis within their 'colonial model', it does remain implicit in their work. However it can be argued that their approach at various times highlights the interaction between race, class and the process of institutional racism. For example the interests of middle class Whites can be said not only to structure class relations to a certain degree, but also have a degree of influence in relation to the 'racial dynamics' of American society. Firstly, in terms of their location within the social division of labour the middle class have an 'objective' antagonistic relationship with the working classes. There is a 'tension' that exists between them based on the fact that their function (put rather simplistically) within the social division of labour is to secure capitalist control over the production process. Secondly, in order to secure their class position it has been possible (Blauner 1972, Carmichael and Hamilton 1967) for them to use racism to their advantage by restricting Black mobility via discriminatory processes. As Blauner argues:

More Whites, but still a minority, profit from occupational and professional restrictions placed against Blacks. All Whites who have occupations in which Black participation is restricted through management or union discrimination profit by the diminished size of the labour force. Similarly, all professionals benefit if they practice in an occupational area where institutional practices or client preferences restrict Black professionals to clients of their own race\*, while leaving White professionals free to draw on both

Black and White clients. Similar gains result if professional schools discriminate in admissions. (cited by Geschwender 1978:89)

The systematic pattern of economic stratification which marks out the position of Blacks in the States is also beneficial to the White working class. For on an intra-class basis Black workers are viewed as an inherent threat to their economic class position as they are seen to represent 'cheap labour'. White workers have been able to pursue their group interests through racist practices and procedures employed by the unions who represent their interests so as to restrict Black workers' access to desirable sections of the labour market which in turn serves to worsen the class position of Black Americans. Thus as Blauner points out:

The marxian view that 'false consciousness' explains the failure of White workers to support racial movements and the non-White poor only illuminates one part of a complex reality. Since racial groups are real in America, the status concerns of race have a basis in social life. White workers know that they have something to lose by the elimination of racial privilege. (1972:28)

Viewed as a source of cheap (unskilled) labour Blacks represent value in terms of human resources for Capital. However, the position of the majority of Black labour, some have argued, is going through a process of transformation (Baron 1969) It is argued that in the future their labour may no longer be required, as innovative technology has been incorporated into the labour process to do the jobs that they used to do at a more economic rate. It may be argued that there are still the service jobs: janitors, cleaners, etc; however, these jobs too may be out of their reach as White labour also displaced from unskilled sections of the labour market seek to enter those once rejected fields of employment. Thus it may be possible as Willhelm (1970) argues that:

the changes now taking place in the economic system of White America counter the general thesis of exploitation; today, or at least in the foreseeable future, economic alterations are more likely to discount than to exploit the Negro while it may be true that the dominant economic interests of the nation embraced Negro labour to meet its needs - it now seems plausible that exploitation no longer remains a viable recourse for the operation of the national economy. The exploitation thesis may have had some validity in accounting



for certain past events, but it is increasingly inapplicable in light of new technology. The explanation is therefore bound to certain historical circumstances rather than advancing a general principle of White-Black relationships for American society. (Willhelm *'Who needs the Negro'*. (1970:133)

The process of institutional racism within the labour market is discussed by both Blauner and Carmichael and Hamilton. Blauner (1972) in particular argues that within capitalist societies economic institutions are central and that occupational role is a principal determinant of social status and life style. Both approaches suggest that the process of institutional racism has the power to restrict Black mobility, and it is in this sense that it can be argued that institutional racism acts as a structuring factor and as such, can be said to determine to an extent the position of Blacks in the class structure. A further example of this argument would be to look at middle class Blacks in the United States - or rather, as they see it, the creation of a Black middle class. In viewing the apparent provision of avenues of mobility made available to certain Blacks, Carmichael and Hamilton suggest that this also represents the way in which interested parties within institutions, through the process of co-optation, are able to foster the development of class differentiation among Blacks to their benefit - for these middle class Blacks will have a vested interest in maintaining the system of exploitation although the middle class Blacks themselves may not perceive it as such.

In this sense it can be argued that one has to take into account 'group power'. Whether it be organised in terms of class interests or perceived race interests it is evident that groups are able to assert their own class interests via strategies of exclusion within the social division of labour with particular reference to racial exclusion through processes operating within institutions (such as the labour market, education, politics, law) - which serves to determine the structural location of Blacks. Processes operating at both levels restrict the access of certain interest groups. As stated earlier

in chapter two this takes place on both an inter-class and intra-class basis. And it is this process of exclusion based on perceived economic, political, and social interests at the level of the social division of labour which is germane to the issue of race and class in capitalist societies where race is a salient feature for:

Race affects class formation and class influences racial dynamics.  
(Blauner:1972:28)

Baron (1969) states that:

the dominant institutional forms of American Racism have been erected for the subjugation of persons of African ancestry. While it is both necessary and correct to emphasize the political and economic structures that form the framework of the racist system, certain aspects of social interaction have to be seen as filling out the structure. The control systems have been bolstered in the abstract by ideological justifications, institutionally by normative prescriptions, and individually by adjustments to roles either of superordination for Whites or subordination for Blacks. The saliency of racism in American society is indicated by its pervasiveness in all areas of life from the most formal operations of government to the most casual types of interpersonal contact.  
(1969:137-138)

Baron identifies four institutional forms of racism which demarcate the stages of the Black presence in the United States: slavery, peonage, Jim Crow and latterly urban racism. He argues that each form has been characterised from its inception by conflict and contradiction, and that it is necessary to understand some of the important features of these past institutional forms of racism in order to:

comprehend the complex institutions of the present. (1969:135)

First slavery. Baron states that racism was coeval with American slavery and in so saying he underlines the inherent assumption that the economic and racism are closely inter-linked. Slavery represented a structural mechanism which served to both incorporate and control Blacks within the colonial context and thus define their class position as that of slaves:

the Negro became identified with the slave, and the slave with the eternal pariah for whom there could be no escape. The slave could not ordinarily become a freeman, and if chance and good fortune conspired to endow him with freedom, he still remained a Negro, and as a Negro, according to the prevailing belief, he carried all the imputation of slave inside him. (Baron (1969:136) quoting from Tannenbaum)

This quotation usefully highlights the way in which the notion of race and class begin to interact. The Black person's economic status was defined in law and economics by his position as slave, and the colour of his skin (rationalized to be a sign of his inferiority) was an indicator of his social status. However, even if his economic status changed from slave to that of a free man the colour of his skin was still held to be a 'symbolic indicator' of his class position. Race and class were closely interlinked with the notion of race providing a powerful determinant of class position.

The abolition of the slave system did not signal the abolition of racism, for with the period of reconstruction came a new institutional form of racism which reinforced the plantation system. The effective subjugation of Blacks was now maintained by:

many new varieties of labour control such as peonage and sharecropping. (1969:137)

This institutional form of racism was closely followed by the Jim Crow system of White supremacy and segregation which further entrenched the subordinated position of Blacks in relation to the economic, political, legal and social order.

The 'web of urban racism' as Baron calls it evolved with the urbanization of race, which came about as a result of the large scale movement of Black labour from rural South to the predominantly Northern metropolis. This demographic shift of Black labour from South to North, Baron states, was caused by:

some of the most profound economic and social developments in the twentieth century American history. Overall, it was a kind of push-pull phenomenon. The push was the displacement of Black labour from southern agriculture....The pull of the city was primarily exerted through the wartime labour shortage of the first and second world wars. The Korean war and Vietnam War repeated the pattern. (Baron 1969:141)

However, as Baron states, the North had other attractions - it offered higher wages, better hours, and a system of racial controls less obvious than the South's Jim Crow system.

In turning to look at what he saw as the 'structure' of urban racism Baron suggests that the *legal code* which characterised both the slave system and the Jim Crow system is no longer the shape of urban racism. Within the urban milieu anti-discrimination laws in relation to employment, housing and public accommodations are prevalent. In terms of both private and public organizations many of the formal, informal and unstated 'rules' on race have been dropped or modified. However he states that:

the social institutions have adapted to their historic heritage. Urban racism shows no sign of disappearing and operates almost as if sanctioned by statute. (1969:42)

Baron goes on to state what can be said to be one of the key features of this particular institutional form of racism - which represents a problem firstly for social theorists seeking to utilize the term, and secondly for interested parties seeking to establish policy changes to ameliorate the 'inequality' which Blacks face. It also provides a 'trump card' for those who object to the use of the concept institutional racism to account for the creation and perpetuation of racial subordination; For, as he states:

... urban racism *defies concise definition*. It is accurately definable only in terms of its diffusion throughout the operation of the major sectors of metropolitan life and through the procedures by which important institutions of the city establish priorities and choose between competing objectives. The immediate racial barriers, although they are still strong, do not, per se, define urban racism. In fact, within any particular institutional sector of urban life,

the racial barriers have numerous fuzzy edges and exceptions.  
(1969:142)

Baron argues that the way in which racial controls and differentiation in one institutional sector interlock to reinforce the distinctions in other institutional sectors underlines the effectiveness of urban racism. For:

As the specific barriers become less distinctive and less absolute, their meshing together into an over-riding network compensates, so that the combined effect of the whole is greater than the sum of the individual institutions. The minute operations of these institutions are so interrelated and bolster one another so efficiently they form a coherent system of control without the sanction of a legal framework. (1969:142)

In this sense, as Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) and Blauner (1972) argue, the perpetuation of fundamental 'racial controls' becomes less dependent upon specific discriminatory decisions. These practices become so institutionalized that individuals need no longer operate in a racist manner:

The rules and procedures of the large organizations have already prestructured the choice. The individual only has to conform to the operating norms of the organization and the institution will do the discriminating for him. (Baron 1969:142-143)

Baron goes on to construct a model of urban racism based upon observations of individual institutional subsectors from his studies of Chicago which provides a broad outline which as an analytical framework, he argues, holds true for all major metropolitan areas. The specifics of his observations will not be detailed here; instead a very brief résumé of his model will be put forward: Baron states that his model of urban racism has two fundamental conceptual components as regards institutional structures. The first component suggests that:

Within the major institutional networks that operate in the city there have developed definable *Black sub-sectors* which operate on a subordinated basis, subject to the advantage, control and priorities of the dominant systems.

The second component indicates that:

a circular pattern of reinforcement takes place between the barriers that define the various Black subsectors. (1969:143)

Baron cites four institutional sectors, the labour market, the education system, the housing market, and the political structure with the welfare system it controls, as representing the major institutional sectors in which the operation of components one and two function to provide the basic framework for the system of racial control. Within each of these four institutional areas he states that there has developed historically a *dual system* of operations characterised by a dominant White system and a subordinate *Black subsystem*. He states:

The well-established adaptation of both racial groups to these institutional dualities makes it possible to perpetuate such divisions, even though the absolute colour line between the subdivisions might not be as strong in specific cases as they once were. This line is infrequently tested, for Blacks as a group operate in the Black subsector and Whites as a group operate in the White subsector. Discrimination and discouragement usually remain sufficiently strong to prevent too many from operating out of their own area. Deliberate exclusion of the large magnitude that was necessary originally to create the subordinate Black subsectors is no longer requisite for their perpetuation. (1969:143)

Thus from the above it is apparent that the basic theme of Baron's model rests on the assumption that *subsectors* (which take the form of dual labour markets, sub-standard education systems in urban areas and virtual powerlessness in the political arena) have become the primary basis upon which racial distinctions are institutionally structured. Finally he states that the persistence of this particular institutional form of racism is related to the fact that it has become intertwined with the structural mechanisms through which power is exercised over both Blacks and Whites. Thus, if racism were to be 'abolished', this would ultimately threaten the power order, and it is this which represents the basic:

political dynamic behind the institutional maintenance of racism.  
(1969:171) (see also Genovese 1971:58-62)

Baron argues that just as:

race and class once combined in American Black servitude to form a unique social group, today their combined effects in the urban setting are creating another distinct element - the Black underclass. (Baron 1969:165)

Here too within Baron's model the linkages between institutional racism and Black class formation can be established. The first institutional form of racism to take place in America was the development of the slave system, and it was the explicit racist processes embodied within economic, political, legal and social institutions of this period that served to determine the way in which Blacks were incorporated into the class structure. Or, as Baron puts it, the system of slavery:

defined a class to which only persons of African ancestry belonged. (1969:164)

The present institutional form of racism, urban racism, does not bear:

the legal code that made the slave system and its successor the Jim Crow system so clear cut. (1969:142)

Urban racism serves to structure the class position of Blacks through a complex set of structured opportunities within key areas of the labour market, education system, housing system and political structure. Within each of these four institutional sectors Blacks occupy a subordinate position (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, Baron 1969, Blauner 1972), a combination of which in the majority of instances has a determinate effect on their class location. As such it can be argued that Black people's class position has little to do with their 'objective' relationship to the means of production and more to do with the effects of racial subordination. For their relation to the means of production is predominantly one in which the notion of race - manipulated by those who make a direct gain out of racism and larger numbers of Whites who

derive indirect advantages - has come to structure their economic, political and social existence.

The three approaches outlined above (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, Baron 1969, Blauner 1972) share with other theoreticians who utilize the concept institutional racism (Knowles and Prewitt 1969, Jones 1972, Marable 1983), the basic shift away from explanations of Black subordination which are apolitical and which reduce the analysis of racial inequities to the level of the individual, psychological and personal. They have attempted to re-locate the emphasis of the debate by making the main focus of analysis the institutional forms of racism which have characterised the Black presence in America. As such much of their analysis has been centred around the system of institutional racism operating within structures such as the labour market, the education system, the political structure and the housing system within the urban ghettos of the North and South and the way in which the process of institutional racism serves to determine the structural position of Black Americans. Finally, most of the approaches identify racial ideologies as being the essential mechanism which underlies the process of institutional racism. Racial ideology within their analyses is seen as having emerged (and been perpetuated) through a selective process in order to justify social institutions. As Barrera (1979) points out:

When the Negro was first enslaved his subjugation was not justified in terms of his biological inferiority. (Myrdal 1944:86) The origins of a systematic racial ideology in the United States can be traced to the need of pro-slavery interests to respond to criticisms based on the 'universal rights of man', criticisms which mounted as revolutionary agitation developed in the late eighteenth century. (Jordan 1968, chapter 7) This racial ideology did not gain strength until three decades before the civil war, as criticism of slavery become more vehement. (Barrera 1979:27)

Racial ideologies are seen as having become embodied and modified over time within the thought of future generations and institutions which have no



conception of the exact context from which they originated. As Barrera goes on to argue, these racial ideologies:

are thus transformed into broad based racial prejudice even among people whose interests are not served by it. (Barrera 1979:28) (see also Jones 1972)

However, within the context of these approaches the 'notion' of racial prejudice is seen as a factor in the perpetuation of racial inequalities/subordination, which both leads to individual acts of discrimination and provides the support for the structural aspects of discrimination. Even so, their approach to racial prejudice should be qualified by stating that, in general terms, racial prejudice within their 'models' of institutional racism is seen as:

a product of racial ideologies that were developed to justify structural discrimination. (Barrera 1979:24)

The concept institutional racism has been employed in academic, political and policy oriented discourse and criticisms of the various conceptualisations operate at varying degrees of specificity (Mason (1982), Williams (1985), Carter and Williams (1985)). They have been criticised for their lack of clear definitional parameters, theoretical ambiguity and impreciseness, unclear assumptions, for subsuming a wide range of social processes within one concept, and as Mason (1982) puts it, failing to develop the:

adequate theoretical tools capable of comprehending the interplay of social structures and human action, material conditions and ideas. (Mason 1982:44)

In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to assess in broad terms whether the three conceptualizations of the concept 'institutional racism' outlined in the preceding section are able to retain their analytical usefulness in the light of the criticisms outlined above. Criticisms concerning the analytical utility of the concept institutional racism are fairly diffuse; however, an attempt will be made to place the criticisms into

two specific (although somewhat limited) categories. The first category concerns those criticisms (Mason 1982, Williams 1985) which suggest that the term 'racism' has been exploited within the various conceptualizations of institutional racism as they have used it on many occasions as a substitute for institutional racism. As Williams observes:

Racism is used in this literature therefore to refer to ideologies which explain the historical origins of racial inequality, the actions of individuals which result in racial inequality, the active and passive attitudes of individuals and the intended or unintended processes within institutions which result in racial subordination. (Williams 1985:4)

This, Williams suggests, gives rise to theoretical confusion. Mason (1982) takes a slightly different line and suggests that the various conceptualisations of institutional racism do not embrace the limited meaning of racism - in this sense he takes it to mean its association with prejudiced attitudes and suggests that they merely appropriate the connotations of the term:

to give spurious strength to arguments which are theoretically weak or which lack adequate supporting evidence. (1982:39)

The term racism and its subsequent usage within the conceptualisations of Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), Baron (1969) and Blauner (1972), can be aptly summarised by a quotation from Blauner when he states:

The third world definition of racism tends to be broader and more sociological. It focuses on the society as a whole and on structured relations between people rather than on individual personalities and actions. (1972:277)

This definition stands in contrast to and marks a transition from the more restricted definition of racism provided by what Blauner himself refers to as liberal professors who see racism as representing:

conscious acts, where there is an intent to hurt or degrade or disadvantage others because of their colour or ethnicity. It implies bigotry and prejudice, hatred and hostility, concrete individual

acts, and clear-cut organizational policies of exclusion or segregation on the basis of race. (Blauner 1972:276)

The broader definitional parameters of the term racism encapsulated within the work of Carmichael and Hamilton, Blauner and Baron attempt to reveal its complex 'structural dimensions'. The analytical usefulness of the term racism in general terms cannot be fully realised unless its definitional parameters are broadened. The various conceptualisations of institutional racism outlined in the preceding section illustrate that there may be more than one dimension to the concept racism. It is possible that by working through their conceptualizations (which indeed are not radically different; where there is a disjuncture it is usually one of emphasis rather than explanation) one may be able to gain a clearer understanding of its various facets and the way in which they interrelate with one another. A move in this direction has been developed particularly within the conceptualization which Baron (1969) puts forward. Baron in the introductory paragraph of *'The Web of Urban Racism'* (1969) states:

Whatever expression the justification and explanations of racism have taken, they have consistently rationalized underlying *social relationships of domination and exploitation* of persons of African ancestry. (1969:134)

'Social relationships of domination and exploitation' - here we see that Baron already makes the move away from interpreting racism as relations between individuals to viewing it at a societal level. Baron's thesis acknowledges that the inception of the North American colonies was not marked by a rationalized racist ideology. This was to come about as a result of economic, political and social developments long after the colonists had come into contact with Black people. What came with the inception of the colony were the pre-existing concepts of the 'Black man' held by Europeans. Baron states:

on the eve of colonization the English already had an image of the Black African as a person apart - an outsider, Barbarian, and unchristian. (1969:135)

However, it can be argued (as Baron implicitly suggests) that these opinions were casually held beliefs that were not 'actively malignant' and that they would not under all circumstances have led directly to a rationalized system of racism which served to dominate and exploit Blacks. (Fredrickson 1971)

The factor which served as a catalyst for the development of the institution of slavery (as a basis of the economic and social order) was probably not that Whites were driven by intense racial prejudice, but that there was an actual need for labour in the colonies and the vulnerability of Blacks probably made them seem the logical candidate for enslavement. (Carmichael & Hamilton 1967, Fredrickson 1971) The institution of slavery was in part an economic system for the ownership of labour, and partly a social system of racial control. However, as stated earlier, the rise of a rationalized system of racism was coeval with the call for abolition:

... the egalitarian philosophy that had been made part of the American creed by the language of the Declaration of Independence carried a long-range threat to slavery and racial caste, a threat which had only briefly surfaced during the revolutionary era before being temporarily put to rest by the provisions of the constitution which recognized the existence of slavery and provided for its protection. In the 1830s the application of the concept of equal rights to Blacks was made with a new evangelical immediacy by the Northern abolitionists who, unlike their colonizationist predecessors, not only argued that slavery was an evil but also demanded that Blacks be freed immediately and granted *full equality*. (Fredrickson 1971:252)

Theorists of Southern Paternalism and also The Slave Holding Society, in order to defend slavery against humanitarianism, argued that the 'natural rights philosophy' should be kept as a White prerogative as Black slaves were defined as members of another subhuman species. The basis for this racist ideology already existed in the form of earlier modes of thought argued for the superiority of the 'White race' over the 'Black'. There developed over this period an elaborate form of racism rationalized in order to maintain the domination and exploitation of Black slaves. However, as Blauner states:

through this process racism became something over and above the slave system in which it had originated. (1969:137)

In the process of becoming something over and above the slave system racism had become institutionalized - for it was instituted in law. At the level of the economic the slave was occupationally exploited and segregated, he was politically subordinated and a social outcaste. (Carmichael & Hamilton 1967, Baron 1969, Blauner 1972)

To be Black was to be subordinated at the level of the economic, the politico-legal and the social. Racism defined in its limited sense as Mason (1982) argues, would be an inappropriate concept to use to define the factors which to a great extent, determined the position of Black slaves in North America. However, loosened from its original 'definitional' moorings and taking the broader definition which Baron provides (racism is the "rationalized underlying social relationships of domination and exploitation" (1969:136)) one can argue that racism as an ideology was able to gain concrete expression within institutions/structures of the time. The institutions/structures (political, economic, legal structures) were already in existence for they served to maintain the social and economic order of North American society as a whole. However their functions were extended in order to, as Baron (1969) puts it,

establish mechanisms for simultaneously incorporating and controlling Blacks into the social and economic order. (1969:136)

Another criticism levelled against their usage of the term institutional racism is what Mason (1982) refers to as the shift of focus of Carmichael & Hamilton's argument about institutional racism. He argues that as a result it is often difficult to distinguish between their conceptualization of the term institutional racism and individual racism. This, he states, is indicative of the imprecision of their use of the term institutional racism. Mason appears

to have overlooked the possibility that the definition of institutional racism which Carmichael and Hamilton (and Blauner & Baron - although he does not refer to them specifically in this instance) provide, incorporates a range of processes which are not mutually exclusive, but operate with a degree of overlap and interaction. All three approaches can be said to support the argument that prejudiced attitudes are not the essence of racism and as such are not necessary for the maintenance of a racist social structure. (Blauner 1972) Thus, within this framework of analysis, institutional racism is regarded as an objective and covert phenomenon situated "in the actual existence of domination and hierarchy". Individual racism on the other hand is seen as the overt and subjective concomitants of prejudice and other motivations and feelings. (Blauner 1972)

As Blauner points out however:

emphasis on institutional racism should not blind us to the persistence of the old fashioned personal variety. There are key points in the cycle of oppression where overt discrimination remains strategic (1972:189)

He goes on:

The most important example is employment, in many occupations and industries people of colour are excluded simply on racial grounds ... This kind of racism - which boils down to hostility, fear, and intense dislike of people who are not white - exists in even the most enlightened groups (Blauner 1972:189)

These statements go some way towards underlining the possibility that institutional racism and individual racism are closely related. The 'objective' processes of the institutions leaves room for individuals to act out their prejudiced attitudes, fears and feelings or, put another way their individual racism can be said to be masked and lost within the workings of the institutional structure - for example the racist recruitment officer whose actions are not easily detected because he is shielded by the fact that much

recruitment is of a subjective nature and he may throw up a variety of reasons for not employing a Black individual, none of which may represent his real reason for not employing him. (Jenkins 1982) In this instance how would this act of discrimination be assessed? Would it be as a result of institutional racism because the racist individual is working on behalf of the institution or would it be as a result of individual racism? This represents one of possibly many instances in which, at certain times, there will be a degree of overlap between the two forms of racism. Thus, although sympathising with Mason's argument concerning the shift of forms, it can be usefully argued that the boundaries of institutional racism cannot in all instances be clearly sectioned off from that of individual racism. The reality is more complex and thus the demarcation of boundaries becomes, to an extent, arbitrary. What does need to be acknowledged is that, yes, institutional racism and individual racism are different but that there is also a certain amount of interplay between institutional structures and human action. Baron (1969) in his discussion of norms and roles also presents an interesting 'slant' to the issue of institutional and individual racism. He states:

It cannot be denied that individual attitudes and prejudice perpetuate racial discrimination, but in order to understand racism as an institutional phenomenon, it is necessary to view individual behaviour in terms of norms and roles. (Baron 1969:161)

Baron's discussion of norms highlights the interaction between the processes of institutional racism and the individual. He begins from the premise that:

Every major institution in this society functions on the basis that some amount, usually a lot, of racial subordination is normal. If it is not considered to be good, it is at least expected and held to be unavoidable. (Baron 1969:161)

He goes on to give the example of the educational system and states that this 'institution' accepts as *normal* that Black pupils should have a decidedly lower academic performance, based on their assumed inferiority. In this instance the teacher's behaviour in expecting Black children within his or her class to have

a low academic performance could at the level of the individual be interpreted by an outsider as individual racism. For the teacher could be viewed as assessing the value of the child's ability on the basis of prejudiced and stereotypical criteria. However, if, as Baron states, in order to understand racism as an institutional phenomenon it is necessary to view the individual behaviour in terms of norms and roles, the teacher's low expectation of Black pupils can be said to be indicative of the internalization of the norms that exist within the institution - through a process which guides their responses and induces conformity in their judgement of the pupils. In turning his attention to roles performed Baron states:

Conformity to norms is basically perpetuated by inculcating the roles of an institution within the individual. 'Impulse and sensitivity are channelled and transformed into standard motives joined to standard goals and gratifications. Thus, institutions imprint their stamps upon the individual, modifying his external conduct as well as his inner life.' Roles, therefore, 'may be segments of various institutions and at the same time components of persons' (Baron 1969:162)

He goes on to argue that the individual in the process of acting out a role in a 'stable organization' tends to become habitual, in which case he/she does not have to constantly assess whether he/she is conforming to the established norms.

What Baron shows in his discussion of norms and roles is that basic institutional pressures of generating norms and roles may act so as to restrict the individual's judgement and attitudes in seeking conformity and smooth running. Thus, instead of looking at discrimination in schools in the restricted sense of teacher discrimination the analysis is taken a stage further to underline the interaction between institution and individual. Consequently what Mason may choose to identify as individual racism (ie teacher discrimination) and subsequently wish to separate out from institutional racism may, it can be argued, be closely related. In seeking a



pure form of institutional racism Mason overlooks the subtlety of and adaptability of the process of institutional racism which can, at times, take on individual proportions - to be seen however as part of the institutional mechanisms. In addition one can just add that, at this level of analysis, Baron comes close to what Mason desires in a conceptualization of institutional racism that being an account which "effectively links the structural characteristics of society to the actions through which people produce and reproduce their social worlds". (Mason 1982:43)

The second level of criticism directed at those who make use of the concept institutional racism, is that they fail to provide a theoretically adequate account of the *creation and perpetuation* of racial inequality. (Williams 1985)

To what extent can this criticism be sustained against the conceptualizations of institutional racism which have been put forward by Blauner, Baron, and Carmichael and Hamilton? Of the three approaches it can be argued that the thesis which Blauner and Baron put forward effectively illustrates that institutional racism should not be seen as a static process but that it (to reify it a little) has the ability to adapt to the structure and circumstances which surround it. Both theorists and indeed Carmichael and Hamilton to a lesser degree, attempt to link their analysis of the structural characteristics of society with that of a historical explanation of the structural location of Black people in the United States. As such neither of them limit their analysis to present day forms of racism, for they believe that it is only by understanding some of the important features of past institutional forms of racism that one can then go on to understand the complex institutions of the present. (Baron 1969:135) It is this historical analysis which thus also enables them to illustrate the way in which racial injustices and inequities have emerged and developed over time. So to reiterate, the present form of institutional racism is not seen as simply emerging from a historical vacuum, but represents an ongoing process which has its roots in preceding

institutional forms of racism (the first of which they cite as being the system of racism which emerged during the 'slave period'). In discussing the *origin* of institutional racism Carmichael and Hamilton, Blauner and Baron also turn their attention to the possible reasons for its development and it is evident that they place particular emphasis on the economic, the political and the social. Not only are they regarded as being the principal catalysts for the development of the first institutional form of racism, slavery (the economic being the principal factor) but they are seen as having remained the principal mediating points (leading to the present institutional form of racism) through which Blacks have been subordinated within the American context. As such, they argue that these three 'systems' operate together and serve to secure the economic, political and social position of the power holders whilst bringing together various economically divergent groups of Whites.

It is interesting to note that in putting forward her observation that many of those who use the concept institutional racism fail to provide a theoretically adequate account of the creation and perpetuation of racial inequality, Williams (1985) would seem to regard racial inequality as having been created, which suggests that she envisages the inception of the system of racial inequality as being consciously and rationally planned and executed at a particular period in time by certain interested parties. This is a somewhat tunnel-visioned view of the area of racial inequality, in that it gives a rather static impression of what can be argued to be a complex process of racial subordination which evolved gradually and gained expression in and through the economic, political, social and legal institutions which Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), Baron (1969) Blauner (1972) suggest already served as mechanisms to maintain the equilibrium of the existing social order.

The accounts which Blauner, Baron, and Carmichael and Hamilton put forward to argue for the perpetuation of racial inequality operate at two levels. Firstly, the notion of privilege: all three conceptualizations regard privilege as representing the bulwark of racial subordination in America and it is this which is seen to represent an additional factor in accounting for the persistence of this system of economic and socio-political subordination. However Blauner states that:

White privilege, while real and significant, is not as inherently crucial to our economic system and social life styles as it was in classical colonialism. A numerical minority can live off a minority population in a more or less parasitical fashion, it is not possible for a numerical majority to do so. Nevertheless, White Americans tend to be very tenacious in resisting any threats to such privilege, whatever its absolute or relative level (1972:26)

In this sense, privilege may not be high in absolute terms but <sup>more</sup> in general terms. White Americans enjoy forms of privilege in all areas of existence - income, education, housing, occupation, lifestyle; these are areas in which racial minorities are systematically excluded or disadvantaged. Blauner (1972) and Baron (1969) also point out that privilege is not just economic; it is also a matter of status. In terms of social dynamics he argues that most White Americans orient their actions around the belief that Black people represent the bottom of the status system a point to which they themselves, in terms of prestige and self-esteem cannot sink no matter how poor or wretched.

Secondly, the notion of adaptability. The theoretical thread running through Baron's conceptualisation of institutional racism/urban racism is that institutional forms of racism are able to adapt to the economic and socio-political circumstances characteristic of certain historical periods. Thus what was once expressed as overt forms of racism has become (through a process of political, economic and legal change) more subtle and gains expression in indirect forms of racism. He argues that the legal code which

characterised both the slave system and the Jim Crow System does not mark out the boundaries of urban racism. And he goes on:

Much of the North has been without segregation laws for almost a century, and today anti-discrimination laws are common for housing, employment, and public accommodations. Within public and private organizations many of the formal, and even the informal, unstated rules on race have been dropped or modified. Nevertheless, the social institutions have adapted to their historic heritage. Urban racism shows no sign of disappearing and operates almost as if it were sanctioned by statute. (1969:142)

This more recent institutional form of racism has moulded itself to the urban situation and although many of the blatant racist practices have 'disappeared', the effectiveness of this system of economic, political and social subordination of certain sections of the population has not diminished. Thus much of the durability of institutional racism can (according to Baron and Blauner) be attributed to its apparent adaptability. However, Baron does go on to couple this with an interesting analysis of the economic and political balance of urban America. He argues that, although racial exploitation is no longer an essential factor in terms of sustaining a sector of a ruling class, racial dominance has (to use his words)

become so socially diffused that it has become an inextricable part of the mediating processes through which much of the basic economic and political controls for the whole society are exercised. (1969:171)

As such the eradication of racial inequality, he argues, would ultimately threaten the 'power order' and it is this he believes which acts as the

..... fundamental political dynamic behind the institutional maintenance of racism. (1969:171)

Many of the critical observations made by theorists concerning conceptualization of the concept institutional racism are pertinent and as such are able to reveal the 'Achilles Heel' of many of these approaches. This stems in part from the fact that they (the critics) seek a conceptualization which

will go some way towards adding to a clearer understanding of the mechanisms of racial disadvantage/subordination and the means of combatting it. (Mason 1982:43) However, they feel that this has not been the case, and that what has taken place are not constructive conceptualizations of institutional racism but merely another way of describing the situation.

The approaches looked at in the preceding pages, it can be argued, although characterised by differing emphases and degrees of specificity, do go some way towards marking out the way in which one can construct a working model of a process which serves to maintain the subordinated position at the level of the economic, political and social of certain sections of the population on the basis of the colour of skin. However, it is important to point out firstly that in striving to construct a definitive model of institutional racism one may run the risk of being over deterministic precisely because institutional racism "defies concise definition" (Baron 1969:142) and one is apt to - as Blauner (1972:259) points out when referring to the usage of the concept racism - use racism as

a magical catch phrase to be applied mechanically to every situation without analysing its specifics

The same criticism can be applied to the usage of theories of institutional racism.

Secondly, one must be aware of the pitfalls of attempting to generalise from one social formation to another, even where race is a salient feature, because the form institutional racism takes is *particularistic* in that it is very much dependent upon the historical path which that formation followed, its institutions, laws, and culture. (This is typified in the form of institutional racism present in South Africa, the United States and Great Britain - all have the same basic result, the subordination of Black people, but each formation is

characterised by certain features which are not present in the other(s). However, having made these provisos what can be striven for is a conceptualization of institutional racism which, as Mason points out, should possess clear definitional parameters and equally clear theoretical assumptions. It is argued here that, to a great extent, Baron and Blauner go some way towards achieving this.

### 3.2 Institutional Racism - the British Context: Appropriation of a Concept

The British context is markedly different from that of the American in that, within the latter the notion 'race' had become a salient feature at a much earlier period (in terms of its effects on key institutional structures) actually *within* that social formation as a result of the large scale presence of Black people from the seventeenth century. Although Britain had relatively small pockets of Black settlement, which had built up around seaport towns such as Cardiff, Liverpool, and London during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the relationship the British had with Black people took place principally thousands of miles away in the Caribbean where many leading British families, as absentee West Indian planters, gained much of their wealth. (Walvin 1984, Fryer 1984) It was not until the 1950s when New Commonwealth citizens began to arrive in Britain in significant numbers, reaching a peak in 1962, that the Black presence in Britain was to create tremors at the level of the social, the economic, the political, and the legal, a situation which it had previously been able to avoid given the geographical remoteness of the Caribbean to Britain, which to a great extent determined the nature of their relationship. The irony of the position in which Britain eventually found itself lay in the fact that British subjects in all parts of the Empire were not subject to any legal definition of British citizenship and nationality as English law made no distinction between subject and citizen. All subjects were in law citizens and, as Layton-Henry points out, this

came to be subsumed under the grandiose notion 'Civis Britannicus sum' and became part of the ideology which legitimised British rule in the Empire. (1984:12).

Thus prior to New Commonwealth immigration to Britain, Britain was able to view their 'dark skinned brothers' *over there* in the colonies as citizens of the Commonwealth and as such they were, under the British Nationality Act of 1948, permitted entry into Britain to find work, settle, and bring their families. It should be noted, however, that Britain was not oblivious to the fact that New Commonwealth workers from the Caribbean would be faced with problems of prejudice and discrimination on their arrival as the small black settlements which:

became established in a few seaport towns during the first world war had been subject to considerable discrimination and hostility and both politicians and civil servants felt that the post second world war immigrants would face similar problems, especially in their search for accommodation and jobs. (Layton-Henry 1984:122)

Indeed this came to characterise the situation in which New Commonwealth workers found themselves. Little was done (on the part of the politicians and civil servants) by way of an attempt to ameliorate their position; instead the response was one of arguing for the need to reduce the flow of New Commonwealth workers by means of controls in the form of immigration and nationality acts which were coupled at a later stage with a series of race relations acts. However the implementation of immigration laws and bringing in of race relations legislation has been regarded by some theorists to be contradictory in nature; as Lea (1980) states, the contradiction arises from:

the dual function of the legislation in both promoting racial integration and at the same time securing the availability of a force of low-wage labour for certain sectors of the British economy. (1980:122)

The view that Black workers have consistently been found to represent low-wage labour in the British economic structure has been one which has received significant attention from theorists, particularly Marxist theorists, since the 1960s.

This debate has not taken place within the confines of the conceptual framework of institutional racism and how institutional racism as a process affects the structural position of Black workers but centered more around the argument that Capital had been able to manipulate the working class to such an extent that divisions were generated between Black and White labour. These divisions took the form of a 'socio-economic' polarization in which Black labour is consistently found to be located at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, as a readily available source of cheap immigrant labour. (Gorz 1970; Castles and Kosack 1973) At this stage the role of 'race' as a contributory *factor* in determining the structural location of certain sectors of the labour force was not regarded seriously as a significant factor. Race was seen more as that of an exogenous variable and it was relation to the means of production which was seen as the principal determinant of class position. However, some neo-Marxist theorists have gone on to modify and develop this framework of analysis (in which significantly more emphasis is placed on the ability of race to determine class position) which, although it cannot be readily equated with an analysis which centers around the concept of institutional racism, does to a certain extent represent an adjacent conceptualization which addresses itself to the issues which have been prominent within the institutional racism debate in Britain but with different emphases.

In this section an attempt is made to look at and discuss the way in which the issue of institutional racism is used by theorists in relation to the British context.



3.2:1 ANN DUMMETT

Dummett (1973) in her book 'A Portrait of British Racism' begins her discussion of institutional racism by stating that it is important to distinguish firstly, the institution which is to some degree racist by some general unspoken agreement: for example the firm which employs Indians who are only to be found in the unskilled jobs. None of these Indian workers has ever been made foreman or is ever likely to be. There are no instructions stating this fact because instructions are not necessary. It is taken for granted that the men will not accept anyone with a Black face in a position of foreman or any supervisory position. Thus, in this firm, racism operates by general unspoken agreement to debar Black people from opportunities. Secondly, she outlines the form of institutional racism which is the result of a system originally built without racial consideration being taken into account. Dummett gives the example in which an employer employs a small office and has a small workshop with a small number of skilled men. The entire firm is White; the thought of Black employees has never crossed the employer's mind. The men do skilled work and they belong to a trade union whose rules on apprenticeship prevent anyone becoming an apprentice after his seventeenth birthday. The rule about age-limits on apprenticeships was devised long before there was any possibility of there being Black teenagers around in the town and the educational requirements are exacted by the nature of the work itself, thus the boys can only gain an apprenticeship if they have reached a certain standard of education with written qualifications well in advance of their seventeenth birthday. Here Dummett states that no policy of racial discrimination exists in this firm but institutional racism is at work. This situation arises as a result of the fact that, under these conditions, large numbers of Black teenagers are unable to enter this firm as apprentices as, firstly, many had been wrongly placed in ESN schools and, secondly, they have been in low streams of secondary schools and have never taken CSEs or 'O'

levels let alone in the relevant subjects and, thirdly, some may have been delayed in school because of difficulty with the English language and therefore in remedial and special language classes for a vital period of time and again delayed their hope of doing examinations until an age too late for an apprenticeship. Thus, in this respect, although racist attitudes were not evident in the firm's actions and possibly not in the education system:

although conscious racist attitudes are often influential in determining where Black children get placed in the school system. (1973:136)

decisions were taken which were racially discriminatory in effect. This sort of institutional racism, Dummett states, can be located in employment as already shown, and also within housing (Rex and Moore 1967) and education to name but a few of the social institutions which have emerged without race being an element in their design.

Dummett makes a significant observation when she points to the fact that institutional racism can easily be confused with the institutional inequality of the English class system, in that Black people and very poor White people do share a number of features. However, she states that Black people will always suffer more disadvantages than Whites in any given situation. The poor Whites can obtain greater prosperity and higher status, but the Black person cannot become White. If they gain a better education and make more money they would still have to face contempt or dislike because of their colour for racial prejudice does exist.

Dummett then goes on to suggest that the effects of the two types of institutional racism which she outlines act so as to compound one another, which then helps to recreate:

racially prejudiced attitudes, by keeping despised groups at the bottom of the heap, and then blaming them for not getting higher up. (1973:140)

3.2:2 SHEILA ALLEN

Allen's (1973) conceptualisation of institutional racism focuses on the way in which racism as defined in 'action terms' becomes institutionalized in society. She states:

Beliefs and practices can be seen as created institutional frameworks in which men relate. Our task is to explain systematically the forces which create these institutions and to understand the consequences of them. In this way racism, as a social myth, a coherent doctrine, a common-sense practice, or a means of obtaining rewards, can be related to situations and social processes. By analysing the patterning of these relations we are examining the institutionalized forms of racism. (1973:100)

Allen's conceptualization of institutional racism considers three inter-related influences which should be distinguished in the shaping of relations between Black and White people in Britain. Taking the first two influences together, the immigrant-indigenous situation and the colour variable as an ascriptive criterion, Allen suggests that the position of Black people in Britain can be viewed as part of long-established relationships between powerless and powerful groups, with Black people belonging to the relatively deprived socio-economic groups. She argues that Black people in Britain share similar problems to other 'immigrants' in terms of gaining employment, housing, etc but that Black people are also faced with the particular relevance given to colour which acts as an additional factor against them. The third influence Allen refers to as the colonial-metropolitan configuration and argues, like Rex (1979), that contradictions between paternalistic tolerance and stereotyped inferiority on the one hand, and the ideology of equal citizenship between Black and White on the other were highlighted once Black people began to arrive in Britain from the New Commonwealth in the late forties and early 1950s. An important feature of the colonial-metropolitan configuration was the fact that migrant labour was used to meet the needs of the economy, in that

they were allocated to the poorly paid, low-statused jobs indigenous workers did not want. She states that this represented an:

... extension of policies of labour transfers pursued within the British Empire over long periods of time. The forms of labour transfers have varied from slavery, through contract and indentured labour to nominally free migration, according to the current political and social ideologies and the relative power position of the migrants and those using the labour. Ideological underpinnings have developed in each case to justify the exploitation of the labour of the groups concerned and their social position. (1973:102)

In this way Allen suggests that a combination of the above three influences has, over the past two decades, resulted in the institutionalization of racism which has now become a legitimised part of British structure.

In order to work through her conceptualisation of institutional racism Allen chooses to focus on the consequences which immigration legislation may have had. In so doing she hoped to illustrate that if:

... racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs, or practices, the institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racist intentions. (1973:102)

According to David Mason's (1982) categorization of various conceptualizations of institutional racism Allen's argument would appear to fit into what Mason terms the 'political opportunism version' for she puts forward the view that various governments responded to short-term pressure and influences by taking measures in 1962, 1965, and 1968 to restrict entry of New Commonwealth immigrants to Britain. However, she extends this simple causal argument by suggesting that the measures also embodied:

long-established views that the colour of a person's skin carried attributes of superiority or inferiority. (1973:102)

The majority of White people accepted this view; thus when the government stressed the point that there was a need for immigration control based on the

premise that small numbers of immigrants made for better race-relations there was 'little' opposition. Successive governments created the view via immigration legislation that colour, problems, and conflict were associated. Allen concludes her argument by stating that:

...the raising of colour consciousness which accompanied the stringent control of Commonwealth immigrants, ... the discussion about immigrants involving a definition of Black people as problem creating has had far-reaching consequences for the Black minorities. (1973:104-105)

in terms of stereotyped views and discriminating structures of everyday life.

### 3.2:3 JOHN REX

John Rex (1979) and (1983) argues in his theory of colonial legacy that New Commonwealth workers cannot be readily placed within the overall stratification system of metropolitan societies as they occupy the unique position of being on unintegrated 'grouping' in what he sees as a relatively stable and integrated social order which is characterised by a many-faceted status order and further complicated by issues of class struggle and political conflict. The unintegrated position of New Commonwealth workers Rex bases on two closely related factors: firstly, the social structure of empire and the class formations which occur within it, and secondly generalized myths, beliefs, and stereotypes held about New Commonwealth workers. Both these factors are seen by Rex to determine the conditions under which New Commonwealth workers entered the metropolitan formation and the subsequent rigidity of their structural location within that formation. In discussing the former factor Rex states:

... it is sometimes useful to look at a wider picture which takes in not merely social relations within the metropolitan country, but within the whole imperial and colonial system. Indeed we must do this if we are to understand the position of the colonial worker who migrates to the metropolitan country. (1983:105)

In proceeding to outline the social structure of Empire he suggests that the structure of contemporary Britain emerged:

from a historic process in which a variety of forms of colonial social structure came into being. Each of these had its own system of classes, estates, castes, or other social formations and any of the social positions involved made the position of a British factory worker seem enviable. To be the descendent of a slave in a stagnant Jamaican economy or a pedlar in India, Pakistan, or Bangladesh, was a miserable existence indeed, and it was inevitable that some of the more ambitious amongst them would seek an existence in the advanced industrial countries, either permanently or as a means of accumulating capital. (1979:286)

Running parallel to the role of slave or peasant Rex outlines the role of the capitalist entrepreneurs, managers, overseers, administrators, missionaries and soldiers, who actually ran the Empire. In introducing the second factor he suggests that

the individual and cumulative experience of these roles helped to shape the basic British belief system about colonial men and women. (1979:286)

which culminated in the belief that the 'native peoples' of the colonies were inferior beings. This belief system served to create the

notion that some sort of caste barrier must be preserved between white men and Black colonials if White men were not to be destituted. Indians and West Indians were good enough people in their place, but their place was not ... . (1979:286-287)

in Britain.

Having established these two factors Rex then turns his attention to the period when the colonial worker enters metropolitan society. He argues that the New Commonwealth worker is faced with barriers erected in order to keep him outside of the stratified set of positions in advanced capitalist society (positions which Rex identified as positions of class, status and power). The first barrier he sees as the disinclination on the part of host society to

treat the New Commonwealth worker as a citizen, as belonging within the normal stratification system. The second barrier is the establishment of

a number of ill-defined new poor roles waiting for him. (1983:108)

In this way the New Commonwealth worker found that his position within the labour market had been defined, prior to his entry. He came to take on the role of replacement worker. Rex goes on:

He finds that there are certain jobs not yet eliminated by technical advance which are so arduous or unpleasant that they are not acceptable to the majority of the metropolitan working class. And he finds when he seeks to house himself that there are certain kinds of house occupancy which are least desired by the metropolitan population which are the only types available to him. (1983:108-109)

The 'caste like barrier' which represents a combination of factors one and two serves to allocate Black (New Commonwealth) workers to a position below that of the indigenous population of the metropolitan society. For, despite the class struggle which takes place between the various classes within the metropolitan sector, the varied classes:

unite in the exploitation of and in defence against any threat from segments or groups within or from colonial society. (1979:13)

Rex suggests that colonial status has been accorded to an identifiable group by virtue of colour and he argues that:

What seems to happen is that colour is taken as the indication that a man is only entitled to colonial status, and this means that he has to be placed outside the normal stratification system. The stratification system thus becomes extended to take account of additional social positions marked by a degree of rightlessness not to be found amongst the incorporated workers. (1979:8)

It should be noted that Rex is keen to emphasise that he is not putting forward the argument that:

racist beliefs are simply an archaic survival and that they have nothing to do with the economic and political basis of society. (Rex 1979:287)

But rather that the economic and political basis of British existence was the British empire of the past four hundred years, and as such it is unlikely that simply because certain colonies have received independence since 1945, that this would overcome the:

fearful sense of threat and competition when British men and women faced the people of empire. (1979:287)

To make plain his thesis Rex argues in support of Myrdal's notion of the 'Cumulative Principle' - in which the existence of racist beliefs once they are established are seen as leading to discrimination, and this discrimination is seen as producing the condition which will further justify the beliefs. In so saying he argues that:

... the British image of the West Indian, Indian or Pakistani is not now simply that of a colonial savage, but additionally of a man in the ghetto, or a young man in trouble with the police. (1979:287)

The main criticism which can be levelled at the analysis which Rex puts forward is that, although he points out the effects that the social structure of empire and generalized beliefs and myths had on the structural placement of New Commonwealth workers within metropolitan society, he does not devote sufficient attention to the level of economic. During the 1950's capital required cheap labour for its labour intensive industries - areas of industry which White workers were leaving. Thus the need for additional labour to fill this gap was generated. However within a decade or so technological innovation began to make its presence known and the once labour intensive industries have become capital intensive and the need for cheap unskilled labour has decreased. This process has a disproportionate effect on New Commonwealth workers for this is where they are to be found within the labour market. This process can thus also be said to act in addition to other factors (the cumulative effects of factors one and two which Rex outlines) as



one which serves to maintain the subordinate position which Blacks occupy within the labour market.

3.2:4 STUART HALL ET AL

As mentioned in the preceding chapter the analysis which Hall et al (1978) present focuses on what they term the structural features which they argue characterise the way in which Black labour has been subsumed into metropolitan capital during the post war period. They are mindful to point out that their approach differs from that of the arguments put forward by those who work within the framework of the institutional racism approach. Hall et al's analysis differs in that it emphasises the way in which different structures *work together*:

so as to reproduce the class relations of the whole society in a specific form on an extended scale. (1978:346)

And for them race represents a structural feature within each structure and thus, at the level of social reproduction, serves to reproduce the working (of which Blacks form a fraction) class in a racially stratified and internally antagonistic form. To reiterate Hall et al do not attempt to treat 'structures' as distinct sets of institutions but regard them as being inextricably linked and only to be understood in terms of the function which they perform in reproducing the objective conditions of a class. As they state:

We are concerned with the structures which, working within the dominant 'logic' of capital, produce and reproduce the social conditions of the Black working class, shape the social universe and the productive world of that class and assign its members and agents to positions of structured subordination within it. (1978:346)

The key structures/structural forces which Hall et al refer to are - the education system, the labour market, the housing market and 'race'. (Race

itself is regarded as a structural feature). All four structural forces are seen to combine so as to 'reproduce'

in a specific historical form (1978:346)

the Black proletariat. Their analysis of these structures has been dealt with at great length in the preceding chapter. However looking very briefly again at their approach we can see that in their analysis of the four key structures - education, employment, housing and race, we see that first of all they define the function that each structure serves within 'modern capitalism'. Secondly they attempt to illustrate the linkages that exist between them and these structures. Thirdly, they highlight the cumulative result which the combination of these structures has in terms of reproducing the conditions of production and reproducing a racially divided and fragmented working class. Like Harold Baron (1969), Hall et al take a holistic view of the structural forces and are keen to emphasise the linkages that exist between them rather than viewing them as individual and independent entities. Another interesting feature of the approach which Hall et al adopt is their theoretical exploration of the various processes involved which enable the combination of structures to be fully operative; in this sense less attention is focused within their analysis upon acts of discrimination in individual structures/institutions. It is instead the structures and their wider implications for class determination which remain the foci of their analysis. This represents a conscious decision on their part as they stated at the onset:

But the measuring of discrimination tends to suggest that Black men and women are really in no different a position with respect to the key structures of British society than their White counterparts, with the exception of that - regrettably large - number who encounter discriminatory practices in housing, education, employment or everyday social life. We believe this gives a false picture; for it treats racism and discriminatory practices as individual exceptions to an otherwise satisfactory 'rule'. Instead we want to examine what the regular and routine structures are and what their effects have been over the period, with special reference to Black youth. (1978:340)

Although Hall et al do not see their approach fitting into the broad institutional racism framework of analysis it can be argued that their stance could be characterised within Mason's (1982) theoretical reappraisal of the various conceptualizations of institutional racism as that of a 'structuralist Marxist version'. In seeking to construct 'ideal type' conceptualisations of the way in which the concept institutional racism has been used Mason's definitions are, of necessity, broad. However, in looking at what he sees as the 'structuralist Marxist version' he suggests that, with this approach:

racism is to be identified neither in the purposes of nor the articulation of interested groups and their agents but in the consequences of state policies. (1982:40)

This view, he argues, suggests that capitalism, especially in its advanced stages, comes up against problems from a real or threatened decline in profitability and since:

... the function of the State under capitalism is to secure the conditions of capitalist profitability, it intervenes by developing policies to this end. (1982:40)

Mason suggests that this version argues that the resultant policy initiatives usually take the form of the promotion of migrant labour of various types. Migrant labour is usually typified by its lack of security in terms of employment, housing, lack of access to political power, etc. They are also seen as super-exploitable and

state policy, unemployment, housing and immigration is developed in the direction of this end. (1982:40)

Hall et al's analysis can be aligned with certain features of Mason's ideal type model of the structuralist Marxist version. Firstly, they view the function of the state under capitalism as to secure the conditions of capitalist profitability. Hall et al argue that the conditions of economic recession are being used by capital to drive through the 'recomposition' of

Black labour in Britain through a process in which capital is able to manipulate political and ideological forces (or to put it another way 'legislation' and 'racism'). The latter (racism), they suggest, prepares the ground for the use of Black labour as an endless "variable" factor in British industry. The former (legislation), takes the form of immigration legislation which erodes the status and citizenship rights of Black workers from the position of settler to that of migrant worker, a process which serves to secure capitalist profitability. Mason sees two principal difficulties arising in the structural marxist approach. Firstly, he states that it is not entirely clear what would suffice as evidence against the propositions supporting this approach:

As long as the consequences of state policy are demonstrably 'racist' (have systematically unequal effects upon the lives of groups socially defined or definable as 'races'), the structuralist position will be able to argue that they arise out of the imperatives of the capitalist mode of production and the state's function in maintaining the conditions for its operation. Indeed it is by no means clear that the discovery of disfunctional consequences would count as such evidence since it may presumably be argued that such disfunctions arise as 'errors' or in consequence of changing conditions (e.g. in the world market) over which the state has no control. (Mason 1982:40)

The second difficulty which Mason points out is that the structuralist pays little attention to the role of 'purposive human action'. Mason sees this as a particularly relevant issue, in that purposive human action (for example the actions of state officials, elected representatives and agents of powerful interests) cannot be ignored. The reason for this is that:

there remains the possibility that the pursuit of a range of actions (including the formation and implementation of state policy) may, whatever their motives or intentions, have unintended consequences which are discernably racist. (1982:40)

3.2:5 THE CENTRE FOR CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES

The complex approach which the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) adopts in 'The Empire Strikes Back' (1982) is one in which what they define as the 'new racism' is seen to be constructed and manipulated by the institutionally racist practices of the State. (1982:96)

They begin by stating that:

The central theme of this book is that the construction of an authoritarian state in Britain is fundamentally intertwined with the elaboration of popular racism in the 1970s. (1982:9)

Having stated this they attempt at the outset to indicate that they do not intend to adopt a reductionist stance but rather one in which the parallel growth of repressive state structures and new racisms is located within:

the dynamics of both the international crisis of the capitalist world economy and the deep-seated structural crisis of the British social formation. (1982:9)

Within this general brief which they set themselves they then move on to cast a critical eye over the political practices which developed around the issue of race during the period of the 1970s.

The CCCS' conception of racism - which proves fundamental to their analysis - is one in which racism is seen as a 'fluid' rather than a 'unitary fixed principle' that remains the same in different historical periods. In this way racism is seen to be:

subject to breaks and discontinuities, particularly in periods of crisis which produce qualitative changes in all social relations. (1982:12)

By adopting this stance the authors feel able to emphasise the important fact that:

racism is a contradictory phenomenon which is constantly transformed, along with the wider political-economic structures and relations of the social formation. (1982:11)

This statement is further qualified in their notes, in which they state:

... we should not be seen as arguing that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the transformation of racism and the changes in the wider economic framework. But we would wish to maintain that there is a relationship between the two and that this involves relations of determination. (1982:37)

As a result of their approach it is significant that much less emphasis is paid within their analysis to the form of racism which characterised Britain's Imperial past. They do not consider it to be irrelevant, as indeed they state that it provides essential clues as to the way in which racist ideologies have come to be such a persistent feature of the

common-sense thinking of the White working (and other) class(es). The past is alive, even if transformed in the present. (1982:48)

However, they do not see the Imperial past as having had a hand in determining the shape of contemporary racism but rather that:

... the attitudes of superior/inferior, responsible/irresponsible, mother/children, barbarian/civilization, etc. provide a reserve of images upon which racists and racism can play. It helps to explain the specific way racist ideas are formed in the British (as opposed to the American) context. (1982:68)

This in itself seems somewhat contradictory to their pronouncements earlier on in the book when they argued that racism as it exists today needs to be sited historically and in particular in reference to the wider structures and relations of British society. They go on:

The historical roots of racist practices within the British State, the British dominant classes, and the 'British' working class, go deep and cannot be reduced to simple ideological phenomena. They have been conditioned, if not determined, by the historical

development of colonial societies which was central to the reproduction of British imperialism. This process generated a specific type of 'nationalism' pertinent in the formation of British classes long before the 'immigration' issue became a central aspect of political discourse. (1982:11)

The contradictions appear in the fact that, if one follows through the logic of their argument, then indeed Britain's Imperial past would appear to have had an effect upon what they see as present day racism. (This is a problem which is not properly resolved in their analysis but remains ambiguous.) However it can be argued that their conception of racism enables them to avoid following the reductionist argument which views racist ideologies as representing a strategy perpetuated by the ruling power bloc as a method of dividing the working class(es). They state:

In our view the more developed racist ideologies are popular precisely because they succeed in reorganizing the common-sense racist ideologies of the White working class, around the themes of 'the British nation', the British people' and 'British culture' - themes which explicitly exclude Black people. Certainly this has had the effect of strengthening the mechanisms whereby the working class is reproduced as a racially structured and divided working class, but to view this process simply in terms of the machinations of the ruling bloc is to be blind to popular politics and struggles. (1982:48)

Like Hall et al (1978) the CCCS adopt a macro level of analysis and, as such, focus on the structural position of Black workers in Britain in terms of their position in relation to specific indices of existence; employment, education, housing, culture, (the inter-relationship of these factors is seen to serve to reproduce the class relations of the society as a whole in a race specific form) rather than adopting what can be termed a micro level of analysis in which attention is directed towards the discrimination which Black people may face in relation to what some theorists see as individual and independent institutions. In turning to the subject of migration from peripheral economies and the process through which the segmentation of the working class takes place in metropolitan formations, the authors set about locating this process

in what they call a political economy framework. Within this framework the capitalist state is seen as the central mechanism for the articulation and reproduction of divisions of class and ethnic groups, and race itself is seen as having increasingly become the means through which the State is able to secure hegemonic relations in a period of what the authors refer to as 'structural crisis management' (crisis in this sense embodying the State's struggle for hegemony). As they state, the content of the crisis

is not reducible to a cyclic economic crisis in the traditional sense, or a 'crisis of the political system' in a narrow sense. It consists rather of profound changes in the balance of forces, in the class struggle and in the configuration of the class alliances. (1982:19)

Race takes on a central role in planning in areas of employment, education, housing, politics, immigration, debates on nationality, and this is made possible due to the fact that the State:

has extended its areas of functioning to cover 'moral', 'political' and 'constitutional' issues

and it:

became possible to bring about a racialization of State policies in all areas of social life. (1982:19)

### 3.3 OVERVIEW

From this somewhat limited perusal of both the American and British approaches to the concept of institutional racism, it is evident, as others have pointed out (Mason 1982, Charles 1982, Williams and Carter 1985), that in terms of definition the concept institutional racism has been characterised by differing levels of emphasis, theoretical sophistication and clarity.



All in general are attempting to understand a process which is able to systematically undermine the position of Black people within Western social formations.

As stated previously the term institutional racism first gained acceptance in the United States as a concept which served to explain how racial subordination was able to be maintained within American society bolstered by the discriminatory processes operating within institutional structures. This being the case, one can legitimately ask 'is it possible that a concept derived from the American experience adequately explain the sort of structures and social relations which have emerged in Britain since the migration of Black workers in the 1950s?' It is essential that one takes into account the structural differences that exist between the American and British context before moving on to using them as a basis for sociological generalisation. (Rex 1979) In so doing it is argued here that one has to take into account two fundamental differences which are of relevance to subsequent discussions concerning the applicability of institutional racism to the British context.

The first relates to the fact that Black people in the United States were inherently American, not immigrants (or even second generation migrants). In contrast, Black workers in Britain are (including those born in Britain) regarded as being 'permanent immigrants', whose basic citizenship rights have been over the decades subject to continuous erosion in the form of immigration and nationality acts. Secondly, the institution of slavery which took place actually within the American formation and came to be deeply embedded within the economic, political, social and legal structures of that period came to have profound implications and repercussions in the form of legislation, policy, laws, customs, beliefs, in relating to present day Black Americans and their structural position within that formation. In contrast it is significant that the institution of slavery was not to be found actually within the British

context but was external to it in geographical terms. (This in itself was to have implications for future relations between Black migrants and the British metropole for, as stated earlier, the irony emerged with the fact that the ideology of equal citizenship between Black and White enabled Black migrant workers to gain rights of entry and settlement which was to prove a political stumbling block for successive Labour and Tory governments.) It is evident that the British capitalist economy and institutions of politics and law were deeply implicated in the slave trade (see A Lester and G Bindman 1972); in addition the attitude of the British towards the Black colonials was one of stereotyped inferiority. (Rex 1979, Allen 1973) However, it was not until the demand for cheap labour by various sections of capital took place and Blacks began arriving from the Caribbean and Asian sub-continent that Britain's economic, political, social and legal structures came into closer contact with Black people. The relationship that was to follow was one in which Britain's colonial experience and the function which Black workers were to serve within the capitalist economy would have repercussions for Black labour's eventual location within the social formation. Given these basic differences it is possible however, to apply the concept institutional racism to the British experience, for the basic tenet of the concept institutional racism (that being the argument that Black people are consistently to be found in a subordinate position in the relation to key indices of existence, a situation which is perpetuated and maintained by a process of unequal distribution of resources at the level of the economic, political, ideological and social) can be said to incorporate certain features which, when applied to the British context, can serve as a useful analytical tool for understanding the way in which race (as an ideological construct) gains expression in the workings of the economic, political, social, educational and legal structures within British society.

In turning to look at the way in which the term institutional racism has been conceptualized in the British context it can be argued that the approaches

briefly outlined in the preceding paragraphs fall into three categories. The first category includes the approach of Hall et al and the CCCS. Their approach is characterised by its holistic approach to the structural features of the British formation in which attention is focused upon the way in which the economic, political, social and ideological structures interrelate and act so as to determine the overall position of Black labour in Britain in terms of reproducing a racially defined and antagonistic working class. Secondly it can be argued that, in broad terms, there is a cross-over in conceptualization between the approach of Rex and Allen and that of Hall et al in that Rex and Allen also adopt a broad approach to the concept of institutional racism. This is illustrated by the emphasis placed upon the way mechanisms other than racism operating within particular institutions work so as to define the position of Blacks in Britain. Thirdly, Dummett adopts the approach in which racism is regarded as being the product of procedures and policies operating within institutions which have been devised without racial considerations in mind, but all the same having effects upon the population at large which is distinct from its effects on racial minorities; consequently emphasis is placed on institutions as an entity in themselves which serve to keep:

despised groups at the bottom of the heap (Dummett 1973:140)

and no clear linkages are established between the processes of the institution and that of the broader system of the economic, political and social. This is evident when she asks herself the question. "What is institutional racism?" and she states:

... a racist society has institutions which effectively maintain inequality between members of different groups, in such a way that the open expression of racist doctrine is unnecessary or, where it occurs, superfluous. Racist institutions, even if operated partly by individuals who are not themselves racist in their beliefs, still have the effect of making and perpetuating inequalities. (1973:131)

This definition serves to illustrate that sufficient attention is not paid to asking why the society is racist nor what function it serves and in omitting this Dummett is unable to expand her analysis to take on board the broader structural features of racism in Britain.

#### 3.4 Structural Racism: a form of class determination

Although the focus of this chapter has been that of the various conceptualizations of the term institutional racism, the underlying theme has been the way in which the structural location of Black people is influenced by the structural constraints of racism, through a process which serves to incorporate certain sections of the population into the least favourable sectors of the social formation. It is to be argued here that the concept structural racism can, as an analytical tool, go some way towards helping to understand the processes which help to define and subsequently characterise the structural location of Blacks in majority White social formations. It is important to point out at this juncture that the term 'institutional racism' will not be used, the reason for this being twofold. Firstly the term institutional racism already has a variety of definitions attributed to it as critics have pointed out (Mason 1982, Williams 1985, Williams and Carter 1985). Thus, in order to avoid confusion, it was felt that the term structural racism might be more usefully employed. Secondly, and more importantly, the term 'structure' is a broader concept than that of 'institution', as the latter appears to set false boundaries to a concept which goes beyond the discussion of, for example the rules and procedures operating within individual institutions such as the education system, individual employers, housing market, government, which are racially discriminatory in practice. This is not to deny the significance of the process of racial discrimination or exclusion operating within institutions. However, the term 'structure' embodies the view that, apart from a process of racial discrimination being built into the

institutions which facilitate the continued subordination of Black labour the whole process is seen to operate within a broader framework of economic, political and ideological 'forces'. These 'forces' interact in a way which serves to influence the function of what, on the surface, can be seen as the individual and separate institutions of the labour market, education system, government, housing market and legal system.

The conceptualization of structural racism which will be put forward here does not represent a model, but rather the working through of ideas concerning what are seen here to be the essential aspects of the complex processes which are at work in a capitalist social formation in which 'race' - as an ideological construct - has come to represent a salient feature at the level of the economic, political, ideological and the social.

It is important that, in seeking to determine the inception of structural racism as an essential factor in the class determining process of Black labour, one has to acknowledge the part that history has to play. If attention were to be solely focused on present day formations one would essentially be denying the fact that every social situation is in part the product of preceding situations which have influenced aspects of the present conjunctures institutions, laws and social structure. Consequently it will not seem strange when one goes on to argue that the situation which exists today between Black and White in majority White social formations had:

very little to do with 'race' initially, it was an historical accident that the peoples encountered in the European expansion differed in shared physical characteristics of an obvious kind. But once the racial ideologies had been formed and widely disseminated they constituted a powerful means of justifying political hegemony and economic control. (1967 Carmichael and Hamilton, pages 23-24)

Having gained a foothold in successive historical periods through a process of constant interaction with, and manipulation by, economic and political forces,

racial ideology has served, as Hall et al expound, as a most effective ideological 'weapon' for those who wish to maintain political hegemony and economic control. They state:

It is certainly the case that colonialism, as well as establishing internal relations of opposition and competition within the British working class ... also set in motion relations of opposition between the British metropolitan working class as a whole and the colonial work-forces. Further, the imperial period provided the dominant classes with one of the most effective and penetrating ideological weapons with which, in the divisive period of class conflict leading up to the First World War, they sought to extend their hegemony over an increasingly strong, united and confident proletariat, especially through the ideologies of popular imperialism and race superiority. During the decline of the Empire and the rise of post-war national independence movements, these 'colonial relations' were internalised through the importation of immigrant labour. The differentiated structure of class interests between the British and the colonial working classes was then, in a complex manner, reproduced within the domestic economy by the use of imported immigrant labour, under conditions of full employment, often to fill jobs which the indigenous workforce would no longer do. Capitalism has continued to reproduce labour in this internally divided form to this day. (Hall et al 1978: 345-346)

The internalization of 'colonial relations' through the importation of immigrant labour can be said to represent the point at which 'race' became a salient feature within the British metropole itself; Black labour entered a context which was already negatively pre-disposed against it and this negativity surfaced in the shape of pre-determined positions reserved for them, primarily, within the labour market. It is here that the majority of the first Black migrants to Britain (during the 1950s) and latterly their British-born children have remained. It has been stated that:

The racial division of labour is rarely due to an impersonal competitive process but more generally reflects the distribution of power in a community. (Encyclopaedia Britannica (1962) Vol.20 Page 283).

In substituting the word 'objective' for that of 'impersonal' it is argued here that it is at this level that much of the difficulties appear for those marxist theorists (in particular Gorz 1970, Castles and Kosack 1973) who are not able to acknowledge the salience of 'race' as a possible determinant of structural

location in capitalist society. Put somewhat simplistically, their argument follows the line that it is the worker in capitalist society, by virtue of his position within the social division of labour, who is rendered powerless - as all he has to sell is his labour power. Capital on the other hand both owns the means of production and is able to buy the labour power of the worker. This conceptualization seems to revolve around the somewhat redundant notion of homogeneity of interest of labour and consequently, although attention is directed towards the cross-cutting of interests that characterises the relationship between Black and White labour in the social relations of production, there is a tendency to reduce these relationships to that of 'pure' intra-class relations and, as such, exclude the possibility that there are other processes at work. (For in terms of distribution of power, White labour occupies a far securer position vis-a-vis capital - given, for example, that they have trade unions to represent their interests, whereas Black labour, as is evident in various empirical examples such as the strike of Black workers at the Mansfield Hosiery Mills 1972, Fords, ICI, Standard telephones and, latterly, Imperial Typewriters, came into conflict, not only with management, but also with the very trade unions who were supposed to be representing their interests). Consequently they are able to argue that, although Black labour occupies a subordinate position within the working class of metropolitan societies, their position has been determined by objective forces of the social division of labour and race as a determining factor is thus extraneous.

It will be argued here that the position of Black labour within Britain's labour market was pre-determined by the position they occupied in relation to White labour, for they, as labour from the colonies occupied a position below that of White workers in Britain. As such, it is possible to argue that their initial and subsequent structural location within the metropole was not subject to objective competitive forces, but were/are determined by the processes of 'race'. Thus their position within the British labour market and their relation

to other institutional structures and to the indigenous working class cannot be assessed solely at the level of the economic, for the role of race - as an ideological construction and its articulation with the political and the social is of significance when discussing the structural location of Black labour.

How has Black labour been confined to the subordinate position they occupy in the British labour market and how, in particular, has the broader framework of the economic political and ideological forces operated through the institution of the labour market to bring about this state of affairs? It will be argued here (although somewhat simplistically) that capital, labour, trade unions and government in an articulation of their group interests have served to undermine the position of Black labour in Britain.

Put somewhat simplistically it can be said that the underlying requirements of capital have been the need for cheap unskilled labour:

employable during economic booms in 'super-exploited' positions but dispensable during employment contraction. (Morgan 1981:22)

White labour has sought to secure its position as that of a labour aristocracy and successive governments in their attempt to secure electoral security have served in some respects to placate the interests of the latter two. Through the articulation of interests of these three 'groupings' race has come to play a central role at the level of the economic, political, ideological and the social and in the process has served to maintain the subordinate position which Blacks have occupied within Britain for over three decades. A useful illustration of the way in which the articulation of the interests of capital, labour and government has determined the structural location of Black labour is the introduction of legislation concerning immigration and nationality laws.



By the early 1960s capital had absorbed as much unskilled labour as it required. However, with the onslaught of new technology and automation to be followed by recession in mid-1960s, the need for this labour became less and with the resultant shortage of vacancies Black labour was cast into unemployment. In this sense workers who had at one time represented 'cost free' labour power for capital and Britain coming as they did as ready-made workers, now do require expenditure on infrastructural support. This the more so since government has had to foot the bill - not only for unemployment but because the migrant workers had also brought their families over and consequently, facilities such as education, health care, and housing have to be made available for their dependants.

Prior to the period of recession when Black labour (predominantly) occupied a subordinate position within the labour market, in that they were to be found in dirty, tiring, underpaid jobs which White labour did not want, White labour still felt that they were having to compete for jobs with labour which they felt would be used to undercut their wages. Coupled with this was what they (White labour) saw as essential resources such as housing, education, social benefits being made available to 'Black immigrants' and this too served to further entrench the view that Black labour was monopolising the resources that they had fought for.

Given this background, the problem for successive governments was twofold: not only had Black labour become an economic burden but in addition, as Sivanandan (1982) points out, they had become a political burden. The growing militancy of Black labour (which was a reaction to their experiences of discrimination in the labour market, housing, etc and confrontations with racist groups):

was taking on political proportions that the government, irrespective of parties could not ignore. It had to put an end to coloured immigration and yet have recourse to a reserve pool of labour when required. (Sivanandan 1982:107)

The need for restricting immigration had arrived and its introduction was justified for it served an economic, social purpose. Over a period of two decades a series of immigration acts (1962, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1981) has served to determine the form of incoming labour, through the introduction of a voucher system for specific skills.

As Sivanandan states:

"The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 restricted the admission of Commonwealth immigrants for settlement to those who had been issued with employment vouchers ... . When the Labour government came to renew the Commonwealth Immigrants Act in the White Paper of August 1965, it made further restrictions on coloured immigration - reducing the number of vouchers in the A and B categories to a ceiling of 8,500 per year and doing away with the unskilled category C. It also reduced the categories of skill and qualifications required of B voucher applicants to doctors, dentists, nurses, teachers and graduates in Science and Technology. The policy was now firmly established that immigration from the Black Commonwealth should be geared to the requirements of the British economy ... .  
\*It was also a system which took discrimination out of the market place and gave it the sanction of the State. It made racism respectable and clinical by institutionalising it." (Sivanandan 1982:108-109)

These immigration acts coupled with the introduction of nationality acts have acted in the favour of capital and labour for they (particularly the 1971 Act) effectively placed Black labour on the same level as the European foreign worker. Black labour coming to Britain after 1971 had to have a work permit and came to Britain under contract to a specific job. They did not, it was evident, possess full labour market rights and consequently represented a compliant work force many of whom, under these circumstances, would be loathe to jeopardise their position by asking for better wages, safer conditions or the right to join a trade union. As Sivanandan states:

The immigrant was finally a migrant, the citizen an alien. There is no such thing as a 'Commonwealth immigrant' anymore. There are those who came from the Commonwealth before the 1971 Act came into force (January 1973) but these are not immigrants: they are settlers. There are others who have come after the Act, they are neither settler nor Black settlers. There are others who have come

after the Act; they are neither settlers nor immigrants, they are migrant workers, Black migrant workers. (Sivanandan 1982:111)

In general terms then it can be argued that the articulation of the broader structures of the economic, political and ideological has served to influence the processes of institutions such as government and legal system which, in effect, have functioned so as to determine the structural location of Black labour in Britain. For, the basic intention of government, as Sivanandan succinctly puts it, may not have been the institutionalization of racism, but rather to:

anchor in legislation an institutionalized system of discrimination against foreign labour, but because the labour happened to be Black, it ended up by institutionalized racism instead. Instead of institutionalized discrimination against a whole people, irrespective of class. (Sivanandan 1982:114)

In attempting to take the discussion of structural racism a step further it is argued here that it is necessary to follow through to a more concrete, lower level of analysis, the processes of structural racism as expressed in the form of racial discrimination. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Hall et al point out that they are not interested in what one might call the 'lower level of structural racism' - that being the:

immediate contingencies of discrimination, (Hall et al 1978:344)

which come about as a result of the discriminatory practices, policies in institutions of employment, housing, education. Hall et al are more interested in operating at a macro level of analysis and focusing their analysis upon the broader structural features of modern capitalism - economic, political and ideological structures and their effects upon Black labour. This view is evidently supported here. However, in an attempt to establish the link between theoretical and empirical it is necessary that one goes on to look at what takes place at a lower level of analysis in the everyday workings of institutions. This latter process represents what can be crudely seen as the

'knock on' effect of structural racism, operating at a lower level of analysis. As such, the process of discrimination should not be viewed in 'isolation' but as the thin end of the wedge of the broader structural processes of structural racism, which comes to light also in the form of racial discrimination.

It is hoped that an analysis which utilises the notion of discrimination in employment will bring forth valuable data concerning movement within the labour market (in terms of sequences of occupational position), which in turn may outline to what extent constraints faced by Black workers in the labour market represent a permanent barrier to types of 'achievement' within certain occupational fields. It is also hoped that this approach will highlight the probability that decisions taken by individuals within this grouping may to a large extent be a response to structural constraints deriving from the constitution of the local labour market and other institutional forces.

In terms of methodological approach there has been a tendency to analyse what one can call the objective dimension of discrimination in employment in terms of the investigation of recruitment, promotion procedures/policies (Smith 1976, Jenkins 19 ) as well as taking into account:

the interaction between racial norms, management interests and workers' power resources. (Wilson 1978:11)

However very little research has been done in terms of focusing on the 'subjective' dimension of discrimination in employment in order to understand the processes of discrimination and its effects on class and group formation. It is essential that attention is focused on the subjective experiences of racial discrimination. For it is by approaching the analysis from this perspective that one may be better equipped to gain a clearer understanding of the relationship that exists between their objective structural location and

the form of race and class consciousness generated by the individuals who occupy those locations.

While many argue that the subjective experience and consciousness of discrimination are not of significance because they cannot be demonstrated objectively, there needs to be a point within the analysis of the structural position of Black labour which takes into account their interpretation of what is happening to them and the resultant strategies they adopt in order to counteract discriminatory practices.

The aim of this chapter has been to put into context what remains the main foci of this research - that being the discussion of the structural location of middle class Blacks in Britain. By putting into context the structural constraints which define their existence in Britain one is better able to assess how this particular section of Black labour is able to manoeuvre, some would say successfully, within the constraints set by the processes of structural racism. 'Black labour' is the victim of structural racism; however it is not a passive victim, as Williams (1985) points out:

It is necessary to stress the active part played by Blacks in determining the way many institutions operate. They do not accept the practices of institutional racism without resistance. (Williams 1985:22)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MOVEMENT OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN LABOUR TO BRITAIN  
AND ITS INCORPORATION INTO THE BRITISH LABOUR  
MARKET

THE MOVEMENT OF AFRO CARIBBEAN LABOUR TO BRITAIN AND ITS INCORPORATION  
INTO THE BRITISH LABOUR MARKET

The basic framework of this chapter is to look firstly at the factors leading up to the post-1945 movement of Black workers from the Caribbean to Britain at a general level. Secondly an attempt is made to look at the type of migrant worker that came to Britain. As such, attention is paid to assessing, as far as possible, their 'class' composition. Thirdly, by focusing on their incorporation into the British labour market, an attempt is also made to assess the types of changes that have occurred in the 'class' composition of West Indian migrant labour over the past three and a half decades.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The migration of Black workers from the Caribbean in the post World War Two period represented but another phase in the history of Caribbean labour migration, but, importantly, it represented the origins of the majority of Britain's present Afro-Caribbean population (Peach 1968, Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Smith 1981, Miles and Phizacklea 1984). These migrant workers came to Britain in search of work and served to fill the 'labour gap' which Britain's rapid post-war economic expansion had created. Their initial 'integration' into the British labour market was characterised by the fact that the positions they occupied were those unskilled, dirty jobs which offered long hours and low wages (the N H S offered work for some women - as nurses). These in general were the jobs which many of the indigenous workers had vacated as opportunities were open to them to move out and into new, better paid jobs. (Peach 1968, Castles and Kosack 1973)

It can, and has been, argued that the experience of Black workers in the British labour market is not fundamentally different from that of previous working class immigrants - principally their Irish and Jewish counterparts of a century or so ago. (Mesanagana 1980, Miles and Phizacklea 1982) Like black migrant workers of the late 1940s, and early 1950s, Irish and Jewish migrants arriving in the nineteenth century entered at the bottom of the labour market (they took up unskilled textile jobs and found work in the building trade) and faced not only discrimination but, in addition, religious persecution. (Thurlow 1980, Banton 1955, Miles 1982) However, it can be argued that many of these earlier migrants have managed to manoeuvre their way into the mainstream of Britain's economic political and social order. (Rex 1980) By contrast, to date, this has not been the path which Britain's Black migrant workers and their British-born children have been able to follow. Using employment as an example it is evident that Black workers, as various studies and surveys have shown (Daniel 1968, Jowell and Prescott-Clarke 1970, Ballard and Holden 1975, Smith 1976), in terms of patterns of employment, and indeed unemployment, differ in important respects from those of the British population as a whole. (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Group 1980)

If one accepts the argument that Black migrant workers' experiences in the labour market are not fundamentally different from that of previous migrants - in that, having made adjustments to living in Britain (gaining experience of industrial work, acquiring skills, settling into urban life) - it would be fair to hypothesise that these workers would have secured better jobs than those they began with originally. However, this is not the position for in the majority of instances:

If Blacks who came, say, twenty one years ago, are in similar positions to those who came more recently. (Lea 1980)



There may be several reasons for this. First, the majority of Black labour arriving in Britain were 'channelled' into specific sectors of employment. Movement out of these sectors of employment has been retarded by factors such as racial discrimination. (Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics 1980, Braham, Pearn and Rhodes 1981, Miles and Phizacklea 1984) However, one also has to take into account the processes which gave rise to this immigration, for it will go some way towards explaining the present circumstances in which Black migrant workers and their children find themselves in Britain.

#### 4.2 EARLY BLACK MIGRANTS TO BRITAIN

Considerable attention has been focused on Britain's experience of large scale movement of New Commonwealth (West Indian, Asian) labour migration into Britain since the end of the second world war in the form of surveys, studies and government reports. However, Britain has also been a country of mass emigration. (Castles and Kosack 1973, Allen 1978-79) Since the early nineteenth century there has been large-scale overseas migration of Britons:

to the New World and to the Colonies in Africa and Asia. Between 1800 and 1930, 40 million Europeans migrated permanently overseas, mainly to North and South America and to Oceania. (Castles and Kosack 1973:15)

The majority of these migrants came from Britain. Running parallel to this outward movement of labour, Britain began to feel the effects of a shortage of labour power needed to man its industrial centres. British employers turned their eyes to Ireland.

Here, the pressure of absentee landlords, the trend towards enclosures, and the ruin of domestic industry through British competition following the Act of Union in 1800 had impoverished the masses of population. The famine of 1882 - accompanied, as always, by severe epidemics - sent tens of thousands of peasants to England in search of bread. (Castles and Kosack 1973:16)

This began the first large-scale inward movement of non-indigenous labour, which marked, as some theorists have pointed out, the beginning of modern immigration to Britain. (Moore 1975, Ashtiany 1976) Migrant labour came over from Ireland and formed the principal source of migrant labour throughout Britain's industrial development. (Allen 1978-79) By the mid 1800s there were some 727,326 Irish immigrants in Britain.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century there was large-scale Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe. (Freeman and Spencer 1979) Between 1851 and 1914 120,000 Jews came to settle in Britain. From the early 1800s to the early twentieth century Irish and Jewish, in particular the Irish, migrant workers made substantial contributions to the British economy. (Allen 1978-79) As Miles 1982 states:

Irish labour was a crucial component of capitalist development. Indeed, in the case of the West of Scotland, it is difficult to see how capitalist industrialization could have occurred at the scale and speed that it did without Irish labour. This is less true for England although, in certain regions, Irish labour was of crucial significance for the development of certain capitalist enterprises. (1982:123)

In the years leading up to the second world war there was another phase of Jewish immigration as they fled from the excesses of the Nazis in Germany. After the second world war, principally as a result of Britain's full employment and chronic labour shortage, there was a new inward movement of Irish migrants and the inward movement of approximately a million migrants from Europe. (Patterson 1969, Rees 1982, Walvin 1984) The post world war European immigrants fell into two broad categories. Firstly, there were the East European political exiles and refugees of whom the Polish formed the largest single group. There were also Ukrainians, Balts, Czechs, Rumanians, Yugoslavs and Hungarians who, in general, came with a wide range of educational and occupational qualifications. (Patterson 1969) The second category consisted of selected economic migrants from West and South Europe.

These workers entered Britain, in the majority of instances, under the European Voluntary Workers' Scheme. These workers were viewed as aliens, and, as such, were subject to strict controls which limited their place of employment during their first few years of residence in Britain. In this way, as Freeman and Spencer (1979) point out, the European Voluntary Workers:

...could be assigned to work where indigenous workers could not be attracted. (1979:64)

In more recent years Britain has experienced further immigration of White migrants from North America, Europe and Australasia. (Walvin 1984, Stewart 1975)

Set within this context the migration of New Commonwealth migrants to Britain during the early 1950s should not be regarded as a major deviation from Britain's previous experience of labour immigration - except that this time the migrants are Black. However, this was not the first time that Britain's natives had come into contact with Black people on their own soil. As Field and Haikin state when writing in 1971:

The rapid expansion in the last twenty years of the numbers of coloured people in this country can give the impression that their presence is an entirely contemporary one ... but small numbers of coloured people have been resident here for centuries. Probably the first Africans to arrive in Britain came some time in Elizabeth 1st's reign, as a result of John Hawkins' expeditions between Africa and the New World. Later West Indian planters brought slaves back to England. By the 18th century it had become fashionable to have Negro domestic servants. (Field and Haikin 1971:3)

The Black population in Britain increased steadily during the 18th century, particularly in London and seaport towns. In London there was an estimated Black community of some 14,000 to 20,000. (Fryer 1984, Hill 1970, Walvin 1984) By 1772 slavery was declared illegal in England but a large number still remained with their masters as domestic servants. Those who were cast into unemployment drifted into begging, peddling or small trading. (Banton

1955) The economic role which was imposed on them during this period was to characterise their circumstances right up into the twentieth century. By the end of the nineteenth century the majority of Britain's Black population had 'disappeared',

they had either been absorbed into the community, or drifted to foreign parts through employment as seamen, or taken advantage of the scheme for the settlement of ex slaves in Sierra Leone, or repatriated to the West Indies. (Hill 1970:8, Shyllon 1977:130)

During the years of the first world war there was a great increase in Britain's Black population. (Griffith 1960) Britain was in desperate need of labour to help fight the war and focused attention on the untapped potential of the colonies. However, throughout the war:

... the War Office actively resisted the integration of Black troops into existing regiments, preferring instead the creation of separate Black units. The Army Council opposed commissions for men who 'are not of unmixed European blood', while 2,500 Black West Indian volunteers were, despite their wishes, barred from combat duty. Instead they were formed into labour gangs. Naturally enough White volunteers from the West Indies were allowed to fight. Even in war Blacks were consigned to their age-old role of being the beast of burden for their White Masters. (Walvin 1973:205)

Other Black workers, recruited from the colonies found work in munition and chemical factories in the North and Midlands. By the end of the war some were demobilised in Britain, Black seamen left their ships to look for work and settled in seaport towns. Those Blacks who had worked in the munitions and chemical factories soon found themselves facing unemployment as, firstly, British ex-servicemen returned home and, secondly, due to the depressed state of the economy which evolved into an acute crisis during the depression of the 1930s, industries contracted. (Castles and Kosack 1973) There was negligible Black immigration during the inter-war years, as the depression did much to discourage this. Those Blacks who were already in Britain and had decided not to return home faced opposition from White labour. They were regarded as

outsiders (and thus not a part of the working classes) who threatened to compete for the already too few jobs available:

English workers, many of whom had been recently released from the armed forces resented the competition for work. The trade unions insisted on the employment of Englishmen in preference to Negroes and consequently increasing numbers of the immigrants found themselves unemployed and unemployable. (Walvin 1973:206) see also Banton (1955)

As a result social and racial tensions which had been brewing over a long period came to the surface under the pressure of a flagging economy. In 1919 a series of race riots broke out in London, Liverpool, Cardiff, Manchester, Newton and Hull (Banton 1955, Sivanandan 1982, Fryer 1984), as groups of working class Whites fought local Black minorities.

The outbreak of the second world war in 1939 witnessed a dramatic increase in the movement of Black colonial labour to Britain. (Patterson 1969, Jones and Smith 1970) The British recruited Black labour from the Caribbean once again to help in the war effort. (Sutton and Makiesky 1975, Figueroa 1976) The principal examples of official government recruitment schemes were first a group of:

1,200 British Hondurians who were recruited to fell timber in Scotland, secondly, about 1,000 West Indian technicians and trainees who were recruited for service in war factories in Merseyside and Lancashire ... Thirdly, 10,000 West Indians recruited for service in the Royal Air Force to work in Britain as ground crews; and fourthly, some thousands of colonial seamen either recruited or enlisted in the merchant navy. Large numbers of them were engaged to fill casual vacancies and not all were based at British ports. (Cabinet Papers, 1950). (Layton-Henry 1984:18)

The next largest occupational group were the sailors. (Walvin 1984:212) In 1942, as a result of representations from colonial governments Britain decided to make it easier for colonial subjects to enter Britain. Restrictions on arriving with documentary evidence of British nationality were lifted. Due to

the shortage of available labour power, caused by the war, these migrants found no difficulty in obtaining work and colour prejudice and discrimination in the spheres of housing and employment seemed to take on a lower profile.

With the end of the war, and after the Black colonial migrants had served their purpose (as a much needed supply of labour) Britain sought to repatriate those Black migrants who had been recruited under special schemes. Britain made persistent efforts to induce them to return home, but a significant proportion of them preferred to remain. (Jefferson 1972, Smith and Jones 1970) Layton-Henry points out that:

the British government was not enthusiastic at the prospect of recruiting substantial numbers of colonial workers even though the economy was suffering substantial labour shortages. In fact the government was making considerable efforts to recruit workers from the displaced persons camps in Germany and from Italy. It was even persuading German ex-prisoners of war to stay to work in Britain. The Polish Resettlement Act established a Polish Resettlement Corps to help the Polish soldiers who did not wish to return to Poland to find jobs and settle in Britain. (Layton-Henry 1984:19)

### Summary

In looking at the movement of Black labour to Britain from the Caribbean so far, two main themes are seen to emerge. First, it is evident that the position of Black labour was characterised by its subordinate economic position at the bottom of the labour market. Second, the period spanning the two world wars illustrates that, at this stage, Britain, when faced with a demand for labour to meet its needs, was prepared to make use of the readily accessible supply of labour available in the colonies. However, when the presence of this labour was seen as inappropriate Britain sought to rid itself of a potential 'problem' by attempting to repatriate it. Attempted measures to coax ex-servicemen and munition workers to return home served to further consolidate the view which Britain had of its colonial workers. This attitude

is a consistent one if one considers the colonial context out of which this mode of thought emerged.

As soon as Black labour arrived they were defined as a 'race' apart - an inferior race. (Rex and Tomlinson 1979) Miles (1982) argues that they:

did not enter a neutral political and ideological context when they came to Britain. On the one hand they entered a politico-legal context which defined them as British citizens while, on the other, they entered an ideological context shaped in part by the need to justify and rationalise the colonial exploitation of the previous three centuries. (Miles 1982:167)

#### 4.3 AFRO CARIBBEAN MIGRATION TO BRITAIN: THE POST WORLD WAR TWO PERIOD

Before moving on to look at the migration of labour from the Caribbean during the post world war two period, it will be useful, at this juncture, to further contextualise this migration by taking a step backwards in order to briefly look at how labour migration had, by the 20th century come to represent a main feature of Caribbean life.

Migration does not represent a new phenomenon in the Caribbean. It is argued that in general people from the Caribbean have had a long history of migration. (Palmer 1974, Lawrence 1974, Figueroa 1976, Tobias 1980, Smith 1981) Migration is a process which for Afro-Caribbean populations represents an essential feature of their economic history, (Figueroa 1976), not only because it helped to ease the pressure of population density (Richardson 1983) but because it represents a solution (in the majority of instances it was a temporary solution) to the problems of finding work, in order to support the migrant labourers themselves and their families back home. This 'history of migration' is exemplified in two ways in the 19th century. Firstly, there were inter-island migrations in search of work. (Maunder 1955, Roberts 1955, Sutton and Makiesky 1975)

The largest emigration from the West Indies took place during the period 1881-1921 when there was increased demand for labour to work on the construction of the Panama Canal. (Griffith 1960, Rose et al 1969, Palmer 1974, Walvin 1984) This migration involved mostly migrants from Jamaica and Barbados. Taking for example the pattern of Jamaican emigration, it has been stated that, in the:

1850s some 2,000 Jamaicans migrated to build railways in Panama, to be followed in the 1880s by some 84,000 who left to work on the first (abortive) Panama Canal construction and by thousands more when the project was revived in 1905. (Open University Unit 2:20)

Secondly there was migration from the West Indies to mainland North America. (Maunder 1955, Lawrence 1974, Miles and Phizacklea 1984) From the late nineteenth century to 1924 (in 1924 the United States imposed restrictions on the entry of West Indian labour) Black workers migrated to the United States to find annual/seasonal work as contract labourers. (Sutton and Makiesky 1975:118)

Migration in the early twentieth century saw West Indian migrants 'island hopping' as thousands went to work on banana plantations in Costa Rica and sugar plantations in Cuba. In addition there was work to be had when international corporations invested capital to build:

... highways, railroads, oil refineries, tourist hotels, sugar mills and other facilities around the Caribbean. This created intensive but brief construction periods on various islands which necessitated labour. There were many West Indians prepared to leave their home lands in search of work and, as such, met the international corporations' labour requirements. (Richardson 1983:20)

This pattern of inter-island labour migration and migration to mainland North America does not represent some innate propensity for West Indian populations to migrate, but rather reflects, as already stated, the various economic and demographic problems which have characterised their position since the post-emancipation period. The economic factor in particular is dominated by its



relationship with metropolitan countries, such as Britain, in which the profits from the slave trade and use of slave labour on sugar plantations for centuries, served to provide the economic basis for the development of industrial Britain. (Miles and Phizacklea 1984, Fryer 1984, Open University Unit 10.7) In the post-emancipation period the sugar industry in the Caribbean still represented a key factor in the economy of the Caribbean. (Lawrence 1974:15) However:

The prosperity of the British Sugar Islands was undermined in the nineteenth century by free trade which ended their privileged access to the British market and exposed them to competition from other sugar producers, especially Cuba and Brazil. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the growth of the sugar industry in Europe and North America also undermined the economic position of the islands. (Layton-Henry 1984:16)

Some theorists have pointed out that the pre-eminent position which the Caribbean had held was temporary:

and as other suppliers and sources of supply became more important, those who had provided the labour power were no longer required. As British interest in developing the Caribbean declined, so did the islands' economic and social condition. Their economies had been a short-term, artificial creation which were unable to maintain any autonomous economic development after British investment was reduced. The population, formally freed from the bonds of slavery became trapped in less obvious but no less powerful chains. (Miles and Phizacklea 1984:17)

It was this set of circumstances which set in motion the pattern of migration in search of work which has characterised the Caribbean since the late 19th century. This too, highlights the economic dependence experienced by the Caribbean region created and fostered in its colonial past.

Afro-Caribbean migration to Britain in the post world war two period was important at two levels. Firstly, it marked the origins of the majority of Britain's present Afro-Caribbean population. Secondly, it represented another phase in the 'history of labour migration' from the Caribbean, a movement of labour which was to surpass previous migratory patterns from the Caribbean. (Sutton and Makiesky 1975)

It has been argued that those ex-servicemen, technicians and munitions workers who returned to the Caribbean after the second world war, found themselves facing a situation in which employment was difficult to come by and, as such, their future prospects were somewhat bleak. (Griffith 1960, Stewart 1975, Figuercoa 1976) Britain, on the other hand, represented a positive alternative, as there were prospects of finding work. (Banton 1955, Hill 1970) In order to balance these statements it would be useful to refer to the situation in Jamaica (which is of particular relevance given that they represented the vast majority of migrants in this early period). In 1945 the Jamaican government issued a publication entitled 'Measures for the Establishment in Civil Life of Ex-servicemen and Women and Munition Workers'. This stated that the successful re-establishment of the 'returnees' into civil life would depend to a certain extent on their own efforts, but also on assistance forthcoming from employers, and measures to be taken by the government. The steps taken to re-establish the returnees included first of all the creation of Ex-servicemen's Assistance Boards, which assisted:

in finding suitable employment for the men and women concerned and to recommend for special help those who qualify for assistance under the government schemes. (Kingston Government Printer 1946:4)

Second, the government attempted to provide employment for ex-servicemen and women either in the Government Service or on Government undertakings where suitable vacancies existed. Employment departments were also asked to keep in touch with the Ex-servicemen's Assistance Boards with this object in view. Third, land was set aside on government land settlements for allocation to ex-servicemen. In addition new properties were acquired on which up to half the total number were to be reserved for ex-servicemen. Each settler was to be provided with land up to the value of £150, of which he would be called upon to repay 75% over a period of twenty five years in half-yearly instalments - the first instalment being payable one year after taking over the holding. They would also be assisted if they wished to purchase land outside of

government land settlements. Money was to be made available for the purchase of tools and equipment and for small stock. Fourth, opportunities were made available for those who possessed land or intended to purchase land, to receive agricultural training. Fifth, in terms of housing, the government stated that ex-servicemen would be eligible for financial assistance (in the form of a loan) for the building of new houses or the repair of existing houses. Sixth, those who wished to establish themselves in a trade or small business, such as carpentry, blacksmith or shopkeeping, and were able to prove that they had previous experience, would be given a loan of fifty pounds free of interest, repayable over a period of up to five years. Finally, a limited number of places were made available for those who had reached the required educational standard and wished to improve their educational qualifications. These places included a course at a Training College for teachers and a course at the Government Technical School. The cost of the courses was to be met from government funds. Special arrangements were also made for members of the 'Women's Services' to undergo training for teaching and nursing professions. In addition, grants were made available for those men and women who wished to continue approved correspondence courses.

These measures taken by the Jamaican government to re-establish ex-servicemen and women, technicians and munitions workers into Jamaican society indicate that the prospects for those 'returning home' may not have been as bleak as some writers have thought. (Banton 1955, Peach 1968, Hill 1970, Stewart 1975) It can be argued, however, that even though constructive measures were undertaken to make the returnees' re-introduction into Jamaican civil life easier, the pull of a perceived higher standard of living and economic advancement in Britain was greater.

Those servicemen, technicians and munition workers who did decide to return to Britain found no difficulty in re-entering the country. This was due to the

fact that, under the 1948 British nationality act they were regarded as citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies and, as British subjects, were able to enter Britain unconditionally to work, settle, and bring their families (Freeman and Spencer 1979, Rees 1982) This was a remnant of the 'paternalistic principles' in which the concept of 'Empire' was held in British thought. However, attitudes and thoughts such as these would soon be changed by the early 1960s when controls restricting the entry of New Commonwealth migrants would be introduced, to be followed in 1965, 1968, 1969, and 1971 by further restrictive measures.

At first migration from the Caribbean was irregular (Patterson 1963) and unorganised (Stewart 1975) as small numbers of migrants began to arrive in Britain - the majority of these being ex-servicemen, technicians and munitions workers. In 1948 well over four hundred workers arrived on the Empire Windrush. The docking of this ship marked the beginning of a period which was to lead to thousands of Caribbean workers migrating to Britain in search of work. (Rex and Tomlinson 1979, Hill 1970) According to Miles and Phizacklea (1984) the majority of the migration was an informal process which was in direct contrast to the situation in the rest of Western Europe, where governments and employers became involved in planning the movement of foreign labour into their countries. In Britain's case:

Information about vacancies was passed on through an informal communications network, founded on a few earlier migrants who came before the second world war and their families and acquaintances in the Caribbean and Indian sub-continent. In some cases, this informal channel of communication was supplemented by advertisements placed in newspapers in the New Commonwealth by employers experiencing a shortage of labour. In others, employers directly manipulated the informal and family networks to satisfy their needs for labour. (Miles and Phizacklea 1984:138-139)

The economies of both the Caribbean (the periphery) and Britain (the centre) were going through serious difficulties following the second world war. The Caribbean was faced with economic and demographic problems. (Roberts 1957,

Peach 1968, Rose et al 1969) With the exception of Jamaica, Trinidad and, to a lesser extent, Antigua, the Caribbean had, immediately after world war two, a low rate of economic growth. (Peach 1968) The expanding populations of the islands were increasing at such a rate that they could not be contained by their respective economies and this led to high rates of unemployment.

Like the rest of Western Europe, post-war Britain was experiencing a serious shortage of labour (Allen and Smith 1974, Green 1979), brought about firstly by the effects of wartime on the labour force: Britain experienced a great loss in its active population through soldiers being killed or incapacitated. Falling birth rates and increased life expectancy meant that old people formed an increasing proportion of the population. Coupled with these factors was the movement towards an increase in the length of full-time education which served to delay the entry of young people into the labour force. Secondly, the period of economic growth in terms of industrial expansion which Britain entered into in the post-war period led to significant shortages of labour. (Davison 1966, Ball 1979) Technical progress and increased production of services during this period led to changes in the occupational structure. (Bohning 1974, Castles and Kosack 1973, Nikolidakos 1975) (Miles and Phizacklea 1980:12)

The expansion of service industries and the development of new industries required skilled labour and this served to attract labour away from what were considered (by the indigenous workers) to be the least attractive sectors of the labour market - in terms of skill, status and rewards. (Race Today 1973, Miles and Phizacklea 1980) Indigenous workers deserted these positions in order to:

take advantage of the opportunities presented by economic growth and the general commitment to full employment. (Open University Unit 3:45)

As a result it has been stated that "Capital" found itself in desperate need of semi-skilled and unskilled labour to be distributed according to where it was needed. (Green 1979, Watson 1982)

At the time it may have been possible some have argued (Gorz 1970) for Western European Capital, in an attempt to rectify the shortage of labour in certain sectors of the Capitalist economy, to set higher wages for the less desirable jobs in the economy in order to reverse the outward movement of indigenous labour to the expanding industries which offered better rewards. Gorz (1970) suggests this option was not pursued due to the fact that the introduction of higher wages for these less desirable jobs would have resulted in such a redistribution of rewards as to challenge the class structure of the capitalist system. The alternative which Western Europe and Britain opted for in the immediate post-war period was to open its doors to the inward movement of foreign labour (to take up the low paid and dirty jobs vacated by the indigenous workers) - in what was regarded as a measure of temporary expediency. In the case of Western Europe, migrant labour came from the European peripheries, and for Britain the *majority* of migrant workers were to come from the New Commonwealth.

With particular reference to migrants from Britain's colonies and ex-colonies, it has been argued (Peach 1968, Allen and Smith 1974, Freeman and Spencer 1979) that underdevelopment (brought about by British colonial exploitation), unemployment, and poverty in the sending countries provided *only* a part of the stimulant for workers to migrate to Britain as these conditions had characterised their position many times in the past. (Jefferson 1972) It is argued that the factor which eventually led to the movement of New Commonwealth labour to Britain was Britain's urgent need for labour. This perspective on the labour migration process differs from that which focuses

upon the motivation of the individual migrant. Buraway (1976) suggests that studies which focus upon the individual migrant involve the examination of two questions. Firstly, 'What are their reasons for migrating?' Here, he states, it is generally assumed that individual migrants respond to the 'push' and 'pull' factors associated with the market. Secondly, questions concerning the consequences of the migration process at the level of the individual or the group are put forward and attention is thus focused upon the problems of adaptation, assimilation, and acculturation of the newly arrived migrant. (Banton 1959, Patterson 1965) He states:

In each instance, individuals are conceptualized as actively responding to environmental forces, maximising their individual interests, and in this sense, exercising control over their own destiny.

However:

Although these formulations are important, they are too restricted to clarify the functioning of a system of migrant labour either in its broader social, political, and economic contexts or where the flow of labour is regulated to a greater or lesser extent to suit dominant political and economic interests. (1976:1051)

Those perspectives which focus upon the broader economic and political factors of the international migration process are numerous and diverse in their emphasis. There are those which Watson (1982) states concentrate upon the demographic and economic impact of Caribbean migration. (Roberts and Mills 1958) There are those who suggest that the population pressure argument is misleading as a reliable explanation of the reasons for external migration from the Caribbean. (Peach 1968) And there are those, as Watson 1982 points out, who suggest that:

economic conditions and public policy interests in the labour importing countries, and the tendencies and patterns in the industrial cycle of the post-war period play a more important role. (Watson 1982:173)

Rather than attempting a review of this literature and the vast amount concerning the international division of labour and the production and reproduction of uneven and unequal development within world capitalism, it would be more appropriate in this context to focus on one of the many approaches which deals specifically with the migration of New Commonwealth migration from the Caribbean to Britain, in order to highlight some of the fundamental 'push' and 'pull' factors relevant to this particular migratory pattern. This is not to deny the significance of the debate concerning the international division of labour for it is acknowledged here that the labour migration process from the Caribbean to Britain in the post-war period is encompassed within this framework. However, given the parameters set for this chapter one would not be able to deal adequately with the theoretical complexities of this subject area, unless in terms of over-simplifications.

As stated earlier, Peach (1968), at the time of writing, surmised that the West Indian islands were typified by high population densities, high unemployment, low Gross Domestic Product per capita, and low rates of economic growth. Given these circumstances, Peach suggests that these factors did not represent the dominant force which drove the movement of New Commonwealth workers to Britain during the 1950s and early 1960s as, for example, Ruth Glass (1960) and Davison (1962) have argued. Looking at Glass's list of 'push' factors for migration (which include firstly, pressure of population, secondly, unemployment and underdevelopment and thirdly, the 1952 McCarren-Walter Act which was introduced in order to reduce the flow of West Indians to the United States of America), Peach suggests that, although important, it did not represent the dynamic factors of West Indian immigration, but rather the passive factors - thus de-emphasising the role of the external variable. Passive factors within Peach's schema refers to those factors which although they allow migration to take place, do not in fact directly stimulate it. He goes on to state that previous large scale migration from the West Indies



during the nineteenth century had not coincided with an internal crisis. In addition the major economic crisis of the late 1920s and 1930s also did not bring about emigration. Thus he argues:

the conditions which Mrs Glass considered to be the mainspring of West Indian migration to Great Britain in the 1950s were present a fortiori in the preceding period. Population growth reached its highest recorded rate up to that time; unemployment had probably never been higher, previously open doors were shut to West Indian emigrants - yet these conditions failed to produce emigration.....  
 ..... All these conditions were permissive; the dynamic of demand for labour outside the region was lacking. Peach 1968:6)

In turning to look at Glass's argument concerning the McCarren - Walter Act, Peach states that it is obvious that the Act deflected migrants to Britain, who would otherwise have gone to America, but he goes on to suggest that the scale of the migration to Britain was far in excess of any previous West Indian migration to the United States. He thus concludes that this movement should be seen as more than simply the deviation of an already existing stream.

Peach's thesis revolves around the premise that the trends in migration from the West Indies to Britain during the post-war period were determined by factors external to the West Indies. Like Semor (1957) Peach suggests that these external factors came principally in the form of the demand for labour in Britain. It is this factor that he felt served to determine the rise and fall of migration from the West Indies. Put briefly Peach used the number of outstanding vacancies in each quarter (kept by the Ministry of Labour) as the index of labour demand, and, in so doing, was able to locate a correlation between rises in demand for labour and rises in the rate of migration. He states:

when the economy is strong the demand for labour increases and the Ministry of Labour's register of unfilled vacancies increases. The labour market is that part of the British economy which West Indians have the most intimate contact and it is therefore through

the unfilled vacancies that the effect of the British economy on West Indian immigration may be gauged most simply and directly. The index of employment that is taken is the sum of the quarterly figures for unfilled adult vacancies. The employment index declines from 1956 to 1958 and rises from 1958 to 1960. Arrivals from the West Indies show the same fall and rise. Thus it appears that the British economy was the major determinant of the annual fluctuations in West Indian migration in the 1950s. (Peach 1968:37-38)

It has been argued that Peach's approach places emphasis on the 'pull' factor and underestimates the influence of other factors, particularly the 'push' factor. Lawrence (1974) argues that Peach's interpretation of the data he presents is questionable. He states that it is not clear what Peach means exactly by the terms 'push' and 'pull' or what he means to suggest when he argues that conditions in the West Indies were 'permissive' but did not 'cause' the migration to take place. Lawrence states that, by placing the emphasis on the 'pull' of the British labour market Peach in fact implies that the immigrants had a positive desire to come to Britain. In so saying Lawrence states that Peach's analysis:

conveys an image of a powerful magnet attracting migrants with little or no restraint (or push) at the point of exit. (1974:17)

In criticising Peach's approach Lawrence does not intend to suggest that the pull of Britain's labour market is irrelevant but that considerable emphasis must be accorded to the conditions existing in the Caribbean - that being the state of Caribbean economies;

the pressure on the land in rural areas, the declining number of jobs available in the plantations, the shortage of employment in the urban-industrial areas, as well as the very limited opportunities for advancement via the educational system. (Lawrence 1974:18)

Jefferson (1972) and Miles and Phizacklea (1980) argue that, in addition to the well documented push and pull factors which led to the labour migratory process from the Caribbean to Britain in the post-war period, there are other

facets of the migration process which have received less attention. Miles and Phizacklea state that:

The crucial analytical point is that, once a social process is set in motion, it can be maintained by secondary or quite separate factors from those which initially motivated it. (1980:83)

Thus, in the case of migration from the Caribbean, migrants arriving in the post-war period did come to England with the intention of finding work; however, once they had arrived in Britain and settled, their family and friends tended to follow - because of previous migration. Miles and Phizacklea use MacDonald and MacDonald's (1964) concept of chain migration to define this process (defined in this instance as that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants). (Miles and Phizacklea 1980:84) They state that, to a certain extent, the economic factor appears to be irrelevant as a principal factor in the migratory process, as the chain reaction begins to shape the pattern of the migration. However, they go on to argue that the economic factor remains important to the establishment and maintenance of the chain, as;

kin and friends may only act upon the link established by primary social relationships if economic opportunities continue to exist. (Miles and Phizacklea 1980:84)

The observations made above do, to a certain extent, hold, as it is evident that Peach does place considerable emphasis upon the 'pull' of the British labour market. However, the concept of passive (push) and dynamic (pull) forces helps to highlight, at a general, level the political economy of Black labour in Britain. Green (1979) argues that the conclusions which Peach reaches are crucial;

not only for an understanding of the dynamics of West Indian emigration but also for an appreciation of how capital benefits from Black migration. (1979:18)

The migration of labour from the Caribbean to Britain which Peach outlines suggests what is probably a tendency in all emigration, that it is primarily not political but economic in origin. (Green 1979:18) This Peach illustrates when he examines the relation between demand for labour in Britain and migration from the Caribbean, and shows how sensitive this migration was to the availability of employment in Britain.

Although it has been argued in the preceding pages that Britain was in urgent need of labour in the post-war period (particularly semi- and unskilled labour), and, as a result, opened its doors to migrant labour from its colonies in order to fill this gap, it should be mentioned at this juncture that, given their plight, Britain was not overly keen to introduce West Indian workers into the British labour market. (Smith 1981, Freeman 1979). Freeman (1979) states that suffering from critical labour shortages in 1945, Britain initiated several permanent settlement recruitment schemes, to bring in foreign workers (Poles, Ukrainians, etc) to fill vacancies in the various labour deficient industries - textiles, agriculture, mining. Britain also initiated plans for the temporary recruitment of foreign workers, predominantly women. 10,000 German women were in the 'North Sea' programme and 2,000 Austrian women in the 'Blue Danube' plan and 5,000 Italian women and men also came in this period. Even though these programmes were successful, they were never repeated. Freeman suggests that this revealed something about the British attitude toward immigration and the labour situation generally. He states;

the post-war recruitment schemes must be seen as exceptions to normal policy, undertaken in near-crisis circumstances, to meet very limited and highly specific goals. This was the way they were seen by government officials who never gained sufficient confidence in the stability of the economy nor the co-operativeness of the trade unions to follow an aggressive immigration policy. (1979:182)

Given that the British government did not analyse the role that foreign labour might play in Britain's economic recovery, it is not surprising then that the movement of labour from the colonies was not regarded as an economic boon.

In 1949, the Royal Commission's Report on Population was published. It was noted that, given the considerable shortage of labour in certain industrial sectors, an annual net inward balance of immigration of some 140,000 young adults would be required in order to meet the gap in the labour market. (Smith 1981) However, the problem was not merely one of numbers, but of who exactly these migrants were to be. It became evident that there was little possibility of attracting such large numbers of workers from Europe (this included Ireland, which, in previous periods of labour shortage, had been the principal source of labour for British capitalism). The Report stated:

Even however, if it were found practicable to secure a net inward balance of migration on anything like this scale, we should have to face serious problems of assimilation beyond those of training and housing. Immigration on a large scale into a fully established society like ours could only be welcomed without reserve if the immigrants were of good human stock and were not prevented by their religion or race from inter-marrying with the host population and becoming merged in it. These conditions were fulfilled by intermittent large-scale immigration in the past, notably by the Flemish and French Protestant refugees who settled in Great Britain at different times. There is little or no prospect that we should be able to apply these conditions to large-scale immigration in the future, and every increase of our needs, eg by more emigration from Great Britain or by a further fall in fertility, would tend to lower the standards of selection. (Royal Commission on Population Report HMSO 1949, quote taken from T E Smith (1981:92) (emphasis added)

Given the above statement the Report concluded that large-scale immigration was both undesirable and impracticable. Miles and Phizacklea (1984) argue that explanation and justification for these claims and conclusions were notably absent from the Report;

but the ideology of 'good stock' and 'race' implied that Britain's future labour shortage was not to be solved by 'coloured immigrants.' (Miles and Phizacklea 1984:24)

Related to this was the fact that the government was also aware that there were differences from the European Voluntary Workers who were subject to strict labour controls under the Aliens' Act of 1914 which ruled that they could be prosecuted or deported if they broke their conditions of recruitment. (Usually their conditions of agreement meant that there were limits on their place of employment during their first few years of residence. This meant that they could be assigned to work in those jobs that the indigenous workers no longer chose to do. (Ashtiany 1976, Freeman and Spencer 1979) The 'colonial migrant workers' on the other hand, because they were British subjects, were free from any form of labour controls. This meant that, in theory at least, they could 'rob' British workers of their jobs if they chose not to take up the jobs available to them - namely those jobs regarded as undesirable by the British worker. Some have noted that the government also feared that "colonial workers might find unemployment benefits so generous compared with earnings in the West Indies that there would be little incentive for them to seek employment at all". (Zig Layton Henry 1984:20)

Unlike Britain, Western European countries such as Switzerland, France and Germany, realised very early on in the post-war period the advantages of employing foreign labour. As theorists have pointed out (Castells 1975, Castles and Kosack 1973, Moore 1975, Miles 1982), one of the principal advantages for capital was that migrant labour represented an elastic supply of labour which could be disposed of when the economy was experiencing a down-turn. This flexibility in most instances served to ensure strong productivity gains during periods of slack employment. This notion of controllability of the migrant worker was not characteristic of the British situation (not, that is, until the passing of the 1971 immigration Act).

Britain's experience in the post-war period has been characterised by the fact

that, although it recruited European Voluntary Workers, it did not possess a significant supply of disposable labour. As mentioned above, workers from Britain's colonies and ex-colonies arriving in Britain were regarded as British. Some have argued that, as a result of this, the British economy was deprived of the advantages of having a disposable supply of labour, which would be introduced when demand for labour increased and theoretically could be disposed of when demand for labour fell. This would have facilitated an even greater economic growth for Britain similar to that experienced by its counterparts in the rest of Western Europe. (Castles and Kosack 1973, Miles and Phizacklea 1980) However it must be pointed out that those countries have now found it less easy than anticipated to prevent migrant workers forming a settler community.

As it turned out, Britain's demand (or more specifically British Capital's demand) for labour, outweighed the perceived disadvantages of recruiting 'Black Colonials', and the movement of labour from the Caribbean in the early post-war period was not halted. However, it was not until 1954 that this migratory process began to take on significant proportions (Rose et al 1969) reaching its first plateau in 1956. One of the reasons often quoted by theorists for this upward turn in Caribbean labour migration to Britain was the passing of the McCarren-Walter Act in 1952. (Patterson 1969, Lawrence 1974, Sutton and Makiesky 1975, Figueroa 1976, Smith 1981, Foner 1983) It is argued that the 'natural outlet' for labour migration from the Caribbean is the Continental land mass of the United States and Canada. However, at the beginning of the 20th century successive United States and Canadian administrations applied severe restrictions on migration from these regions. Arnaud et al (1983) The significant restriction it is argued, was that of the McCarren-Walter Act. This Act provided that any immigrant born in a colony or dependency (this was directed in the main at British Colonies such as Jamaica whose migrants made

up a significant proportion of those from the Caribbean seeking employment in the United States);

was counted against the immigration quota of the governing country, but in addition no colony or dependency was allowed more than 100 persons, excluding non-quota immigrants such as spouses and child dependents. Jamaican migration to Canada was even more difficult in the immediate post-war years, as Black persons were held to be inadmissible unless they fell into certain preferred classes such as agricultural labourers and domestic servants. (Smith 1981:150)

As a result of the McCarren-Walter Act and Canadian restrictions, observers suggest that Britain then became, to all intents and purposes, the only major industrial country open to large-scale immigration from the Caribbean. (Rose et al 1969, Davison 1972, Glass 1962) As stated earlier there were some authors who did not totally support this analysis such as Ceri Peach (1968) who argues that the passing of the McCarren-Walter Act served to deviate migrants to an already existing stream. It is likely that there was some relationship between the passing of the McCarren-Walter Act and the rise in immigration from the Caribbean to Britain in the period following the Act. For although Britain had been experiencing considerable shortage of labour as a result of economic expansion following the second world war, migration from the Caribbean remained at a relatively low level. The main point however is the fact that the impetus to migrate was maintained even though the destination had changed.

#### 4.4 OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND AND LEVEL OF SKILL OF AFRO CARIBBEAN MIGRANTS ARRIVING IN BRITAIN IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Migration in the post-war period, it is argued, was essentially unselective, (Patterson 1969, Smith 1981) as many of the migrants - both skilled, manual, and unskilled responded to the stimuli of higher wages and the opportunity to secure their future. On average their ages ranged between the late teens and late twenties. (Fryer 1984, Miles and Phisoekles 1984)



No well defined picture has emerged in terms of the precise occupational background and level of skill of the migrant labour coming to Britain from the Caribbean. In agreement with Lawrence (1974) it would seem that, in general, the picture is rather confusing. Ruth Glass (1960) who based her late 1950s study on data obtained from a random sample of the case histories of West Indian migrant workers, compiled between 1956 and 1958 by the Migrant Services Division of the West Indian Commission in London, came to the conclusion that the majority of Caribbean migrants to Britain had been skilled workers in their countries of origin. Smith and Jones (1970) support the view that large numbers of West Indian migrants came from the ranks of the chronically unemployed. Figures published by the Civil Service Argus (the official journal of the Ministry of Labour Staff Association) for February 1955 state that incoming migrants from the Caribbean fell into the following percentages: 13% skilled, 22% semi-skilled, and 65% unskilled. Some argue (Wright 1968) that this was the most realistic assessment. Fryer (1984) puts forward starkly contrasting figures (although he does not reveal his source).

He states:

Of the men who came here, a mere 13 per cent had no skills; of the women, only five per cent. In fact, one in four of the men, and half of the women, were non-manual workers. And almost half the men (46 per cent) and over a quarter of the women (27 per cent) were skilled manual workers. (1984:374)

Alternatively Davison (1962) suggests that West Indian migrants were primarily unskilled workers who tend to exaggerate the skills they possess on arrival in Britain.

Lawrence argues that discrepancies such as these;

arise from the different ways in which samples were obtained, from the fact that the studies were conducted at different times, and because some studies were concerned with the West Indians as a whole whilst others concentrated on particular islands. (1974:105)

Types of Afro Caribbean Migrant Coming to Britain

As stated above, the majority of the migration from the Caribbean to Britain was unselective, as much of the immigration was privately organised. There was, however, during this period an exception. The Barbadian authorities adopted a migration policy which entailed firstly, making loans available to those who were able to provide evidence that he or she had a bona fide offer of employment abroad. (Davison 1962) Secondly, a sponsored emigration scheme was established as;

direct arrangements were made by the Barbadian Immigrants' Liaison Service with London Transport Executive (from 1956) and the British Hotels and Restaurants Association for the recruitment of skilled labour. (Rose et al 1969)

See also (Sutton and Makiesky 1975, M Stewart 1975, Fryer 1984)

There is evidence to support the view that, in the main, the majority of the early migrants - up until the mid 1950s - were skilled workers. These migrants, it is stated, had received more education and vocational training than the West Indian population as a whole. (Maunder 1955, Cumper 1957, Roberts and Mills 1958, Glass 1962, Foner 1983) It is also argued that they came mainly from town as opposed to the rural districts of their country of origin. Some were faced with decreasing opportunities of finding work and others hoping for a higher standard of life migrated to Britain.

By the mid 1950s there was a change in the character of West Indian migration to Britain as an increase occurred in the numbers and the proportion of migrants who were unskilled. (Jefferson 1972, Phillpott 1973, Smith 1981) Wright (1968) points out that data used by Roberts and Mills in their investigation of external migration affecting Jamaica between 1953-1955 reveals a;

considerable change in the occupational distribution of Jamaican migrants between 1953 and 1955. Whilst the total unskilled males emigrating to Britain experienced a fourteen-fold rise during the period in question, there was only a seven-fold increase in the number of skilled emigrants. At first the emigrants had been mainly skilled and semi-skilled with a few unskilled, but by 1955 the position had largely been reversed. (1968:32)

A possible reason for this change may have been that, at first, it was mainly the town dwellers who, in general, were skilled and semi-skilled workers who were able to afford the fare to Britain. However, as some have argued, as the cost of emigration lowered, travel agencies and shipping companies put out extensive advertising with the offer of credit facilities to pay for the travel. As a result those who would otherwise have been unable to contemplate emigration were able to take advantage of the situation. (Walvin 1984)

#### Middle Class and Professional Migrants

The proportion of middle class/professional, and white-collar migrants arriving in Britain in the post-war period was much smaller (one estimate is 10% of migrants - Foner 1983) than that of the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled migrant worker. They came as teachers, journalists, clerical workers, civil servants, students, managers, executives, and a significant proportion came as nurses. (Open University 354, Unit 4, Allen and Smith 1974, Foner 1983, Wright 1968) Based on studies by Glass (1962) and Phillpott (1973) it would appear that white-collar workers began arriving in greater numbers by the mid 1950s. Even so, their numbers remained small, in proportion to other West Indian migrants.

#### Unemployed Migrants

There has not been any detailed evidence produced concerning the number of West Indian migrants arriving in Britain who had been unemployed prior to

migrating. As already mentioned, Jones and Smith (1970) write that large numbers of migrants came from the ranks of the chronically unemployed. This is in contrast to the evidence which some have put forward. (Francis 1965, Foner 1983) Francis (1965) states, when analysing figures based on Jamaican emigrants leaving in 1962, that he found that, during the period leading up to 1962 (the year which marked the institution of the 1962 Immigration Act);

Only 3% of wage earners had worked for three months or less during the year prior to their departure, and 73% of wage earners had worked for more than nine months. (Rose et al 1969:50)

#### Migrants Coming as Students

Students from the Caribbean also made up the numbers of migrants coming to Britain. Griffiths (1960) states that, at the beginning of 1959, approximately 11,000 students from the United Kingdom dependencies were studying in various institutions of education in Great Britain and the Irish Republic; 3,000 of these students were from the Federation of the West Indies.

#### The Skill Levels of the Black Migrant Worker

There has been a considerable amount of discussion concerning the skill level of West Indian migrant workers (Glass 1960, Davison 1962, Kindleberger 1967, Lawrence 1974) The principal argument revolves around the view that firstly, although the incoming migrants may have possessed skills, these skills were judged by West Indian standards and did not, in all instances, conform to British standards. Secondly, it has been argued that there is a divergence between claimed skilled levels of the migrants and that estimated by British employers.

A principal supporter of these views is Davison. Davison (1962) argues that the problem of assessing the skills of migrants from the West Indies is that

they are prone to exaggeration. He states that, during his survey, an attempt was made to confirm the occupation claimed by the respondents; however, this had to be abandoned during the course of study because it was futile. The reason for this was that:

A man would claim to be a 'painter' or a 'mechanic' simply because, in some remote past, he held a brush or spanner in his hand or even watched someone else handling these implements. (1962:21)

He goes on to state that:

Without some simple trade testing scheme the attempt to register occupation simply on the word of the respondent seems a somewhat futile exercise when it is borne in mind that, for the sake of social prestige, to say nothing of future employment prospects, it is human reaction to exaggerate attained skill. (1968:21)

Wright (1968) has also voiced his reservations about studies which base their conclusions on the migrants' own assessment of their skill levels, (Glass 1960, Maunder 1955, Cumper 1957, Robert and Mills 1958) Like Davison, Wright argues that the migrants who consider themselves to be skilled might have been skilled by West Indian standards, but not necessarily in relation to British criteria. Firstly, he argues, it is unlikely that the training received in the West Indies would be as rigorous and systematic as that received by British workers. Secondly:

the equipment on which the apprentice is trained, and therefore the techniques which he can be taught, are likely to be less advanced than those used in Britain. (1968:37)

This would seem to be a rather ethnocentric viewpoint. Wright makes no distinction between 'skill' level and formal qualifications. For it may have been the case that some migrants may not have received formal training in, for example, carpentry, motor mechanics, masonry, but were no less skilled than their British counterparts.

Lawrence (1974) argues that caution should be exercised when making statements concerning the extent to which migrant workers are or are not skilled. He states:

Even in Britain, with a relatively formal apprenticeship system, there is a great deal of variation in both the content and quality of training. A youth who 'serves his time' in one firm may not develop particular skills to anything like the same extent as his counterparts elsewhere. (1974:106)

Consequently, if one goes on to compare training that takes place in another country - particularly one that is technologically less advanced - problems will arise.

#### The Level of Education of Black Migrant Labour

In looking at the level of education of Black migrants arriving in Britain it has been argued that, during the early stages of migration from the Caribbean, the level of education was higher than that of the general population in the migrant's country of origin. Some are said to have migrated with both elementary school education and higher education, and others with some form of vocational training. However, as the numbers increased and more unskilled and agricultural workers joined the movement of labour to Britain, the level of literacy was said to have declined. (Cumper 1957, Rose et al 1969, Mesangana 1980, Smith 1981) Maunder (1955), using evidence based on migrants leaving Jamaica in 1943 states that;

the emigrants are educationally a superior group ... . Particularly striking are the relatively high percentages of those with practical training or secondary education (1955:48).

Roberts and Mills (1958) give figures of illiteracy among male migrants from Jamaica during the years 1954 to 1955. Of a total of 16,089 male migrants less than 2% were found to be illiterate. However, they point out that, of this 2%, a considerable proportion declared that they possessed some skill.

### Migrant Women

Much of the information presented here on occupational background has been concerned with male migrants. This has been due to the fact that much of the literature for this period focuses upon male migration and tended to place less emphasis on female migration. Be that as it may, it can be stated that a high percentage of female migration from the Caribbean took place in the post-war period, although it began a little later than that of the male migrants. Female migration began to take on numerical significance by the mid 1950s and early 1960s. (Glass 1960, Roberts and Mills 1958) Theorists have attributed their late arrival to various reasons (Foner 1983, Banton 1955, Rose et al 1969). Walvin (1984) suggests that the women were sent for later in the migratory phase when their;

male spouse or father had established a new home and a secure job.  
(Walvin 1984:109, see also Glass 1960).

In contrast, Smith (1976) and Miles and Phizacklea (1984) suggest that many came to find work in their own right, rather than to join their relatives. In adding support to this latter view Foner (1983), in focusing upon the migration pattern of Jamaican women, suggests that there was no social barrier to women migrating without or prior to a man. She goes on:

Nor do wage-earning opportunities in England seem significant since these were available for both men and women. In most cases there was simply not enough money for the whole family to emigrate together, and men, as the expected family providers, probably received preference in raising funds to pay for their passage.  
(Foner 1983:12)

As a few of the studies which include interviews with female migrants (from the Caribbean) arriving in Britain in the 1950s and 60s illustrate (Bayliss and Coates 1965, Miles and Phizacklea 1980, Foner 1983), as opportunities for finding regular work were very limited in the West Indies it was unlikely that many would have been working in factories (as skilled or semi-skilled labour)

prior to migration. This was a role they were to take up on arrival in Britain (Carby 1982).

Class as a selective factor in migration

There are various discrepancies in the studies and surveys carried out concerning the precise occupational background, level of skill, and level of education of migrant workers arriving from the West Indies in the post-war period. However, the consensus in the available literature would seem to be that the early migrants arriving in Britain were, in general, educationally of a higher standard than the general population of their country of origin, but below that of the British average. In terms of occupational background and level of skill the consensus would seem to be that, in general, the migrants tended to over-estimate the skills they possessed and those that did possess skills were not regarded as being of a standard equivalent to their British counterparts.

Some have argued that class was not an important selective factor in the labour migration from the Caribbean and that, although it was predominantly a lower class phenomenon, considerable migration took place at all social class levels. (Phillpott 1973) It can, however, be argued that, because proportionately and numerically speaking the presence of middle class (professional managerial, technical and clerical workers) migrants was not significant, that class position may, to a certain extent, have been an important selective factor in the migration process. The large-scale movement of semi-skilled and unskilled labour of the 1950s and early 1960s to Britain was never matched or followed by a similar movement of middle class/white collar migration. (Thomas-Hope 1982) However, significant movement of the latter was to occur a decade or so later, with the movement of middle class West Indian migrant workers to North America (Arnaud et al 1983, Foner 1983)



The movement to North America was prompted by the fact that, in 1965, the United States relaxed its immigration laws which had previously severely restricted the immigration of West Indian labour to the United States. (Jefferson 1972, Richardson 1983, Foner 1983) The restrictions were replaced by selection according to occupation, in which preference was given to professionals (teachers, doctors, dentists, nurses, architects, engineers, surveyors) administrators, executive and managerial workers and skilled workers;

thereby attracting migrants from the West Indies with more education and training (Palmer 1974:572).

The United States has always represented the preferred place of migration to migrants in the Caribbean, particularly amongst the middle class, as the income differential is sufficiently high to act as a catalyst. In addition there is seen to be more available higher education for their children and a possible higher standard of living (Palmer 1974, Smith 1981, Foner 1983). This indicates that professional white collar workers, like the semi-skilled and unskilled workers, possessed the propensity to migrate, but as White and Woods (1980) point out, in general;

different socio-economic groups migrate in response to different stimuli, with manual and unskilled workers moving for higher wages and the professional classes moving in anticipation of future promotion opportunities which carry with them higher social status as well as higher remuneration. (1980:16)

White and Woods then go on to state that;

it is therefore not surprising that, as a result of the occupational and social cleavages which exist in human populations, migrants are not randomly selected from all population strata.

Looking at opportunities available in the British labour market of the 1950s and early 1960s which, in the main, were vacancies in the industries which British workers had 'deserted' it can be argued that they did not provide

sufficient stimulus for the initiation of a large movement of middle class labour from the Caribbean. If one considers the type and amount of information available to the potential middle class migrant which may have served to influence their decision to migrate, one may find one of the possible reasons why they chose not to migrate (that is apart from the obvious reason that they never had any intention of migrating in the first place). Information would probably have reached them through newspaper accounts, through the letters of friends or relatives who had decided to try their luck, and, more importantly from the 'returnees' of similar occupational standing who had found that they were unable to achieve their career aspirations and had experienced downward mobility in Britain. As Wright (1968) points out:

Because of the greater resistance to coloured workers in 'white collar' jobs, many of them may have had no alternative but to take manual jobs. Although such workers may technically be unskilled as far as manual work is concerned, to be placed in the position of having to accept such work undoubtedly represents downgrading (1968:83).

When looking at the experiences of Jamaican returnees Smith (1981) states that:

Whereas, for some poorer Jamaicans, migration has obviously reduced the distance between themselves and both the bourgeois of Jamaica and the White communities, there may be a tendency for others, particularly the intelligensia, to return embittered by metropolitan racialism (1981:158)

On the basis of information received from these sources, prospective migrants may have felt that they had relatively less to gain and considerably more to lose if they migrated to Britain. This attitude of the middle class could be described as hesitant, and can be illustrated if one looks at the voucher system, which came into being with the passing of the 1962 Immigration Act in Britain:

Between July 1962 and December 1964, vouchers issued to prospective immigrants were heavily weighted with Indians and Pakistanis who were awarded 62 per cent of such vouchers as against only 12 per cent for West Indians (Smith 1981:107).

Looking specifically at the issue of B vouchers (which was for those such as doctors, dentists, trained nurses, qualified teachers, graduates in Science and Technology who did not have a specific job to come to), Rose et al (1969) point out that the West Indies received only 520 of these vouchers in the five and a half years up to the end of 1967, or less than an average of 100 a year in the whole period. Given the very small proportion of B vouchers allocated to the West Indies, it is significant that, even so, there was no rush to take the available vouchers. As Smith (1976) and Rose (1969) point out, there were not enough professional or skilled West Indian men and women who wished to emigrate to Britain in this period.

Obviously the information presented here in support of the view that class was an important selective factor in the migration of Caribbean labour to Britain during the 1950s and early 1960s is limited; it should not however be dismissed. For the class composition of the migration is significant to the extent that it served to form the base from which Britain's present Afro-Caribbean population has emerged. Secondly, it can, to a certain extent provide pointers which indicate the extent to which migrants arriving in the 1950s and early 1960s (taking into account their class of origin) were or were not able to manipulate the structural constraints of the British labour market, in order to achieve upward occupational movement.

#### 4.5 OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF AFRO CARIBBEANS - IN THE BRITISH LABOUR MARKET (1950s - 1980s)

In this next section of the chapter an attempt is made to look at (albeit at a general level) the position of Black labour in the British labour market since the early 1950s. This is achieved by highlighting broad based trends and movements which have been seen to emerge in their labour market positions. It

is hoped that the underscoring of these trends and movements will serve to further contextualise the backdrop from which Black labour occupying positions in the objectively defined middle class (ODMC) have emerged

The majority of Britain's present Afro-Caribbean population entered the British labour market in the late 1940s and early 1950s, to be followed in the early 1960s by the majority of the migrant workers from the Indian Sub-Continent. To what extent have Afro-Caribbean migrant workers and their children managed to permeate the labour market? Have they been able to use their initial position in the labour market as a spring-board to gain access to other occupational fields? The most obvious place to start from would be to look briefly at their initial point of entry into Britain's post-war labour market.

As stated earlier in this chapter, Britain, like the rest of post-war Western Europe, was experiencing a serious shortage of labour. This shortage was brought about, to a large extent, by the expansion of the British economy (Smith and Allen 1974). This expansion enabled indigenous workers to move into the more attractive sectors of the economy which offered better pay, training facilities and more skilled and white-collar work. This movement of indigenous labour upward created a vacuum into which 'replacement labour' had to be attracted (Bohning 1974, Brown 1984, Rose et al 1969). The vacuum was created in those sectors of the economy which were experiencing little growth. This included textiles, metal manufacture, building, engineering and some of the public services such as hospitals and transport. (Castles and Kosack 1973). These industries, as many studies have indicated (Rose et al 1969, Patterson 1969, Smith 1977), were characterised by the fact that they were subject to seasonal fluctuations, and offered long hours, low-pay and shift-work. As a result they were unable to compete with the growth industries in the move to obtain indigenous workers. Put simplistically, Field and Haikin (1971) state that;

the attractive sector could attract workers from the non-attractive sector as well as from new entrants to the labour market (including immigrants attracted into the country). It therefore had two sources open to it and could take the best qualified labour available. The non-attractive sector, by definition, was either just maintaining its relative share or losing workers to the growth sector and had only one source of labour open to it - new entrants to the labour market, including immigrants. Thus, in those non-growth industries into which they moved in substantial numbers, West Indians were proportionately twice as numerous as in growth industries in which they were found (1971:41).

Entering Britain, the majority of migrants from the West Indies found that their only point of entry into the labour market was through a limited range of occupations in a limited number of industries. They formed a pool of cheap available labour who were required to perform semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in industries which were in the main undergoing a process of de-skilling (Miles 1982, Smith 1977). In performing this role of replacement labour they followed in the footsteps of previous migrant workers to Britain, namely the Irish who, a century earlier, undertook much of the heaviest and unpleasant work such as railway construction and canal work, which contributed towards British industrial expansion (Open University E354 Block 1, Unit 2, Patterson 1969).

Not all employers at the time were quick to employ Black workers and, in many instances, Black labour was taken on as second best (Wright 1968). Generally this was the case because employers felt that Black workers were no more than;

inferior, unskilled, stop-gap labour, slow, alien in habits and often difficult to deal with. (Hepple 1968:19)

On the other hand some employers sought to avoid exacerbating their labour shortage situation by not employing Black workers, for they felt their White workers would not work alongside Black labour. This was in many instances true, as both indigenous workers and their unions regarded Black labour as an

economic threat because it was felt that they would weaken their bargaining position (Glass 1960, Radin 1966, Peach 1968, Castles and Kosack 1973).

As Glass (1960) states:

The dominant motive in disputes over the employment of coloured workers has not been open colour prejudice as such, but the fear of economic competition (1960:77).

Consequently, in the early stages of New Commonwealth migration to Britain, management and unions within some industries agreed on quotas of 'immigrant' labour and some jobs were specifically reserved for 'non-immigrant' labour. (Freeman and Spencer 1979) This, however, was to change, on the surface at least. Within a decade or so as circumstances such as the passing of the 1968 Race Relations Act which, amongst other issues, made illegal the practice of discrimination in the field of employment. This, to an extent, served to push unions towards a more positive policy towards issues raised by the presence of Black workers from the Commonwealth. (Miles and Phizacklea 1984).

It is evident that the majority of Black migrants arriving in the 1950s, even those with high qualifications, had to take up employment in those sectors of the economy which had been deserted by indigenous workers. As some have argued:

Black people came from former colonies into this country to a position of ready made disadvantage; their entry to British society was as a replacement for the last battalions of urban manual workers, not, as it might have been, as a group of newcomers with a varied range of qualifications, skills and abilities who could make contributions at all levels of society. (Brown 1984:316)

The position of Afro-Caribbean migrant labour in the labour market showed few signs of change during the 1960s, as compared to their position in the 1950s. A number of studies and surveys were carried out in this period (Davison 1966, Daniel 1968, Wright 1968, Patterson 1969, Rose et al 1969) and in general they

reached similar conclusions. Both male and female Afro-Caribbean migrant workers were to be found in the majority of instances at the lower end of the British labour market working in semi and unskilled jobs. The men were in building, engineering, catering and distribution and transport industries. Women in manual labour worked as domestic and kitchen assistants in restaurants, hospitals, canteens, or those employed in factories worked as machinists and finishers or unskilled labour in light industries. Rose (1969) in a study of what he termed immigrant groups in Greater London and the West Midlands conurbation looked at the industrial status of all immigrant groups for 1966. He stated that whilst three out of every ten of the total population had succeeded in climbing out of the 'other employees' category (this includes the rank and file routine non-manual, service occupations, semi-skilled and unskilled work) in Greater London, only one out of twenty Jamaicans has succeeded. In the West Midlands the comparative figures were one in four for the total population, but only one in ten for Indians and three out of a hundred for Jamaicans and Pakistanis. (Rose 1969). The position for female migrant workers was, he argued, less significant in comparison to the total population, due to the fact that even in the total population only a very small proportion (somewhere in the region of one-tenth) fell outside the 'other employees' category and into the professional (nursing), self-employed, managers category. However, given this fact, the female migrant was over represented in the 'other employees' category.

Rose's occupational analysis during this period revealed that there was evidence, particularly looking at workers in the South East, of a reasonable spread of male 'immigrant' workers over a number of occupations. With respect to Jamaican workers it was found that out of 33,710, 20.7 per cent were labourers, 17.4 per cent worked as engineering workers, 12.4 per cent in transport and 9.1 per cent were woodworkers. In a comparative analysis of Afro-Caribbean and Asian migrant workers Rose highlighted significant

differences. That study showed that of those in 'white-collar' work in Greater London:

the percentage of Indian men was 45.3 per cent compared with 32 per cent for Pakistanis and only 7.8 per cent for all males from the Caribbean, (4.5 per cent for Jamaicans). (Cousins 1970).

When looking at women workers he excluded the category for nurses; having done so they found that the proportion of New Commonwealth migrant workers in 'white-collar' work was 70 per cent for Indians and 15.6 per cent for the Caribbean workers as a whole, (with 9.7 per cent for the Jamaicans).

Most studies at this time showed<sup>a</sup> similarly high presence of Indians in the white collar, and professional occupational categories. As Hepple (1968) states:

The most baffling figures are those in respect of persons born in India, which show higher proportions of Indian males as clerical workers, administrators and managers and professional workers, and fewer as labourers than is the case with the population as a whole.

This distribution he goes on to suggest:

Must be due to the shortcomings of the 10% sample and the misleading consequences of classifying persons by Nationality for census purposes. Little reliance ought to be placed on the statistics in relation to Indians. (Hepple 'Race Jobs and the Law in Britain' - extract from Field and Haikin 1971:45)

Wright (1968) presents a slightly different picture to that presented by Rose and concludes that, in terms of occupational levels, the New Commonwealth worker by the mid 1960s had made some movement towards industrial integration. He states that at first they had only been able to obtain unskilled jobs, but later on they were able to obtain semi-skilled and in some instances skilled jobs. However, he qualified this statement by stating that;

this progress seems largely to have been dependent on a shortage of White workers in these trades. (1968:85)



The 1971 census, it is argued, (Open University Unit 2:37) revealed that Black workers were not equally spread throughout the labour force, but were seen to be;

more heavily engaged in manufacturing industry than was the labour force as a whole (47 per cent as against 33 per cent) (Open University Unit 2:37).

Within the manufacturing sector itself there were further concentrations of Black workers in metal manufacture in general and iron foundries in particular.

In contrast, on the basis of their evidence, Field, Rees, Mair and Stevens (1981) argue that for the period 1966-1977 there were signs of a convergence between West Indian and Pakistani workers and the majority of White workers, in terms of their occupations. Allen's (1979) findings support this view for when looking at this broad period she states that;

evidence available so far does not indicate an occupational fanning out in line with the general distribution of the working population. (1978-1979:13)

Returning to Field's (1981) evidence we see that, when looking specifically at Afro-Caribbean workers, he stated that their overall position has improved quite substantially between 1966 and 1971. This was in line however, as he himself points out, with the improved position of the population as a whole. On closer inspection it would seem that the only improvement was the rise in the proportion of Afro-Caribbean women doing white-collar/non-manual work (from 31% to 40%). Even so this increase was still far behind that of the general population. When men alone are considered it is evident that there is only a very small rise in those doing white-collar/non-manual work. In addition the proportion of Afro-Caribbeans in professional jobs fell consistently during the 1966 to 1971 period. As such it would seem that the substantial improvement which Field identifies for the 1966-1971 period may have been to do with the

possible movement of Afro-Caribbean labour from their initial placement in unskilled jobs into semi-skilled and skilled manual work positions.

Smith when looking at the early 1970s suggests that the majority of male workers in all groups (New Commonwealth and indigenous workers) were to be found in manual occupations. There were, however, as Smith himself (1977) points out, considerable differences between the groups in terms of the skill level of jobs they did. The indigenous workers had 42% in skilled manual work and 18% in semi-skilled and unskilled work. Afro-Caribbeans had 59% in skilled manual work and 32% in semi-skilled and unskilled work. The Pakistanis and Bangladeshis had 33% in skilled manual work and 58% in semi-skilled and unskilled work. The Indians had 44% in skilled manual work and 36% in unskilled and semi-skilled work. Looking at the top three categories of the professionals, managers and employers, and non-manual workers, it is evident that, although all New Commonwealth groups were under-represented, the Afro-Caribbeans, the Pakistanis and Bangladeshis fared the worse, with each grouping having 8% located in the top categories. The Indians and African Asians on the other hand had a higher representation within these categories with 20% and 30% respectively. Amongst the indigenous workers 40% were to be found in the top categories.

The labour market is segregated by gender and as a consequence women are more likely to be concentrated in certain jobs. Even so there are differences between skill levels and jobs done by indigenous women and New Commonwealth women workers. Looking specifically at the area of manual work Smith 1976 reveals that during the mid 1970s there were still differences between Black women and the general population of women doing manual work. Forty seven per cent of Afro-Caribbean women, 58% Indian and 48% African Asian women were doing semi-skilled and unskilled manual work. This compares with 29% of working women generally.

Evidence which the Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Group (1980) presents for the late 1970s supports the figures put forward in the PEP Reports for the mid 1970s which states that Black workers, both male and female, were to be found in a wide range of mainly manual occupations, but that they tended to be concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. Figures for the 1980s reveal that;

approximately 40% of indigenous men who were working and more than 60% of working women were in non-manual employment. West Indian men in particular have never managed to come near that figure. In fact, although a steady rise has occurred over a period since primary immigration ceased in the proportion in 'white-collar' jobs, it is still only one Black man in eight who works in non-manual employment (Johnson and Cross 1985:2).

In contrast it is argued that Afro-Caribbean women would seem to have less difficulty in reaching the lower levels of non-manual work (namely clerical and sales work), but only one in fifty is able to reach a professional or managerial position. Many of them, it is pointed out, will be in nursing or other work for the National Health Service. This evidence for both male and female Afro-Caribbeans is similar to that presented in the 1984 Policy Studies Institute (PSI) Report. However, the report also presents figures which look specifically at the job levels of people grouped according to educational qualifications. It states that, in general, the disparity between Black and White job levels is less among men and women with qualifications than among those without (see also Smith 1976). However, the report goes on to qualify this statement by stating that Asians and Afro-Caribbeans still remain in a position of overall disadvantage. For those White men with 'A' level standard or above qualifications have distinctly better jobs than Asians. The report was unable to make a similar comparison for Afro-Caribbean men as the numbers for them were too small, but for those Afro-Caribbean men present in the survey with 'A' level standard and above qualifications the socio-economic group distribution was the same as that of the highly qualified Whites.

Looking at the position of West Indian women in terms of job level and qualification the Report states that West Indian women with 'O' levels have a;

slightly higher overall job level than Whites. (PSI 1984:158)

Attention also needs to be focused on Black labour who are out of work - the *unemployed*. In a study based on the position of what they call 'ethnic minorities' workers between 1961 and 1980 Field, Mair, Rees and Stevens (1981) show that the significant feature of minority registered unemployment rates in this period has been that they appear to be;

high and much more sensitive to changes in the economic climate than the general level of unemployment (Field et al 1981:21), see also Smith (1976).

The authors state that 'ethnic minority workers' rates of unemployment rise and fall in response to rises and falls in overall unemployment. However, in each case the move (in either direction) is much steeper than the general trend. This corresponds to the findings of the PSI survey carried out in the first half of 1982. The Report states that:

In accordance with a general relationship established from previous research, the survey shows that the rate of unemployment among Black people at this time of very high general unemployment is much higher than among White people: about twice as high among West Indians and about one and a half times as high among Asians. (PSI 1984:151).

For New Commonwealth women the rates are just as high, with Afro-Caribbean women having an unemployment rate one and a half times that of White women and Asian women with rates twice as high as that of White women. This relationship between Black workers and unemployment has not always been the case, as some have pointed out (Johnson and Cross 1985). It is argued that:

A central feature of the early period of Caribbean migration to Britain was the low level of unemployment of migrants (1985:8)

This it is argued was due to the fact that at the time employment prospects were the main motive for migration. By the early 1960s, although there were periods of slight downturns in the level of Afro-Caribbean unemployment, the

picture has altered dramatically and what was once an almost complete incorporation of West Indians into employment has become a much more tenuous and fragile relationship (Johnson and Cross 1985:8).

Various reasons have been put forward to account for the vulnerability of Black workers to unemployment. Firstly, some commentators suggest that, due to the fact that many Black workers are relatively recent arrivals to Britain; they may lack occupational skills and qualifications, which as such could reduce their chances of finding a job. (Field et al 1981) Looking specifically at the use of 'lack of qualification' as a reason for unemployment Race and Immigration (1983) points out that Campbell and Jones (1982) in their study of Bradford found that, although Asian school leavers were at least as well qualified as their White counterparts this educational background was irrelevant, when being recruited to many jobs. They state that formal qualifications appeared to be employed on an ad hoc and arbitrary basis on which employers based their decisions to employ. On the basis of these findings Race and Immigration conclude that;

lack of qualifications cannot therefore in itself explain why unemployment among Black people is so high (1983:10).

Secondly, some argue that, due to the fact that Black workers are concentrated in certain vulnerable industrial sectors and are disproportionately found in low level jobs they will be disproportionately affected by downturns in the economy. It is suggested, however, that the correlation between being located in vulnerable industries or in low job levels and unemployment is not 'cut and dry'. It is suggested that what takes place is that a decline in certain industries affects a number of firms and workers rather than the actual level of production, which in the majority of instances has been maintained by the

introduction of new technology. However, although jobs are lost it is argued that this need not necessarily affect the Black workers in these industries in particular. As Fevre (1982) argues;

what has happened is that skilled jobs have been eliminated by technology but, at the same time, Black workers are seen as being unsuitable for the new work in that it requires mental rather than physical attributes which Black workers were and are deemed to have. (Fevre 1982; extract taken from Race and Immigration 1983:9)

Thirdly, racial discrimination. In times of high unemployment and, as such, plentiful supply of labour, it is argued that employers in recruiting and selecting labour will hire White workers in preference to Black workers (Runnymede Trust 1981). In the light of evidence which reveals the extent of racial discrimination in employment (Jowell and Prescott-Clarke 1970, Smith 1974, 1976, Ballard and Holden 1975, Lee and Wrench 1981, Jenkins 1982) in Britain it is not surprising that it is regarded as one of the principal factors in explaining the disproportionately high level of Black unemployment.

One particular group of Black labour which faces a disproportionate level of unemployment are young Black people in the labour market. Figures on the unemployment rates in England for the period 1977-1978 which compare New-Commonwealth workers with UK born West Indians and Whites (see Table 4.1)

TABLE 4.1 Unemployment Rates in England 1977-1978 %

	UK born				
	White	West Indian	West Indian	Indian	Pakistani Bangladeshi
Men	5.3	21	9.2	7	8.6
Women	4.6	24.1	7.5	10.5	

Source: A. Barber Labour Force Information from National Dwelling and Housing Survey Dept of Employment Research Paper No 17, May 1981 - taken from Castles et al (1984:147).

show that according to the National Dwelling and Household Survey (NDHS) unemployment was significantly higher for Black workers than for Whites. Of the Black workers the rate of unemployment was very much higher for West Indians and within this the figures for the UK born West Indians were dramatically high. In the following period Labour Force Survey figures for 1979 revealed that the unemployment rates for persons aged between 16 - 29 were highest for young people, New Commonwealth women, and UK born West Indian men. When the age groups are examined separately (16-19, 20-24, and 25-29) the pattern remains broadly the same. This disproportionate rate of unemployment for young Afro-Caribbean workers was evident in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The 1971 census shows that a much;

higher level of unemployment among West Indians aged up to twenty than among the general population in the same age group, and at the same time is true, though to a lesser extent, for those aged 21-25. Thus 16.9 per cent of male West Indians aged up to twenty in the labour market were unemployed, compared with 8.6 per cent of all males in this age group (Smith 1976:58).

The figures for each of these periods are possibly an underestimate, if one takes into account the low level of registration. This is particularly so amongst young people (Braham et al 1981).

In attempting to account for the high unemployment figure amongst young Black workers, the Runnymede Trust and Radical Statistics Group (1981) in firstly looking at Black school leavers, suggests that, as school leavers, they are more likely to be unemployed because of the reduction in the number of jobs available. Secondly, they suggest that the Black population is, on average, a younger population than the population as a whole and, as such, will be more affected by the lack of available jobs. On this basis they conclude that even without racial discrimination (an area which will be looked at in more detail later in this chapter) proportionately more Blacks than Whites would be unemployed.

### Summary

It can be argued from this brief look at the data gathered in surveys and studies on Afro-Caribbean workers in the British labour market, spanning the three or so decades since their arrival in the 1950s as 'replacement labour' that in the main they have not made any substantial gains in terms of permeating the British labour market. Their incorporation into the British labour market has been structured from its initial stages by the demands and needs of the British economy, employers and the indigenous workers. Black workers arriving in Britain were channelled into specific sectors of the economy and movement out of these sectors (except for a relative minority) has been retarded:

A proportion of the migrants arrived with training that suited them for skilled manual and non-manual work, but the majority of vacancies were for jobs that made little use of such abilities (Miles and Phizacklea 1984:161).



As such many of those who came with skills joined the rest of their Caribbean counterparts and performed the function of replacement labour at the bottom of the labour market in those industries that had been deserted by the indigenous workers. As Daniel (1968) points out:

Half the people who formerly held clerical administrative, or professional positions are now employed as wholly unskilled manual workers, largely general labourers or cleaners in factories. Ninety per cent of them are employed in manual work of one kind or another. Only 7 per cent remain in white-collar jobs of any kind and there is no certainty that these are at the level of either their previous employment or their qualifications and abilities. (Daniel 1968:61)

Qualified migrants were prevented from obtaining jobs that matched their qualifications, as British employers failed to accept their credentials, stating that they were not up to the British standard. As will be seen in chapter six a number of those who took part in this research had similar experiences. Studies carried out by some authors (Davison 1962, Wright 1968) lend support to this belief that qualifications and skills acquired in the Caribbean were below British standards. In addition they suggested that the majority of migrants tended to over-estimate their qualifications and skills anyway.

It is possible that a proportion of those migrants who stated that they had certain skills did not possess them. This may have been the case with a proportion of the migrants. It can, however, be argued that many of those who claimed that they possessed certain qualifications and skills did possess them, and they were not, as has been suggested, necessarily inferior to qualifications and skills acquired in Britain. This should not be overlooked, for only a few years later when the voucher system was introduced and much needed doctors, dentists, teachers etc came to Britain on A and B vouchers from the Indian Sub-continent - the qualifications and skills of these migrants obtained in their country of origin were in the main accepted. The

reason for this change in the way 'foreign' qualifications were viewed can be related to the fact that, in the early 1950s, Britain was in need of semi-skilled and unskilled labour and ~~not~~ white-collar/professional labour, as these latter positions were being taken up by the indigenous workers. As such the denial of the validity of the qualifications/skills of the earlier migrants can be seen as a pragmatic decision on the part of employers and possibly unions and professional associations.

Today those Afro-Caribbeans who are in employment remain, in the majority of instances, concentrated in certain industries and occupations and are not to any significant level represented across all industries and occupations in proportion to their actual numbers in the labour market. It has been argued (De Freitas 1981) that it is a common experience of migrant labour moving to a new country to experience occupational status dislocation ... . However it is further argued that most migrant groups do recover from this position (either partially or completely after varying periods of time. There is, at present, little available evidence concerning the degree of downward mobility experienced by Afro-Caribbean migrants who came from white-collar and professional backgrounds, much less whether they were able to reverse this downward movement within a few years after their arrival. Evidence from this research goes some way towards filling this gap.

Suspending criticism (Wright 1968) of Glass's (1960) study which relied upon the West Indian migrants' self-reported assessments of their occupational level in the West Indies for the time being one can see the significance of what Glass's results revealed. Qualified migrant workers were being constrained in jobs below their skill and qualifications level. This, it can be argued, may to a certain extent have served to determine the class composition of the West Indian population in Britain, not only in its initial stages but it is possible that it had repercussions for UK born Blacks. Black workers positioned within

the lower sectors of the labour market are, in the majority of instances, located in deprived inner city areas, which boast inadequate educational facilities; the children of these migrant workers are thus placed at a disadvantage as the odds are in favour of seeing them have a future in the British labour market similar to that of their parents. Available evidence (Swann Report 1985) would seem to support this scenario as the majority of Afro-Caribbean children have left and are leaving British schools with little or no qualifications. Ill-served by the education system they go on to enter a labour market situation which is geared towards credentialism.

Evidence presented in the 1968 PEP Report supports Glass's argument that those migrant workers who experienced the greatest downward mobility are those who formerly held white-collar jobs. However, more significant than this (particularly so for UK born Blacks) is the fact that the Report found that it was actually those migrants who held British qualifications who had experienced the greatest discrimination.

For instance, 44% of immigrants with English school-leaving qualifications claimed to have suffered discrimination. So did 70% of those with British trade qualifications (Castles and Kosack 1973:110).

Ballard and Holden (1975) present similar evidence which concludes that

while the educational system may be relatively open for coloured students, the real difficulties begin when they compete for highly-paid, high-status jobs (1975:133). (See also Rose et al 1969 and Jowell and Prescott-Clarke 1970).

A possible reason as to why these groups tend to suffer greater discrimination may be due to the fact that the 'informal' selection process exercised by many employers enables them to reject Black candidates regardless of the skills or qualifications which they possess. Jenkins' (1982) study is a useful pointer in this instance for he identifies the way in which Black applicants are perceived and handled by personnel officers and line managers, and the fact

that criteria for selection tend to be informally specified thus leaving room for subjective and often racially biased decisions to be taken. The role of the employer will be looked at in more detail in subsequent chapters.

#### 4.6 BLACK LABOUR RESTRICTED TO THE BOTTOM OF THE LABOUR MARKET

Migrant labour arriving in Britain in the post-1945 period entered into what can be called a 'pre-determined' position at the bottom of the British labour market. These positions, as noted earlier, had been deserted by many of the indigenous workers because of the low pay and bad working conditions they offered. The situation was pre-determined to the extent that these were the only openings available to them. Even if they possessed the relevant skills and qualifications to work in non-manual/white-collar occupations they were, in the majority of instances, not accepted by British employers (Sivanandan 1982, Morgan 1981). The incorporation of Afro-Caribbean labour into the British labour market since the 1950s and early 1960s can be said to go some way towards explaining their economic class position today. As seen in the previous sections of this chapter, their movement out of the manual working class, where they performed semi-skilled and unskilled work, into more varied and better paid occupations has been difficult. Why has this been so?

As stated earlier, what can be called 'disadvantaged jobs' existed in Britain prior to the arrival of Black labour from the New Commonwealth. These jobs were occupied by the indigenous workers. However, the effects of the second world war (significant proportions of the workforce were killed in battle) and the post-war economic boom, made it possible for many indigenous workers to seek better paid jobs further up the hierarchy of wage labour (Miles and Phizacklea 1984). As such the initial movement of Black migrant workers into the least favourable sectors of the labour market was not based solely on the racist intent of employers - that is to say these jobs were not created

especially for Black migrant workers, as these jobs were already in existence. The basis of Black labour's incorporation into these sectors of the labour market, it can be argued, was the economic needs of British capital. This is not to suggest that Black migrant labour arrived into a situation favourably predisposed to their presence; this, as pointed out earlier, was far from the case. They arrived into a situation that was characterised by negative racist attitudes and stereotypes. However, their placement into the least favourable sectors of the labour market would have been the same, had they arrived a century or so earlier like Irish or Jewish migrant workers. What is significant are the processes which have been in operation since this period, which have served effectively to restrict the movement of Black migrant labour and British-born Black labour out of the lower end of the labour market.

The processes which have served to maintain the low economic class position of Black workers in Britain have concerned theorists. The main question asked is, 'Why and how have the majority of Black workers been locked into a set of adverse economic and social relationships from which 'escape' is difficult to achieve?' Firstly, as to the 'why'.

Various theorists (Gorz 1970, Castles and Kosack 1973, Castells 1975, Hall et al 1978, Carchedi 1979) argue that 'Capital' is able to 'gain' from the presence of migrant labour, at both the level of the political and the economic.

As stated earlier in chapter two, André Gorz (1970), in his analysis of the position of immigrant labour in Western European countries, argues that the political advantages gained by the Capitalist class represent one of the most important functions of migrant labour. He suggests that the presence of migrant labour enables a "basic modification in the social and political structure of the indigenous population to be artificially produced" (1970-28).

This modification is able to take place due to the fact that, in the majority of instances migrant labour is excluded from trade union action and this, in turn, leads to a considerable reduction in the political and electoral weight of the working class. As such the capitalist class is able to achieve the denationalization of decisive sectors of the working class;

by replacing the indigenous proletariat with an imported proletariat which leads a marginal and cultural existence deprived of political, trade union and civil rights. (Gorz 1970:28)

Gorz does not see the position of migrant labour as merely that of helping to neutralize whole sectors of the indigenous working class. He goes on to argue that their presence renders more effective the subtraction of some sectors of the indigenous work-force from manual jobs into tertiary and technical activities, which act so as to further diminish the national working class by twenty per cent. These two strategies as Gorz sees it helps to depreciate the social and economic value of manual work and workers as a whole. This, therefore, acts so as to deepen the separation between manual work and technical, intellectual and tertiary work. Gorz would seem to be suggesting that the presence of migrant labour encourages the development of what Castles and Kosack (1973) have defined as the false consciousness of the indigenous working class. Gorz argues that first of all there is a real objective division between the migrant worker and the indigenous working class. This division he suggests is fostered firstly by the belief that the migrant worker represents an economic threat, and as such the indigenous working class do not see migrant workers as a part of their struggle. If one superimposes this analysis upon the British context, one can argue that Black migrants react to their exclusion and organise to defend their interests. As a result:

conflicts between sections of the work force can be exploited by the employers to their own advantage on a 'divide and rule' basis,

as may have happened in the Mansfield Hosiery, Imperial Typewriters or Grunwick disputes (Freeman and Spencer 1979:62).

Secondly, Gorz argues that privileges given to certain sections of the indigenous working class enable them to move out of low-status manual jobs and into tertiary and technical jobs. This, he suggests, encourages some of the indigenous working class to identify with the petty bourgeoisie and, as such, serve to further weaken the ideological cohesion of the working class. This as Carchedi (1979) expresses it, encourages the broadening of the stratification of the labour force.

Other theorists (Hall et al 1978, Morgan 1981, Sivanandan 1982, Green 1979) also regard migrant labour as being beneficial for 'capital' and the 'state' at the level of the political. However, looking specifically at the British situation for them the emphasis is placed on the effective use of the structural mechanism of racism. It should be noted that supporters of this argument are not suggesting that racism is its own justification, but rather that it is necessary for the purpose of exploitation, and the need to stabilise the capitalist order both politically and economically. For example Sivanandan (1982) argues that both the State and 'Capital' use racism to make Black migrant workers the scapegoats for employment conditions (see also Hall et al 1978, CCCS 1982). He states that 'Capital' prevents both the Black migrant worker and the indigenous working class;

from coming to a common consciousness of class, by intruding that other consciousness of race. It prevents in other words, the horizontal conflict of classes through the vertical integration of race - and in the process exploits both race and class at once (1982:104).

Sivanandan goes on to argue that the state atomises the working class by encouraging conflicting sectional interests based on race and nationality and, in so doing, pushing the interest of the 'class as a whole' into the background.

Freeman and Spencer (1979) suggest that Sivanandan's argument is unconvincing in that, although racism may divide the working class, weaken it, or indeed direct attention away from the State;

the advantages of this to Capital or the State may ... be more apparent than real. (1979:63).

Their reason for suggesting this rests on the belief that overt conflict not only threatens the State, but in addition its legitimacy is threatened when the liberal ideology upon which the State rests is made transparent. They continue;

as Liberalism is inherently opposed to racism, the Liberal State must project itself as anti-racist. The racist element within society must be seen as small and fragmented, and racism a product of individual psychology. The legitimacy of the State as a Liberal State could not survive the public recognition that it tolerates and enhances the racism already incorporated in society. (1979:63)

Freeman and Spencer's statement that the State would not be able to survive the public recognition that it tolerates and enhances racism, seems at odds with the facts. For neither the Conservative nor Labour administrations had any lasting reservations about introducing immigration laws and nationality acts, measures which served to legitimise racism in Britain.

Gorz (1970) argues that the economic advantages which accrue to the Capitalist class are related to the fact that migrant labour in Western European countries come as 'ready-made' workers. This, he goes on to say, amounts to a substantial saving, for the receiving countries are able to save on housing, schools, hospitals and other infra-structural facilities for they do not bring



their families with them. He goes on to state that, on arrival, they are placed in tiring, dirty or repugnant jobs which are underpaid and, as such, they represent a super-exploited sector of the workforce and a source of additional surplus value for the Capitalist class. This argument is supported by Castles and Kosack (1973) and Carchedi (1979). Carchedi focuses upon the rate of exploitation and states that importation of labour power increases the rate of exploitation in a variety of ways in the receiving country. It is able to reduce the cost of production and reproduction of labour power. Secondly, it can increase the rate of exploitation by establishing fictitious differences, not only between indigenous workers and foreign workers but also among foreign workers by granting certain sections concessions. As a result, they do not need to raise the wage level of the low-paid jobs as the migrant worker will fill these positions. Some have also pointed out that another economic advantage of migrant labour is the fact that it acts as a 'buffer' in times of recession (Sivanandan 1982)

Freeman and Spencer (1979) point out that the protectionist argument put forward by Mishan and Needleman (1968) sees some disadvantages for Capital in migrant labour. Mishan and Needleman suggest that cheap labour forestalls the need for capital intensity and as such has an effect on overall productivity. Secondly, there is a tendency for migrant labour to have an inflationary effect on the economy by contributing more to demand than supply. Thirdly, when migrant labour enter as settlers their families increase the demand on the social infrastructure and thus on 'social wage'. This latter point is born out in the British context.

Alternatively some argue that the presence of migrant labour in the lower end of the labour market helps to stabilise the 'capitalist order' both economically and politically. Moore (1975) suggests that migrant labour promotes both conflict and stability. He argues that most analyses of the

presence of migrant labour in Western Europe suggest no contradictions in this. This is due to the fact that conflict within the labour force, which emerges from the establishment of fictitious differences promotes the stability of the whole Capitalist system by preventing the effective development of a united opposition to 'Capital'.

Returning to the question originally posed at the beginning of this section we can now look at the second half of the question, 'How have the majority of Black workers been locked into a set of adverse economic and social relationships?' Re-phrasing the question slightly, one can ask what are the mechanisms which have served to restrict the movement of the majority of Black workers within the labour market? Three possibilities are briefly highlighted in the following paragraphs: First the role of structural forces operating within the labour market. Second the effects of immigration legislation, and third the role of the education system.

#### Structural Forces Operating Within the Labour Market

Some observers argue that an adequate understanding of the persistence of differentiation that exists between various groups within the labour market is possible if one examines the forces which operate in labour markets. The dual labour market theory (DLM) has been advanced as a useful approach to understanding labour market segmentation. (Bosanquet and Doeringer 1973, Baron 1971, Piore 1973). Within this approach the labour market is seen as being divided into a primary and a secondary sector. First applied in the United States, it was argued that the dual labour market theory defined a situation where a racial dualism operated within the metropolitan labour markets and provided the structure that determined different results for Black and White labour (Baron 1971). The primary sector includes monopolies, highly profitable and technologically advanced industries and firms. Jobs within the

primary sectors are those that offer high pay rewards, a high level of unionisation, greater security of tenure, opportunities for advancement, good working conditions and fringe benefits. In addition it is argued that the employers have a relatively high investment in each employee and, as such, a vested interest in low turnover rates (Blackburn and Mann 1981). The secondary sector includes small backward firms located in competitive markets, in non-durable, manufacturing industries such as clothing or food processing, the retail trade, and services. Jobs in this sector are the least attractive and offer the worker low pay, bad working conditions, a low level of unionisation, and generally lack the incentives offered with primary sector jobs. The employers have little investment in each worker and, as such, tolerate high turnover rates and in recessions can lay off such employees to offset reduced demand. (Freeman and Spencer 1979:59).

Both sectors differ in terms of the practices and procedures adopted for the recruitment, training and promotion of workers. It is argued that differences between the workers located in the primary and secondary sectors are perpetuated as mobility between the two sectors is limited. (Bosanquet and Doeringer 1973).

Blackburn and Mann (1981) and Dex (1979) suggest that the dual labour market model arose from the union of two previously separated problems, that being firstly, the persistence of discrimination within the labour market and secondly, the internal labour market. They state that the model does not actually provide a wider historical approach to discrimination, but rather attempts to provide a description of discrimination and to note its peculiar contemporary links with the internal labour market.

Bosanquet (1973), argues that, in order to understand the division in the labour market, it is important to begin with the employer. The primary sector

employer's recruitment takes place, in the main, through the internal labour market. The development of the dual labour market is seen as being brought about by two inter-connected processes. Firstly, the growth of economic concentration enables the large corporation/firm to secure a high degree of control over its market product. As a result the corporation/firm's needs are stable and secure. This, in turn, means that the employer's need for stability from their workforce becomes even greater. The employer thus becomes less interested in hiring and firing in accordance with fluctuations in the product market and more interested in reducing labour turnover in order to guarantee steady production from his workers. Secondly, Bosanquet and Doeringer argue that technological developments have led to an increase in capital intensity in the primary sector. As such the;

specialised nature of the costly equipment needs not only conventional skills but experience, and so the employer retains his labour force by promoting them through more and more specialised jobs. (Blackburn and Mann 1981)

Consequently the employer, in seeking to maintain stability and experienced workers, fills vacancies from within the firm either by seniority of promotion, - this is known as the internal labour market. Jenkins (1982) points out that the internal labour market represents a widespread method of informal recruitment procedure and a major reason why, for example, proportionately fewer Black than White youngsters find an apprenticeship. This method of recruitment ensures that in an all White organisation or an organisation with a majority of White employees, the organisation remains White. This particular recruitment strategy may be used by employers with one end in mind - such as obtaining a stable experienced workforce - but it can in fact have disadvantageous consequences for prospective Black job applicants. Jenkins states that;

At the level of deliberate and conscious racism, it should be obvious that, in as much as the procedure is completely - or nearly completely - informal, it allows discrimination room to operate with a certain amount of impunity. (1981:32)

In contrast to the primary sector employer the secondary sector employer needs to use turnover and redundancy, in order to adjust employment volume to unpredictable product markets. As such it is argued that the secondary sector employer resorts to looking for unstable employees - such as women, ethnic minorities and other marginal and relatively docile groups. Both the primary and secondary sector discriminate against these groups: the former because they associate them with secondary sector employee characteristics such as low aspirations, unreliability, or because they anticipate hostility to them from other workers; the latter because they prefer to take on these groups because they believe them to possess 'unstable' characteristics. As a result Black workers, and women, etc are relegated to the secondary sector, and the labelling becomes self-fulfilling.

Freeman and Spencer (1979) point out that Rubery (1978) disagrees with the emphasis which Bosanquet and Doeringer (1973) place on the role of the employer. Rubery suggests that this approach assumes that homogeneity of labour is sought by workers, so that they can organise unhampered by artificial divisions. Rubery, in contrast, believes that the workers actually need a structured labour force in order to enhance their bargaining position and, as such, worker organisation has a significant role to play in developing a structured labour market in Britain. Rubery goes on to suggest that the process of de-skilling actually weakens the workers' bargaining positions, because it enables the employer to replace them more easily. Consequently, when workers' job security is threatened by factors such as the deskilling process they themselves bring pressure to bear in order to maintain skill stratification even in instances where skill demarcation is no longer relevant. This, Rubery points out, amounts to almost a re-assertion of the craft system. Seen in this context then immigration can be seen as one of the factors that encourages labour market segmentation, due to the fact that indigenous workers

seeking to differentiate themselves from their new competitors emphasise skill demarcation and strict promotion lines.

Rosenburg (1977) criticises the DLM model for placing emphasis on turnover. He suggests that it is not turnover per se that differentiates secondary jobs from primary ones. In looking at workers in the secondary sector he states that it is evident that some secondary sector workers may work at one job for most of their working life, even though the job may encourage instability. In addition, the secondary worker being aware of barriers to occupational advancement may see no reason to quit his job. As such, extreme instability can be said to characterise only a small portion of the secondary labour market workforce.

Can the dual labour market model be used to assess the British situation? Blackburn and Mann (1981) state that there is no adequate distributional analysis for Britain and that evidence from the available sample surveys suggests that the segregation between ethnic groups within the labour market is far from complete. Looking at the 1966 sample census they state that the occupational concentration of 'immigrant' males did not constitute more than five and a half per cent of the workers in any industry. The proportion amongst females was even lower. They go on to suggest that those theorists who emphasise the fact that New-Commonwealth migrant workers arriving after 1971 do not possess full labour market rights and are, as a result, at the mercy of their employer, are correct to a certain extent but they fail to recognise that the majority of New-Commonwealth migrant workers in Britain have full citizenship rights. The main objections Blackburn and Mann put forward in relation to the DLM model are that firstly, rather than seeking 'ethnic concentration', employers in general tend to resist ethnic concentration beyond a certain level, and secondly, the model is not consistent with the relatively high levels of unionisation among minorities. Blackburn and Mann

believe that it would be more useful to consider the notion of job segregation within organisations/firms between desirable and less desirable jobs rather than a dual labour market as such. Within their perspective some of the desirable jobs may be regarded as the prerogative of particular groups of White male workers while the less desirable can be categorised as 'women's work' or as being more appropriate for members of Black minorities. Thus they state:

While it is unusual to find ethnic workplaces in Britain, it is not uncommon to find particular job categories manned predominantly by minority members. (Open University Unit 11.25).

Evidence which might lend support to Blackburn and Mann's thesis of segregation within organisations/firms would be the fact that, although Asian hospital doctors are present in the NHS, the majority of them occupy mediocre positions as they are;

clustered at the lower end of various medical hierarchies (Allen and Smith 1974:44).

As Allen and Smith point out;

nearly all are to be found in the least prestigious hospitals and in 'unfashionable' specialities such as geriatric" (1974:44) (See also P J Smith Overseas Doctors in the Health Service PSI (1980)

Thus, although Black doctors are present in the medical profession there is evidence of their segregation within that structure.

Bosanquet and Doeringer (1973) in attempting to assess the validity of the DLM model in Britain state that many of the symptoms of market duality are present and that a basic distinction can usefully be made between primary and secondary sectors. They suggest that there is a superficial resemblance between the labour markets in both the United States and Britain. They state:

"Low wage employment in both is concentrated in industries with low skill requirements, highly competitive product markets, and low

capital labour ratios. In manufacturing, low-wage employment is found in clothing and textiles; among the services, laundries, distribution, catering, and some parts of government all have low earnings. In addition, according to the few surveys available, low paid work is marked by undesirable working conditions and few promotion opportunities. Finally both women and coloured workers are disproportionately represented in low wage employment. (1973:426)

Having said this they concede that on the basis of the limited available data they are unable to state emphatically that a dual labour market exists in Britain.

Although the DLM model when applied to the British context has not been subjected to any rigid empirical testing, some argue (Freeman and Spencer 1979) that as a concept;

it provides a framework for an analysis of conflicts of interest within the working class and thus possibly of the relationship between Black and indigenous workers. (Freeman and Spencer 1979:59).

In this sense it can be argued that it provides another way of examining conflicts between White and Black which does not emphasise conflicts based on skin colour but on the respective roles of Black and White labour in the productive process. If one accepts the argument that both primary and secondary employment are to be found within individual firms and industries, then it is plausible that this duality provides the grounds for conflict within the immediate work situation. Thus conflict between indigenous labour and Black labour can be seen as conflict between those workers in the primary sector seeking to safeguard their position by resisting processes such as deskilling which would reduce them to the level of the secondary worker, and the accompanying disadvantages associated with that type of work.



Immigration Legislation Differentiation between Black and White labour has, it has been argued, been fostered by the political 'manipulation' of racism, (Sivanandan 1982). Since the 1950s the issue of race and immigration has been a major component of British politics. During the early 1950s noises began to be made about the numbers of New-Commonwealth migrants arriving in Britain, and political agitation for its control was sought. (Rees 1982, Miles and Phizacklea 1984, Richardson 1983). However, it was not until the late 1950s, early 1960s that the political debate about immigration heightened; the debate did not concern all immigration (they were selective to this extent), but the immigration of Black people. (Allen 1981). It also coincided at one level with the 'racial disturbances' of 1958, which served to propel the issue of 'race' to the front of political debate and at another level with the fact that the economy's need for labour was beginning to decline. Soon the British government announced that it intended to impose controls on New-Commonwealth immigration. This culminated in the passing of the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act. The Act represented the emergence of a complex;

political and legal reinterpretation and redefinition of British citizenship (Walvin 1984:113),

which Sutton and Makiesky (1975) argue served to further crystallise the different status of the migrant workers coming from the Colonies.

Following the 1962 Act, successive governments have reduced the rights and status of migrant labour coming from the New-Commonwealth, with a series of legislative and administrative measures: there was the white paper of 1965, (which strengthened the 1962 Act) Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1968, the 1971 Immigration Act and the British Nationality Act of 1981. The principal effect of these measures has been the reduction of any further permanent large-scale immigration of New-Commonwealth migrant workers to Britain. Secondly, it has placed the New Commonwealth workers on the same footing as

the foreign worker in Europe. (Allen and Smith 1974, Castles and Kosack 1981, Ashtiany 1976, Sivanandan 1982) This latter effect was instituted with the passing of the 1971 Immigration Act, which inaugurated a system of contract labour. This Act represented the culmination of several attempts made by governments to bring about a situation in which the incoming New-Commonwealth migrant worker, like the migrant worker in Europe, would be placed in the labour market according to the needs of Capital. As Sivanandan 1982 states, the migrant;

Could only come in on a permit to do a specific job in a specific place for an initial period of not longer than twelve months. He could not change his job without the permission of the government - which meant that he was dependent on his employer for recommendation: he had to be a good little wage-slave. He may, like any other alien, apply for UK citizenship at the end of four years, provided that he has been 'of good behaviour'. On the other hand, he could, if the Home Secretary so wished, be deported on the ground that it was conducive to the public good as being in the interest of national security or of the relations between the UK and any other country or for other reasons of a political nature. (1982:111).

Through the use of legal mechanisms of citizenship and non-citizenship and immigration laws, as a method of coercion Britain was able to transform the structural location of Black labour. Some argue that this was also linked to the need for much tighter regulations concerning the supply of migrant labour, as the economy was entering a period of recession (Hall et al 1978). Morgan (1981) takes up this theme and suggests that realising the impending problems of a situation where a one time labour shortage had become an over supply of labour by the late 1950s - early 1960s, the State began to play a much more central role in the maintenance of capital accumulation and in the structuring of the working class into fractions. He suggests that the state did this by developing;

dejure and defacto mechanisms that 'de-citizenized' Black people, as a result working class solidarity in key areas was undermined and the way prepared for the possible repatriation of their children. (1981:28)

Calling upon Sivanandan's (1978) analysis Morgan argues that the State was thus able to stave off the consequences of economic decline in two ways: firstly by separating the Black and White unemployed from each other by giving them different 'stakes' in Britain, and secondly, by preparing the way for induced repatriation. Morgan argues that this process represents only one part of a much broader restructuring of British Capitalism, but even so it builds on the basic ideology of racism that has permeated Britain.

The process of dismantling the citizenship rights of New Commonwealth migrants and the limitation of immigration set the Black worker apart from the indigenous worker at the level of the political and the legal. The immigration Acts;

provided the legal framework for allocating migrant labour to particular slots in the social relations of production. Previously the process had been accomplished mainly through the operation of discrimination in the workplace, now it became institutionalised in the law. (Morgan 1981:30)

Looking at the 1968 Immigration Act, Morgan argues that it was passed more for political reasons than it was for labour market considerations. The Act itself was directed against those Black people, namely the East African Asians, who had the status of British subject and British citizen. The East African Asians had been granted the option of retaining British citizenship under the independence constitutions of the East African colonies. Being aware of the growing tensions between Asians and the Africans Britain then offered the East African Asians 'an escape route' following the independence and subsequent formation of African-led governments. However, the African government soon began to bring into being Africanisation policies and the Labour government in Britain soon came under considerable pressure to control the entry of East African Asians. As Morgan states, the 1968 Act was passed:

in record time to deal with this 'emergency' and restricted the right of free entry to the UK to those British citizens with a parent or grandparent in the UK (or themselves born in the UK).

Those unfortunate enough not to fit this criteria - known as patriality - now had to apply for a permit to enter, the number of permits being strictly limited. (1979:30).

This action by the State served to further fractionalize Black and White people due to the fact that it resulted in a group of Black people who formerly held UK citizenship being effectively rendered stateless.

Viewing the passage of the various immigration Acts up to 1971, Morgan concludes that the political and economic had been finally brought together.

At;

one level the process had been determined by the need to move towards a more 'rational' (from the point of view of capital) contract labour situation, at another level the law has played a central role in the fractionalization of the working class. (1979:31)

The role of the education system has been outlined as another mechanism which has served to reproduce the social division of labour in its specific contemporary form. (Hall et al 1978, Green 1979, Miles 1982, Solomos 1983).

It has been argued that the principle of the education system is the;

skilling of different sectors of the working class selectively. (Hall et al (1978:340)

As such the education system is seen to reproduce the wage earner within the class structured division of labour. Hall (1978) states that:

The school may accomplish this role of reproducing the worker, and the conditions of his labour, well or badly: winning compliance or generating resistance. But these differences in performance do not diminish their overall function in relation to the world of labour and work. (1978:340).

Looking specifically at the education system in relation to Black youth, Hall argues that it has effectively served to depress their general opportunities for employment and educational advancement, and as such reproduces the young Black worker as labour at the lower end of the labour market. The mechanisms

which Hall identifies within the education system as being responsible for this process are twofold. Firstly, the notion of cultural capital. Hall argues that the 'cultural capital' of Black youth is constantly expropriated. Although it takes place in most instances unwittingly it takes the form of patronising, stereotypical or racist attitudes of some teachers. Sometimes it occurs through fundamental misrecognitions of history and culture specifically through syllabuses and textbooks as well as in the overall 'culture of the school'. Secondly, language. Language he states is the principal cultural bearer of cultural capital and as such represents the key medium of cultural reproduction. Thus he argues:

Measures which could formerly be designed to develop additional competences in the spoken and written language of a new, essentially foreign, culture frequently become, instead, the means by which existing linguistic competences are dismantled and expropriated - as 'poor speech'. Instead of standard English being added as a necessary second language to whatever is the version of patois or Creole spoken by the child, the latter are often simply eliminated as sub-standard speech. (1978:341).

Hall concludes that there is a tendency to push Black students through a narrow filter into a single unilateral, prescribed cultural stream, which serves to undermine the 'cultural capital' they bring to the school.

Miles (1982) states that there is a growing body of evidence which illustrates that the children of migrants have a lower level of examination success and are more likely than children from other sections of the working class to opt out of education completely at the age of sixteen. Entering the labour market with low or no qualifications, he suggests, restricts access to a wide range of forms of wage labour, leaving mainly jobs characterised by low wages and a low demand for skill as the only ones which might be entered. However, by the late 1970s this sector of wage labour has been disproportionately affected by the crisis of profitability and, as such, results in the elimination of jobs that might otherwise have been filled by those failed by the education system.

Like Hall et al (1978) Miles points to the role that the articulation of racism by teachers and the ideological content of education which reproduces racist beliefs, have played in undermining the position of the children of Black migrant workers.

How do these racially specific mechanisms operate to determine the educational achievement and subsequent occupational placement of Black youth? It can be argued that these mechanisms are combined within the education system with other broader processes of *selection and socialization*. Allen (1975) states that;

though, with the demise of selection at eleven plus, the profile of selection may be changing there is no evidence that it is disappearing. (1965:65)

She points out that the process of selection does not only take into account the formal criteria of educational performance but is influenced to a significant level by the;

notions of the educability of different groups and consequently of individuals within them. (1975:65)

Notions such as these incorporate a heavy class bias in addition to long-established and widely accepted views of sexual divisions in society. The process of socialization within the education system places particular emphasis on culture based on a white middle class view of the world. If one links this to the process of selection that takes place within the education system - which requires that students 'fit the mould' - it is evident that the 'cultural baggage' which Black students bring along to the school situation will be regarded as undesirable, and not conducive to middle class aspirations. Using language as an example the Black child who does not use standard English but uses patois or Creole will be at a disadvantage, not only because

his language does not conform to that desired by the school but because it could be used as a measure of his intelligence and educability. (Carby 1982)

It has been stated that:

The dialect or Creole English is an immature language which is clearly inadequate for expressing the complexities of present-day life, for complete understanding of human motivation and behaviour. (NFER 1966 page 167 taken from Carby 1982:187)

Looking at this statement Carby (1982) states that it outlines quite clearly the evolutionary notions behind language theories and attitudes towards Black culture. She states:

Western societies were felt to be more advanced, not just technologically, but also intellectually, and language was the index of the stage of civilization reached. In terms of the total and partial language deficiency categories ... speaking an Asian or African language didn't really count as having a language at all. (1982:188)

Carby concludes that language by the mid 1960s came to be seen as the most obvious indication in educational terms of the Black child's inferior intelligence, and also served to confirm the paucity or complete lack of a culture. As a result Black children were perceived and treated as retarded, as language was seen to be the cause of problems of listening, interpreting and later reading and writing. Evidence in support of this argument indicates that Black children are twice as likely when compared to other so called 'immigrant' children to gain their education in ESN schools and many more are to be found in the lower streams of mainstream schools. (Allen and Smith 1974)

From this it is possible to see that, having been categorised as retarded they will be systematically allocated throughout their school life to those streams which gear the school leaver to a future similar to that of their parents; (Smith 1976, Barber 1979, Brown 1984, Dex 1984) These school leavers can be

said to form a new generation of 'immigrant workers' as they take on a 'permanent' migrant status. Following this line of argument some have suggested that, if British-born Blacks are;

regarded as immigrants with the implication that they are newcomers lacking skills and education appropriate to British industry and commerce, then the label 'immigrant' may become a code-word which helps to ensure that colour - under the guise of ascribing the status of newcomer comes to be used as a signal to restrict opportunity". (Unit 2:11)

As argued earlier in this chapter there is evidence to suggest that this process is already underway. Processes of selection, socialization, cultural expropriation, represent some of the mechanisms operating within the education system which serve, in the majority of instances to assign Black school leavers to the least favourable sections of the labour market. However, one also has to take into account the effect of other structures which operate outside the school which have a causal effect in terms of the placement of Black children within the education system. The schools which children attend are determined, to a great extent, by the area in which they live. The parents of Black children being granted access only to a limited range of occupations upon arrival in Britain causes concentration in certain towns and regions. The low wages which they receive in turn ensure that they gain access to the worst housing in run-down urban neighbourhoods which, in the majority of instances, are characterised by over-strained and inadequate educational facilities. (Castles and Kosack 1973, Allen and Smith 1974) White workers/residents not wishing to remain in these areas move out and they are replaced by other Black families unable to find adequate housing facilities. As such, areas of high Black concentration emerge. It is not surprising that this process of what one can call 'residential segregation' leads to majority Black catchment areas for schools. As some already note - in some areas of Britain Black children attend schools in which they form the majority. (Rex and Tomlinson 1979) Set within this context some argue that, given teacher



autonomy, there can be no guarantee that the education in these schools is not inferior. In addition it is argued that, due to the fact that these schools are predominantly attended by Black children, the schools may differ in their organisation and teaching which may, quite apart from the possible biases of teachers, lead to unequal opportunities for Black children (Rex and Tomlinson 1979). In this sense, one can ask to what extent can the educational facilities provided in these schools be said to be equal to those of other schools. What repercussions does this have in terms of undermining the position of Black students in the education system and their eventual placement in the labour market?

Much of the theoretical complexity of the arguments presented above has been relinquished in order to tease out the fundamental similarities between their approaches. The similarity is that they gravitate towards an explanation which places considerable emphasis upon the way in which racially specific forces operating within structures such as the labour market, political and legal structures, the education system act as a selective mechanism which serves to allocate the majority of Black workers (whether migrant or British born) to the bottom of the economic order. In general terms racism is not seen in isolation but is seen itself as an ideologically structured mechanism, which is said to articulate with other structures to demarcate the economic and political role that Black labour fulfills in British.

#### 4.7 SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to assess the degree of change that has occurred in the class composition of Afro-Caribbean migrant labour in Britain over the past three and a half decades. Empirical evidence demonstrates that the majority of these migrant workers were initially incorporated into sectors of the labour market which required unskilled and semi-skilled labour. This came

about as a result of technological innovation in the labour market which opened up new avenues of employment for indigenous workers higher up the hierarchy of wage labour.

It was believed that the position of Black migrant workers at the lower end of the labour market was only to be expected considering that this was where the 'available' vacancies were situated, but that within a few years they would begin to move up within the labour market. However, this has not been the case. By the mid 1960s it became apparent that, although some Black workers, namely male workers, had managed to gain access to skilled employment, the majority remained within the least favourable sectors of the economy carrying out unskilled and semi-skilled work. (Rose et al 1969, Patterson 1969, Davison 1966, Daniel 1968) Black women worked as domestic and kitchen assistants in hospitals, restaurants and canteens. Those employed in factories worked as machinists and finishers or worked as unskilled labour in light industries. Those (men) who managed to gain access to skilled work, it was argued, only got this far due to the shortage of White workers in these trades. (Wright 1968)

The 1970s saw a small improvement in the position of Afro-Caribbean labour. There was evidence of an increase in the number of Afro-Caribbean women doing white-collar/non-manual work from 31 per cent to 40 per cent. There was also a shift of Afro-Caribbean men into skilled occupations. However, these increases were offset by the fact that firstly, the increase in the number of Black women entering white-collar work was behind that of the general population. Secondly, the proportion of Black migrants, male and female, in professional jobs fell consistently. In contrast among Asian migrants, although the majority were to be found in the lower end of the labour market (particularly Pakistani and Bangladeshi workers) doing unskilled and semi-

skilled work, there was a relatively significant proportion of East African Asians and Indians to be found in professional and white-collar work. (Smith 1977)

Figures for the 1980s reveal that only one Afro-Caribbean male in eight has a non-manual occupation. The picture for Afro-Caribbean women is slightly better as some state that they seem to have less difficulty in obtaining jobs at the lower levels of non-manual work - such as clerical and sales work, but only one in fifty reaches professional or managerial positions. (Johnson and Cross 1985)

This broadly summarises their position since the late 1940s, early 1950s, except to add that from the late 1960s (which saw the beginnings of the recession) Black labour has had to share a disproportionate level of unemployment. This has affected the children of Black migrants in particular. It is argued (Neo-Marxist school of thought) that racially structured 'mechanisms' articulate with other structures and serve to restrict the movement of the majority of Black labour within the labour market and confine them to the least desirable sectors. (Hall et al 1978, Sivanandan 1982, CCCS 1982, Green 1979, Miles 1982, Miles and Phizacklea 1984) Reasons put forward as to why this has been the case are varied; however, broad themes emerge. Firstly, at the level of the economic it is argued that Capital requires a section of the workforce to function as a reserve army of labour, that will be available to perform unskilled and semi-skilled tasks at a low cost. In addition the presence of a reserve army of labour is seen to undermine the bargaining power of the 'labour aristocracy' (Gorz 1970) At the level of the political the State is seen to use the presence of migrant labour to undermine the class solidarity of the indigenous working class, by granting the latter concessions, and as such setting up false distinctions between the migrant worker and the indigenous worker. This division is compounded at both the level of the economic and the political by the fact through the process

of modification to immigration, citizenship and nationality laws, the migrant worker is set apart from the indigenous worker. The working class in the process becomes even more fractionalised. This fractionalization to a certain extent is based on apparent rather than real divisions, for Black and White workers still stand in the same position in relation to the means of production as both are workers who only have their labour to sell. However, within this situation the Black worker is consistently relegated to the lower end of the labour market where the monetary rewards viewed in the long term are significantly low and working conditions undesirable. This division is then compounded by the employers as they take advantage of the contrived division in the labour force - on a divide and rule basis.

It is evident that, in socio-economic terms, there is only a very small proportion of Afro-Caribbean workers that occupy a middle-class position in terms of occupation. As stated earlier migration from the Caribbean was a predominantly working-class phenomenon, with only a relatively small percentage coming from middle-class occupational backgrounds. Apart from those women who came to enter the nursing profession, the majority of the migrants who possessed qualifications and skills experienced downward mobility as they found that they were only able to gain access to work at the bottom of the labour market. (Glass 1960, Daniels 1968) The established professions, administrative and supervisory posts, the commercial world and even low-level white-collar work were closed to them.

The 1960s saw the end of the post-war boom - the very factor that had stimulated the migration. Expansion stopped and unemployment began to rise. In the absence of an expanding labour market and in conjunction with discrimination, there was little or no room for the migrants to occupy positions further up the hierarchy of wage labour. (Miles and Phizacklea 1984:162)

Given these adverse circumstances a small section of the Afro-Caribbean workforce has managed to gain access to professional technical and white-

collar work in addition to setting up small businesses. (Smith 1977 has figures on <sup>the</sup> West Indian petite bourgeoisie). Rosenberg (1977) suggests that, in general, the holding of a primary sector or a secondary sector job as one's first job, suggests that one will occupy a primary sector or secondary sector current job. However, he goes on to suggest that, for Whites, the first job does not have as great an influence on current job sector, as it does for members of minority groups. He argues that this can be explained by the greater chances for upward mobility for Whites. This is not, he suggests, to argue that all White males holding secondary sector jobs have extensive potential for upward mobility, but only that the existence of racism serves to constrain the employment opportunities open to Blacks.

Seen within this context the possible movement of Afro-Caribbean migrants who came with qualifications and skills from their initial location at the lower end of the British labour market up through to professional, technical and higher level white-collar work is significant. It also suggests that these migrants would have had to have been able to manipulate the situation they found themselves in.

This and other factors will be looked at more closely in the following chapters, when results are presented from the field research carried out with one hundred and twenty Afro-Caribbean respondents who occupy middle and lower middle class professions.

CHAPTER FIVE

SURVEY POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO: A PROFILE

## CHAPTER 5 SURVEY POPULATIONS ONE AND TWO: A PROFILE

### Introduction

The two survey populations involved in this research were obtained using 'network' samples. Methodological details concerning how this was achieved and exactly how the interviews were carried out have already been outlined in chapter one. In this chapter it is intended that a profile of the two survey populations will be developed, and in so doing to provide factual material concerning the background history of the respondents' migration to Britain.

### 5.1 SURVEY POPULATION ONE

#### Age Composition:

As table 5.1 reveals the female respondents are a much younger population than the male respondents. The average age of the female population is thirty six years compared to the male population which has an average age of forty six years. Taking the survey population as a whole we see that well over half (61%) of the respondents are forty years of age and over. Only 38% are aged between twenty-six and thirty nine years old. Breaking this latter age group down into male and female we then see that 24% of the males are aged between twenty six and thirty nine, as are 66% of women.

#### Area of Residence:

All the respondents live in the Greater London area and as table 5.2 illustrates the survey population are fairly well distributed over this area, with the majority being located in West, North and South London respectively.

AGE GROUPS - SURVEY POPULATION (1)

AGE GROUP	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
26 - 29 YRS OLD	2	8	10	12%
30 - 39 YRS OLD	11	10	21	26%
40 - 49 YRS OLD	18	5	23	28%
50 - 59 YRS OLD	21	4	25	31%
60 - 64 YRS OLD	1	-	1	1%
TOTAL	53	27	80	

TABLE 5.1



AREA OF RESIDENCE  
SURVEY POPULATION 1

AREA OF RESIDENCE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
WEST LONDON	14	10	24	34%
NORTH WEST LONDON	2	2	4	5%
NORTH LONDON	11	4	15	21%
EAST LONDON	2	3	5	7%
NORTH EAST LONDON	1	1	2	2%
SOUTH LONDON	11	3	13	18%
SOUTH WEST LONDON	3	-	3	4%
SOUTH EAST LONDON	1	-	1	1%
CENTRAL LONDON	1	1	2	2%
HERTFORDSHIRE	1	-	1	1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>71</b>	

TABLE 5.2

Note: Non-response = 9

### Marital Status:

In terms of marital status (See Table 5.3) 70% of both male and female respondents are married, 21% are single and 8% are divorced. Proportionately speaking it can be said that there are more single (not divorced) women in this population than men. The single female respondents represent 48% of all women. The single male represents 7% of all men.

### Number of Children:

(Table 5.4) 68% of all respondents in the survey population have children, with the majority (60%) having between one and three children. Proportionately speaking more women than men in the survey population do not have any children. 59% of all women do not have any children whereas 16% of all men do not have any children.

## 5.1.1 SURVEY POPULATION ONE - CHARACTERISTICS AT THE TIME OF MIGRATION TO BRITAIN

### Country of Origin: (Table 5.5)

In terms of country of origin survey population One is fairly well mixed, with the respondents coming from Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Guyana, Antigua, Grenada, Dominica, Monserrat, St. Vincent and Bermuda. 6% of the respondents (all female) were born in Britain. The country with the single largest number of respondents is Jamaica, which makes up 28% of the respondents. This is followed by Guyana with 21% of the respondents, and Barbados and Trinidad with 13% and 12% respectively.

### Year of Arrival:

As figure 5a indicates, the majority of the respondents arrived in Britain between the early 1950's and the mid 1960's. This is in line with much of the evidence in various studies and surveys which look at Afro-Caribbean migration

MARITAL STATUS  
(SURVEY POPULATION 1)

MARITAL STATUS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
SINGLE	4	13	17	21%
MARRIED	44	12	56	70%
DIVORCED	5	2	7	8%
TOTAL	53	27	80	

TABLE 5.3

NUMBER OF CHILDREN

SURVEY POPULATION 1

<u>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
ONE CHILD	7	4	11	13%
TWO CHILDREN	17	5	22	27%
THREE "	14	1	15	18%
FOUR "	3	-	3	3%
FIVE "	-	-	-	-
SIX "	2	-	2	2%
SEVEN "	1	-	1	1%
EXPECTING A CHILD	-	1	1	1%
NO CHILDREN	9	16	25	31%
TOTAL	53	27	80	

TABLE 5.4

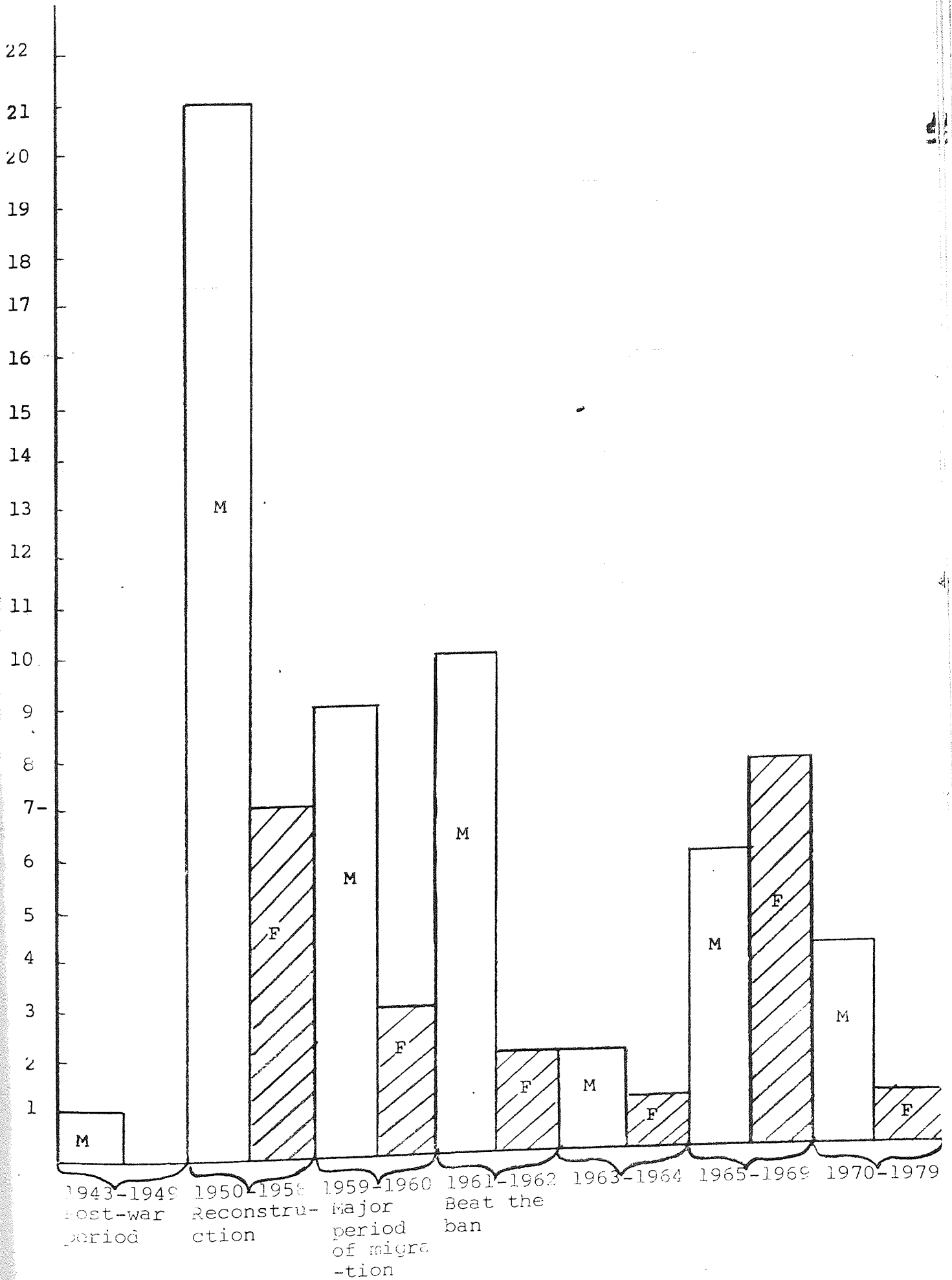
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN  
(SURVEY POPULATION 1)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
JAMAICA	15	8	23	28%
BARBADOS	10	1	11	13%
TRINIDAD	7	3	10	12%
GUYANA	13	4	17	21%
ANTIGUA	1	1	2	2%
GRENADA	4	3	7	8%
MONSERRAT	-	1	1	1%
ST. VINCENT	3	-	3	3%
BERMUDA	-	1	1	1%
ENGLAND	-	5	5	6%
TOTAL	53	27	80	

TABLE 5.5

YEAR OF ARRIVAL - MALE AND FEMALE  
SURVEY POPULATION ONE

FIGURE 5a



to Britain (Smith 1970, Miles & Pharoakles 1970, Brooks 1975). The largest single category for year of arrival within this period (1950's to mid 1960's) is the category which covers the years 1950 - 1958. Of the male respondents arriving during this eight year period 17 came as adults and four came as children to join their parents. Figures for the women over this same period show that four came as adults and three came as children. Looking at the category which identifies the eighteen month period between the beginning of 1961 and the middle of 1962, which is said to mark the period of the rush to beat the coming of the 1962 Immigration Act (Peach 1968), we see that a fairly high proportion of those respondents arriving in Britain between 1950 and 1964 actually came during the 'beat the ban' period. Of the males arriving in this period nine came as adults and only one came as a child. Of the women five came as children and three came as adults. Of those respondents arriving during the 1965 to 1969 period the figures were fairly evenly split (both male and female) between those who came as children to join their parents and those coming as adults. Finally, those coming to Britain during the mid to late 1970's, which totalled 8% of all respondents, came either because of political unrest in their country of origin, for a change of career, or to take up further education which usually meant going to university in the latter instance.

#### Age on Arrival (Table 5.6)

Not very much can be said about the age structure of survey population One in relation to their age on arrival to Britain. However, those respondents who came between the ages of 20 - 29 years of age represent 58% of all respondents. This age group forms the largest single age group for both male and female respondents. Those coming to Britain between the ages of one and 19 years represent just over a third of all respondents. Those arriving between the ages of 30 and 49 years total 6% of all respondents. These figures are in line with evidence presented in other studies, particularly in

AGE ON ARRIVAL - MALE AND FEMALE

SURVEY POPULATION ONE

<u>AGE ON ARRIVAL</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
2 - 5 YEARS OLD	1	-	1	1%
6 - 10 YEARS OLD	4	7	11	14%
11 - 15 YEARS OLD	5	1	6	8%
16 - 19 YEARS OLD	5	3	8	10%
20 - 29 YEARS OLD	33	11	44	58%
30 - 39 YEARS OLD	4	-	4	5%
40 - 49 YEARS OLD	1	-	1	1%
TOTAL	53	22	*75	

TABLE 5.6

Note 'N = 80, However, 5 respondents born in Britain therefore not included in table.



reference to those who migrate to Britain in their 20's (Glass 1960, Davison 1966, Lawrence 1974).

Reasons for migrating to Britain:

As stated earlier in chapter four, some of the literature concerning the movement of Caribbean migrant labour to Britain was couched at a macro level of analysis, and as such placed a great deal of emphasis on the economic as being the underlying reason for the migration of Afro-Caribbeans to Britain. There are those who argue that migration to Britain came about as a result of the 'push' of the Caribbeans' demographic (population pressure) and economic problems, which during the post World War Two period gave rise to large scale unemployment and low earnings in the Caribbean. (Glass 1960, Davison 1962, Roberts and Mills 1957) There are others who argue in favour of the economic 'pull' of labour importing countries such as Britain (Peach 1968). This approach is valid but it is equally valid to point out that little attention was paid to individual motivation and as Brooks (1975) points out "Whilst the contrasts in economic conditions and prospects between Britain and the home countries provide the basic conditions which made migration possible, the economic explanation is not adequate for individual motivation" (1975:37).

If we are to gain a clearer understanding of what has taken place in the 'life' of Afro-Caribbean workers in the British labour market we need to take into account not only the structural constraints which they face, but also the aims and objectives of those who came as migrant workers in order to come a degree closer to understanding how they were/are able to operate within and against the "structural constraints derived from the labour market and other institutional forces" (Johnson, Ward and Jenkins 1980). Set within this context then it can be argued that the reasons given for migration to Britain by the respondents are of particular significance, particularly when one goes

on to relate their responses to the question "Why did you come the Britain?" to their career history/occupational position in the labour market.

Table 5.7 presents the explanations/reasons given by the respondents for migrating to Britain. It should be mentioned, however, that in most instances a single explanation was not always given but rather the respondents' explanations covered two or three different areas.

For example a Barbadian man states:

I came to work and with ideas to study. I came also due to frustration back home .... I wanted to see the outside world.

Another respondent - this time a Jamaican woman said:

I came to study and train as a nurse, there were better prospects in England. And anyway I saw England as the Mother Country.

As a result of the fact that some respondents offered a set of explanations for migrating to Britain, it was decided to record in Table 5.7 the answer which the respondent seemed to feel was the most important in terms of individual motivation to migrate. In some instances it was possible to combine some of the explanations into a single category - for example those who said they came to "work and study".

The reasons mentioned by the respondents fell into seven main areas. The category with the highest proportion of respondents was those who stated that they came to Britain as children, either with or to join their parents. These respondents represent 29% of those in the survey population who migrated to Britain. When asked why their parents had decided to migrate to Britain the answers fell roughly into two main groups. Firstly, there were those who said that their parents came to Britain in order to improve their economic prospects:

REASONS FOR MIGRATING TO BRITAIN  
(SURVEY POPULATION 1)

REASONS FOR MIGRATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
WORK AND ECONOMIC PROSPECTS	8	2	10	13%
WORK AND STUDY	12	2	14	18%
FURTHER EDUCATION	13	6	19	25%
CAME TO JOIN THE RAF/ARMY	7	-	7	9%
CAME BECAUSE OF POLITICAL UNREST AT HOME	2	-	2	2%
CAME TO JOIN HUSBAND	-	1	1	1%
CAME AS A CHILD WITH OR TO JOIN PARENTS	11	11	22	29%
TOTAL	53	22	75	

TABLE 5.7

My father wanted to make a better life for himself and there were more prospects in Britain. (Woman - solicitor).

My parents came for economic reasons, they thought they could better themselves financially by coming to England. (Woman - lecturer).

Secondly, there were those who said their parents came in order to give them a better education:

My parents thought Britain would give their children the chance of a good education and a chance to widen their horizons. (Male - Probation Officer).

My parents came for our education. (Male - Multi-racial Education Inspector).

My parents came to help me go through school. I was doing well at school back home but they felt that there were better prospects for me in Britain. (Female - Doctor).

My father thought it would be better for the children to come to Britain. He was working as a tailor and he couldn't afford to pay for education there, so he came here. (Female - Barrister).

My father came for a better life. Barbados was too small and didn't offer any opportunities for education. (Female - Chartered Accountant).

The next most frequent reason mentioned for migrating to Britain was from those respondents who stated that they came in order to further their education. These respondents represented a quarter of all those migrating to Britain. Of those respondents some came with fairly specific intentions and others were more vague. Those with specific intentions came to do a first degree, others to do a post-graduate degree and others to obtain a 'professional qualification'. Of the 19 respondents who said they came to further their education five said that they had originally intended to return home on completion of their studies.

I came to do a degree, and my main aim was to study and return home once I had qualified. But when I qualified I began to wonder how I could use it here. (Female - Careers Officer).

I wanted to further my studies and, having done that I intended to return home. But I got married, and then started to raise a family. I got a job and then, well one year lead into another. (Male - Race Adviser).

I came to acquire a qualification in dentistry. I intended to remain for six years and return home after I qualified, but I decided to stay firstly because there were economic considerations. I needed to acquire some money to establish a dental practice back home. Secondly, the children's education was another reason for remaining. (Male - Dentist)

The proportion of those respondents who came to Britain in order to further their education becomes even more significant if one considers them in relation to only those respondents who came to Britain as adults (ie not including those who came as children). Of those who migrated as adults those coming in order to further their education make up 36% of the respondents. This is in contrast to much of the evidence presented in studies concerning Afro-Caribbean migration to Britain, as the reasons given for migration in these studies is mainly that they came for job/economic prospects, (Lawrence 1974, Brooks 1975, Smith 1976, Pearson 1981). The significance of the fact that a fairly high proportion of those interviewed for this research gave education as a reason for migration to Britain is related to the fact that this may have provided the framework which has to a certain extent served to influence their eventual long-term position within the British labour market. In short, rather than pursuing short term economic gains they sought to obtain qualifications which would enable them to compete higher up the job hierarchy.

Eighteen per cent of the respondents stated that they migrated to Britain in order to work and study. The following quotations are typical:

My intentions were twofold, firstly I had the image of the mother country and secondly there was the economic side of things and I decided that coming to Britain would give opportunities to work and study at the same time. I attempted to study in my own time and took up evening classes. I did a course in economics, British economic history and British constitution. (Community Relations Officer - Male).

All my friends worked and studied when they came here ... . We all were in work back home, I was an accounting clerk ... . The motivation when I came here was to study. (Businessman).

Many respondents found it difficult to combine the two successfully as two respondents state:

There were two reasons why I came here one economic and the other a desire to further my education. There was a chance of a better livelihood in England. Work prospects were limited in Barbados, I wanted to go to University. I came with a senior Cambridge and therefore wanted to build on that. The first frustration I met was that the job I got was shift work and it made it difficult to get into day school or even evening classes. (Principal Social Worker).

I was a qualified teacher when I came to England, I wanted to do a degree in three years. I planned to go back once I had got it ... I wanted to study part-time and work (as a teacher) to pay my way through, but there were problems because you couldn't do a part-time degree in three years. (Headmaster).

Taking the figures for those who stated that they came to Britain to 'work and study', with those of those who said they came in order to further their education, we see that 61% of the adult migrant respondents came to Britain in order to obtain qualifications.

Those respondents who migrated to Britain in order to find work and improve their economic prospects represent 13% of all those who migrated to Britain. The quotations below are representative of some of the types of responses given by those who came to Britain to find work:

The grass is always greener on the other side. I decided to come and see for myself. (Businessman).

There weren't many jobs at home and it was the fashion to migrate in those days. (Businessman).

I came to do nursing. I chose England because it was the easiest place to get to at the time. I did try America but I had to wait for an uncle to sponsor me and I couldn't wait. (Housing Officer - Woman)

The remainder of the reasons mentioned for migrating to Britain are perhaps less typical. Those respondents coming to join the Royal Air Force or the Army were in their late teens, and their idea of migration was linked to a

longing to get away from the 'heat' of home, and a desire to travel. For example:

I came to join the forces. There was a recruitment drive in secondary schools and I was one of those. (Civil Servant).

I came to get away from my parents and grandfather they are very wealthy. (Businessman).

I came to travel and I joined the Air Force. (Civil Servant).

Those respondents who migrated to Britain as a result of political unrest in their country of origin were already well established in their professional careers 'back home', and were of a much older age group at the time of arrival. They came to Britain during the mid to late 1970s.

Only one woman said she came to Britain to join her husband. This is of significance to the extent that the low proportion of women giving such an answer in this survey population goes against the stereotype that female migrants usually migrate to join a husband or boyfriend.

#### Occupation Prior to Migration:

One of the main difficulties of coding the details which the respondents gave concerning their occupation prior to migration is the fact that when attempts to make a cross-cultural comparison between their occupation in Caribbean society and their present occupation in Britain one is not comparing 'like with like'. As some have pointed out (Foner 1979, Fox & Miller 1967, Miles and Phizacklea 1980, Wright 1968). "the structure of West Indian societies with large non-industrialised sectors does not lend itself to a direct comparison with occupational categories constructed for use in Britain." (Pearson 1981:49). Thus for example in terms of occupational status the occupation of 'qualified nurse' in the Caribbean during the 1950s may have been considered to be a job which carried with it high economic rewards and status, but in Britain a similar job may not have been accorded such a high status position.

In addition one has to also take into account the fact that there may be differences of occupational grading between the Caribbean territories themselves.

The information presented in table 5.8 represents a crude breakdown into seven occupational categories constructed from details of employment prior to migration which the respondents gave (which in some instances were not very clear), in response to the question "What was your occupation prior to migrating to Britain?"

The 'Professional' category includes occupations such as barrister, doctor, teacher, accountant (formally trained) and qualified nurse. Those included in the 'non-manual white collar category worked as clerks within the civil service or in the private sector e.g. bank clerks. Other occupations included statistics officer, manager on a sugar estate, qualified drugs (nurse) dispenser, travelling pharmacy salesman. The category entitled 'pupil teacher' includes those respondents who have had no formal teacher training experience, but rather when they had passed for example their 'O' level examinations they would then go on to teach what they had learnt to the younger children in the school. This period of pupil teaching usually lasted two to three years after which they usually went on to teacher training courses. None of the respondents had reached this stage at the time of migration. Those included under 'apprentices' includes those respondents who stated that they were apprentice pharmacists, motor mechanics, cabinet maker, construction apprentice and student nurse. With the exception of one of these respondents (he received his training by working alongside an uncle who was a motor mechanic), all the other respondents received a formal apprenticeship. This is not in line with the evidence of other studies which state that during this period the learning of a 'trade' in the Caribbean "was a fairly informal process". (Miles and Phizacklea 1980) The other two categories 'unskilled manual' and



OCCUPATION PRIOR TO MIGRATION

(SURVEY POPULATION 1)

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
PROFESSIONAL	9	4	13	33%
NON-MANUAL WHITE COLLAR WORK	11	2	13	33%
PUPIL TEACHER	3	1	4	10%
APPRENTICE	6	-	6	15%
UNSKILLED MANUAL WORK	2	-	2	5%
SELF-EMPLOYED	-	1	1	2%
TOTAL	31	8	39	

TABLE 5.8

'self-employed' are fairly self explanatory. The former includes occupations such as working in a bakery, petroleum refinery operator. The latter includes a respondent who sold insurance and finance.

The responses of only thirty nine respondents have been recorded in table 5.8 which represents 52% of all the respondents who migrated to Britain. Forty one respondents have not been included in table 5.8. This includes: firstly those respondents who were students at the time of migration, of which three came to do a degree, two came to do 'A' levels, two came to train as nurses and one came to work as a shorthand typist, secondly, those respondents who did not make clear exactly what their employment situation was, and thirdly, those respondents who came to Britain as children.

Table 5.8 indicates that just over a third of the respondents who were employed prior to migration had non-manual white collar occupations. This is followed by just over a quarter of the respondents who had professional occupations. These include seven teachers, one doctor, two barristers, an accountant, and two respondents who were qualified nurses. Only one respondent stated that he was unemployed in the period prior to migration.

Taking the figures for those in professional and non-manual white-collar occupations together we see that they represent a significant proportion (65%) of those respondents who had employment during the period prior to migrating to Britain. On a simplified basis it can be argued that well over half of the respondents who had employment occupied a middle or lower middle class position in their country of origin, in terms of occupational status prior to migration to Britain.

Qualifications at time of Arrival in Britain:

To a certain extent it is difficult to assess the exact level of education of the respondents at the time of migration as many of the certificates mentioned by the respondents do not correspond with that of the British system, and even on an inter-island basis there appear to be differing forms of examinations. However one of the respondents interviewed (who had been a teacher in his country of origin) was able to list what he believed to be a (fair) approximation of the hierarchy of qualifications that could be obtained in the Caribbean up to the 1950s - see Figure 5b.

At the lower end of the qualifications hierarchy there was what was known as the Junior Cambridge Examinations; these may have been equivalent to the eleven plus in the British system or common entrance examination. The next examination would have been the Senior Cambridge Examinations; these can be seen as being equivalent to an 'O' level or a good CSE (grade 1). This was followed by the Matriculation Examination which can be seen as the equivalent to the present 'A' level examinations. (Matriculation was also a common UK qualification which was current until after world war two.) If an individual possessed this qualification they would be exempt from what were known as the Higher Senior Examinations, and would be able to go straight on to the 'Inter B A' Examinations (the 'Inter B A' Examinations being an examination taken prior to taking a first degree). If an individual passed the Higher Senior Examinations they would be exempt from the Inter B A Examinations and would go straight on to a degree course. Finally, there are the Degree Examinations.

Table 5.9 provides the figures for those respondents who answered the question "What qualifications did you possess on arrival to Britain?" Only the respondent's highest qualification was recorded on this table. 14 (31%) respondents said that they had passed the Senior Cambridge examination and 4 (8%) said that they had passed their 'O' level examinations. Taking these two

## EXAMINATIONS

- (1) Junior Cambridge
- (2) Senior Cambridge - Equivalent to 'O' level and good CSEs (Grade 1).
- (3) Matriculation - Equivalent to an 'A' level (If an individual possesses this qualification they go straight on to Inter - BA Examinations). (cf pre-war UK).
- (4) Higher Seniors - If an individual possesses this qualification they are exempt from the 'Inter BA' examination and can go straight on to the degree course.
- (5) Inter BA Examinations
- (6) BA Degree.

FIGURE 5b

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS AT TIME OF ARRIVAL  
(SURVEY POPULATION ONE)

EDUCATIONAL QUALS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
THIRD YEAR LOCAL	-	1	1	2%
SEVENTH STANDARD	1	-	1	2%
SENIOR CAMBRIDGE	12	1	13	28%
'O' LEVELS	3	1	4	8%
'A' LEVELS	3	-	3	6%
DIPLOMA	-	1	1	2%
HIGHER SENIORS	2	-	2	4%
SHORTHAND AND TYPING CERTS	-	2	2	4%
PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	7	3	10	21%
DEGREE	2	1	3	6%
NO QUALIFICATIONS	5	1	6	13%
TOTAL	35	11	46	

TABLE 5.9

N = 80      However 35 respondents have not been included in the above table. These include: 23 (12 male, 11 female) respondents who came to Britain as children, 7 (all male) respondents where no information was available, and 5 (all female) respondents who were born in Britain.

results together (for Senior Cambridge examinations are equivalent to 'O' level examinations) it can be argued that 18 (40%) of the respondents in survey population One came to Britain with 'O' levels/ Senior Cambridge passes.

Of the 45 respondents included in Table 5.9 one can assume that 36 (80%) respondents (ie those respondents who possessed qualifications between Senior Cambridge and Degree level) went to secondary school in the Caribbean. 9 (20%) respondents went on to further education either in teacher training colleges or university. In looking at the education of Afro-Caribbeans prior to migration Pearson (1981) suggests that the level of formal education obtained in the Caribbean has important implications for the measurement of status position. He goes on:

Secondary education is usually the prerogative of the elite and middle classes in the Caribbean who predominantly reside in urban areas. Rural dwellers are faced with problems of finance and transport which makes attendance at the largely urban based secondary schools difficult .... when one considers the pattern of secondary schooling in the West Indies, with all its related problems, it is hardly surprising to find that very few lower class West Indians go on to further or higher education. (Pearson 1981:46).

On the basis of this argument one can loosely argue that 80% (36 respondents) of those included in table 5.9 may have come from middle class backgrounds, because they had received secondary and above levels of formal education.

#### Social Class Origins According to Father's Occupation:

As with the construction of occupational categories in table 5.8 the occupational categories listed in Table 5.10 (which looks at father's occupation when the respondent left to come to Britain) represent a crude breakdown of the respondents' responses into ten occupational categories.

SOCIAL ORIGINS ACCORDING TO FATHER'S OCCUPATION  
WHEN RESPONDENT LEFT TO COME TO BRITAIN  
(SURVEY POPULATION ONE)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
PROFESSIONAL	7	5	12	19
NON-MANUAL WHITE COLLAR WORKER	12	3	15	24
NON-MANUAL	6	4	10	16
TRADESMAN	4	2	6	9
OWN BUSINESS	3	-	3	4
SKILLED MANUAL WORKER	2	3	5	8
UNSKILLED MANUAL WORKER	2	1	3	4
FARMER (SMALL)	5	1	6	9
SELF-EMPLOYED	1	-	1	1
TOTAL	42	19	61	

TABLE 5.10

Nineteen respondents have not been included in Table 5.10. These included eleven (three female, one male) respondents for whom no information was obtained. Three (all male) respondents said their fathers were dead when they migrated to Britain and five (all female) respondents who were born in Britain.

Occupations of fathers included in the 'Professional' category include: teachers, barristers, doctors, a Principal of a secondary school, an architect, lecturer, pharmaceutical chemist and a lawyer. Those included in the non-manual white collar category include: a construction site manager, a court bailiff, a senior public health inspector, community development officer, chief of constables, health and sanitary Inspector (government official with powers to take people to court) postmaster, civil engineer in local government and clerical workers in the civil service. Those included in the 'Tradesman' category include: masons, carpenters and a tailor. Those who owned their own business included the owner of a bakery and grocery store, and a builder who employed labour. The skilled and unskilled workers category are self explanatory. Those whose fathers were farmers usually mentioned that their fathers were small farmers and did not have a lot of land (usually twelve acres or so). The respondent who mentioned that his father owned two buses has been placed in the 'self-employed' category due to the fact that no mention was made as to whether the father employed someone to drive one of the buses.

Twenty three respondents came to Britain as children. However, only the results for twenty one of these respondents have been recorded on table 5.10. Some of these respondents came with their parents, others came to join their parents in Britain. As such the answers given concerning their father's occupation at their (the respondents') time of arrival cover those respondents whose fathers had been in Britain for some time (usually employed as bus drivers, bus conductors, unskilled manual workers, barrister), and also those whose father's occupation just prior to leaving the Caribbean with his children was recorded.

Table 5.10 shows that a fifth of survey population One had fathers who were in a profession and a quarter whose fathers worked as non-manual white collar workers. Taking these two results together gives more evidence that this



survey population came from a middle or lower middle class background. If one includes those in the 'own business' category, the figure for those respondents coming from a middle or lower middle class background rises to just under half of the survey population. Those respondents whose fathers worked as tradesmen represent a tenth of those who answered the question, rather less than might be expected on a random basis. Those respondents whose fathers worked as skilled manual and unskilled manual workers and as small farmers represent just over a fifth of those who answered the question.

The figures from table 5.10 with that of table 5.8 may become more significant when we go on to compare the respondents' present occupation with, as far as possible, the degree of downward mobility which they may have experienced - firstly in relation to their social class origins according to father's occupation, and secondly by comparing the present occupational position against their occupation prior to migration to their social class origins according to father's occupation, and secondly by comparing the present occupational position against their occupation prior to migration (at the same time bearing in mind the possible limitations of cross-cultural occupational comparisons).

#### 5.1.2 SURVEY POPULATION ONE - PRESENT CHARACTERISTICS

Qualifications: (Table 5.11) As with Table 5.9, Table 5.11 only has figures which refer to the highest qualification that the respondent possessed. However, it can be assumed that those with degrees and in the majority of instances those respondents with professional qualifications do possess 'A' and 'O' levels.

The table shows that of the 78 respondents who answered the question all have some form of qualification. Just over a quarter have obtained a first

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION POSSESSED

(SURVEY POPULATION ONE)

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
SENIOR CAMBRIDGE	1	-	1	1%
'O' LEVELS	-	2	2	2%
'A' LEVELS	2	-	2	2%
FIRST DEGREE	15	7	22	28%
MASTER'S DEGREE	5	3	8	10%
DOCTORATE	2	-	2	2%
PROFESSIONAL QUALS	11	9	20	25%
DIPLOMA	9	1	10	12%
HNC/HND	2	-	2	2%
NURSING QUALIFICATIONS	-	4	4	5%
SECRETARIAL CERTIFICATES	-	1	1	1%
HAIRDRESSING QUALIFICATIONS	1	-	1	1%
CITY AND GUILDS	3	-	3	3%
TOTAL	51	27	78	

TABLE 5.11

NON-RESPONSE = 2

degree. Their subject areas include; sociology, dentistry, law, modern languages, biological sciences, psychology, medicine, B.Ed, economics, accountancy, politics, chemistry, electronic production and design, electronic engineering. It should be pointed out that of those who gave a first degree as their highest qualification, 4 (18%) did their degree part-time. Quite a few of the respondents took their first degree at a much later stage than is the norm (ie leaving school at the age of 18/19 and going to university and completing first degree by the age of 21/22). The average age for completion of the first degree for these respondents was the mid to late twenties. This was particularly so for the male respondents.

A quarter of the respondents possessed a professional qualification, this included bar examination passes, solicitor examination passes, CQSW, PGCE, and IPM certificates. As mentioned above the majority of these respondents also possess a first degree. A further 12% of those who answered the question possessed a postgraduate qualification. This included eight respondents who had a master's degree and two respondents who had a doctorate.

Present Occupational Position: Table 5.12 provides the figures for the present occupational position of survey population One. The occupational categories in this table represent a useful breakdown of occupational groups in that it helps to highlight some important differences within certain occupational categories. For example instead of dividing the 'professional' category into those professionals (for example barristers, solicitors, doctors, chartered accountants, journalists) who are self-employed and those who are employed, all the professional workers could have been included under the umbrella term professional. However, to do this would have served to mask some significant details which could inform us as to the level of self-employment amongst Black professionals within the survey population.

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL POSITION/CATEGORIES  
(SURVEY POPULATION ONE)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
EMPLOYER WITH 25 OR MORE EMPLOYEES	3	-	3	3%
EMPLOYER WITH LESS THAN 25 EMPLOYEES	9	2	11	13%
PROFESSIONAL SELF-EMPLOYED	8	3	11	13%
PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYED	26	19	45	56%
COMMERCIAL MANAGEMENT	2	2	4	5%
INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL	5	1	6	7%
TOTAL	53	27	80	

TABLE 5.12

The first two occupational categories are self-explanatory. The first includes those employers who employ 25 or more employees, the second includes those who employ less than 25 employees. Occupations represented in the 'professional self-employed' category include solicitors, barrister, chartered accountant, dentist. The 'professional employed' category includes occupations such as; social worker, journalist, barrister, CRO/Race Relations adviser, probation officer, psychologist, headmaster, headmistress, solicitor, senior nursing officer, lecturer, doctor, education inspector, dispensing optician, chartered accountant, career officer, dentist, architect, headteacher. Within this latter occupational category seven respondents (three women and four men) occupy 'managerial' positions within the areas of the National Health Service, social services and the Race Relations industry.

The commercial management category includes those respondents who occupy management positions in the private sector. These include two (male) respondents who are regional managers, one respondent (female) in a branch management position, and another (female) respondent who occupies a departmental management position. The intermediate non-manual category includes occupations such as business consultant, accountant, housing officer, higher executive officer.

### Work Codes:

Table 5.13 provides the figures for the respondents' 'work codes'. Work code in this context represents different areas of employment. For example the work code for a senior nursing officer would be the national health service. Alternatively the work code for a housing officer would be 'local government'. The figures in Table 5.13 indicate that a quarter of survey population one are employed by the local authorities. This includes those respondents who work as social workers, race relations advisers, housing officers, education advisers, headmasters/headmistresses, lecturers etc. 15% of the respondents are employed in the private sector - this includes, insurance agencies, local

WORK CODES  
(SURVEY POPULATION ONE)

WORK CODES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (Civil Service) EMPLOYEE	6	1	7	9%
LOCAL AUTHORITY EMPLOYEE	12	8	20	25%
PRIVATE SECTOR/ COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEE	6	6	12	15%
CHARITABLE/WELFARE EMPLOYEE (i.e. Independent Quango - Legal Advice Centre's Etc C R O's)	5	1	6	7%
NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE EMPLOYEE	5	6	11	14%
PROFESSIONAL SELF-EMPLOYED	7	3	10	12%
OWN BUSINESS	12	2	14	17%
TOTAL	53	27	80	

TABLE 5.13

newspapers, building societies, firm of solicitors, firm of chartered accountants. 14% are employed by the national health service. This includes respondents who work as doctors, dentists and senior nursing officers. 9% of the respondents work within various areas of the civil service.

If the figures for those respondents who are professional self-employed (12% of survey population One) and those respondents who own their own business (17%) are excluded - see table 5.14, the distribution of the respondents in terms of work code becomes even more significant. The figures in this table reveal that over a third of the respondents who are 'employed' are local authority employees. The significance of this result could be argued to be that it is probable that Black professionals are more likely to find positions open to them within this context, rather than in the civil service, or the private sector.

To an extent this could be as a result of the fact that many of their positions within the local authorities (as social workers, race relations advisers, housing officers, multi-racial education advisers ) are those which bring them into close contact with Black members of the community - and as such are largely related to serving the Black 'community'. In this sense the occupations they occupy would not necessarily be regarded as an encroachment upon white occupational preserves in the objectively defined labour market.

#### Husbands/Wife's Current Occupation

Twelve women stated that they were married. Half of these mentioned that their husbands were professionals. Their husbands' occupations include; social worker, financial broker, barrister, chartered accountant and teacher. All of these women are professionals themselves. A third of the respondents said their husbands did some form of non-manual white collar work. A further two women mentioned that their husbands were manual workers - ie hospital porter,

WORK CODES  
(SURVEY POPULATION ONE)

WORK CODES	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (Civil Service) EMPLOYEE	6	1	7	12%
LOCAL AUTHORITY EMPLOYEE	12	8	20	35%
PRIVATE SECTOR/ COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEE	6	6	12	21%
CHARITABLE/WELFARE SERVICE EMPLOYEE (i.e. Independent Quango)	5	1	6	10%
NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE	5	6	11	19%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>56</b>	

TABLE 5.14



bus driver. This suggests that amongst those female respondents who stated that they were married the majority were married to partners who were of a similar occupational standing or relatively near. Only two respondents were married to husbands whose occupational position was significantly lower than theirs. None of the respondents mentioned that their husband was unemployed.

Forty four men stated that they were married (Table 5.15). Of these, forty one stated what their wife's current occupation was. Forty one per cent of these mentioned that their wife did some kind of white collar work. This included wives who worked as secretaries, clerks, typists, telephonists, administrator. Over a third said that their wife was a professional. This included wives who worked as barristers, teachers, lecturers, nurses, midwife, theatre sister, district nurse. Two respondents stated that their wives were businesswomen. In each case the respondent's wife was a partner in the respondent's business. Another two respondents mentioned that their wives were students. One was studying for a degree, the other was on a CQSW course. Finally, three respondents stated that their wife was a housewife.

From the details given by the husbands concerning their wives' occupational position, it is evident that just over a third of the respondents were married to women of a similar occupational position. 41% were married to women who had occupations which were occupationally below that of their own.

## 5.2. SURVEY POPULATION TWO

### Age Composition

Table 5.16 presents the age composition of this survey population. The average age of the female population is forty and the average age of the male population is thirty-five years. It should be mentioned that the average age of the population include the 78 year old respondent, as

WIFE'S CURRENT OCCUPATION  
(SURVEY POPULATION ONE - MALE)

WIFE'S OCCUPATION	TOTAL	%
PROFESSIONAL	16	39%
NON-MANUAL WHITE COLLAR WORKER	17	41%
NON-MANUAL WORKER	1	2%
BUSINESS WOMAN	2	4%
STUDENT	2	4%
HOUSEWIFE	3	7%
TOTAL	41	

TABLE 5.15

NON-RESPONSE = 3

AGE GROUPS - SURVEY POPULATION (TWO)

AGE GROUPS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
25 YEARS	1	-	1	2%
26 - 29 YEARS	4	5	9	22%
30 - 39 YEARS	5	5	10	25%
40 - 49 YEARS	4	10	14	35%
50 - 59 YEARS	1	4	5	12%
60 - 69 YEARS	-	-	-	-
78 YEARS	1	-	1	2%
TOTAL	16	24	40	

TABLE 5.16

including this figure would have given a false impression of the average age structure of this group. The average age of the male and female respondents in this population is in contrast to their counterparts in survey population One. The average age of the women in population Two (40 years) is higher than that of the women in population One (36 years). The reverse is true for the male respondents, with the average age of the men in population Two (35 years) being lower than that of the men in population One (46 years). The significance of this difference between the two male populations is that, because survey population Two represents those who occupy lower middle class positions, in terms of occupation, the younger age structure of the men included in this population can be said to reflect the fact that they are at the beginning or middle of their careers and are young enough to experience some movement up the job hierarchy.

Taking survey population Two as a whole it was found that half of the respondents are forty years of age and over, and half are aged between twenty-five and thirty-nine years of age. Breaking the age groups down still further it was found that over half of the men (9 respondents) were aged between twenty-five and thirty-nine years of age, and of the women 41% (10 respondents) were aged between twenty-five and thirty-nine years of age.

#### Area of Residence

All the respondents as in population One, reside in the greater London area. As the figures in Table 5.17 illustrate, population Two is fairly well distributed over this area, with the majority being located in West London, followed by North and North-West London.

#### Marital Status

Table 5.18 presents the figures for marital status. As can be seen half of the respondents were married, 40% stated that they were

AREA OF RESIDENCE  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

AREA OF RESIDENCE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
WEST LONDON	7	11	18	45%
NORTH-WEST LONDON	2	2	4	10%
NORTH LONDON	5	6	11	27%
EAST LONDON	1	1	2	5%
SOUTH/SOUTH WEST/ SOUTH-EAST LONDON	1	4	5	12%
TOTAL	16	24	40	

TABLE 5.17

MARITAL STATUS  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

MARITAL STATUS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
SINGLE	6	9	16	40%
MARRIED	9	12	20	50%
DIVORCED	1	3	3	7%
WIDOWED	1	-	1	2%
TOTAL	16	24	40	

TABLE 5.18

single, 7% said they were divorced and one respondent said that he was a widower. Over half (9) of the male respondents said they were married and exactly half of the women stated that they were married. The results were the same for single men and women, with 37% of all women in population Two being single and 37% of all males. Compared to population One, it can be said that there are proportionately more single men in population Two. Comparing the marital status of the women in population Two with those in population One we see that there are more single women in population One. Concerning this latter figure it could be argued that the women in population One have forsaken marriage for their careers. Alternatively, it may simply be that there are fewer married women in population One because the women are younger than those in population Two.

#### Number of Children

Sixty five per cent (table 5.19) of all respondents in population Two have children, with the majority (60%) having between one and four children. From this one can conclude that when compared to population One, the respondents in population Two have slightly larger families (in terms of number of children).

#### 5.2.1 SURVEY POPULATION TWO - CHARACTERISTICS AT THE TIME OF MIGRATION TO BRITAIN

##### Country of Origin:

As the figures presented in Table 5.20 reveals survey population Two is relatively well mixed in terms of country of origin. The respondents' country of origin includes: Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Guyana, Antigua, Grenada, Dominica and St. Vincent. 12% of the respondents (4 male, 1 female) were born in Britain. The Caribbean country of origin with the single largest number of respondents is Jamaica which makes up 47% of survey population Two. This is followed by Barbados and Trinidad, 10% of the respondents each.

NUMBER OF CHILDREN  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

<u>NUMBER OF CHILDREN</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
ONE CHILD	3	7	10	25%
TWO CHILDREN	1	3	4	10%
THREE CHILDREN	4	-	4	10%
FOUR CHILDREN	2	4	6	15%
SEVEN CHILDREN	-	1	1	2%
EIGHT CHILDREN	1	-	1	2%
NO CHILDREN	5	9	14	35%
TOTAL	16	24	40	

TABLE 5.19



COUNTRY OF ORIGIN  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
JAMAICA	5	14	19	47%
BARBADOS	2	2	4	10%
TRINIDAD	3	1	4	10%
GUYANA	1	1	2	5%
ANTIGUA	1	1	2	5%
GRENADA	-	1	1	2%
DOMINICA	-	1	1	2%
ST. VINCENT	-	2	2	5%
ENGLAND	3	1	4	10%
VALES	1	-	1	2%
TOTAL	16	24	40	

TABLE 5.20

Year of Arrival:

(Figure 5c) As in population One the majority of the respondents in population Two (74%) came to Britain between the early 1950s and the mid 1960s. The largest single category for year of arrival within this period is the category which covers the years 1950 to 1958. This accounts for a quarter of the respondents, of which the majority came to Britain as adults. However, unlike population One the difference between those who came in this period as opposed to other periods is not as marked, and is closely followed by those respondents coming to Britain between 1965 and 1969 (of which half came as adults and the other half came as children), and those respondents coming between 1961 and 1962. As mentioned earlier the latter period represents the period of the rush to beat the immigration ban. The majority of respondents in population Two arriving in this period also came as adults.

Age on Arrival:

The figures presented in Table 5.21 show that, as in population One, those respondents in survey population Two arriving in Britain between the ages of twenty and twenty nine (34%) represent the largest single age group. A quarter of the respondents (8 female and 2 male) came to Britain between the ages of 16 and 19. As expected the proportion of respondents migrating to Britain in their fifties was very low.

Reasons for Migrating to Britain:

As mentioned earlier when dealing with the respondents in population One, if the respondent offered a group of explanations the answer that would be recorded (in Table form) would be the 'reason' that seemed to the the most important to the respondent. For example when asked why she had decided to come to Britain one respondent states:

I came basically to find work but there were other reasons. I wanted to go to America originally but it was difficult to get there ... It was ... and it was easy to come.

### Year of Arrival:

(Figure 5c) As in population One the majority of the respondents in population Two (74%) came to Britain between the early 1950s and the mid 1960s. The largest single category for year of arrival within this period is the category which covers the years 1950 to 1958. This accounts for a quarter of the respondents, of which the majority came to Britain as adults. However, unlike population One the difference between those who came in this period as opposed to other periods is not as marked, and is closely followed by those respondents coming to Britain between 1965 and 1969 (of which half came as adults and the other half came as children), and those respondents coming between 1961 and 1962. As mentioned earlier the latter period represents the period of the rush to beat the immigration ban. The majority of respondents in population Two arriving in this period also came as adults.

### Age on Arrival:

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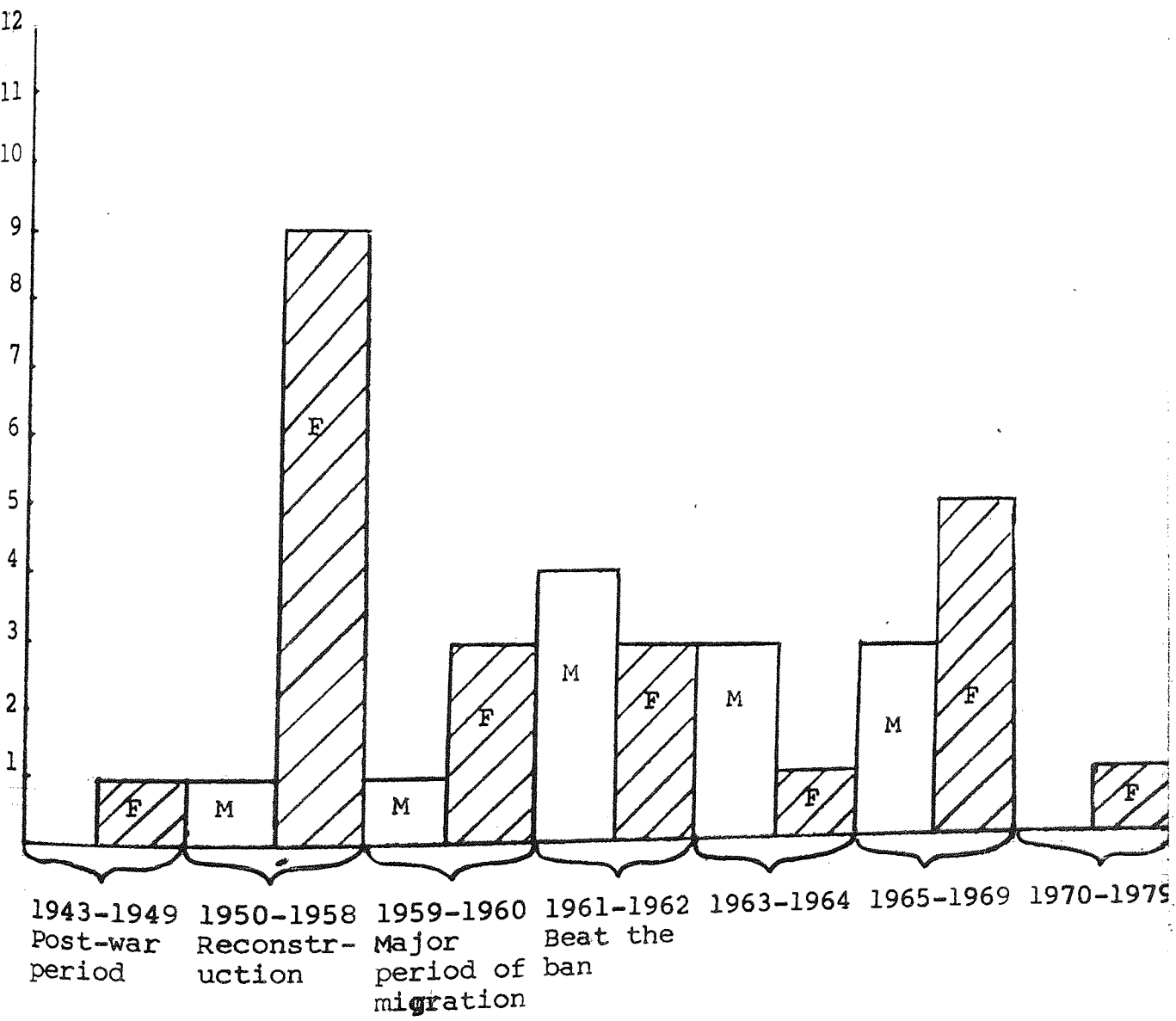
### Reasons for Migrating to Britain:

As mentioned earlier when dealing with the respondents in population One, if the respondent offered a group of explanations the answer that would be recorded (in Table form) would be the 'reason' that seemed to the the most important to the respondent. For example when asked why she had decided to come to Britain one respondent states:

I came basically to find work but there were other reasons. I wanted to go to America originally but it was difficult to get there ... . It was the thing to migrate, people were coming over and it was easy to come.

YEAR OF ARRIVAL - MALE AND FEMALE  
 SURVEY POPULATION TWO

FIGURE 5c



AGE ON ARRIVAL  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

AGE ON ARRIVAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
COUPLE OF MONTHS-A YEAR	-	1	1	2%
2 - 5 YEARS OLD	-	2	2	5%
6 - 10 YEARS OLD	1	1	2	5%
11 - 15 YEARS OLD	2	5	7	20%
16 - 19 YEARS OLD	1	8	9	25%
20 - 29 YEARS OLD	6	6	12	34%
30 - 39 YEARS OLD	1	-	1	2%
40 - 49 YEARS OLD	-	-	-	-
50 - 59 YEARS OLD	1	-	1	2%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>35</b>	

TABLE 5.21

\* N = 40 However, 5 respondents born in Britain, therefore not included in table.

And yes there was the adventure too. (Population Two: Female Nursing Sister.)

The answer recorded in this instance was that the respondent came to Britain to find work. It should be noted however, that the other explanations provided are not dismissed due to the fact that these additional reasons mentioned help to contextualise the mood of those coming to Britain during the early 1950s to mid 1960s period.

The reasons mentioned for migration to Britain for population Two are presented in Table 5.22. As with population One the category with the highest percentage of respondents is the category which includes those who stated that they came to Britain as children, either with or to join their parents. These respondents represent 37% of population Two. When asked why they believed their parents decided to migrate to Britain their answers were fairly similar with each stressing the economic gains their parents hoped to make.

My parents came because they believed there were better job prospects in Britain and they thought they could raise their standard of living.  
(Female Junior School Teacher)

My parents came for a better life, they knew they could earn a lot of money. (Nursing Sister)

I came as a child with my mum. My father was here for five years before we arrived. He came because he wanted to break away and do something positive. His brothers had travelled abroad and he thought that things might be better in England. (Junior Manager in an Insurance Agency)

My father came to England to find work, because England was the best option. He had gone to the States to work on farms, but he wasn't impressed with the States long term. (Computing Engineer - Male)

The reasons given by the respondents of population Two above, are not dissimilar from those mentioned by the respondents in population One. However, none of the respondents in population Two mentioned that their parents came to give them a better education.

REASONS FOR MIGRATING TO BRITAIN  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

REASONS GIVEN FOR MIGRATING TO BRITAIN	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
WORK/ECONOMIC PROSPECTS	1	5	6	17%
CAME TO WORK AND STUDY	-	3	3	8%
FURTHER EDUCATION	6	3	9	25%
CAME TO JOIN HUSBAND	-	3	3	8%
CAME TO GIVE CHILDREN A BETTER EDUCATION	1	-	1	2%
CAME TO JOIN PARENTS/ CAME WITH PARENTS	4	9	13	37%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>*35</b>	

TABLE 5.22

\* Respondents born in Britain not included in above table.

Again, as with population One the next most frequent reason mentioned by the respondents in population Two was that they came in order to further their education. These respondents represented a quarter of population Two. All came somewhere between their late teens to early twenties. However, unlike those in the same category in population One, only a few of those in population Two came with any definite idea of what they wanted to do:

I came to do a Master's degree (Teacher, Male)

My parents thought Britain was the best place for me to study to become a nurse. (Nursing Sister, Female)

The other respondents in this category had a less defined idea about exactly what they wanted to study, but the wish to study did provide the impetus to migrate to Britain.

I had contemplated America but the Vietnam war was on and there was conscription there after three years residence. So I decided against going there ... I came to England to get away from commitments back home. I was involved in a lot of church activities, I ran a Sunday school, assisted with church services. But I wanted very much to study and with those commitments I couldn't study ... I thought there would be facilities in England to study, but on arrival serious study never materialised, because I came on the London Transport Scheme and work got in the way of my studies. (Male Bank Clerk)

Unlike those in population One, none of these respondents mentioned that they intended to return home once they had completed their studies.

Separating the figures for those who came to Britain in order to study into male and female, we see that the figure for the male respondents is double that of the women. In fact further education was the single most frequent reason mentioned by the men in population Two, and they represent three quarters of all those men who came to Britain as adults. This balance between the men and women in population Two changes when the figures for those coming to Britain to find employment are looked at. Here we see that only one male respondent mentions this as a reason, compared to five of the female



respondents. The following quotations are typical of the responses given by the female respondents.

It wasn't my own idea to come to Britain. My mother thought I would have better prospects in England, in my field, which was secretarial work ... it was very competitive in Jamaica at the time to get secretarial work. (Warehouse Administrator, Female)

I wanted to do nursing and I had heard that the standard of nursing was the best in England and I wanted the best so I came to England. (Nursing Sister, Female)

I wanted to get a career and in Jamaica it wasn't possible. It's the cream of the cream they wanted at the time. You needed educational qualifications, and money to get that education. (Clerk Typist, Female)

When compared with the figures in population One for those migrating in search of work, we see that the reverse is true and it is the men who make up the largest proportion of population One coming for this reason.

A further 9% of the respondents in population Two mentioned that they came to Britain to work and study; all were women and all went straight into nursery training courses. Another 8% stated that they came to join their husband. Finally, one respondent stated that he came to Britain in order to give his children a better education. He states:

the children wanted to study - one to do law, the other to be a librarian, the others to improve their studies. You couldn't do law in Trinidad then, only Jamaica had a university. Now they have facilities in other islands. (Self employed insurance salesman)

Comparing the results of those coming to Britain from professional and white collar positions (in both populations) with those of those coming from what can be called working class occupations (in both populations) it would appear that there is no significant difference between middle class and working class migrants and the reasons given for migration to Britain, except to say that it was more likely that these came from professional and white collar backgrounds.

### Occupation Prior to Migration:

Table 5.23 presents seven occupational categories which have been constructed from details given by the respondents concerning their employment situation prior to migration to Britain.

Of the sixteen respondents recorded in Table 5.23 18% stated that they occupied non-manual white collar occupations. This included those who worked as clerical officers in government departments or in a bank. 18% mentioned that they did non-manual work which in all cases meant that they worked as shop assistants. A further 18% worked as pupil teachers. Only one respondent was a professional prior to migration (he was a headmaster in a secondary school), which contrasts significantly with the figures for population One where a quarter of those respondents who came as adults worked as professionals prior to migration. Two respondents stated that they worked as apprentices, one as an apprentice cabinet maker, the other as a car mechanic. As with some of the respondents in population One these respondents did not receive any formal training but rather worked alongside their fathers or a friend and were learning the 'trade' in that way. One mentioned that he was self-employed prior to migration (he sold insurance and finance). Finally, two respondents mentioned that they were unemployed in the period prior to migration. The level of unemployment in populations One and Two prior to migration is significantly low, and in both populations those who stated that they were unemployed were women.

Qualifications at the Time of Arrival in Britain: Table 5.24 presents the figures for educational qualifications at time of arrival in Britain. Twenty three respondents have not been included in this table. These include five respondents from whom no information was obtained and thirteen who came to Britain as children and did not possess any educational qualifications, usually

OCCUPATION PRIOR TO MIGRATION

(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
PROFESSIONAL	1	-	1	6%
WHITE COLLAR WORK	-	3	3	18%
UNMANUAL WORK (Shop Assistant)	1	2	3	18%
TEACHER	1	2	3	18%
APPRENTICE	2	-	2	12%
UNSKILLED MANUAL WORK	-	-	-	-
SELF-EMPLOYED	1	-	1	6%
UNEMPLOYED	-	3	3	12%
TOTAL	6	10	16	

TABLE 5.23

Only twenty-one respondents came to Britain as adults, and as such were able to provide details concerning their employment. However, five (three women and two men) of the respondents have not been included in the above table due to the fact that no information was recorded for this question. A further nineteen respondents have not been included in the table. These include thirteen (9 women, 4 men) respondents who came as children, one woman who was a student prior to migration and five (four men and one woman) respondents who were born in Britain.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS AT TIME OF ARRIVAL  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
FIRST YEAR LOCAL	-	3	3	17%
THIRD YEAR LOCAL	-	1	1	5%
SENIOR CAMBRIDGE	-	3	3	17%
'O' LEVELS	1	2	3	17%
HIGHER SENIORS	1	2	3	17%
WORTHAND AND				
STYPING CERTIFICATE	-	1	1	5%
DEGREE	1	-	1	5%
OTHER QUALIFICATIONS	1	1	2	11%
TOTAL	4	13	17	

TABLE 5.24

FATHER'S OCCUPATION WHEN RESPONDENT LEFT TO COME TO BRITAIN

(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

FATHER'S OCCUPATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
PROFESSIONAL (Teacher, Accountant, Headmaster, Barrister)	1	4	5	15%
WHITE COLLAR WORKER	2	-	2	6%
INTERMEDIATE (Chauffer, Ticket Collector, Porter, Policeman)	2	5	7	21%
TRADESMAN (Mason, Carpenter, Shoemaker)	2	3	5	15%
OWN BUSINESS	-	2	2	6%
SKILLED MANUAL WORKER	3	2	5	15%
UNSKILLED MANUAL WORKER	2	1	3	9%
FARMER (SMALL)	-	3	3	9%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>32</b>	

TABLE 5.25

NOTE:

Eight respondents have not been included in the above table. They include one respondent from whom no information was obtained. Two respondents who stated that their fathers had died before they migrated to Britain and five respondents who were born in Britain.

fathers were farmers, usually mentioned that their fathers did not own a lot of land and as such were small farmers.

As Table 5.25 shows the largest single occupational category for father's occupation when the respondent left to come to Britain is the 'intermediate' category which represents 21% of the respondents. This is followed by the 'professional' tradesman and skilled manual categories which each have a 15% share of the population. When compared to population One it can be argued that the social class origins (based on father's occupation) of population Two are below those of the respondents of population One, with 49% of the respondents in population One coming from the middle or lower middle class backgrounds (i.e. fathers who were either professionals, white collar workers or owned their own business) compared to 28% of the respondents in population Two.

#### 5.2.2 SURVEY POPULATION TWO - PRESENT CHARACTERISTICS

Present Occupational Position: Table 5.26 presents the figures of the respondents' present occupational position. As the table shows, none of the respondents are to be found in the first four occupational categories. 72% of the respondents are to be found in the intermediate non-manual category, which includes those who work as computer programmers, computing engineer, accountants, teachers (junior and secondary school), residential social worker, draftsman, insurance agency manager (junior), low level accounts administrator. 17% are included in the junior non-manual category; this includes those who work as bank clerks, secretaries, typists, domestic supervisor, pharmaceutical technicians. 7% of the respondents are own account workers. Only one respondent is to be found under the commercial management category.

PRESENT OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY/POSITION

(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
COMMERCIAL MANAGEMENT	1	-	1	2%
INTERMEDIATE NON-MANUAL (ie Computer Programmer, Trainee Accountant, Ins. Agency Manager (Jun.), Computing Engineer (M), Accountant, Teacher, Draftsman, Residential Social Worker	13	16	29	72%
JUNIOR NON-MANUAL (eg Bank Clerk, Secretary, Domestic Supervisor, Typist, Pharmaceutical Technician	-	7	7	17%
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER	2	1	3	7%
TOTAL	16	24	40	

TABLE 5.26

Work Codes: Table 5.27 provides the figures for the respondents' 'work codes'. Over a third of the respondents are employed in the commercial/private sector. A quarter work within the national health service, and a further quarter are local authority employees. This includes those respondents who work as social workers and teachers. 7% of the respondents are own account workers. Comparing the work codes of population Two with those of population One it is apparent that proportionately there are significantly more respondents in population Two who work within the commercial sector and the National Health Service, but fairly equal proportions are local authority employees.

Qualifications: As Table 5.28 shows only two respondents stated that they did not possess any educational qualifications. 22% stated that they had a first degree. Their subject areas include, B.Ed, english literature, social science and administration, aeronautical engineering, computer sciences, and history. In terms of age on completion of first degree, just over half completed their first degree at the ages of 21 and 22, and the others took their first degree at a later age. 15% of the respondents mentioned that they had professional qualifications. This included those with CQSW, PGCE and Certificate of Education qualifications. Of these one respondent who had taken the CQSW qualification mentioned that she did not possess any other qualification (ie no CSEs or 'O' levels).

Comparing the figures for both populations, it is evident that the respondents in population One have a higher level of academic achievement. However the difference in terms of proportions within each population for those who did possess a degree or a professional qualification is not as marked as might have been expected.

Husband's/Wife's Current Occupation: Twelve women in population Two stated that they were married; of these well over a third mentioned that their



WORK CODES

(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

<u>WORK CODES</u>	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%</u>
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT (Civil Service Employee)	2	-	2	5%
LOCAL AUTHORITY EMPLOYEE	3	7	10	25%
PRIVATE SECTOR COMMERCIAL EMPLOYEE	9	6	15	37%
NATIONAL HEALTH SERVICE EMPLOYEE	-	10	10	25%
PROFESSIONAL SELF-EMPLOYED	-	-	-	-
OWN ACCOUNT WORKER	2	1	3	7%
TOTAL	16	24	40	

TABLE 5.27

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION  
(SURVEY POPULATION TWO)

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	%
FIRST YEAR JAMAICA LOCAL	-	1	1	2%
CSEs	1	2	3	7%
'O' LEVELS	4	1	5	12%
'A' LEVELS	-	1	1	2%
HIGHER SENIORS	1	-	1	2%
FIRST DEGREE	6	3	9	22%
PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATIONS: PGCE, CQSW, Cert of Ed.	-	6	6	15%
HNC/HND	3	-	3	7%
NURSING QUALIFICATIONS	-	5	5	12%
SECRETARIAL CERTIFICATES	-	4	4	10%
NO EXAMS	1	1	2	5%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>40</b>	

TABLE 5.28

husbands did some form of 'intermediate' work. This included porters, postman, bus drivers, bus conductors. A quarter mentioned that their husbands did some form of white-collar work. Two respondents mentioned that their husbands were professionals, and another two said their husbands were skilled manual workers. The majority of these women were married to partners who were of a similar occupational position or relatively near. Only two respondents can be said to be married to husbands whose occupational position was significantly higher than theirs. As with the women in population One, none of the respondents mentioned that their husband was unemployed.

Nine male respondents in population Two stated that they were married. Of these over a half mentioned that their wives did some form of white-collar work. This included those whose wives worked as secretaries, clerks or typists. A third of the respondents mentioned that their wives occupied 'lower professional' jobs such as theatre sister, midwife, accountant. One respondent mentioned that his wife was an unskilled worker. As with the married women in population Two the majority of the male respondents were married to partners who were of a relatively similar occupational position. Only one respondent was married to a partner who was significantly below his occupational position.

This chapter has provided a factual profile of the two survey populations. The next chapter goes on to look at the way in which the respondents have been incorporated into the labour market. In so doing an attempt is made to highlight the characteristics of firstly those who came to Britain as adults, secondly, those who came to join their parents as children and thirdly those born in Britain of Afro-Caribbean parentage. Comparisons between these groups are made by using themes such as career history and the types of strategy adopted in order to overcome or manipulate 'barriers' in the labour market.

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